

RECONCEIVING CROSS-DRESSING:

*Transphobia and Support for MTF Transgender People
Socialising in
Manchester's Gay Village*

By

Lee Robert Jack Middlehurst
Ph.D.

Sociology and Criminology
Manchester Metropolitan University

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents investigations of Male-To-Female (MTF) transgender people, mostly those who are cross-dressers/transvestites, socialising in Manchester's Gay Village. A systematic review of the academic literature related to transgender issues indicates that no previous extensive research has been presented which analyses contemporary gender divergent (trans*) people in Manchester. The incomplete academic knowledge on current transgenderism, particularly transvestic identities, has been recognised by representatives of the Equality and Human Rights Commission and the UK Government Home Office. These deficient understandings comprise transphobic discriminations. Therefore, this thesis enhances academic information of contemporary transgenderism.

This thesis includes findings and developed theories, deriving from aspects of Grounded Theory and Template Analysis, which reflect the deconstructive methodologies developed in postmodern theory. Postmodernism rejects the 'grand narratives' of truth and science, with a greater emphasis upon the lived experience and expertise of those studied. The investigations undertaken for this study include a reflective/reflexive ethnographic analysis of the assistance to trans* people in Manchester by individuals and support organisations. Thirty-seven interviews with key informants were conducted. This thesis also deploys digital ethnography to examine Internet trans* supportive discourses, which either relate to or emerge from social circles linked to the Gay Village. Additionally, related quantitative information concerning trans* matters is re-presented which is drawn from 390,227 international online data inputs. Moreover, this study documents the annual transgender Sparkle celebrations in Manchester from 2005 to 2012, which attracts thousands of MTF transgender people (trans* women). The analysis is further sustained by critical explorations of transgender supportive political actions by agents of trans* organisations, the Manchester City Council and the UK national Government.

The thesis employs a mix of methods and critical methodology. It challenges conceptual hierarchies in which the trans* person is low down the scale of social acceptance, and instead deconstructs contemporary 'scientific knowledge' to provide innovative insights into the actual experiences of present-day trans* identities. The research contributes to knowledge concerning transgenderism and highlights the potentially harmful impacts from inadequate medical, legal and academic recognitions of trans* people.

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ASPECTS OF THE RESEARCH DETAILED IN THIS THESIS WHICH HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY ASSESSED AND ACCEPTED.

Article assessed and accepted by representatives of the UK Government Home Office (10th Jul. 2011).

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Preliminary data gained from 2nd January 2007 to 12th December 2010 from the quantitative surveys hosted and co-owned by the online transgender support organisation The Gender Society. Extracts from this data have been published in the international transgender support *Repartee* magazines issues 57 (Spring 2008) and 66 (Feb. 2011) and in publications by the Australian transgender support organisations the Seahorse Society of New South Wales (Mar. 2011) and the Seahorse Society of Queensland (Apr. 2013).

Art piece, 'Holly Sparkles (2010)', which was assessed and auctioned for the transgender support charity organisation Sparkle at the 'Manchester Concord Sparkle Ball' in Manchester (10th Jul. 2010).

Art piece, 'Holly Sparkles (2012)', which was assessed and sold for the transgender support charity organisation Sparkle at 'The Co-operative's support of the LGBT community with Respect' celebration in Manchester (1st Nov. 2012).

Officially interviewed by a representative of Manchester's Museum Of Science and Industry (15th Jun. 2012) regarding the research into the annual Sparkle festivals. Extracts from this interview feature in their exhibition 'Behind the Scenes: Stories from Manchester's LGBT Communities' (10th Aug. 2012 to 1st Mar. 2013).

INTRODUCTION

The hostility of difference, the deadly comedy of binary gender, the cascading assertions about my body, and the impossibility of identity: Postmodernism is the way to navigate my world. Maybe it serves that purpose for *anyone* who is or has felt *different*.¹

(Wilchins, 2004:4)

Prelude

A contemporary transgender person resembles Haraway's 'cyborg' (1991; 2006), partly divorced from conventional human restraints and dependent upon technological communications with 'Others' (de Beauvoir, 2010 [1949]; Baudrillard, 1981; Dicks *et al.*, 2005). Such a transgender person lives outside gender role stereotypes, unambiguous sexuality definitions, and many mainstream rules within societies. This thesis will examine the key dimensions of diversities in gender identities. These variations can currently be expressed as 'trans*', which

is an umbrella term that refers to all of the identities within the gender identity spectrum. There's a ton of diversity there, but we often group them all together (e.g., when we say "trans* issues"). Trans (without the asterisk) is best applied to trans men and trans women,² while the asterisk makes special note in an effort to include all non-cisgender gender identities, including transgender, transsexual, transvestite, genderqueer, genderfluid, non-binary, genderfuck, genderless, agender, non-gendered, third gender, two-spirit, bigender, and trans man and trans woman.

(Killermann, 2012)

Morgan (30th Sept. 2013) discusses the 'trans*' term as part of examining the deconstructions of terminologies within gender diversity. Senior members of TransForum Manchester, the transgender support organisation, also emphasise the

¹ The italics are present in the original text.

² In this quote and in this thesis a trans woman or a trans man is a transsexual person.

current significance of this ‘trans*’ term (TransForum-Manchester, 2013). This thesis contributes to an understanding of ‘trans* cyborgs’ and addresses deficiencies in postmodern discourses concerning contemporary transgenderism.

This thesis uses Grounded Theory and Template Analysis perspectives in order to advance the understandings of present-day MTF transgender people (Ekins, 1997; Monro, 2005a; Monro, 2005b; Keen, 2013). It will show that from the 1970s, many trans* people have used the ‘social spaces’ of Manchester’s Gay Village³ (Appendix 1) as refuge from mainstream gender normativity. This thesis does not explore sexuality or racial diversities in the Village as these have been thoroughly examined elsewhere (Moran *et al.*, 2004; Binnie and Skeggs, 2006; Darbyshire, 2007; Held, Jun. 2011). However, there have been no previous intensive explorations of the social interactions of trans* people in the Village, despite the existence of trans* supportive groups in Manchester since 1975 and in the Gay Village from 1986 (Whittle, 1st Jun. 1999; Baker, 2010b). This research omission is significant, as, since 2005, venues in the Village have hosted the annual Sparkle festival. From 2007, this festival has been claimed to be the world’s largest annual celebration of transgenderism (Sparkle-Management, 2007). This festival (inter)nationally attracts thousands of trans* women (Angel, 1st Jul. 2006; Dunning, 2009). Government representatives have attended this celebration seeking to enhance their knowledge about trans* lives in the UK (Chapter 11).

The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) document the *Trans Research Review* (Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009) has highlighted incomplete research about contemporary trans* people in the UK, including:

³ Often colloquially referred to as the ‘Village’ (Manchester-Concord, 2012:1).

- Comprehending present-day transvestism.
- Inconsistent definitions of ‘transgenderism’ and the connected terms.
- Understanding online transgender communities.
- Information regarding
 - Transphobia.⁴
 - Family issues with transgender people.
 - Employment difficulties of transgender people.
 - Presentations of transgender people within media texts.

This ‘postmodern’ thesis explores all of these above issues through investigations of trans* communities predominantly in the Village, assisted by insider experiences as a ‘trans* cyborg’. The research also deconstructs binary compositions and analyses within the social sciences. While this thesis comprises several fields in the social sciences, it is not chiefly shaped within disciplines such as sociology, sexology, psychology or legal activism. Therefore, although some texts concerning these topics are discussed, there will not be intensive examinations within these fields.

In fact the author could be considered to be a ‘sociocultural anthropologist’ and as an ‘ethnographer’ who deploys both qualitative and quantitative research methods (Mead, 1949; Stack, 1974; Ingold, 2002; Middlehurst, 2005; Nanjunda, 2010; Middlehurst, Feb. 2011; Middlehurst, Jul. 2011). I am also a musician and an artist, which overtly connect with aspects of my participatory action research in this thesis (Berg, 2007; Manchester-News, 23rd Sept. 2009; wwwTinCanTV, 31st Oct. 2009). My multi-skilled - my polyphonic - perspective will deconstruct restricted gatherings and analysis of research data (Bakhtin 1984 [1929]; Robinson, 29th Jul. 2011). The standpoint adopted here then is about resisting modernist barriers separating scientific and artistic disciplines (Strosberg, 2001; Hobcraft, 9th Aug. 2012).

⁴ ‘Transphobia’ means prejudices against trans* people.

Becker (1998) asserts that sociologists can have limited perceptions beyond familial and academic commitments. He contends that such academics need to be more involved with non-academic groups in order to avoid potential research errors. These ‘limited perceptions’ may also be exhibited by researchers in other academic specialties. Becker’s viewpoint is similar to assertions made by the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE, 2012a). On 23rd June 2011, I was appointed a Public Engagement Ambassador (PE Ambassador) by the NCCPE in order to promote and undertake the productive interactions of academic and non-academic perspectives (NCCPE, 2012b). These interactions have informed the strategies I adopt within this research.

Consequently, while this thesis is shaped by qualitative research, the integration of quantitative investigations reflects the advised strategy for current Public Engagement research within universities (Duncan and Spicer, 2010) as well as research investigations instigated by the EHRC. Furthermore, combining aspects of qualitative with the quantitative investigations may enable this thesis to assist enhancing the (inter)national knowledge of transgenderism.

Modernism, Postmodernism and Post-structuralism

In order to understand the postmodern and post-structural research framework that underpins this thesis, developments of modernist, postmodernist and post-structuralist viewpoints shall be outlined. Modernism developed in the late 1800s and early 20th Century (Scott and Marshall, 2005; Knox and Pinch, 2006) and there are suggestions that multiple modernist concepts developed in rebellion against many views from the

‘Age of Enlightenment’, which originated from around the mid 17th Century to approximately the early 19th Century (Butler, 2010; Schindler, 2013).

Modernists contend, “facts do not exist, only *interpretations*”⁵ (Nietzsche and Kaufmann, 1971:481). Artists in the early 20th Century developed techniques, including ‘impressionism’ and ‘cubism’ (Cottingham, 2004; Samu, 2013) while writers developed modernist fictional works, which include disrupting gender binary conceptions (Potter and Woolf, 1994; Woolf, 1995; Lee, 1997; Domestico and Lewis, 2010a, 2010b).

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist, wrote articles in the 1920s and 1930s that were compatible with modernist outlooks (Gramsci and Forgacs, 1988; Holub, 1992; San Juan Jr., Jan. 2005). From a postmodern viewpoint, some of Gramsci’s writings could be reinterpreted as guidance for social science researchers. While his texts do not refer to aspects of transgenderism, several of his writings can be reconceived as concerns about adverse impacts upon trans* people. Thus, if Gramsci’s term ‘proletariat’ is reinterpreted, within postmodern perspectives, as ‘cross-dressers’, then the recommendations for academic researchers is:

We need to free ourselves from the habit of seeing culture as encyclopaedic knowledge, and men as mere receptacles to be stuffed full of empirical data and a mass of unconnected raw facts, which have to be filed in the brain as in the columns of a dictionary, enabling their owner to respond to the various stimuli from the outside world. This form of culture really is harmful, particularly for the proletariat. It serves only to create maladjusted people, people who believe they are superior to the rest of humanity because they have memorized a certain number of facts and dates and who rattle them off at every opportunity, so turning them almost into a barrier between themselves and others.

(Gramsci and Forgacs, 1988:56/7)

⁵ The italics are present in the original text.

Within being a participatory action researcher and a PE Ambassador, delusions of superiority can be critically highlighted within this research (Chapter 6). Gramsci writes of an educational structure that assists the ‘proletariat’ (re-interpreted as ‘cross-dressers’) to develop “in the most productive way for both themselves and society.” (64)

Expressions of modernism can be unified under the viewpoint that perceptions are ‘constructed’ (Crotty, 1998; Robinson *et al.*, 1998; Garratt and Rodrigues, 2001; Chandler, 2007). De Saussure (1910-1911) inspired the development of structuralism. He expresses that “Every discourse is a sign system in which the key structural feature is the code of binary opposites” (Robinson *et al.*, 1998:160). Barthes (1957) uses these semiological concepts and discusses mythological prejudices within Marxist influenced viewpoints. He analyses “self-proclaimed petit-bourgeois myths’ to expose how they were socially constructed realities created with the purpose of converting their particular ‘historical class-culture into a universal nature” (Guimarães, 2013:3). In a similar way, certain trans* identities can be reconceived as members of a ‘petit (or petite) bourgeoisie’ to suggest constructed myths that diminish the status of the ‘proletariat’. (For further explanatory information see pages 203-205 in Chapter 6.)

These reconceptions partially derive from some of Barthes’ writing where he inspires deconstructing concepts within his 1968 text *The Death of the Author* (Barthes, 1977). Allen (2003) discusses Barthes’ post-structuralist viewpoint of a reader’s interpretation of an author’s text, which is dependent upon a manuscript’s language and may not be what the author intends.

The postmodern ethnographic research in this thesis reflects the multifaceted and disordered nature of reality but such standpoints are restricted by the limited

structures of the written language (Derrida, 1976; Hammersley, 1998; Wilchins, 2004).

These different approaches to representation epitomise the diversity of more recent ethnographic work, and reflect the interpretative turn in ethnographic writing and representation. Various commentators have called for texts that are more open, messy and fragmented - in order to challenge and highlight the very conventionality of ethnographic writing and to encourage more creative and complex modes of representation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Ellis and Bochner, 1996). While the conventionality of all modes of representation is implicitly recognised, there is more than a hint in such arguments that complex texts may be more faithful to the complexities and contours of social life.

(Dicks *et al.*, 2005:31)

Marcus (1998) writes how the postmodern outlooks of ‘messy and fragmented’ texts assist anthropological investigations alongside researchers reflexively assessing how they affect their research. His descriptions of the uncertain descriptions of contemporary research reflect post-structuralist viewpoints in this thesis’s investigations concerning linguistic expressions.

Namaste (2000) alleges Derrida and Foucault are the prominent architects of post-structuralism. She claims they “advocate what is known as an antifoundationalist perspective, characterized by a refusal to accept individual social agents as ‘masters’ of their own lives, identities and worlds” (16). Namaste and Appignanesi *et al.* (1995) write Derrida is sceptical about binary concepts and “meanings ‘in’ a text” (80). Wilchins (2004) discusses Derrida’s allegation that “Gender is a language” (35) and his claims that it gives contestable definitions and dualistic hierarchies within sexuality and power. In several chapters of this thesis, binaries are cynically discussed with their hierarchical definitions within mainstream society.

Several multiple analyses in this thesis are sceptically structured beyond the (binary) limitations of language (Derrida, 1976; Derrida, 2001; Marcus, 1998). Visual perspectives deconstruct the contents within all these chapters in order to reconceive

research perspectives of present-day transgenderism. For example, Chapters 2.2 and 2.3 overtly discuss incomplete previous examinations of transgenderism. However, the multifaceted structures of these chapters reflect the aims within this thesis to deconstruct linguistic restrictions, including binary perceptions, in order to implicitly indicate the complexities of the current social lives of trans* people in and beyond the Village.

Moreover, within postmodern views concerning actual trans* lives and being a PE Ambassador, the formats of this thesis's chapters and paragraph lengths partially and self-consciously mirror the designs of short chapters and brief paragraphs presented in non-academic texts examining transgenderism, such as Anders (2002) and Lee (2005). Furthermore, related online discourses regarding enhancing the readability of non-academic writings have been examined (book_jones *et al.*, 10th Oct. 2008; Cassidy, 27th Jul. 2011).

Additionally, the thesis's analyses are influenced by Derrida's assertion that being an observer changes the issues being observed (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995). Reason and Bradbury (2001) also reinforce this perspective within their analyses of action research. Moreover, this thesis's post-structural viewpoints implicitly reflect Foucault's stances regarding progressive historical understandings⁶ and relationships of exerted power with societies' concepts of 'truth' (Foucault, 1972; Sawicki, 1991).

During the shaping of this thesis, class issues within transgenderism have been recognised. It is acknowledged that contemporary adherence to a particular class identity is an individual process, which is predominantly shaped by economic, educational and social interactions (Savage, 2000). Marxist-defined class identifications are deconstructed within metaphorical reinterpretations of trans*

⁶ Thus this section deconstructs progressive historical arrangements.

characteristics (Marx, 1998 [1848]; Tajfel, 1978; Bechhofer and Elliott, 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 1985; Gramsci and Forgacs, 1988). However, class identifications of trans* people shall not be intensively analysed, due to awareness of the absence of any thorough research concerning Manchester-based trans* communities and the insufficient research into current transvestic personae in the UK (Whittle, 1st Jun. 1999; Angel, 1st Jul. 2006; Sparkle-Management, 2007; Dunning, 2009; Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009; Baker, 2010b).

In considering Foucault's theories regarding power/knowledge and the categorisation of people (Foucault, 1972, 1977), the adoption of a 'sociocultural-anthropological' and an 'ethnographic' approach can be enlightening. Additionally, the philosopher and cultural theorist, Baudrillard writes, "We live in a world where there is more and more information, and less and less meaning" (1981:1). Diverse contemporary gender concepts resist unambiguous academic identifications within the social sciences, aware of the instability of present signifiers. In this context, identifications are becoming increasingly unidentifiable (Chapter 5).

Several current (trans*) individuals deconstruct their identities and resist the separate categorisation within Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT or LGB&T). Thus attempting to define these diverse identities encompasses attaching 'Q' to become LGBTQ. 'Q' itself varies in definitions as 'Queer' and 'Questioning' (Guild-of-Students, 2011; Surrey-County-Council, 2011). This acronym has developed into LGBTQI, where 'I' represents 'Intersexual' people (LGBTU, 15th Dec. 2009). Additional attempts to expand definitions have resulted in creating the acronym LGBTQIA where 'A' refers to people identifying as 'Asexual' or 'Ally' (UMKC, 2013). Thus, these significations struggle to define the reality of modern-day postmodern non-normative identities.

Research objectives in this thesis suggest that the actual self-aware experiences of many trans* people in social spaces, such as those in Manchester's Gay Village, suggest postmodern outlooks. While the aims to replicate stereotypical Western gender exhibitions of cissexual femininity and masculinity may have initially shaped the signs of transgenderism, those copies can become pretences, which develop into identities that no longer attempt to replicate cisgender expressions. They can then become 'hyperreal' presentations (Baudrillard, 1981).

Social Geography and Manchester's Cosmopolitan Gay Village

Postmodern perspectives have shaped contemporary cities, particularly after World War II, resulting in a mix of architectural styles and cultures. Resultantly, several cities, including Manchester, and its populations became identified and marketed as 'cosmopolitan' (Massey *et al.*, 1999; Moss, 7th Nov. 2011).

Knox and Pinch (2006) describe that present-day societies exhibit elements of 'late modernism' coupled with individuals that are intensely reflexive. However, 'postmodernism' apparently arose from the diversity of societal groups and was formed as semiotic conceptions became applied in cynically regarding representations (Woods, 1999). Pain (2001) discusses social interactions and discriminations within these diverse communities alongside the significance of spatial geographies providing support and refuge from expressions of power inequality.

Therefore, the social geography of the Gay Village was shaped as a shelter for those not conforming to mainstream 'heteronormativity' (Chapter 3). However, this geographical location evolved into a third level of signification, developing into a mythological conception of 'cosmopolitanism' within Manchester (Barthes, 1957;

Baudrillard, 1981; Valentine, 2001; Knox and Pinch, 2006; Chandler, 2007). There seem to be two concepts of ‘cosmopolitanism’ that stem from opposing nationalistic fervour (Fine, 2007) and that derive from keen interactions with the ‘Other’ (Derrida, 2001). Areas in Manchester can be regarded as a combination of both concepts such as the promoted premises within ‘Chinatown’ (Glinert, 2008). Nevertheless, the current marketing images of the Village reflect the cosmopolitan perspectives expressed by Derrida. This concerns the ‘dynamic’ mix of heterosexual people with the ‘Other’ non-heteronormative LGB&T groups:

Manchester has a large, lively and energetic Gay and Lesbian community, and their needs are catered for in an area, which has come to be known as the Gay Village in Manchester. In recent years it has brought a new dynamism and vitality to a hitherto rather rundown area of the city, and its pavement cafés and bars have helped create in summertime a cosmopolitan and continental ambience, which attracts many people to its nightlife - Gay, Lesbian and Heteros!

The Gay Village probably represents the ... biggest concentration of gay interests, services and businesses in Europe.

(Moss, 7th Nov. 2011:1)

This development - this gentrification - of the Village appears to derive from actions by politically and business motivated gay people (Bell and Haddour, 2000; Bell and Jayne, 2004; Homfrey, May, 2005; Lees *et al.*, 2010). However, the advertising of this cosmopolitan area can be regarded as re-presenting⁷ gay identities as primarily motivated by social expressions and not by political stimuli (Duncan, 1996; Darbyshire, 2007; Glinert, 2008). Löw (2006) writes how the body of each person socialising in such social spaces can constitute a dual reality: “It is not only the medium of perception but is itself a placed object. As such it is staged, styled, genderized, permeated by ethnic constructions, thus becoming a highly precarious

⁷ In this thesis the word ‘re-present’ concerns ‘reinterpretation’ as opposed to ‘represent’ which can mean ‘to symbolize’ (Stringer, 2013).

‘building-block’ of spaces” (121). Thus, they become no longer ‘individuals’ but marketing objects.

Nevertheless, white middle-class gay male characteristics are the dominant identified and marketed presence within several recognised ‘gay themed’ geographical social spaces (Castells, 1983; Pain, 2001; Homfrey, May, 2005; Knox and Pinch, 2006; Cordero, 2008). The smaller proportion of lesbians in social spaces, such as in the Village, can be partly due to misogyny. In present Western societies, women, on average, get paid less than men and so cannot afford to socialise as often (Pain, 2001; Geoghegan, 28th Sept. 2009; TUC, 2012). Held (Jun. 2011) expresses there are only two bars in the Village which “are gendered and sexualised spaces offering women a place of retreat from heterosexist and androcentric dominance and violence in whatever forms they take” (15). Additionally, bisexual identities are allegedly misunderstood and can be discriminated against both within heterosexual groups and within gay communities (Klesse, 2004; Nunn, 14th Jul. 2009; Klesse, 29th Sept. 2010).

Thousands of trans* people attend many of the social spaces of the Village each year (Angel, 1st Jul. 2006; Dunning, 2009; Sparkle-Team, 2012a). However, there are no venues permanently providing explicit support for trans* people. Nonetheless, trans* people receive overt acceptance and assistance in the successive venues that temporarily host the weekly Wednesday meetings of the Manchester Concord (Chapter 8) and in the various places intermittently supporting the annual Sparkle transgender celebrations (Chapter 11).

The insecure unreal identities within the present Village form varied communities that are, in reality, simultaneously aware and yet unaware of each other. While this area developed as predominantly a protective haven for gay men, the cosmopolitan Village has now become a geographical area shaped by multiple

interacting social spaces for lesbian, bisexual and trans* people as well as those who are 'heteronormative' and non-trans* – cisgendered, cissexual people – who are mostly heterosexual natal women (Whittle, 1994; Bell and Haddour, 2000; Bell and Jayne, 2004; Middlehurst, 2005; Derbyshire, 2007; Unsworth, 2008).

Waldron (2010) critically writes that a person attracted to cosmopolitan social spaces, such as in the Village, can be a 'parasite'. Within concepts of cosmopolitanism, the philosopher Kant asserts, "the natural situation of human beings is conflict" (171). Investigations in this thesis indicate that the Gay Village is both a site of philosophical conflicts and physical conflicts (Chapter 12). There are discourses about the 'invasion' of heterosexual people into the Village with consequential concerns regarding the safety of lesbian and gay male people socialising there (Moran *et al.*, 2004; Binnie and Skeggs, 2006). In this respect, these 'heteronormative' groups may be regarded as 'parasites' that manipulate the cosmopolitan Village as a temporary alternative to the 'normality' of mainstream existences.

However, there have been no detailed examinations of the effects of this 'invasion' upon trans* communities socialising in the Village. Several interviewees assert that trans* people are the foremost visual signifiers of the diverse human identities in the Village rather than LGB people (Chapter 12). This signification is reflected by the visual marketing of the Village as cosmopolitan as well as in publications mainly aimed at LGB readers and in the various promotions of the Manchester Pride annual festivals (Robertson, Aug. - Sept. 2012; Manchester-Pride, 2013). However, trans* people can receive transphobic discrimination from some LGB groups in the Village (Kennedy, 22nd May 2010; Kennedy, 20th Oct. 2010). Furthermore, trans* people are not recognised or are briefly recognised within several

academic texts analysing the social geography of the Gay Village (Moran *et al.*, 2004; Binnie and Skeggs, 2006; Darbyshire, 2007; Held, Jun. 2011). Nonetheless, trans* people receive both transphobic and homophobic harassment within many social spaces (Un-québec-pour-tous, 2013). This thesis presents investigations of present-day trans* communities in the Village and highlights these concerns (Chapters 12, 13.1 and 13.2). Therefore, these examinations of transgenderism produce distinctive perspectives about this heteronormative ‘invasion’ of Manchester’s Gay Village.

The Research Development

The ethnographic studies presented within this thesis have been intermittently personally problematic, reshaping self-concepts and views of gender constructions. This thesis is not only a description of the studies but also incorporates a decade of personal reflective and reflexive perspectives of transgenderism, reformatted within academic phraseology.

I have been in and ‘out of the closet’ – being openly trans* - since 1991 but during socialising in the Village from 2001, I interacted with other trans* people, learnt about their lives and, as a result, reflectively learnt about myself. Further changes in my comprehension of transgenderism began from 2003/4 when I decided to investigate the support networks of several trans* women socialising in the Village during my Gender Studies MA dissertation (Middlehurst, 2005). Then in late 2005, I academically expanded these explorations as I shaped this thesis, building familiarity with people socialising in the Village and analysing the social geography of this location.

In assisting the qualitative research, triangulating several methods was applied (Rothbauer, 2008), which include undertaking quantitative analyses from February 2006. This concerns designing pilot questionnaires, which were distributed in the Village to gain responses from 90 trans* and natal women during April to May 2006. They were examined using the SPSS statistical analysis computer program (IBM-Corporation, 2013). Analyses of these questionnaires are detailed in Appendix 2 and discussions of their influences upon this thesis are discussed in Chapter 4.2. Furthermore, this training enabled the design and launch of comprehensive internationally accessible online questionnaires from 2nd January 2007. By 12th December 2010, they had gathered 390,227 data inputs from respondents who were MTF and FTM ('Female To Male') trans* people, their partners and trans* admirers (Appendix 3). Some of these online data inputs have been quoted in this thesis to assist the qualitative research.

During the latter part of 2007, personal issues intensified to the extent that I decided to take a break from academic studies. However, on Friday 27th June 2008, the first day of Sparkle 2008,⁸ I personally experienced several incidents that developed my determination to continue my academic studies.

At lunchtime that day, I left my home to get my car and drive to Manchester. However, just outside, across the road from where I lived, three young men, who had evidently been drinking alcohol, saw me and heckled me, using transphobic verbal abuse. I did not acknowledge their existence but, later, I learnt that their shouting was so noisy they had disturbed other nearby residents.

When I arrived in the Village later that day, several trans* women, who were friends, approached me and expressed concern for my well being as they had not seen

⁸ In order to distinguish the different Sparkle celebrations from 2005 to 2012, I express the year of each one I discuss in the title. This results from my observations of the colloquial way of distinguishing each Sparkle festivity by several trans* people in Manchester.

me for several months. One trans* woman, Mary, marched up to me and, without giving any prior notice, gave me a long-lasting hug.

As a result of my transphobic experience and the supportive concerns from my trans* friends, I decided to continue my research from October 2008 in order to enhance epistemological conceptions of trans* people and also to examine expressions of transphobia. The ethnographic studies were reshaped from primarily observational perspectives to 'participatory action research' (Berg, 2007).

Reason and Bradbury (2001) claim that action research assists rejecting modernist perspectives, subtly expands knowledge and resists the exclusive control of such knowledge within academia. Consequently, action research supports the favoured viewpoints of Public Engagement within universities (NCCPE, 2012a). Gott (28th Aug. 2008) and Dover (11th Jul. 2008) express that Fals-Borda was the principle shaper of participatory action research techniques as a result of his experiences in Latin America. Fals-Borda advises researchers:

Do not monopolise your knowledge nor impose arrogantly your techniques, but respect and combine your skills with the knowledge of the researched or grassroots communities, taking them as full partners and co-researchers. Do not trust elitist versions of history and science, which respond to dominant interests, but be receptive to counter-narratives and try to recapture them. Do not depend solely on your culture to interpret facts, but recover local values, traits, beliefs, and arts for action by and with the research organisations. Do not impose your own ponderous scientific style for communicating results, but diffuse and share what you have learned together with the people, in a manner that is wholly understandable and even literary and pleasant, for science should not be necessarily a mystery nor a monopoly of experts and intellectuals.

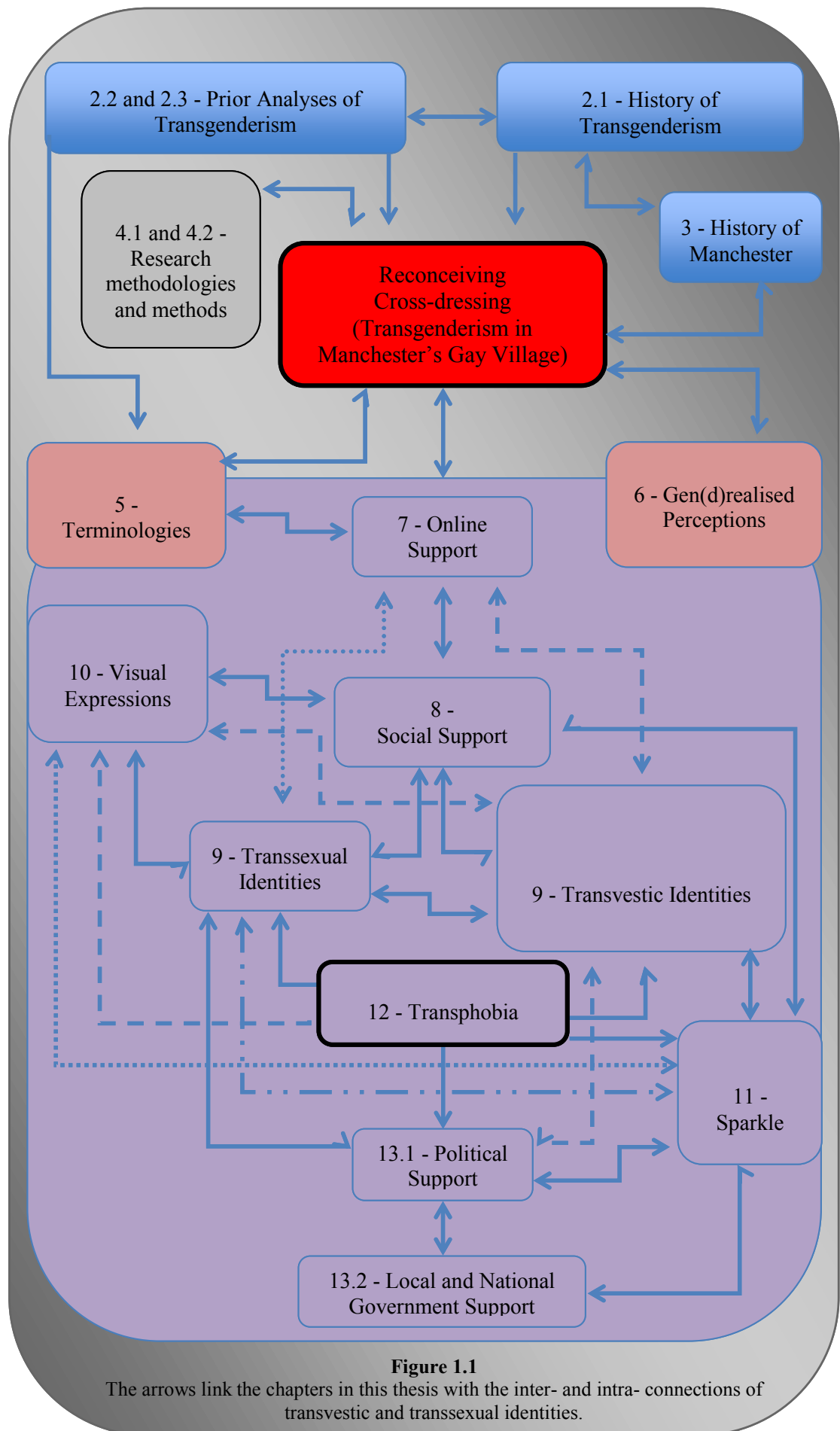
(Fals-Borda, 1995:1)

Fals-Borda (2013) writes that this self-critical perspective can be regarded as postmodern. Consequently, influenced by these action research standpoints, my investigations can also be conceived as postmodern. It was recognised that certain

contemporary research techniques would assist my research, which include stances deriving from Grounded Theory and Template Analysis (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995; King, 2004; Monro, 2005a; Monro, 2005b; Keen, 2013). Hence, the gathered data enabled the development of related theories (Ekins, 1997; Berg, 2007, Keen, 2013). It could be argued that these research methods can have an affinity with postmodern perspectives, which are “working without rules in order to find out the rules of what you’ve done” (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995:50).

The Research Chapters in This Thesis

As described earlier, the deconstructive re-conceptions within the research aims also go beyond restrictive written descriptions and, additionally, combine scientific and artistic expressions (Derrida, 1976). Figure 1.1 visually re-presents a framework that indicates the complex, multifarious links between the thesis chapters alongside expressing the inter- and intra- connections of transvestic and transsexual actualities:



Chapter 2.1 presents analyses of international expressions of transgenderism from around 7th Century BCE. This chapter includes proposals that transphobic prejudices are linked with misogyny and that this prejudice has influenced legal and medical concepts of gender and sexuality. This chapter details historical viewpoints that have shaped investigations and expressions of present-day trans* identities.

Chapter 2.2 features examinations of historical and contemporary medical, sociological and academic investigations into transgenderism. Within this, recent UK PhD studies of trans* identities have been critically explored.

Chapter 2.3 presents critical examinations into non-academic re-presentations of MTF transgenderism within various media texts. This chapter shows the popular expressions of cross-dressing and transsexualism in mainstream visual media and publications. This chapter also presents investigations of texts authored by MTF trans* people.

In Chapter 3 can be found explorations of the historical changes of Manchester with a focus upon the development of the Gay Village from its origins as a collection of disused warehouses and pubs subversively attracting gay men.

Chapter 4.1 details methodologies and investigated research theories. They are deconstructively applied within the self-reflexive postmodern examinations of contemporary MTF trans* communities. Chapter 4.2 gives critical examinations of research methods and the developments of the techniques applied during these studies. Descriptions of qualitative and quantitative research are undertaken. There are also discussions about the outcomes and impacts of the research.

In Chapter 5 there are critical explorations of the current inconsistent definitions of trans* identities. Quantitative data about the terms preferred by contemporary MTF transvestic and transsexual people is examined as well.

Chapter 6 includes sceptical viewpoints of mainstream ‘realities’ and suggests different deconstructive viewpoints to assist the investigations of transgenderism. Influenced by the concepts of Grounded Theory and Template Analysis, these alternative postmodern outlooks and hypotheses derive from the data gathered since 2003 concerning trans* identities.

In this chapter there are sceptical explorations of associating fetishism with transvestism. Alternative theoretical stances are presented relating to the actual experiences of trans* people. This chapter details examinations of negative impacts upon transvestic expressions and the hierarchy of different trans* identities. Furthermore, there are critical examinations of societal preoccupations with binary perceptions.

The online support for MTF trans* people is critically investigated in Chapter 7. It is suggested that an outcome of trans* people observing and participating in online discourses inspires them to socialise in ‘reality’, such as in the supportive aspects of the Village. These analysed Internet discussions include the developing political assertiveness of MTF transvestites/cross-dressers (transvestic women) and of the dismissals of connecting transvestism with fetishism.

Chapter 8 presents explorations of trans* supportive organisations in Manchester from 1975. There are investigations of the meetings by the Northern Concord and Manchester Concord groups who appear to assist social expressions of all trans* identities in the Village. The possible transphobic prejudices against these organisations are also examined.

In Chapter 9 the inter- and intra- connections of MTF transvestic and transsexual identities are analysed. This prominently includes the social connections of the varying trans* identities in the Village. There are examinations of both

qualitative and quantitative data suggesting that effective counselling/therapy for transvestic people is limited.

Chapter 10 presents investigations of the visual expressions of postmodern MTF trans* identities socialising in the Village with critical assessment of the definition of the 'gender dysphoria' term. The negative impacts of prior assessments of trans* women are also examined.

The annual Sparkle festivals are explored in Chapter 11, which therefore looks at the postmodern social and political collaborations between transvestic and transsexual women but also the assistance by LGB people during these celebrations, which include opposing transphobia. In addition, there are examinations of the actions of trans* women at the Manchester Pride festivals. This chapter details postmodern communications within participatory action research.

Chapter 12 presents critical investigations of transphobia inside and outside the Village. As part of this, official crime data supplied by the Greater Manchester Police (GMP) is examined.

In Chapter 13.1 there are examinations of politically motivated trans* supportive organisations and my relevant actions as a participatory action researcher. These supportive groups explicitly oppose transphobic prejudices. Chapter 13.2 portrays critical analyses of supportive actions for trans* people by representatives of the EHRC, Manchester City Council and the national Government in order to assist greater understanding of transgenderism and to resist transphobic discrimination.

In light of the above, the underlying intention of this thesis is to reconceive perspectives concerning transgenderism, particularly cross-dressing, and to assist in re-envisioning academic social scientific research strategies in this context.

REVIEWING LITERATURE **HISTORY or HIRSTORY**

This chapter includes investigations of MTF transgenderism in human history since the 7th Century BCE. These explorations will suggest that transphobic prejudices may be linked with misogyny and ‘compulsory’ heterosexuality, which have been religiously motivated. The investigations shall indicate that those from more privileged backgrounds were often able resist prejudices against their transgender identities. This review will also suggest that these prejudices have shaped legal and medical concepts regarding gender and sexuality uncertainties. It shall be demonstrated that these historical societal viewpoints have influenced contemporary support for trans* people in their resistance to transphobia.

Early Transgenderism

The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abominations unto the Lord thy God.

(Deuteronomy 22: 5)

This extract from the Holy Bible originated from writings that were created and shaped at latest around the 7th Century BCE although some scholars dispute such recent dating (Wenham, 1985; Merson, 2009). While such extracts do not refer to actual incidents of cross-dressing it does suggest that some form of transgenderism may have occurred around this time. There are similar instructions in other religious texts such as the prohibitive Islamic teachings about cross-dressing (Andaya, 2004) or the superficially accepting teachings within Hinduism (Bullough and Bullough, 1993).

Nonetheless, this latter example does not reflect the significant prejudices actioned against the Indian ‘hijra’ transgender individuals (Suthrell, 2004; Mezi *et al*, 2009).

Anthropologists have studied the “functions of magical transvestism and ritual inversion of sexual roles” (Davis, 1994:133). Cross-dressing practices were often for signifying changes in puberty; in some marriage customs; and in performing rituals to enhance harvests or countering natural disaster. However, Jewish divine mythical entities, such as the Lilim or Lilith, are connected both with feminine allure and assertiveness as well as with storms and even male child death, requiring the superstitious cross-dressing of the child and placing magical repelling amulets around the child’s neck to deceive and repel Lilith (Koltuv, 1986).

The Ancient Greek historian, Herodotus, writing in the 5th Century BCE, recorded that some Scythians cross-dressed in soothsaying rituals. He contested that they “had been cursed with the ‘feminine disease’” (Bullough and Bullough, 1993:24). Such Greek prejudices influenced Roman sexist viewpoints. In the 2nd Century CE The Roman physician/philosopher Aelius Galenus (often referred to as ‘Galan’) wrote that he regarded woman as an ‘inverted man’ or as an ‘imperfect man’ (Laqueur, 1990; Naphy, 2004).

Medieval Christian outlooks were influenced by Roman misogynist views. Early Christian literature often shows anti-female opinions (Millett and Wogan-Browne, 1990; Leyser, 1995). These views then enhanced prejudice against cross-dressing (Ackroyd, 1979). However, some FTM cross-dressers who dressed as monks and were known as ‘holy transvestites’, sometimes referred to as ‘virgin transvestites’ and some even became regarded as saints. They were viewed as being ‘sexless’, effectively ‘rising’ above their potentially ‘sinful’ feminine personae (Jacobus and Tracy, 2003).

There were records of MTF cross-dressers during that time including Ulrich von Lichtenstein, a European knight living in the 1200s (Schaus, 2006) who wrote a poem, entitled *Frauendienst* ('*The Service of Ladies*'). It is uncertain if this autobiographical writing is completely factual. It tells of several unusual undertakings in the process of his jousting service for high-ranking women, including jousting cross-dressed as "Lady Venus" (565) much to the praise of the ladies as well as his contemporaries. Perhaps his elevated status countered sexist restrictions of that time.

Nonetheless, religious sexism and resulting legal prejudices continued beyond medieval times:

The Renaissance period in Europe, which followed the Middle Ages, carried many of the vestiges of Medieval ideologies. With regard to sex, the idea that men were superior beings to women continued. With this rationale the woman who strives to be a man is considered to be aspiring for greater intelligence and social superiority, whilst the man who prefers to be a woman rejects intelligence and the social privileges of masculinity. Thus, the authorities were more likely to punish a man for attempting to change his gender than a woman who acted like a man.

(Perkins, 1995)

Even so, women were punished for transgenderism. In Geneva, in the 16th Century, a woman, Renée du Nostet, was apprehended for cross-dressing and using false (female) aliases. In her disguise she had visited several men but denied having sexual relations with them. Nevertheless, she "was flogged and banished from the city on pain of death" (Naphy, 2004:26). However, Naphy cites Numo de Guzman who, in 1530, wrote about a battle in South America and that

the very last soldier to surrender 'fought most courageously, was a man in the [clothes] of a woman, [who] confessed that from a child he had gotten his living by that filthiness. For which I caused him to be burned.'

(112-3)

Perhaps the severity of this punishment is a reflection of the greater disapproval of MTF transgenderism than visa versa.

King Henri III of France (1551-1589) was apparently bisexual and a frequent cross-dresser (Davis, 1994; Johansson, 1990). The brother of King Louis XIV, Philippe de France, Duc d'Orléans was also a bisexual cross-dresser (Oresko, 1989). Abbé de Choisy (1644-1724) was close to members of the French royal family and in his autobiography, he expresses his opinions about his cross-dressing and his heterosexuality (de Choisy, 1973). He details repeated attempts to give up his transvestic habit and how, when being cross-dressed, he experienced welcome feelings of being attractive and desired. According to de Choisy, a number of women found a relationship with him to be attractive because of this alleged feminine aspect within his masculine identity.

Apparently, in the 1600s to the 1700s, there were incidents where “Political rebels and the impoverished lower classes have frequently cross-dressed for the purposes of riot or demonstration” (Ackroyd, 1979). Their motives for choosing cross-dressing as a tactic for demonstration is unclear but as they were protesting against specific group injustices and not against society as a whole, their cross-dressing was perhaps not about rebelling against misogynistic attitudes. Such cross-dressing may have been an act of disguise protecting the identities of the protesters.

The Age of Enlightenment

The period from around the mid 17th Century, through to approximately the early 19th Century, is referred to as the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ (or ‘Age of Reason’) and marked a change in how men and women regarded themselves and each other (Lloyd, 1989). Nonetheless, misogynistically shaped perceptions against cross-dressing continued.

This misogyny was indicated in *The Secret History of Clubs* (Ward, 1709, cited in Naphy, 2004), discussing the MTF cross-dressed ‘Mollies’ who were those who socialised in ‘Molly Clubs’ (Connell, 2005). Ward describes them as

a step backwards in the developmental chain of human existence. That is, men must at all cost avoid ‘devolving’ into the failed female gender (or behaviour) or sex (by mutilation).

(Naphy, 2004:220)

Despite the well-known existence of the Molly Clubs, they were often immune from legal prohibitions perhaps due to the attendance of aristocrats in these clubs.

Chevalier d’Eon de Beaumont⁹ undertook espionage tasks for the French king in the mid 1700s, going repeatedly to Russia and repeatedly cross-dressed but was accepted for it (Ekins and King, 1996). The French ambassador to Russia at this time, Marquis de l’Hôpital, apparently warmly called d’Eon by the feminine name (s)he used when cross dressed. D’Eon seemed to enjoy confusing those interested in verifying hir¹⁰ true sex to the extent that betting took place regarding the ‘truth’ as whether d’Eon was a man or a woman. However, misogynistic attitudes ironically

⁹ This person’s name gave rise to an alternative term for cross-dressing known as ‘eonism’ (Ekins and King, 1996:81), as well as the identity for the British organisation supporting trans* people called the Beaumont Society.

¹⁰ ‘Hir’ is a gender-neutral combination of ‘his’ and ‘her’.

allowed him to be forgiven for certain misdeeds when the succeeding king, Louis XVI, pardoned d'Eon by his admission that (s)he was actually a woman and, consequently, a victim to 'her' feminine weakness. (S)he was instructed never to 'impersonate' a man again as a condition of receiving a pension. D'Eon consistently portrayed himself as a woman from this point, despite complaining, in "letters of feeling ... constrained by petticoats ... [and not being] 'a lion in the army'" (Garber, 1992:264). (S)he then moved to England and began a career as a fencer in order to avoid financial ruin. After his death, a surgeon inspected his body and declared that d'Eon was a man.

Significant changes in perceptions of sexual identity during this period also shaped definitions of sexuality including men proving their masculinity by sexual promiscuity. However, being the 'sodomite', which is the 'active' sexual position, was considerably less 'sinful' (Bullough and Bullough, 1993) and so, until the mid 1700s, such demonstration of 'maleness' could involve either penetrating women or 'passive' men. The paederastic interaction with teenage boys who cross-dressed in theatrical performances was also apparently tolerated. This assisted societal delusions that MTF cross-dressers were 'passive' homosexuals. Those who followed such 'indifferent' and 'active' sexual activities were sometimes known as libertines or rakes. Once again they were men from privileged classes.

Growing societal paranoia about 'true (heterosexual) masculinity' was exhibited by the changes in clothing styles from the 1700s, removing any suspicion of cross-dressing and homosexuality. Male clothing became plainer and more 'practical' whereas, contrastingly, feminine clothing became highly decorative, their appearance being mainly for display (Peacock, 1986). This has been referred to as the 'Great Masculine Renunciation' (ccybwht, 2002). In this amplified visual separation of

masculinity and femininity, women became increasingly regarded as the 'Others' and, as such, further objectified (McElvaine, 2001).

It could be viewed that, during and after this time, many men further developed a complex of contradictory insecurities within male dominated - patriarchal - societies (O'Reilly, 2010). These uncertainties concern the patriarchal insistence of women's inferiority to men (McElvaine, 2001); the fear of men not being feminine (Ekins, 1997); the resultant emphasis of 'compulsory' heterosexuality (Rich, 1996 [1980]); and the consequential on-going re-design of gender specific clothing and tasks (Peacock, 1986).

As a result, women would repel these men but, due to heteronormativity, the female body would be increasingly eroticised. Attempting to diffuse this contradiction, the threat of femininity could be diminished by fetishising parts of the female anatomy (such as a woman's breasts, posterior or legs) without acknowledging them as merely aspects of a human being.

This dismantling of the imagined female threat could include fetishising some feminine apparel, such as lingerie. However, this fetishisation, divorced from the reality of the female identity, could be coupled with rebelling against societies' repressive concerns about 'true' masculine appearances. Victorian magazines, such as *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* and *English Mechanic*, which were apparently popular in the late 19th Century, both featured several articles concerning corsetry and generated a great male (and female) interest (Farrer, 1987). Many of these readers sent in letters expressing their pleasure about wearing such garments as well as other items of female clothing such as shoes. The influx of letters from readers possibly provided evidence of some fetishistic transvestism during that period (Farrer, 1995). The *English Mechanic* magazine "reported that there were at least forty corsetieres in

London specialising in a male clientele” (Bullough and Bullough, 1993:187). Farrer has written extensively covering cross-dressing from Victorian times through to the early 1930s (1987; 1992; 1997; 2000). His publications suggest that cross-dressing during the periods he reviews were quite common.

He details that the papers he analyses had a large number of incoming letters male cross-dressers to the magazines, who detailed the attractions and pleasures of cross-dressing, and he reproduces numerous such letters in his texts. Many of the transvestites are devoted to mothers, sisters or other female family members who either actively assist these correspondents in their transvestic desire or even ‘force’ them to cross-dress, often to their ‘initial protestations’. Farrer’s view is that many of the submitted letters are factual. If the letters’ extracts included in his article are typical of the many letters he has read from this period then the perception of male cross-dressers by non-cross-dressing women may have been generally less disapproving than that of non-cross-dressing men. Some writers indicate that they are married and their wives are accepting of their transvestism.

Nonetheless, despite the numerous heterosexual examples given in the publications that Farrer details, there were several incidents from the 19th Century that continued connecting cross-dressing and homosexuality. These were sometimes autobiographical, often sensational and frequently resulted in arrests. For example, in 1870, a newspaper sensationally reported the arrest of two cross-dressers whilst reporting the increasing frequency of hairdressing shops furtively assisting men in female impersonation in London (Ackroyd, 1979; Bullough and Bullough, 1993). The two individuals concerned lived with a Lord Arthur Clinton. A member of his staff mistakenly assumed that one of them was his wife. However, apparently, the reports

of many of these incidents do not explicitly connect the cross-dressing with homosexuality but, instead, concern the ‘novelty’ of their gender confusion.

Contemporary Transgenderism

Perhaps the most publicly famous trans* person from the 1930s onward is Quentin Crisp. His autobiographies (1968, 1981, 1996) extensively detail his cross-dressing and his gay identity. His first public display of his feminine persona was apparently in 1931. The renowned film of his first book, *The Naked Civil Servant* (Gold, 1975), visually displays his interactions with other similarly femininely dressed male people in a café called The Black Cat. His and their sexualities were explicitly described as homosexual but their visual presentations invite modern conceptions of transgenderism. In the play of Crisp’s life entitled *Resident Alien* (Fountain and Crisp, 1999), Crisp describes that he conversed with a person who suggested that he was not actually gay but was ““trans” [pause] “something”” (ibid).

From the 1940s there have been studies and texts undertaken by trans* people in the process of redefining transgenderism. “Louise Lawrence, a biological male ... began living full time as a woman in 1942” (Stryker, 2008:44) and had gathered international connections with other trans* people. Her connections assisted medical researchers in their development of comprehending transgenderism, as several were uncertain about the legal ramifications of performing transsexual surgery.

Lawrence met the American cross-dresser, Virginia Prince, who was notable in the development of transvestite networks. The assumption that transvestism and homosexuality are linked irritated Prince (Boyd, 2003; Valentine, 2007). In the 1930s, she began regularly cross-dressing and initially found public outings while

cross-dressed erotic. She seemingly went through a process of coming to terms with her trans* identity.

Another factor in her desired acceptance of cross-dressing happened in December 1952 with the sensational public announcements concerning the sex change of Christine Jorgensen (Feinbloom, 1976; Stryker, 2008). Popular press were inconsistent in their terminology, despite attempts to make their reporting more legitimate by applying medical expressions. Their inconsistency reflected the medical ‘experts’ confused descriptions of transsexualism and transvestism. In the 1950s, the term ‘transvestite’ seemingly covered a broader range of transgenderism than currently. Medical experts’ inability to ‘cure’ transsexualism apparently fuelled the media insecurity about masculinity and femininity, especially as they publicised that Christine Jorgensen had been a US soldier before her transition.

Virginia Prince became influential amongst transvestites across America as:

Prior to the 1960s, there was little organizing among cross-dressers; many doctors even urged the cross-dressers who came to them to hide their transvestism and avoid contact with other cross-dressers.

(glbtq_Inc, 2007b:1)

In 1960, Prince set up *Chevalier Publications*, which produced magazines, notably *Transvestia*, and cross-dressing fantasy literature. She also created the cross-dresser support and social group “Full Personality Expression (FPE or Phi Pi Epsilon)” (Zagria, 2009:1) in 1961. This group refused admittance to homosexuals or transsexual people. She narrowed the definition of ‘transvestite’ to a heterosexual MTF cross-dresser. Around the same time the sexologist Benjamin promoted of the concept of the ‘transsexual’ (Stryker, 2008). Resultantly, their definitions became formally separated from homosexuality.

Prince created separate definitions for a 'transvestite', who apparently cross-dressed for sexual arousal, and a 'cross-dresser', who merely wished to "express their feminine gender identity" (Boyd, 2003:131). She asserted that the stereotypes of male character were so constrained that men needed to cross-dress. Women, she contended, were freer in clothing choice and emotional expressions.

In 1964 and 1966 Prince sent out questionnaires concerning cross-dressing matters to subscribers to her magazine. In addition, her influence in the creation of cross-dresser social clubs allowed medical researchers to gather information different from those who had initially sought psychiatric help (Bullough and Bullough, 1993). After the public divorce from her second wife in 1964, Prince began living cross-dressed full-time and although, as a consequence, she could be regarded as a non-operative transsexual, she refused to identify as such, preferring the identification as a 'transgenderist'.

Prince's dominance in the growing cross-dressing communities allowed her to influence the description of cross-dressing by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) in their *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual 3rd Ed. Revised* (DSM-III-R). After 1973, the APA no longer saw homosexuality as a mental illness but, despite Prince's influences, cross-dressing and transsexualism phenomena still were. She helped redefine the definitions within the APA but no mention is made if she opposed the definition of cross-dressing as a mental illness. The classifications of DSM-III-R are inconsistent, suggesting that mental illness was only particular to male heterosexual transvestites/cross-dressers. Female and/or homosexual male cross-dressers/transvestites were exempt from their concern. Female transvestites were not included as it is assumed that cross-dressing does not arouse them.

From the 1970s, transvestite/crosser-dresser groups developed that embraced different philosophies. However,

Prince herself took the leading role in driving wedges between transvestite, transsexual, gay and lesbian, and feminist communities, and she did not envision an inclusive, expansive, progressive, and multifaceted transgender movement.

(Stryker, 2008:55/57)

Several international cross-dresser support groups, including the present-day Beaumont Society, apparently derived from 'Phi Pi Epsilon' (Alice_L100, 2010). The members of the Beaumont Society have widened their initial cross-dresser origins to include support for transsexual people (Beaumont-Society, 2011b). However, the investigations within this thesis will suggest that their concepts of transgenderism, while informative, may be regarded as conservative in comparison to the contemporary trans* support organisations in Manchester's Gay Village (Bland, 2004; Beaumont-Society, 2011b).

Conclusion

The investigations within this chapter have suggested the repeated presence of transgenderism within human societies during nearly 3000 years. These examinations have implied that patriarchal encouragements of misogynistic viewpoints and 'compulsory' heterosexuality have influenced the prejudices against transgender and homosexual people. Analyses have also indicated that, from at least the 1700s, there have been supportive, counter normative, clubs that have enabled transgender and homosexual people to socially interact within these restricted venues.

Investigations have uncovered the popularity amongst transgender people of certain magazines, which were not explicitly aimed at transgenderism. However, the magazine, *Transvestia*, created by the transgenderist, Virginia Prince, was overtly for heterosexual cross-dressers. Investigations have suggested that she enabled the international formation of cross-dresser support groups and influenced investigative medical specialists, reflecting societies' compulsory heterosexuality. She may also have popularised the term 'transgender'. However, organisations directly influenced by her actions resist acknowledging the expressions of present-day transgenderism.

The next chapter will investigate historical studies of transgenderism by medical, sociological and academic researchers. This chapter will also present critical examinations of PhD/DPhil theses concerning trans* identities.

**REVIEWING LITERATURE
MEDICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL
AND ACADEMIC ANALYSES**

Sometimes I just like pretty shoes and pretty blouses, but because I have a penis we have to use big words to describe it.

(Boyd, 2003:xv)

This chapter continues the analysis of the historical expressions of transgenderism. Reinterpreting a quote cited in Whittle (1995), within this chapter there are “struggles with the relationship between those who claim to know the truth and those about whom they claim to know it” (Appendix B).¹¹

Reviews will be undertaken of the male-controlled medical analyses of transgenderism, prominently transvestism, from the late 19th Century, which includes the failure to identify a ‘cure’ for this phenomenon. Investigations of transgenderism by social scientists will be examined with awareness of the proportions of the various transgender identities in reality. Additionally, there are explorations of the controversial issues resulting from the transphobic criticisms by the feminist author Raymond (1979) and the inspirational response to them by the trans feminist scholar Stone (1991). Suggestions will be made that these American texts may have motivated UK academic examinations of trans* issues.

UK PhD/DPhil studies concerning transgenderism written from 1980 will be critically analysed. There shall be investigations of the links of these varied analyses with awareness of the concerns expressed by Namaste (2000), regarding research of transgenderism being divorced the realities of trans* people’s lives. Within this, there

¹¹ This quote is apparently taken from Worrall (1990).

will be explorations of the suggested empathic viewpoints of the trans* researchers who have investigated transgenderism.

Medical Analyses of Transgenderism

From the mid 1600s the country's state control increased while church influences began to decrease (Lloyd, 1989). Resultantly, deviations from 'normal' sexual behaviour increasingly became the focus of legal judgements rather than religious. The judiciary were aware of insufficient descriptions of these 'deviations' and so, by the 1900s, they gained increasing interest from the medical establishments (Foucault, 1979; Bullough and Bullough, 1993). However, the medical specialists were also influenced by the religiously shaped misogynistic attitudes with resultant prejudices against gender 'deviations'. Consequently, 'cross-dressing' became regarded as an illness to be treated and cured (Woodhouse, 1989). These medical investigations also perhaps reflect the sciences' preoccupations with labelling and cataloguing phenomena, which can be interpreted as a Foucauldian demonstration of power. Thus, such scientists were (and are) ironically demonstrating a psychiatrically defined, but un-self-diagnosed, scopophilic desire to categorise and control human pleasures (Foucault, 1977).

The Psychoanalyses of Cross-dressing

The psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud did not explicitly write about cross-dressing (Ackroyd, 1979). However, his theories of 'castration anxiety' and 'oedipal conflict' influenced those who did openly study transgenderism (Hirschfield and Haire, 1966;

Ellis, 1928; Fenichel, 1930; Stekel and Parker, 1930). The former hypothesis suggests that, when a male child, by some means, sees his mother's genitalia and realises she does not have a penis. He is then afraid that he too would lose his penis (Freud, 1919; Mulvey, 1975). From this, he supposedly develops such sexual 'abnormalities' as transvestism, where the male cross-dresser becomes his imagined 'phallic woman' in the endeavour to conquer his castration fears (Fenichel, 1930). In the latter theory, the male child is attracted to his mother, in competition with his father, and the child's failure to resolve this attraction is exhibited through cross-dressing (Freud, 1921).

Hirschfield rejected theories that all cross-dressers were homosexual (Hirschfield and Haire, 1966). He was an open homosexual himself and also a cross-dresser (Devilliers, 2008:1). However, his alternative hypotheses were ignored by many within psychiatry, perhaps because he did not cite Freudian theories as well as 'suffering' from homosexuality (King, 1996). He disagreed with the notion of binary gender identity, arguing that many individuals were neither purely masculine nor feminine. He contended people could divert from the two 'normal' sexual identities via:

- 1) Primary sexual characteristics (genitalia)
- 2) Secondary sexual characteristics (e.g.: breasts or facial hair)
- 3) Sexuality (e.g.: homosexuality, heterosexuality or bisexuality)
- 4) Gender identity uncertainty (e.g.: cross-dressing)

Following the scientific tendency to try to identify and classify phenomena, he created the expression 'transvestism' but disagreed with the diagnosis of transvestites as fetishists. Ellis (1928), also a significant sexologist in the 20th Century, agreed with Hirschfield's conclusions but used different expressions, feeling that the term

‘transvestism’ focussed too much on the clothing. He nominated the word ‘eonism’ to describe cross-dressers. However, the preferred medicalised label for cross-dressers remained as ‘transvestites’.

Stekel, a former follower of Freud, used the term ‘paraphilia’, which concerns sexual attractions to ‘deviancy’ (Bullough and Bullough, 1993). Together with Guthrell, he applied this term to ‘transvestism’. Disagreeing with Hirschfield, he expressed that dormant homosexuality was an influence in transvestism and protestations of this by the cross-dressers under examination were affirmations, in his view, of suppressed homosexual feelings (King, 1996). However, Rosario (2002) details the viewpoints of Barahal (1953) who apparently disagrees with Stekel and Guthrell and describes the existence of the ‘homosexual transvestite’.

Woodhouse, (1989) discusses Fenichel (1954), an adherent to Freud’s hypotheses, who applied the ‘castration anxiety’ theory to transvestites. He agreed with Hirschfield for the separate classification of ‘transvestism’ and ‘homosexuality’ but defined a transvestite as a ‘pervert’ rather than as a ‘neurotic’, postulating that by being “a phallic woman ... he appeals to both parents for love” (Woodhouse, 1989:68). According to Fenichel, the transvestite attempts to be both a substitute for his mother, vying for the father’s affection while refuting that his desire for his mother endangers his genitalia or that he competes with a sister for similar affection from his mother. Nonetheless, this theory reiterates the debatable suggestion that transvestism is an expression of repressed homosexual feelings.

Hirschfield had initially distinguished between transvestites and, what he called ‘asexual transvestites’ (Boyd, 2003:129), which some categorised as ‘genuine transvestism’ (Hamburger *et al.*, 1953; Armstrong, 1958, in Lewis, 2011; King, 1996). However, Benjamin (1954) named them ‘transsexuals’. He noted that

these transsexuals were not influenced by sexual feelings in their cross-dressing compulsion. This contentiously suggests that all transvestites can be identified as fetishists. Additionally, the link of transvestism with homosexuality still remained a powerful delusion, including the transvestite's alleged unresolved 'oedipal conflict' and that cross-dressing is a symptom of denied homosexual feelings in, for example, *A Textbook of Psychosexual Disorders* (Allen, 1969).

By the 1970s Benjamin's definition of transsexualism became termed as 'primary' and 'secondary' transsexualism (Person and Ovesey, 1974). Fisk (1973) allegedly first used the phrase 'gender dysphoria', which seems to be shaped by binary preoccupations. Consequently, perhaps this dualistic gender assumption appears to be predominantly applied to transsexualism rather than the intermittent gender discomfort within transvestism (Laub and Fisk, 1974). Nevertheless, it came to include all psychiatrically regarded gender non-conformity by Brierley (1979) who advised psychiatrists and psychologists to view transvestites/cross-dressers as gender dysphoric.

Stoller (1974), an adherent of Freudian analyses, states that in childhood, before the 'oedipal stage' of a male child's development, the child has to divorce his connection with his mother in order to embrace masculinity. If this separation is incomplete then transvestism will occur. In Stoller (1979), transvestism is expressed as a fetish and as an attempt to amalgamate with his mother. The transvestite's physical sexual arousal emphasises his (needed) separation from his mother while remaining connected to her through wearing the feminine clothing. Stoller appears neither to separate gender dysphoria from sexual awareness nor to contemplate how they can inter-relate. Stoller's theory may not involve a castration fear but rather that transvestism becomes an expression (amongst other different possible expressions) for

longing for the lost symbiotic relationship with the mother. Nonetheless, Stoller seems not to investigate any social changes, which may strongly influence transvestism.

Person and Ovesey (1978) suggest a focus on the progression of the ego and contentiously express that transvestism is an expression of some sexual neurosis, suggesting that it and other forms of gender dysphoria derive from an unsettled disconnection from the mother. However, Steiner and Sanders (1985) admit little is known about transvestism, while, they assert, from the mid 1970s, more studies concerning transsexualism have been made. Steiner and Sanders declare that they concentrate upon heterosexual cross-dressers and “homosexual transsexuals” (261) who, they contend, have Gender Reconstruction Surgery (GRS) in order to appeal to “‘heterosexual’ male partners” (262). They quote many data figures about attempted suicides and sadomasochism, several of which concern transsexual people. Yet their sample sizes are small (18 transvestites and 31 transsexuals) so their (statistical) results are not compelling.

Nonetheless, international contemporary viewpoints about transvestism seem to be derived from these theories. For instance, the Armenian Medical Network (ArmMed_Media & Roger, 2007) describe that ‘transvestism’ is still written as a ‘disease’, and write, “there has been little nosological evolution in the past three versions of the American Psychiatric Association’s ‘Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders’” (1). Seemingly, the diagnosis of cross-dressing was focussed more clearly upon ‘transvestic fetishism’. The fourth edition of this manual, DSM-IV, adds the query about whether the ‘patient’ is gender dysphoric. The Armenian Medical Network express that their knowledge of transvestism derives from:

- Psychoanalytic ‘treatment’ of small numbers of transgender patients from the mid 1960s to mid 1980s (such as Allen, 1969; Stoller, 1985).
- Interviews of cross-dressing men in transvestite clubs (such as Buhrich and Beaumont, 1981; Docter, 1988).
- Mailed survey data from ‘in the closet’ transvestites using data from late 1960s to late 1990s (Prince and Bentler, 1972; Brooks and Brown, 1994; Docter and Prince, 1997).

There are uncertainties about the accuracy of this medical website detailing transvestic ‘realities’. However, it does present some interesting data, including the statement:

The fact that transvestism is ... more widespread than commonly believed, is a more impressive testimonial for man’s dissatisfaction with maleness and his wish to be a female. (Greenson 1968, p. 371)

(ArmMed_Media & Roger, 2007;1)

Nevertheless, the previous psychological analyses that the Armenian Medical Network detail, include assessments that this ‘dissatisfaction’ derives from ‘faulty’ upbringing.

Psychological Views of Nurture Influencing Transvestism

From the 1950s, particularly after the 1952 publicity concerning transsexual woman, Christine Jorgensen, transsexualism overshadowed transvestism within the medical establishment. Indeed, from the 1960s, the description of transsexualism became solidified in that transsexuals wanted sex reassignment, whereas “transvestites ... merely cross-dressed” (Ekins and King, 1996:93). However, Caudwell, a researcher of transgenderism in the late 1940s and early 1950s, was a critic of this view. He

contentiously expressed that transsexuals were mentally disturbed but that transvestites, instead, were a “harmless pastime of a group of loveable eccentrics” (86).

Nevertheless, beyond the limited Freudian theories, psychiatrists and psychologists created alternative ideas to try to explain transvestism's origins, but still had the opinion that transvestites were mentally disturbed. Lukianovicz (1959) refers to childhood experiences, which could give rise to transvestism (Bullough and Bullough, 1993; Garzone and Catenaccio, 2009):

- 1) Parental rejection – such as largely or completely absent father leading to strong identification with the mother or a female figure.
- 2) Parent(s) or female siblings cross-dressing the child.
- 3) Parents preferring another familial child of the opposite sex – the transvestite child attempts to copy the appearance of the preferred child.
- 4) Parents exchange positions – a dominant, aggressive mother and/or weak, passive father.

Absent fathers/male role models were apparently factors expressed by the psychiatrists Brown (1961), Beigel and Feldman (1963) and Stoller (1971). Randal (1975) refers to influences of “stern, rigid fathers; absent, dead or weak fathers; overprotective mothers, and broken homes” (Woodhouse, 1989:66).¹² Storr (1964) mentions, misogynistically, excessive maternal influences that cause transvestism (69). Such ‘errors’ in upbringing were also applied to transsexual individuals (Stinson, 1972; Derogatis *et al.*, 1978; Uddenberg *et al.*, 1979)

¹² Woodhouse wonders that, if he views any of these factors as possibly influential, why then do not all males, as a result, exhibit some form of transvestism.

Bullough and Bullough (1993) reject the 'absent fathers' factor and suggestions that transvestites developed because they were compelled to cross-dress by parents. Nonetheless, they do quote researches of transvestites that show 45% of 504 respondents (Prince and Bentler, 1972) and 66% of 35 respondents (Buhrich and McConaghy, 1977) considered their mothers to be strong (or stronger than their fathers). Rudd (1999) also mentions this former survey, which found that only 5% of the 504 cross-dressers detailed that their mother would have preferred a girl or that the parent thought of them as a girl. She did not find indications of absent fathers either.

Despite these misgivings, several psychoanalysts still viewed transvestites as psychologically gender disturbed and scored them using scales of 'femininity' and 'heterosexuality'. Bullough and Bullough (1993) detail seven such studies conducted from 1970 to 1988. These studies make various comparisons with transvestites, transsexual people, homosexual men, psychologically disturbed people and female hospital staff.

All these tests suggest gender stereotyping and were possibly affected by misogyny. One 1988 examination discusses "the feminine orientation of transvestites" (297). The age of these examinations and the references they used also casts doubt upon their relevance to present-day transgenderism. Additionally, the small sizes of the samples were not statistically convincing either. The fact that those in several of the test groups had wanted psychiatric assistance as opposed to choosing groups comprising individuals who did not wish psychotherapy also generates uncertainty about their relations to understanding the realities of trans* lives.

Biological Determinism of Transgenderism

Opinions that biological factors triggered cross-dressing were seemingly made before the popularisation of psychoanalysis. Krafft-Ebing (1899) wrote that the origin of these ‘perversions’ (or ‘inversions’) lay in hereditary factors and in the nervous system although he remained unclear as to how faults within the nervous system gave rise to these ‘perversions’. The failure to definitively identify the causes of these ‘inversions’ apparently disabled analyses of biological determinism (Ellis, 1928; Prosser, 1998). However, after the rise of psychiatric analyses, biological determinisms were still occasionally made.

Bullough and Bullough (1993) suggest that this belief had few followers within the psychiatric field until after World War II. Benjamin (1953) “an endocrinologist and specialist in gender disorders” (Woodhouse, 1989:61) proposed a biological cause, suggesting that transvestism could be due to defects in the central nervous system and advocated hormonal treatment. Woodhouse also mentions that he advocated open-minded teaching and treatment for society itself. He maintained this opinion in the late 1960s, stressing these endocrinological effects upon the unborn child affecting its gender role later in life.

Armstrong (1958) suggests genetic defects lead to transvestism. However, according to Woodhouse (1989), his writings suggest manipulating data to support predetermined hypotheses. De Savitsch (1958) proposes a chromosomal malfunction leading to transvestism but called for lenience. None of the examined writings seemingly mention the influence upon the medical community of the discovery of ‘Deoxyribonucleic acid’ (DNA), published in 1953 (Nobelprize.org, 21st Jul. 2012).

Yet, it would appear that it inspired new hypotheses arising shortly after that time, which attempted to give genetic explanations for transgenderism.

Buhrich and McConaghy (1977) assert “that the causes of transvestism must be constitutional rather than environmental because it seems to be exclusively confined to men” (Woodhouse, 1989:61). Woodhouse is dubious about this deduction as FTM transvestism is recognised (Ekins, 1997; Suthrell, 2004).

Diamond (3rd Dec. 2009 [1977]) and Hyde (1986) seem to allege in-born associations of masculinity with aggressiveness and femininity with passivity. Bullough and Bullough (1993) detail Diamond’s opposition to the claims by the psychologist Dr. Money concerning the purported success, from 1966, of rearing a penis damaged boy as a girl (Diamond, 1982). Prof. Diamond and Prof. Kipnis were awarded the ‘GIRES Research Prize, 1999’¹³ for their disagreements with Money’s claimed success and for their work supporting intersexual people (GIRES, 1999).

Nonetheless, both Diamond (3rd Dec. 2009 [1977]) and Hyde (20th Oct. 2005) express that the social indoctrination of children regarding gender stereotypes cannot be ignored. Additionally, Hyde expresses, “Media depictions of men and women as fundamentally ‘different’ appear to perpetuate misconceptions - despite the lack of evidence. The resulting ‘urban legends’ of gender difference can affect men and women at work and at home, as parents and as partners” (1). She expresses concerns that the alleged gender differences are expressed to justify misogynistic prejudices. Giddens and Birdsall (2001) and Burke (1996) also claim that biological assumptions are debatable and attest that the common prevalence of these gender roles in most societies does not rule out social effects. As previously suggested, such prejudices can have negative impacts upon trans* people.

¹³ GIRES is the ‘Gender Identity Research and Education Society’.

After their apparent defence of in-born masculine aggressiveness and feminine passivity, Bullough and Bullough (1993) give no link or explanation before describing the social construction of gender behaviour. They express disapproval of society's continuation "to socialize boys to be more aggressive, thus allowing them to continue to control women" (322). They combine their outlined speculations into 'The Theory of Multivariant Causality for Transvestism, Transsexualism, and Homosexuality' (326) in which they detail a mix of a genetic predilection and/or a pre-birth hormonal reaction that creates a permanent alteration in neural structure and social effects that assist the formation of the previous two conditions. It seems Bullough and Bullough allege that all forms of gender and sexuality divergences derive from combinations of 'faulty' biological and social formation.

Rudd (1999) details the 'genetic push theory' where the embryo, at the sixth week following fertilisation, experiences a protein instigator that begins the masculinisation of the developing child. The theory is that, in a cross-dresser, this "push" is deficient and, as a result, this individual, when born, is masculine in appearance but feminine emotionally. Social defining of masculinities and femininities then initiate confusion in the individual's mind, regarding personal gender identity, and this uncertainty is then expressed as transvestism. However, Rudd also emphatically writes, "Crossdressing is a social phenomenon and NOT a psychological or medical problem" (52) but, later in her text, she admits that transvestites are "born with some feminine qualities" (104).

Boyd (2003) describes research on the brain's hypothalamus, which suggests that parts of it influence gender characteristics. Prenatal hormone release within a male embryo sets the structure of the 'Central Nervous System' as masculine, altering them from feminine forms. If this masculinisation is not effective, the child will have

a masculine appearance but a feminine gender character. Several of these hypotheses regarding in-born gender divergences appear to reflect proposed present theories about the origins of transsexualism but also could be applied to all trans* identities (GIREs, 2012a).

Woodhouse (1989) is critical of medical examinations of transvestism, describing that it “is not a medical condition in the sense of it being an illness amenable to diagnosis and cure” (59). She discusses Brierley (1979) who “suggests, a more rewarding enterprise would be to examine social responses to transvestism rather than to continue the fruitless search for causes” (76). Consequently, investigations of transvestism within the social sciences developed.

Analyses of Transvestism within Social Science Viewpoints

However, several sociological texts do not discuss transvestism, preferring to analyse transsexual identities (Giddens and Birdsall, 2001). Some (inadvertently) associate cross-dressing with homosexuality (Whittle, 1994; Alsop *et al.*, 2002). The latter situation reflects present and historical misconceptions, which has the resulting impact that many transvestites are keen to emphasise their heterosexual identity (Buhrich, 1976; Stryker, 2008).

Woodhouse (1989) discusses Buckner (1970) and his critical research on transvestism in America. He assesses transvestites using psychological views, which appear contradictory. Buckner’s argument is “that transvestism protects the individual from the social reality of interpersonal relations by replacing it with the ‘synthetic reality’” (Woodhouse, 1989:71). Apparently, within this false actuality, the transvestite can gain sexual pleasure. However, Bullough and Bullough (1993) say

Buckner contradictorily describes transvestites as “passive, with a low libido” (332). They also recount he asserts that transvestites have a suppressed desire to have a homosexual encounter. However, there is no detailing about why transvestites may have this desire or if that is a common aspect of transvestic development. Woodhouse also expresses concerns about Buckner’s omission to explore why men rather than women seem to adopt this fantasy, rejecting the assumption that the FTM transvestite who cross-dresses for sexual satisfaction is a rare phenomenon. Indeed, Bullough and Bullough cite research that shows the existence of such FTM transvestites.

Buhrich (1996 [1976]) writes of an Australian club for heterosexual transvestites. It seems that Virginia Prince’s homophobic opinions about transvestism influenced the founding of several such Australian transvestite clubs. In Buhrich’s review, he assesses the appearances of some of the members of the club he reviews. He details their clothing and make-up without attempts to explain the transvestites’ motivations for choosing their appearances. He does mention that several transvestites attending this club emphasise that their cross-dressing is not about “fetishistic arousal but that it makes them feel natural and relaxed” (65).

This view is apparently similar to that of Jane Ellen who is the chair of Tri-Ess, which is an American nationwide “family-oriented support group for heterosexual crossdressers” (Bloom, 2002:70). The cross-dressers that Bloom reviews are often conservative in their transvestic appearance, observing that many of the wives of these people are similarly dressed as “lots of middle-aged women not much interested in changing fashions” (66). She extensively details how many cross-dressers she sees, or reads of in transvestite magazines, are poorly attired and unconvincing as women. Reviewers differ as to the degree of cross-dressing. Buhrich asserts that the transvestite does not want outfits that are merely reminiscent of femininity but would

prefer to be completely femininely dressed. Bloom, however, gives examples, which contradict this.

The cultural theorist, Garber (1992), refers to the psychoanalyst Lacan, suggesting that the transvestite is reflecting the Lacanian theory of the 'phallus', which is moving away from Freud's literal terminology of 'penis envy' towards the unconscious recognition of power and re-presentation. Her ideas are generally similar to those by Stoller in that the transvestite wishes to safeguard the mother's 'phallus' and this 'desire' leads to fetishising the transvestite's cross-dressing. Ekins (1997) quotes a review of her text in the *International TV Repartee* magazine, which critically posits that Garber has not actually met transgender people. However the analyses of transvestic identities by Ekins are also classified in a format that is reminiscent of psychoanalytic studies.

This assessment of transvestism as a fetish is a repeated contention. Brierley (1979) and Bullough and Bullough (1993) state that most transvestites are sexually aroused by cross-dressing and that older transvestites do not experience erotic feelings but instead experience a reprieve from performing stereotypical masculine gender roles. Nonetheless, Woodhouse argues that, "transvestism goes beyond fetishism and incorporates gender and sexual needs" (1989:21). Furthermore, Boyd, who has had numerous interactions with cross-dressers, their partners, family and friends, is critical of the use of 'fetishism', writing

the popular mythology is still that crossdressing is only a fetish. It is not only a fetish. Sometimes it is not *even* a fetish, as many crossdressers are not even aroused by their crossdressing.

(2003:142)

Moreover, allegations concerning the fetishistic nature of transvestism do not include examinations of several studies concerning women, which investigate that

they also can be sexually stimulated by certain types of feminine clothing (Bloom, 2002; Boyd, 2003 and 2007). Indeed, it appears that the cross-dressers which Buhrich and Bloom describe do not tell any sexually explicit or suggestive stories or interact in any sexual way.

Kelly (1996 [1988]) describes a transgender gathering at London's Porchester Ball, which she claims shows the uncertainties of sexuality and sexual identity. She details interacting hetero- and homo-sexual transvestites, transsexuals and 'gender benders'. Kelly writes there is no clear divide between transvestites and transsexuals. Some transvestites, she alleges, have hormones to assist feminisation but do not have GRS. Buhrich and McConaghy (1985) and McConaghy (1993) also reflect this. However, Bloom states that "[m]ost crossdressers ... don't take female hormones" (2002:66).

Bullough and Bullough do also mention clubs that do not conform to Virginia Prince's guidance of non-sexual conduct amongst heterosexual cross-dressers. In his own studies, Ekins (1997) also includes recognitions of transgender people who are sexually active and attracted to other transgender people. Woodhouse (1989) states that it is a futile exercise to attempt to categorise transgender individuals by sexuality.

However, Johnson (2003) attempts to do so. She writes sympathetically about 'transsexualism' (75-100) but her review of 'transvestism' (32-34) has inaccurate generalisations. She writes that FTM transvestism does not occur. Johnson asserts that there are no connections with transvestism and transsexualism, despite texts suggesting otherwise (Ekins, 1997; Suthrell, 2004). She associates cross-dressing with sexual feelings including detailing the transvestites' apparent liking for sexual interactions with their wives when cross-dressed. This is despite that many transvestites actually cross-dress secretly due to their partners' disapproval

(Bullough and Bullough, 1993). She details a 1986 study by Ray Blanchard to reinforce her assertions but does not detail how contentious his allegations have been to transgender people (tsroadmap.com, 2009). In addition, Johnson quotes outdated quantitative data. Consequently, she may be adversely impacted by the previous studies examining transvestism, which do not reflect the realities of transvestic lives. Johnson's separations of transvestic and transsexual identities further reinforce her limited comprehensions of the actual lives of some trans* women (Bullough and Bullough, 1993; Ekins and King, 1996; Ekins, 1997; Boyd, 2003).

During her sociological studies, Ruspini (2007) contrasts analyses by Johnson (2003). Ruspini challenges the binary gender system and discusses the incomplete analyses of the sexual and gender identities within contemporary LGB&T groups. She alleges these deficiencies have had intense impacts upon individuals from these communities who live “in a society where gender diversity is not fully tolerated, and where social institutions act to perpetuate the erasure of gender fluidity” (1). Additionally, Ruspini alleges the significant transphobic harassment experienced by current transgender people who are apparently regarded as pathological and having psychiatric issues. She is aware of the difficulties transgender people face in various European geographical spaces. However, she refers to and reflects the contentious identifications of transgender people by Whittle *et al.* (2007) as “Transgender and transsexual persons” (1). The inconsistencies of trans* terms are discussed in Chapter 5. Furthermore, similar to Johnson (2003), Ruspini predominantly discusses transsexual identities.

Conversely, Hines (2007) regards ‘transgenderism’ as an ‘umbrella’ term, which encompasses transvestic identities. Her sociological examinations concern concepts of citizenship and transgenderism. She critically considers how her “position

as a non-transgender researcher will have affected the outcome of the research, although it is not possible to know to what extent” (1). Hines considers if a transgender researcher may benefit from an ‘insider’ perspective, which may lead to undertaking different enquiries and, as a consequence, she theorises that her investigations may be incomplete. This disquiet reflects my concerns about the concepts of being an ‘insider’ (Chapter 4.1). She discusses the popularity within mainstream audiences of the transvestic individuals Eddie Izzard, Lilly Savage, RuPaul and Grayson Perry and analyses the positive regard amongst some transsexual communities of Nadia Almada who won the *Big Brother* television competition in 2004. She expresses deconstructionist perceptions within her critical examinations of transsexual adherence to binary gender identities. Hines cites Monroe (2003 and 2005a) in her recognition that citizenship is based upon a binary gender model and therefore it can discriminate against gender diversity.

During readings of transgender identities influenced by Queer Theory, Hines (2010) suggests the possible deconstructions of binary concepts within ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ but recognizes that “such transgressions are materially, culturally, socially and spatially contingent” (1). Consequently, recalling her previous concerns about adverse discrimination (Hines, 2007), she notes that queer identities can be restricted in reality.

Monro (2007) discusses diverse gender identities and the expansion of analyses using post-structural viewpoints. She is critical of ‘fixed’ perceptions of transvestism and considers transsexual identities beyond restrictive gender binaries. She acknowledges that deconstructive viewpoints can be harmful if ethical positions are not adhered to. She appears to adhere to Foucauldian concepts of the risks of naming and therefore controlling concepts of gender fluidity but Monro does question the possibility of deconstructing certain unique binary sex identities.

Within psychological aspects of social policy, Straitona *et al.* (2012) plus McDermott *et al.* (Jun. 2013) examine self-harm issues amongst LGB&T youth using ethically guided, qualitative methods. They critically inspect previous quantitative psychological investigations into this area and claim that conceiving of gender identities as a multifaceted paradigm may enable in the examination and oppositions to potentially suicidal conducts. These researchers recognise the importance of Internet interactions to LGB&T young people but allege that there have been insufficient qualitative examinations of online interactions. Roen has authored several documents concerning transgenderism and also features in texts written by and edited by academic trans feminists/activists (Roen, Winter 2002; Stryker and Whittle, 2006).

The Empire Strikes Back

Within her academic trans feminist viewpoints, Pearce (Spring, 2012) discusses transphobic feminists. She critically discusses Raymond (1979) who conceives that 'transsexuality' is a patriarchally legitimised surgical action for a male shaped social difficulty (Billings and Urban, 1982; Bullough and Bullough, 1993; Faderman and Timmons, 2006). Raymond (1979) accuses MTF transsexual people of being part of a patriarchal 'empire', which is attempting to infiltrate and control genetic female spaces. She alleges, "All transsexuals rape women's bodies by reducing the real female form to an artefact, appropriating this body for themselves Transsexuals merely cut off the most obvious means of invading women, so that they seem non-invasive" (104). Bullough and Bullough (1993) mention this text but do not indicate how controversial it is amongst trans people. The trans feminist writers, Namaste (2000) and Serano (2007), write that the transphobic injustices expressed by Raymond

have had negative impacts upon many feminist groups in their perceptions of transsexual women.

Pearce (Spring, 2012) also discusses the paper entitled *The Empire Strikes Back* (Stone, 1991), which resists allegations such as those expressed by Raymond (1979). Pearce alleges that Stone has inspired the development of other trans feminist texts, mentioning Bornstein (1994), Califia (1997), Feinberg (1992, 1998), Namaste (2000), Stryker (1994) and Wilchins (2002). Within postmodern perspectives, texts authored by several of these trans feminists are sceptically discussed and/or analysed in this thesis.

Pearce writes Stone (1991) is critical of medical and MTF transsexual discourses that present restricted identifications for transsexual people. Stone expresses that significant proportions of transsexual people are not politically motivated and persist in replicating heteronormativity. She is sceptical of the prejudiced and insufficient investigations of transsexual people within psychiatry during the 1970s, which affected the determinations of some feminist individuals, notably Raymond. Stone asserts that these determinations have influenced the “genetic female academic” (283). She proposes alternative transsexual conceptions, influenced by Butler (1999), and rejects transsexual attempts to ‘pass’ as cisgendered women, emphasising the assertive position of being openly transsexual. However, Stone does not appear to critically consider that the motivations by many trans* people to ‘pass’ may be motivated by the fear of transphobic harassments which can involve violence and murder (Bishop, Nov. 2011; Featherstone, 22nd Nov. 2011) as well as prejudices such as opposing employing trans* people (Whittle, 2nd Dec. 2008).

During investigations of texts related to Stone (1991), it was recognised that, also in 1991, a trans woman, Nancy Burkholder, was expelled from the Michigan

Women's Music Festival. This led to the creation of 'Camp Trans', an annual protest group, campaigning against the transphobic prejudices of the MWMF (Burkholder, 28th Apr. 1993; Howell, 26th Jun. 1999). There were other transphobic incidents, which were also influential. In 1993 was the publicised rape and murder of the trans man, Brandon Teena (Peirce, 1999). There was also the murder of the trans woman, Rita Hester, in 1998, which led to the formation of the annual International Transgender Day of Remembrance where the names of the hundreds of trans* people who have been murdered since Rita Hester was killed are read out at various international social spaces, including in Manchester's Gay Village (LGF-News-Team, 2007; St.Pierre, 2007).

These events apparently inspired the development of 'transgender rage' (Stryker, 1999a). In this partly autobiographical and post-structural article, Stryker compares her transsexual identity with the creature featured in the text *Frankenstein* (Shelley, 1999 [1818]) in that they both exhibit 'rage' against the injustices inflicted upon them. As she describes the events that developed her trans identity and associated 'rage' against injustices upon trans people, she seems to deconstruct academic arrangements within her paper, including the integration of creative writings. However, her usage of 'transgender' appears to be predominantly focussed upon transsexual people.

Stryker publicises the 'Compton's Cafeteria Riot', which occurred in San Francisco on August 1966 (Stryker, 2008). In deconstructing the separations of scientific and artistic disciplines (Strosberg, 2001; Hobcraft, 9th Aug. 2012), she co-created a documentary detailing this riot entitled *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*. She and her colleagues were awarded the Northern California Emmy Award for this film (AScribe-Law-News-Service, 24th May 2006).

This riot is described as featuring a “militant transsexual resistance to social oppression” (1), which ignores other trans* identities present during the riot. She has co-produced another film entitled *Forever’s Gonna Start Tonight*, which is a ‘biopic’ about a drag queen in San Francisco, USA (Peaches-Christ-Productions, 8th Jun. 2011). However, this may continue the mainstream presumptions that cross-dressing is connected with homosexuality. Herreras (10th Mar. 2013) discusses the film, plus quotes Stryker’s academic and trans activist perspectives:

Transgender issues are no longer a small, obscure topic. How we see gender is changing at a global level. I see that in our work here at the [University of Arizona]. Investigating transgender becomes a way to view and study how that system is changing.

(1)

Stryker is co-creating the academic text entitled *The Transgender Studies Reader 2*. The first such book, which was published in 2006, she co-edited with Whittle and it was apparently awarded the 2007 Lambda Literary Award (Pack6, 2013). This book includes writings from several trans feminists/activists, including Roen (2006) who discusses race issues within transgenderism, notably concerning the medical conceptions of transsexuality in the South Pacific Islands. In this first book, Whittle recognises the postmodern influences upon transgenderism alongside deconstructing concepts of sex and gender:

In recent years, embracing the trans community and its culture has led us to an exciting position at the cusp of one of the most significant social and political changes in the postmodern world. The struggles of trans people could have significant impact on all of our freedoms, depending upon who wins the war of ideologies surrounding the meaning of gender and sex.

(Whittle, 2006:xiv)

Sharpe, the writer of *Transgender Jurisprudence* (Sharpe, 2001) has an article published in Stryker and Whittle (2006), concerning several legal cases concerning transsexualism (Sharpe, 2006). Sharpe implicitly indicates the inconsistent applications of ‘transgender’ in several articles (Chapter 5). He discusses the legal judgement deriving from *Corbett v. Corbett* where “Mr Arthur Corbett sought to have his marriage to April Ashley, a male to female transgender person ... declared a nullity” (622). As a consequence of this case, from 1971, transsexual people in the UK were unable to marry in their preferred gender identity (Cardiff-University, 2013). Sharpe systematically details several international legal issues regarding legitimising heterosexual marital issues for transsexual people, which lead to questioning the validity of judgements stemming from the *Corbett v. Corbett* case.

Whittle led a team of trans experts to partially dissolve the repercussions deriving from this 1971 UK legal judgment, leading to the formation of the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)*.¹⁴ His activism has inspired other trans* people seeking to support trans* expressions and to (politically) oppose transphobia (Chapter 13.1).

The trans feminist sociologist, Davy (2011), investigates medicolegal issues during her investigations of transsexual surgical issues. This text was awarded the Philip Abrams Memorial Prize (Lincolnshire-Echo, 30th Apr. 2012). Her text deconstructs restrictive definitions of feminism and of transsexualism, claiming that a trans individual’s personal conceptions of their gender identity can vary. Davy

¹⁴ H-M-Government (2004).

expresses, “It is very difficult to arrive at a definitive understanding of transsexualism, even though medicine and law have claimed to do so” (Lincolnshire-Echo, 30th Apr. 2012:1). While her writing predominantly concerns transsexualism, her recognition of the postmodern re-presentations of diverse trans* identities connects with the investigations in this thesis (Chapter 10).

Pearce (Spring, 2012) investigates the varied gender identities expressed online. Within her research strategies, Pearce deconstructs perceptions both within academic presentations and expressions of transgenderism. She also critically examines the development of non-academic contemporary ‘trans feminism’. She refers to blogs published online, significantly those featured on the Genderfork website (Genderfork, 2013). The concepts of ‘trans’ expressed by Pearce encompass all gender diversities including transvestic identities. She claims her transsexual identity enables her to be an ‘insider’ regarding gender diversity matters. Pearce discusses the issue of transphobia and analyses *The TransFeminist Manifesto* (Koyama, 2003). This document details desired transgender rights, which is similar to legal international human rights stipulations expressed in the *Yogyakarta Principles* (Corrêa, Mar. 2007). This latter paper has entries concerning transgender human rights, which were influenced by Whittle.

Pearce and Lohman (13th Feb. 2013) examine deconstructive processes regarding non-academic music performances. They claim, “a trans performance community has emerged in recent years. A key feature of this community is the open attitude taken towards gender(ed) identity and the organisation of events” (1). Their viewpoints reflect my own active participations of trans* musical performances at Manchester’s Sparkle festivals (Chapter 11). The existence of transvestic identities is not explicitly expressed in most of the above articles in this section. However,

postmodern expressions of gender diversity in the Sparkle festivals assist the deconstructions of ‘transgenderism’.

The trans man, Lou Sullivan (nee: Sheila Sullivan), assists the deconstruction of transgender and feminist characteristics, specifically those who are transvestic. In his article entitled *A Transvestite Answers a Feminist* (1979) he expresses:

What is the REAL personality in this situation – when a man wishes to appear as a woman or a woman as a man? Where do they begin to be real? Where do they begin to relax with this kind of opposition inside? To keep inside the closet only dress up in a locked room, hoping no one will ever see, afraid to open your mouth in regard to any topic coming close to you secret (What is beauty? What makes you happy? WHO DO YOU LOVE??!!)...their trying to appear straight and normal is “constipated”! ... When he she lets himself out of the closet, dons the image of his true identity for all to see ... then he has a good start in “getting his mind together”.¹⁵

(Sullivan, 2006:161)

However, it seems that none of the previously described researchers can quantify the trans* people who actually come ‘out of the closet’ (or those that remain ‘in the closet’). Multiple social science examinations are unable to express reliable estimations of the trans* people within Western societies (Burke, 1996; Kesteren *et al.*, Sept. 1997; Whittle *et al.*, 2007).

¹⁵ Note: Sullivan wrote in his article “LOVE??!!)...their” but I have omitted parts of this quote from his paper as “... ”.

Analyses of Transgenderism in the UK

The non-academic organisation, GIRES, was commissioned by the Government Home Office in 2009 (updated in 2011) to examine incidences of UK transsexualism:

The Report estimated that, in 2007, the prevalence of people who had sought medical care for gender variance was 20 per 100,000, i.e. 10,000 people, of whom 6,000 had undergone transition. 80% were assigned as boys at birth (now trans women) and 20% as girls (now trans men). However, there is good reason, based on more recent data from the individual gender identity clinics, to anticipate that the gender balance may eventually become more equal.

Transitioning is still high risk for most gender variant people. Nonetheless, better social, medical and legislative provisions for gender variant people, coupled with the "buddy effect" of mutual support among them, appear to be driving growth in the number who have sought medical treatment.

...

Incidence, in 2007, was estimated to be 3.0 per 100,000 people aged over 15 in the UK, that is 1,500 people presenting for treatment of gender dysphoria. Data provided to GIRES by HM Revenues and Customs for 2010 confirm the upward trend. The number who had by then presented for treatment can be estimated to be 12,500. That represents a growth trend from 1998 of 11% per annum. At that rate, the number who have presented is doubling every 6 1/2 years.

(GIRES, 2011:1)

It seems that similar investigations into transvestism have not been directly government funded. Nevertheless, various UK sociological investigations by academic researchers estimate between 250 and 8000 per 100,000 men cross-dress (Monger, 1992; Suthrell, 2004).¹⁶ While these are widely estimated variations, they suggest consistently higher incidences of transvestic than transsexual identities. Part of this approximated range of transvestic personalities, which can be reinterpreted to encompass the range of all trans* identities, appears to be similar in proportion to some estimations of homosexuality within Western societies (Johnson *et al.*, Dec. 1992; Townsend, 26th Sept. 2010). Nonetheless, the range of previous explorations of

¹⁶ The different statistical formats expressed in these documents have been rephrased so that they indicate ranges in similar formats.

transgenderism in the UK may not reflect the actual proportions of the diverse trans* identities.

In the UK, the above detailed incidents and American texts may have inspired investigations into transgenderism. Stone (1991) has been “has been described justly as the protean text from which contemporary transgender studies emerged” (Stryker and Whittle, 2006:221). On the online website EThOS (British-Library, 5th Mar. 2012) 31 PhD/DPhil theses completed since 1980 were featured examining transgenderism, (Appendix 4). However, aware that several completed and accepted PhD/DPhil documents are not hosted on the EThOS website, investigations of several other websites were made to trace other authorised PhD/DPhil theses.

On EThOS there were three PhD/DPhil theses written before Stone (1991), which are a study of transvestism (Gosselin, 1980), an investigation of transsexualism (Tully, 1987) and an examination of both transsexualism and transvestism (King, 1986). In the discovered theses created after 1991, there is significantly more research into MTF transsexualism than MTF transvestism. However, as there seem to be appreciably more transvestites in society than transsexual people, these PhD/DPhil investigations perhaps reinforce concerns expressed by Namaste (2000) that some investigations into transgenderism may have limited recognitions of actual trans* identities.

There are PhD/DPhil investigations that recognise the postmodern qualities that can be associated with many contemporary trans* people. Monroe (2000) discusses qualitative examinations of transgender people and their varied political motivations (Monroe, Nov. 2000) and she is aware that people who do not adhere the binary gender constructions of male and female experience prejudices both within mainstream and transgender groups.

McNamara (2009) discusses theatrical and drama presentations by contemporary trans men and also considers their deconstructions of gender binary identities. Within deconstructive objectives, the practice-led PhD text, Sara Davidmann (2007), presents photographic images of MTF and FTM trans people that counter “the stereotypical model that is frequently portrayed in the mass media” (University-of-the-Arts-London, 2013:1). She has worked in Manchester at Sparkle transgender celebrations, Manchester Concord gatherings and LGB&T wedding ceremonies.

Sellberg (2010) examines fictional transgender characters in texts from the 1980s and 1990s during her resistance to gender binary concepts and promotion of ‘queer’ identities. These texts may assist the development of knowledge concerning the media re-presentations of transgenderism. However, these texts do not seem to examine the social expressions of present-day trans* people. Dixon (1998) examines recent trans male identities and Sanger (2006) explores intimate relationships involving contemporary trans people. The varied interview techniques in the PhD/DPhil texts have been critically examined, including undertaking standardised and semi-structured interviews. Hines (2004) appears to apply the former method while Dixon (1998), Whittle (1995) and Sanger (2006) prefer to use semi-structured interview techniques. Sanger is explicitly critical of present-day academic examinations of the diverse current transgender identities. While these four researchers discuss postmodern concepts, with its associated Queer Theory, several of the PhD/DPhil researchers do not seem to consistently embrace deconstructing their preconceptions. Indeed, during discussing her objectives in her PhD thesis, the trans researcher, Hartley (2004), alleges that such viewpoints, influenced by Queer Theory, are incomplete:

I am conducting research that is able to embody the effects of internal fractures between sexed and gendered 'materiality', 'authenticity' and 'performativity' that remains unresolved not only in feminist, queer and 'trans' political debates, but also in wider discourses of government and health and social welfare.

(36)

Whittle (1995) may be suggesting how these viewpoints can be deficient when he describes that several investigations into transsexual people have been undertaken by researchers adhering to the beliefs and concepts of “the heterosexist patriarchy of academia” (Appendix B). Academic examinations of other expressions of transgenderism may also be complicit with Whittle’s allegation. Resultantly, the concerns expressed by Namaste (2000) could be applicable in this respect.

Gosselin (1980), Tully (1987), Johnson (1995) and Whittle (1995) combine qualitative and quantitative research, which is the advised research strategy for contemporary Public Engagement researchers (Duncan and Spicer, 2010:14). While Gosselin (1980) writes considerably about transvestites, perspective is shaped by prior psychiatric examinations of transgenderism. However, he proposes that fetishistic desires are a necessary part of normative relationships, which suggests that medical viewpoints about aspects of transgenderism as fetishistic are uncertain.

Tully (1987) investigates details from 204 transsexual people and is influenced by Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1968). Consequently, aspects of this PhD are similar to my research. Tully critically examines psychiatric assessments of gender dysphoria, which include ‘imaginative involvement’ (Hilgard, 1979; Gherovici, 2010).

While Whittle (1995) contains thorough research, his interview sample seems to be from a limited number of interviewees. However, his questionnaire results coupled with numerous discourses and analyses of diverse media texts enhance his

examinations. Nonetheless, his questionnaires are slightly biased towards FTM transsexualism, which may be a consequence of his own FTM trans identity. His legal writings foreshadow the growing political assertiveness of UK trans* people, including the development of the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)*. Shaw (2005) further assists recognising legal issues in exploring police actions for LGB&T people in Lincolnshire.

In researching trans people in the Philippines, Johnson (1995) combines questionnaire data gathering with interviewing. He links his interviewees' gaining of feminine beauty with their perceived attainment of enjoyment and power. However, he does appear to identify these trans women as impotent homosexual men. There are several UK PhD texts, which also examine international trans identities. Beaumont (2006) and Kaewprasert (2008) investigate Thai expressions of transgenderism. Santos (2008) explores LGB&T activism in Portugal. Suthrell (2002) and Phillips (2009) examine transgender identities in India with the latter researcher analysing HIV/AIDS issues as well.

In analysing ethnographic research, Warren (1988) expresses that sexual identity shapes knowledge. This may be implied when Suthrell (2004) claims that some of her findings, gathered for her 2002 PhD research, differ from those presented by the male researcher Ekins (1997). However, several of these PhD/DPhil theses do not seem to be thorough in reflectively (and reflexively) analysing how their sex/gender identity affects the researchees (and the process of undertaking their research investigations).

De Kerchove d'Exaerde (2001) recognises that her natal female identity influenced how transvestic women regarded her and, resultantly, reacted. She alleges that some transvestic women she socialised with treated her paternally. However, she

expresses slightly homophobic comments and erroneously applies gendered pronouns when discussing her trans researchees' self-perceptions, which reflects psychiatric objectifications of trans people. Contrastingly, Turner (2003) stresses the use of appropriate gendered terms in addressing all transgender people. He and Davy (2008) detail how their interactions with some transgender interviewees were occasionally problematic when their respondents did not initially consider that these researchers were transgender and, therefore, they had 'insider' viewpoints.

However, conceptions of being an 'insider' vary. Beltran (2000) writes that she considers herself to be partly an 'insider' because she was respectful to her interviewees and also that her background as a former professional model enabled her to empathise with transsexuals' discomfort with gender identity. However, professional female modelling is an exhibition of patriarchally defined feminine attractiveness (Mulvey, 1975). Beltran seems not to consider how her visual appearance may have influenced her interviewees.

Analyses of any trans* people must consider the effects of patriarchal heteronormative society's omnipresence. A MTF trans* person's attraction to women (which may be sexual) can mean that a female researcher might receive interactions dissimilar from those received by male researchers (Warren, 1988; McKeganey and Bloor, Jun. 1991). Considering links between misogyny and transphobia, this attraction to cissexual women could be coupled with the debatable assumption that cissexual women may be more accepting of MTF trans* identities than cissexual men. This is a contrasting gender perspective from that expressed within Lee (Sept. 2001).

The cissexual male researcher, O'Connor (2006), seems to write considerably about transgender issues in his PhD thesis. He describes that the authors of the texts he analyses can be identified by their preferred sex identity. Similarly, it appears there are

differences in content and style between these PhD/DPhil theses written by trans researchers and those written by non-trans researchers. However, the limited numbers of completed PhD/DPhil theses concerning transgender issues means there cannot be statistical certainties to reinforce this contention.

Some of the above researchers' choices of gathering interviews seem to be limited by their sampling procedures. Gosselin (1980), de Kerchove d'Exaerde (2001) and Suthrell (2002) all gained initial contacts through national networks of members of the transgender support organisation Beaumont Society. While the Beaumont Society is important for many transgender people, referring to the Society for research information can raise difficulties. Notable are the long running political disagreements that senior figures within this Society have concerning the Manchester based trans* support organisations Northern Concord and Manchester Concord. The Beaumont Society website describes a "vacancy" for the North West (Beaumont-Society, 2010; Beaumont-Society, 2011c) regarding assistance for transgender people. This ignoring of Northern Concord and Manchester Concord, which have regularly assisted trans* people in the North West area of England since 1986, may imply that political disagreements between trans* organisations can overshadow supportive actions for all UK trans* people.

Significant trans* information regarding the North West of England can be omitted by these academic researchers as many academics (as well as those from other organisations) studying transgenderism might initially approach the Beaumont Society for advice (Wax, 2010). This is possibly a reason why many texts concerning trans* issues seemingly do not mention the existence of Northern Concord/Manchester Concord or of the trans* communities in Manchester. Davy (2008) does mention the Northern Concord but does not investigate trans* communities in the city.

Johnson (2001) critically reviews the website of the transgender organisation Press For Change and suggests that it complies with heteronormativity. Nonetheless, she considers the potential deconstructive consequences of legally recognising transsexual people but she fails to theorise the likely future results. While concerns may be expressed about these critically examined theses, the researchers do seem to write respectfully about their analysed subject areas. Monro (2000), Johnson (2001) and O'Connor (2006) convey reservations about the essential nature of sex identity, contesting views that transsexual people are unable to become their preferred gender identity. Suthrell (2004), in referring to her 2002 PhD text, suggests, within the photographic re-presentations of interviewees, that transvestic women may exhibit presentations that seem to replicate the identities of natal women. However, PhD/DPhil examinations of contemporary MTF transvestic identities appear to be limited.

Conclusion

Aware of the concerns expressed by Namaste (2000) that academic writings may not reflect the realities of trans* lives, this chapter has critically investigated the examinations of transgenderism by medical specialists and researchers in the social sciences, including academic investigations of transgender identities.

The medical explorations of transgenderism developed from the developing influence of judicial power over religious influences during the 17th Century. However, these powerful official and medical organisations appeared to be shaped by historical misogyny during their investigations of 'deviations' from sexual and gender societal normativities.

Biological hypotheses regarding understanding cross-dressers were seemingly expressed in the late 19th Century but, apparently, became more frequently expressed after the discovery of DNA in 1953. Nonetheless, psychoanalytical theories concerning the development of cross-dressing have been repeatedly expressed throughout the 20th Century. It seems that such psychoanalysts were influenced by the Freudian theories of ‘castration anxiety’ and ‘oedipal conflict’. Several analyses contended that ‘transvestites’ were repressed homosexuals despite contradictory evidence.

Identifications and distinctions were made regarding transvestism and transsexualism but that latter term seemingly was officially expressed and publicised from the early 1950s. Transsexual people were identified as being gender dysphoric but transvestic people continued in being predominantly regarded as paraphiles and fetishists. Transvestism and transsexualism were controversially theorised as deriving from ‘faulty’ upbringing. Analyses of transgender individuals were often carried out within medical establishments seemingly using stereotypes of ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’ and continued historical misogynistic prejudices.

Examinations of the social aspects of transgenderism developed from the failure of medical ‘experts’ to definitively identify a cause for gender dysphoria. Some of these texts examining social interactions ignore transvestism or discuss it briefly and erroneously, including continuing to associate it with homosexuality. Several of those, which do analyse transvestic identities, appear to combine psychoanalytic perspectives within their sociological examinations. A number of these texts continue linking transvestism with transsexualism.

However, several social scientists deconstruct concepts of binary gender constructions and discuss aspects of Queer Theory although it is acknowledged that

such perspectives are culturally restricted with recognitions that mainstream prejudices can be harmful to LGBT&T people. Participative research methodologies have been occasionally undertaken and there have been queries concerning concepts of transvestism. However, while transgender diversities have been recognised, examinations of transsexualism predominate. Furthermore, there is limited knowledge of contemporary online expressions of transgenderism.

In this chapter, there have been examinations of trans feminist investigations, including critical analyses of Raymond (1979) and the transsexual supportive response by Stone (1991). Stone's article has been inspirational for many researchers in the social sciences. However, her rejection of transsexual people's attempts to 'pass' as cissexual people may suggest restrictions in recognising the actual fears by many trans* people of transphobic harassments. Such harassments have developed 'transgender rage', expressed by Stryker (1999a). She deconstructs academic formats but is principally focussed upon transsexualism. While social examinations (including non-academic studies) determined that there were far more transvestic than transsexual women within society, they were unable to discover exact proportions of trans* people.

Investigations have suggested that Stone (1991) inspired multiple studies of transgenderism, including UK PhD/DPhil studies. In this chapter previous UK PhD/DPhil theses concerning transgenderism have been critically analysed. However, there are significantly more PhD/DPhil studies of transsexualism than transvestism, which may reflect concerns expressed by Namaste (2000). Moreover, there are omissions in the studies of certain contemporary transgender support organisations, notably those supporting trans* people socialising in Manchester. Several examined texts express recognition of postmodern concepts and discuss Queer Theory with

deconstructing concepts of transgenderism. Additionally, media re-presentations of transgender identities are critically reviewed within postmodern viewpoints.

Some PhD/DPhil researchers express limitations of their studies and so highlight aspects of my research. Furthermore, it seems that Grounded Theory influences some of the theses. While varied interviewing techniques are discussed within several texts, combinations of qualitative and quantitative research are infrequently undertaken, which counters recommendations for current Public Engagement researchers (Duncan and Spicer, 2010:14).

Connections of power with feminine glamour have been investigated within some PhD/DPhil texts but there is limited awareness that a researcher's sexual identity may shape concepts of research knowledge. There are suggestions that results gathered by trans researchers studying transgender issues may be distinctively shaped by their trans identities. Concepts of being an 'insider' amongst trans* communities do also vary amongst the researcher. However, several non-trans* researchers have indicated their support for and knowledge about transgender identities. Obtaining transvestic interviewees is limited and so, while it was expressed in PhD/DPhil texts that transsexual people were able to effectively express their preferred gender, there is incomplete awareness that transvestic women may also be able to effectively express their intermittent feminine gender identity.

Descriptions of transgenderism in recent non-academic mainstream publications have also been examined. Notable are articles and statements expressed by the newspaper columnist Julie Bindel, which have been regarded as transphobic (Bindel, 31st Jan. 2004; Moriarty *et al.*, 7th Feb. 2004; Mayesm, 14th Feb. 2004; Tatchell, 3rd Aug. 2007). Christine Burns, the campaigner for transsexual rights, interviewed Bindel where she seemed to apologise for her transphobic remarks

(Bindel and Burns, 17th Oct. 2008). Bindel was also in a 'live debate' with the American transsexual academic, Susan Stryker, on 12th December 2008, which was hosted by Stephen Whittle at Manchester Metropolitan University. However, it was observed that this 'debate' involved conciliatory discourses between Bindel and Stryker, suggesting the alteration in Bindel's former opinions about transsexualism.

The next chapter will examine re-presentations of trans* people's gender identities in various contemporary mainstream media texts and also those written by trans* people. There will be investigations into the realities of trans* lives portrayed in such non-academic media as well as possible expressions of transphobia and, conversely, support for trans* people within these texts.

REVIEWING LITERATURE NON-ACADEMIC ANALYSES

Girls will be boys and boys will be girls.
It's a mixed up, muddled up, shook up world, except for Lola.
(Davis, 1970)

The producers of any media text often re-present descriptions that, to the readers, seem to be a natural reflection of reality or an aspired interpretation of reality (Zoonen, 1994). However, the producers reflect mainstream societal codes and expectations as well as their own agendas to promote their (commercial) interests. Following the examinations of medical, sociological and academic studies of transgenderism with apparently limited investigations of the realities of the various trans* identities, particularly transvestism, this chapter will critically examine non-academic visual and written portrayals of transgenderism.

Visual expressions from the medieval period will be analytically reviewed, leading towards present-day mainstream appearances of transgenderism on television. It shall be demonstrated that the depictions of transvestic identities have been popular in various visual media with mainstream audiences, notwithstanding societal transphobic harassments.

This chapter also contains examinations of transgenderism re-presented within contemporary mainstream written media and it will be suggested that transsexualism appears to be the primary focus of such non-academic writings. However, many of the portrayals of transgender people within these publications appear to be supportive, including reviews of transvestic individuals. Texts authored by transgender people are also critically explored, several of which also suggest the importance of the annual Sparkle festivals to trans* women.

Historical Review of Transgenderism Within Visual Performances

An exception to expressions of mainstream societies' explicit disapproval of MTF cross-dressing was within theatrical performances, although these portrayals were still shaped by societal misogyny. During the medieval era, re-enactments of Biblical stories were staged, however

As the theater increased in popularity, more secular plays and professional actors emerged ... [Actors] were not condemned for [playing women's parts], since actors were already regarded as low-status persons.

(Bullough and Bullough, 1993:66)

Until the mid 1600s, young men in British theatre only portrayed the female roles within plays. Some British plays during that time knowingly subverted this gender substitution, involving plots concerning these 'women' adopting disguises as men (such as in the Shakespearean plays *Twelfth Night*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *As You Like It*).

Women were gradually allowed to perform on stage after the ascension of Charles II to the British throne, before eventually dominating theatre presentations of female roles. Contrastingly, MTF cross-dressing roles changed from playing sincere feminine enactments to farcical feminine characters in melodramas, comedies or parodies of serious theatre. Several of these comedic gender presentations featured in 'pantomimes', which included both cross-dressed actresses and actors.

During the Victorian era, MTF and FTM cross-dressing by some stage performers attracted audiences as they convincingly 'passed' as their portrayed gender (Booth, 1981). Echoing the Molly Clubs of the 18th Century, several of these professional MTF cross-dressed stage acts attracted the surreptitious gathering of

homosexuals (Garber, 1992). Some of their performances became designed to appeal to a gay audience, often being misogynistic. 'Drag' acts, as they came to be known, became a common feature of many gay bars.

From the early 20th Century, moving pictures - 'movies' - became popular within mainstream audiences (Merton, 2007). Initially, actors, who had been successful in the theatre, were portrayed in these 'films'. They often transferred and developed the styles of presentations and gender confusion that were popular on stage, such as *Charley's Aunt* (Sydney, 1925).

Many films continued this gender uncertainty, including *Glen or Glenda* (Wood, 1953), which concerns two stories of transvestites consulting a psychiatrist. This film was influenced by Wood's own cross-dressing, together with the growing phenomenon of transsexualism, which had been sensationalised by the media coverage of the transsexual woman Christine Jorgensen in 1952 (Stryker, 2008). Other such filmic examples include the psychoanalytic perspective of the cross-dressing serial killer in *Psycho* (Hitchcock, 1960); the humorous 'cult' film *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (Sharman, 1975), featuring the transvestite scientist Frank-N-Furter;¹⁷ a struggling actor's subversive transvestism in *Tootsie* (Pollack, 1982); drag performers in *Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (Elliott, 1994); and the postmodernist transvestite footwear designer presented in *Kinky Boots* (Jarrold, 2005), which sympathetically portrayed cross-dressing.

Several of these films included musical pieces. Musical expressions have had a long association with stage acts,¹⁸ including covertly transgender musicians, such as the trans man Billy Tipton who was a successful jazz musician from the 1930s to the

¹⁷ Garber (1992) erroneously describes the lead character as transsexual.

¹⁸ The term 'melodrama' derives from the French word *mélo-drame* meaning 'drama with melody' and refers to the prohibition of the written word in plays so music featured in order to assist clarification of the plays' intended meanings (Booth, 1981).

1970s (Boyd, 2006). In the 1960s, overt drag performances on stage, which often combined singing, were also popularised within mainstream television programmes by Danny La Rue (Hayward, 2nd Jun. 2009).

From the 1970s, some British musicians were inspired by drag expressions within gay culture. David Bowie developed his stage acts and his 'music videos' with an emphasis upon gender and his apparent uncertain sexuality (Sandford 1997). His 1971 album, *The Man Who Sold the World*, with its (original) cover featured Bowie lying on a couch, wearing a dress, seemingly "virtually invented the term 'glam rock'" (74). 'Glam rock' was a collective phrase for music acts that gave images of partly cross-dressed men. These UK glam rock bands included Marc Bolan with T Rex, Roxy Music and The Sweet.

Bowie's presentations inspired other musicians who also wanted to deconstruct stereotypical gender images. In the late 1970s, the 'Goth' sub-culture developed where "[t]he androgynous glamour and deep voiced vocals of 1970s David Bowie provided an important precursor." (Hodkinson, 2002:35)

In the early 1980s, young people who embraced gender blurring were apparently often referred to as the 'New Romantics'. Such men openly partly cross-dressed and occasionally experimented with sexual orientation (Strange, 2002). Some of these 'gender benders', as the media coined them, became successful musicians, such as Nick Rhodes in the band Duran Duran, Boy George in Culture Club and Pete Burns in Dead or Alive.

However, from the late 1980s, the previously celebrated ambiguity in gender and sexuality became controversial. The documentary *Boys and Girls: Sex and British Pop* (Whalley, 6th Nov. 2005) describes the growing awareness of and paranoia about the often sexually transmitted disease Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS),

which apparently stilted these experimental sub-cultures. Homosexuality was connected with the spread of this disease and, together with the historical misogynistic prejudices that cross-dressing and gender haziness by men were connected with homosexuality, traditional gender roles became re-asserted from this time (Segal, 1990).

By the late 1990s, perhaps due to depleting paranoia about AIDS, programmes were being transmitted, which delivered non-judgemental portrayals of transgenderism. The transsexual character Hayley Patterson introduced in the ITV television series *Coronation Street* in 1998 enhanced mainstream acceptance of transsexualism (Press-For-Change, 1998). However, this character ‘passes’ as a genetic woman and the actress presenting this trans role, Julie Hesmondhalgh, is not transgender. Nonetheless, her character became popular and respected within transgender groups. Samantha Johnson of the Beaumont Society interviewed this actress about her role and her character’s marriage to ‘Roy’:

Johnson: There have been comments from certain quarters that the role is unsuitable for the pre 9pm watershed despite your sensitive approach, what would you say to these people?

Hesmondhalgh: People are terrified of anything that challenges their ideas of normality. *Coronation Street* has always been the most conservative of the soaps and in many ways Roy & Hayley are two of the most conservative characters in the street. That’s where the true subversiveness lies! I can understand why people are freaked out - they’re being almost forced into feeling sympathy for someone for whom they previously might have only felt contempt. Parents are having to talk to their kids about transsexualism, and knowledge is power and all that, I think it’s brilliant.

(Johnson, 2008)

In the popular reality television shows, *Big Brother* and *Celebrity Big Brother* (Channel 4 during 2000-2011 and Channel 5 from 2011) housemates are in isolated televised accommodation and compete to avoid publicly instigated eviction, aiming to become the last person left in the house who then wins a cash prize. Trans*

individuals have become a popular inclusion in the selection of such housemates. Post-operative transsexual woman Nadia Almada won *Big Brother* (2004), while the trans* singer Pete Burns was an infamous housemate and finalist in *Celebrity Big Brother* (2006). A similar reality show on Channel 5 was called *Back to Reality* (2004) included a gay transvestite housemate known as Ricardo/Lady Ricardo.

Several documentaries have positively portrayed transgenderism. The American documentary *Venus of Mars* (Goldberg, 2003) focuses on the life of a trans* person, her 20-year marriage to a genetic woman and her rock band, including its UK tour. The transvestic artist, Grayson Perry, presented the television programme on Channel 4 called *Why Men Wear Frocks* (BBC_News, 2003; Hadlow, 2003; Crombie, 16th Feb. 2005).

The documentary *Real Families: My Mums Used to be Men*, shown on the ITV television channel (Fowle *et al*, 11th Oct. 2005), concerns two transsexual women caring for a young girl. They have received harassments due to transphobic media texts:

Her father was once called Brian but now he's had a sex change operation and become Sarah... Dad is now mum. Brian's partner, truck driver Lee, has also had a sex change and he's now Louise's other 'mum' Kate. Louise's mother, Hayley, has remarried and is no longer part of her life.

Confused? Louise isn't.

Since the news of this unusual family broke, Louise, Sarah and Kate have been dubbed by the tabloids as 'Britain's Weirdest Family'. Now Louise is being teased at school. But instead of hiding away, she's determined to put the record straight and prove that her family may not be ordinary but it works.

(Blowers and Middleton, 2011:1)

Recent television programmes go beyond representing members of the trans* communities and instead demonstrate not only the deconstruction of transgenderism but also attempts by mainstream media outlets to assist in countering the transphobic expressions within many mainstream normative cultures. On the BBC website is a

programme entitled *Headroom: Unwind Your Mind*, where Ruby Wax considerably interviews the transgender woman Janett Scott, the president of the Beaumont Society. However, Wax informs viewers that ‘transvestism’ is, “where when you cross-dress, you do it for sexual pleasure or entertainment” (Wax, 2010:1). This ‘Americanised’ definition of ‘cross-dressing for sexual pleasure’ is formally defined as ‘transvestic fetishism’ (Farlex-Inc, 2011c). Her definition of ‘cross-dressing for entertainment’ is usually regarded as being a ‘drag queen’ and not being a transvestite (Hayward, 2nd Jun. 2009). Aware of the transphobic newspaper allegations expressed in the above quote, the portrayal of transgenderism within mainstream magazines and newspapers will be critically examined.

Women’s Magazines Featuring Transgenderism

On 15th December 2011, I was invited by an employee of the Co-operative organisation’s archive department in Manchester to investigate their private historical files of financial paperwork, popularist magazines and product packaging from the late 1800s. The analysed ‘women’s magazines’ published by the Co-operative organisation during World War II promoted self-sufficiency. However, the examined magazines published from 1946 to the late 1950s appear to express more visual semiotic stereotypes of gender identities, which many present-day popular ‘women’s magazines’ replicate.

These contemporary texts detail allegedly factual stories and include interviews. Such magazines are prominently displayed at major supermarkets and many newsagents in the UK. Trans* people featured on the front covers of the analysed modern-day mainstream ‘women’s magazines’ counter gender normative

significations on and in such magazines from 1946. The magazines' commercial interests perhaps portray these non-conformative gender expressions to gain visual distinctiveness and so entice potential buyers.

The front cover of *Woman* magazine, dated 3rd Dec. 2001, reinforces the mainstream stereotypical and heteronormative gender association of pink with female (Garber, 1992). On this cover, it advertises five articles featured within this magazine with one caption expressing "I saw Graham in a skirt and I fell **in LOVE**"¹⁹ with an associated photograph of the couple the caption refers to. Most of the content of the magazine replicates stereotypes of femininity. It includes features on female clothing; beauty products; women's health issues; articles on mothers and babies; and advertisements concerning children's toys and games.

However, the article concerning "Graham", subtitled "Living with a **transvestite**" (Cannon, 3rd Dec. 2001:23), counters Western gender normativities. It features Graham and Kim, a married heterosexual couple, where the man is always partly cross-dressed. He does not disguise his gender identity and has openly cross-dressed since 1996. He describes that the majority of people are indifferent about his transvestism. He expresses, "I am aware that one day I could get beaten up – but why should I go about in fear? I see it as a human rights issue." (ibid) He has worn 'women's clothes' in his workplace since 1999 after his employers accepted his cross-dressing once they were assured that his work, as a research engineer, would not be adversely affected. This couple do not plan to have children and so, again, reinforce their opposition to the gender conformity expressed elsewhere in the magazine. Kim stresses, "I love Graham's openness – it's part of what he is and why I fell in love with him. I accept him and that's what matters." (ibid)

¹⁹ In order to reproduce the impact that some of these and related captions/titles portray, I have partially replicated the bold fonts, capitals or different sized fonts expressed in this magazine and other publications reviewed in this chapter.

The magazine *Closer* (Johnson, 15th - 21st Apr. 2006) presents similar articles. On its front cover are three captions, which describe featured stories in the magazine. However, the banner, “AMAZING BUT TRUE” with the subtitle ‘Tranny nanny stole our kids’ promotes one story. This apparently factual article is entitled “Mrs Doubtfire snatched our kids”²⁰ (Sage and Cook, 15th - 21st Apr. 2006:49). This story is from Tennessee, USA and concerns a family with two children who were offered a nanny, Erika Sadowski, seemingly with excellent references. After six years of working with the family, she allegedly abducted the children before being found.

Mentioned twice in this article, is the film *Mrs Doubtfire* (Columbus, 1993). It is a comic movie, concerning a divorced man who is denied access to his children and disguises himself as a female nanny in order to be close to them. This reinforces the perception that this nanny, referred to in this article, is a cross-dresser. However, the article’s writers detail that she was a pre-operative transsexual woman. Nonetheless, they describe that the police who found Erika and the children informed the parents that their nanny “was actually a man” (Sage and Cook, 15th - 21st Apr. 2006:49). The mother of the children is repeatedly quoted as referring to Erika as ‘she’ but it is suggested by some of the quotes that the mother feared for the children’s safety with Erika, particularly after her identification as a man.

This article is repeatedly transphobic and alleges:

Police say Erika has still not given any explanation as to why she lied about her gender or took the kids. She’s been charged with kidnapping and released on bail.

And if she’s convicted, it still isn’t clear whether Erika could end up in a male or female prison!

(ibid)

²⁰ There was no punctuation in the original title.

The magazine, *love it!* (Pasquali Jones, 30th Oct. - 5th Nov. 2007), is generally similar in format to *Closer*. On the front cover of this magazine, seven featured articles are promoted with the most prominent caption being, “REAL LIFE SWINGING TURNED MY HUBBY INTO A WOMAN”. Karen, the woman whose husband had transitioned, allegedly wrote this article (Karen and Ellis, 30th Oct. - 5th Nov. 2007:6). They had been married for 18 years with two daughters. She stated that her husband, Andy, “was gorgeous – he was all man” (ibid). The article has five photographs. One appears to be on their marriage day with Andy wearing a goatee. Another has a caption, stating that Andy was a soldier, and two more showing this person transitioned with captions giving her new name as Sara. Andy’s wish to go to a swinging club was, seemingly, not to participate but to observe. He was not stimulated by other women but by the men attending. He revealed to Karen that he had secretively cross-dressed and was transsexual. Apparently, their marital break-up was upsetting but that Karen will “forgive Sara for taking my hubby away. But I’m sure, even if it takes another 19 years I’ll get there in the end” (8). Much of the content in this article seems to be not transphobic although the associated front cover caption appears to be.

A 2009 edition of the *love it!* magazine has five captions describing articles in this edition (Wykes, 6th - 12th Oct. 2009). The most prominent caption is “**FROCKY HORROR! MY HUBBY LEFT ME FOR A LAYDEE**”. This title perhaps recalls the long running comedy play *The Rocky Horror Show*, featuring a trans* character (Feast-Creative, 2011). This article is written in a similarly to that in the previously reviewed article in *love it!* magazine. Seemingly told by the woman, Carly, this story also concerns her childhood friend, Shane Collins. They used to secretively dress in clothing taken from her mother’s wardrobe. As they grew up, they

became sexually involved and married. Shane still repeatedly cross-dressed. Shortly after their marriage, Shane furtively left her to meet another transvestite who 'gender fucked' by having a beard while cross-dressing (Whittle, 1996). Apparently, Shane had been dating this other person, Tom Yate, for two years. Shane was seemingly apologetic about his deceit. Carly expresses

I don't know when I'll be able to trust a man again, especially one who's more interested in my wardrobe than me.

If I do, he'll definitely be the one wearing the trousers.

(Spencer and Lain, 6th - 12th Oct. 2009:9)

However, there are three photographs, which suggest a different situation. One is of the three people discussed in this story. Shane is not cross-dressed but Tom is, although, apparently in the story, Shane cross-dresses more often. The other pictures are of Carly and Tom back to back and Tom and Shane together. Carly is quoted as having difficulty accepting them and yet, contrastingly, she was involved with this article and poses in these photographs. Additionally, this article continues the historical misogynistic associations of cross-dressing with homosexuality. Moreover, this edition of *love it!* is largely heteronormative, with photographs of semi-naked men. However, amongst the phone lines advertised near the end of the magazine, there are three adverts that express bisexual and gay options as well.

The former model and television personality, Katie Price, also referred to as 'Jordan', was repeatedly featured in various editions of contemporary 'women's magazines'. In May 2009 she publically divorced Peter Andre and, in July 2009, she began a relationship with Alex Reid. Reid is featured in *OK!* magazine (Byrne, 20th Oct. 2009). On the front cover of this magazine, the caption promoting the

enclosed interview with him reads “JORDAN’S ALEX REID TALKS ONLY TO OK! ‘I’M SO GAY – I LOVE CROSS-DRESSING’” (ibid).

This article includes several artistically and professionally presented photographs that emphasise Reid’s masculine identity. Most of these pictures are displays of him wearing masculine semi-formal clothing, including images of him partly undressed, revealing his muscular physique. In the interview, he assertively discusses his cross-dressing:

So apparently you like to cross-dress and call yourself Roxanne?

Well. I can tell you this – I am now available for pantomimes... Widow Twankey, the Ugly Sisters.

Is there any truth in the rumours?

On special occasions. It's a bit of fun. I've dressed up as a woman. And it's a laugh. So what? There are wars happening everywhere, and people care about this? Give me a break!

But a man being secure and confident enough in his sexuality to do whatever he pleases, a lot of people will find that sexy - look at Dennis Rodman...

Exactly. I can express myself sexually, definitely. I'm not worried about social stigmas. If I go out and wear a dress, so f**king what?

Knowing Katie, we can imagine this made you more attractive to her. She is not someone bound by convention...

...

If we're not hurting anyone, who's business is it? ... Why limit yourself? We get one short life each. I don't want to go into it too much, because I find it boring.

But I'm not one of those guys who likes to go to the supermarket dressed as a woman. I don't want a sex change!

You may be surprised, but many people will think it's really brave of you to talk about this part of your life - and those who make judgments would probably never do so to your face...

That's good to hear. I wasn't really worried about people saying: 'He's that cross-dresser!' Anyone should be able to express themselves however they want. I bet loads of people who slag me off for this are secretly harbouring some desire that they're too scared to admit or to experience. What a waste of life that is! It's not something I spend a lot of time worrying or thinking about.

...

And this doesn't make you gay or bisexual, right?

I'm very gay! I love the world! I'm tri-sexual, I'll try anything. Listen, don't label yourself. Be who you are. I am just a man who is in love with his girlfriend.

Reid and Fraser (20th Oct. 2009)

Contrastingly, the front cover of the 2nd November 2009 issue of the magazine *New!* presents a photograph of Katie Price, labelled here as Jordan, alongside Reid who is cross-dressed. The accompanying caption expresses, “YIKES! JORDAN DRESSES POOR ALEX UP IN PUBLIC! HE HITS OUT: ‘I’M NOT YOUR TOY’” (Tyler, 2nd Nov. 2009a).

This promoted story is re-presented in two parts of the magazine; both are critical of Jordan/Katie Price. The first part in the magazine is titled, “It looks like life really *is* a drag for the men in Jordan’s life...” (Tyler, 2nd Nov. 2009b:3) This is above a photograph of Jordan between four cross-dressed men all lined up, presumably for photographing. This article is critical of Kate Price and of the photograph promoting her book. It asserts that she manipulated four men who were her close friends, including Reid, writing that he “likes to dress in drag” (3). The article asserts that these men were seemingly uncomfortable. The magazine also allegedly quotes an ‘insider perspective’ on Reid’s cross-dressing persona, Roxanne:

“His close friend told **new!**, ‘his dressing as Roxanne has always been a very private thing for Alex and it’s just not something he’s comfortable doing in public ...

Roxanne doesn’t like to leave the house. She likes to stay at home.

He said he feels like Jordan is treating him like a toy. He loves her to bits and doesn’t want to say anything to her, so he just goes along with it.’

(Tyler, 2nd Nov. 2009c:18)

While the articles in this magazine critically review Kate Price, they do not appear to be explicitly transphobic.

In 2010, there have been four other articles concerning transgenderism that feature in women’s magazines, all between February and April. They include *Woman* (Vereker, 22nd Feb. 2010) with a front-page caption, “Confessions of a sex swap dad – FROM JOHN... ..TO JO!” which concerns John’s daughter supportively describing

her father's transition to become a non-operative transsexual woman. The magazine *Chat* (Sinclair, 25th Mar. 2010) has a front-page comment, "I used to be a trucker called Mike!!" A transsexual woman, who was apparently a soldier before transitioning, seems to predominantly tell this article. It also details her sympathetic mother. Another edition of the magazine *Woman* (Vereker, 19th Apr. 2010) has a front page caption, "Why I'll marry my sex swap lover FROM JOHN... ..TO JANE!" This concerns a woman's love and support for her partner as he transitions, after official medical recognition of gender dysphoria. The magazine *Pick Me Up* (Smith-Sheppard, 22nd Apr. 2010) expresses, "I Hated Dad as Ken But love him as Kirstie" detailing a seemingly factual story about a transvestite becoming a transsexual woman told by one of her daughters.

However, there are intimations that certain mainstream magazines and newspapers published in 2011 may be resisting this sensationalism of transgenderism with the associated objectification of the featured trans* people. The mainstream women's magazine, *Real People* features an article, entitled "Two Wise Women" (Bishop and Common, 29th Dec. 2011:28), which re-presents aspects of the life of a trans woman, Jenny-Anne, one of my interviewees, along with photographs of her with her partner at their LGB&T supportive church wedding and their marriage in a registry office. Unlike most of the previously reviewed popularist magazines, this publication did not feature references to them on its front cover, which was similarly formatted to the other discussed women's magazines. The piece of writing regarding Jenny-Anne and her partner was seemingly supportive of their trans* identities. This portrayal and the conversations I have had with Jenny-Anne, regarding her positive concepts of this magazine article, suggest that some contemporary UK publications

may not regard a potentially transphobic sensationalistic portrayal of trans* people as an attraction for potential purchasers.

Newspapers Featuring Transgenderism

In 2010 there are three stories concerning transgenderism detailed in newspapers. All concern transsexual women. The *Sunday Mirror* describes the transsexual woman Miriam who was the focus of the reality television show, transmitted on Sky 1, which is called *There's Something About Miriam* (Blumenfeld *et al*, 2004). This programme was subjected to lawsuits and unfavourable reviews (Lane, 9th Dec. 2005). The newspaper article is titled “Er, there IS Something About TV’s Miriam, the transsexual reality star... SHE’S A HOOKER” (Hills and Payne, 17th Jan. 2010:20). She is employed as an ‘escort’, claimed by the newspaper article, in order to pay for injuries she sustained while escaping from a burglar. While the article is sensationalistic, it does not appear to be transphobic and quotes Miriam’s openness about her sexual interactions and ease in not desiring GRS.

The *Daily Express* has published an article entitled “The 6ft 3in man ‘fired for going to work in a dress’” (Chalk, 26th Aug. 2010:19). This article concerns a transsexual woman who is taking her employers to an industrial tribunal, alleging she was unfairly dismissed due to her transsexuality. While this article initially describes her inappropriately, it does not seem to be judgemental about her situation.

However, *The Sun* has published an article entitled, “Sex swaps ‘n robbers – BURGLAR TELLS INMATES: NOW I’LL BE JASMINE” (Coles and Kay, 27th Nov. 2010:35). It is alleged in this article:

JAILED burglar Darren Goode has stunned fellow lags by saying: "Call me Jasmine."

Goode, 34, is serving 11 years for raids on the elderly, including a woman of 102.

But a month ago he started wearing dresses, lipstick and make-up and said he was preparing for a sex change.

And since then inmates and staff at Leyhill open prison near Bristol have been ordered to call him Jasmine.

An insider said Goode was preparing for a full gender swap costing more than £18,000 – paid for by the taxpayer.

...

The insider added: "Many people think he's playing the system to get the taxpayer to pay for his treatment.

"He's refusing to show any remorse for his crimes — is it because he knows that as soon as he gets parole he'll have to start paying for the treatment himself?"

(35)

My interviewee, Jenny-Anne, claims that one of the photographs featuring Jasmine in this newspaper exposé was allegedly illegally obtained and reproduced without the photographer's consent. GIRES supported the prison release of Jasmine, who is actually intersexual (GIRES, 2012b). She has been actively assisting charitable work to benefit the annual trans* festival Sparkle 2012 in the Village as well as supporting political resistance to transphobia and enhancements of diversity awareness in workplaces.

The Independent On Sunday newspaper includes an eight-page supplement, entitled *The Pink List 2011*, which details a list of notable LGBT (supportive) people (Thomas *et al.*, 23rd Oct. 2011). It derives data from "more than 1500 nominations" (page I) from readers of this newspaper. This supplement presents 101 voted significant individuals and lists of "National Treasures" (page III), "Non-LGBT friends" (page V) and "Lifetime Achievement Award" (page VII). Of the 101 people,

13 entries are about people who are explicitly LGBT campaigning²¹ as opposed to being LGB. The number one entry in this list is an LGB&T supportive teacher. However, her described campaigns concern homophobia, and do not mention transphobic issues. There are six trans people detailed in this list who are Sarah Brown (No. 28); Christine Burns (No. 35); Jay Stewart (No. 69); Roz Kaveney (No. 85); Katherine O'Donnell (No. 94), and Bethany Black (No. 96). Bethany Black gave a presentation at Manchester's Sparkle 2011.

Other unnumbered entries relevant to this thesis are:

- Lynne Featherstone, MP (Her description does not include her support for trans* people such as her official presentation at Sparkle 2011.)
- Bernard and Terry Reed (Their description mentions their trans* supportive organisation GIRES.)
- Stephen Whittle (who is described as a Equalities Law professor at Manchester Metropolitan University and campaigner for the Press For Change organisation but it does not identify what it campaigns for.)

While this article is biased towards promoting LGB people but it is transgender supportive, it does not identify notable transvestic people such as the multi-award winning comedian, actor and writer Eddie Izzard, the Turner Prize winning artist and television presenter Grayson Perry or the cartoonist Steven Appleby (Izzard, Oct. 2004 [2000]; BBC_News, 2003; Crombie, 16th Feb. 2005; BBC, 10th Oct. 2012). This paper also appears to objectify those it categorizes. Consequently the next section will examine non-academic publications detailing aspects of transgenderism, which are authored by trans* people.

²¹ Entry numbers 1, 27, 38, 43, 59, 61, 64, 73, 75, 83, 87, 90 and 98.

Examinations of Transgenderism by MTF Trans* People

In this section there shall be explorations of recent non-academic texts (co-)authored by trans* people, including those by transvestic women. Several of these investigated publications directly or indirectly connect with trans* people socialising in Manchester's Gay Village. Some of them also counter the restrictive modernist identifications of 'transvestite' and 'transsexual':

Spend a little time around transgender people, and you'll hear stereotypes about cross-dressers. Cross-dressers are just in it for kicks, or a sexual thrill. Cross-dressers dress more "sexy" and less like real women than transsexuals. Cross-dressers can enjoy living as men, unlike male-to-female transsexuals. Cross-dressers are less serious about what they do than transsexuals. These broad-brush distinctions may have some truth to them.

But I'm always amazed at how many people fall somewhere between those two caricatures. A lot of cross-dressers dress up nearly all the time but don't feel the need to take hormones. A lot of transsexuals have a lot of fun dressing up, and I've seen some MTFs wearing some hella sexy threads. The truth is the distinction between TVs and TSs was invented by doctors to distinguish between people who needed surgery and people who didn't.

(Anders, 2002:5-7)

Analyses of historical issues have recognised that numerous non-academic texts concerning transgenderism have been (co-)written by trans* people from medieval times onwards (Schaus, 2006). A significant number of these publications are (auto)biographical.

1) Trans* Biographies

While the autobiographical book written by Abbé de Choisy dates from the 17th Century, many of his perspectives are similar to the experiences of current MTF trans* people socialising in Manchester's Gay Village (de Choisy, 1973; Middlehurst, 2005). The views by de Choisy are akin to several (auto)biographical texts about trans* individuals, which have been published during the 20th and 21st Centuries. During the online investigations – ‘searches’ – of ‘transgender’, ‘transsexual’, ‘transvestite’ and ‘cross-dressing’ biographies on several commercial websites, it was noted that there were crossovers in defining these different texts. Some biographies, which, for example, were categorised under ‘cross-dressing’, were actually overtly regarding ‘transsexual’ people and visa versa. This could be interpreted as assumptions on several websites that the potential readers would be investigating publications about any expressions of transgenderism. However, this connection can also be interpreted as an implicit post-structural reflection of the actual inter- and intra- connections of trans* people.

Nevertheless, on these commercial websites and on numerous other mainstream non-academic online sites, there are assumptions that ‘transgender’ concerns a person who is ‘transsexual’ (Leonard *et al.*, 2011; Dictionary.com 2013; Farlex-Inc. 2013). Moreover, there are more contemporary biographical publications regarding people who are transsexual than those focussing upon individuals who temporarily cross-dress. This controverts the actual greater numbers of cross-dressers than transsexual people (Monger, 1992; Namaste, 2000; Boyd, 2003; GIRES, 2011). Additionally, some of those texts (co-)authored by non-academic trans* people, which concern intermittent varied gender appearances, seem to principally concern ‘drag

queens' (Howard-Howard and Michaels, 1988; RuPaul, 1995; Milstead *et al.*, 2001). All of these explored texts seem to discuss gay men as drag performers and several of them also discuss gaining sexual interactions (Rodman and Silver, 1997; Harris, 2005).

There are biographies concerning cross-dressers/transvestites that discuss sexual interactions (Novic, 2004; Edwards, 2010; Edwards, 2013; Shelia, 2013). Edwards (2010, 2013) and Shelia (2013) explicitly focus upon informing readers about actual transgenderism, particularly transvestism. Novic (2004) is, allegedly, the first "contemporary crossdressing memoir" (1). In the photograph on the front cover of his text, Novic is fully cross-dressed and, superficially, 'passes' as a cissexual woman. This counters the written quote on the front cover that identifies him as "a crossdresser in search of himself and the truth". This text is a personal account, introspectively analysed using Novic's own knowledge as an apparently experienced psychiatrist. He describes that he is bisexual and has an 'open marriage' where he has a wife and children but also regularly goes out cross-dressed to meet his boyfriend. He describes that, while he is open with his wife, he is secretive in how he gets into his car when cross-dressed, in order to avoid his neighbours seeing his transvestic persona. This text is internationally well regarded by some cross-dressers and, resultantly, he was invited to give a talk at Sparkle 2006 on Saturday 24th June 2006.

Vicky Lee, who has hosted several Sparkle events and gave a talk at Sparkle 2008, edited and partly authored the text, *He Or She* (2005). This text comprises multiple viewpoints concerning the national locations and reviews of transgender friendly venues and/or a mixture of autobiographical/biographical information with advice concerning the adoption and expression of transgenderism. It partly resembles the mainstream 'women's magazines' and features similarly formatted advertisements;

short personal testimonials with experiences; and advice upon make-up and dress styles. Lee outlines hir personal position of not being exclusively male or female but the text is exclusively about MTF transgenderism and on the attainment of feminine identity with related attributes.

It details the variations of MTF transgenderism and discusses trans* people being sexually aroused during cross-dressing. In this text, the trans* woman, Sandra Lezinsky, denies fetishistic associations, and expresses, “I prefer sex with no clothes on.” (Lee, 2005:135) Contrastingly, other trans* women may “think about extreme scenarios and fantasy clothes, for example Tarts, Maids, Schoolgirls or Dominatrix. Some like to mix sado-masochistic activity within these scenarios.” (Lee, 2005:137)

There have been several recent discourses with trans* women socialising in the Village concerning the famous but controversial transvestic artist, Grayson Perry. His biography details his early life; his initial lessons in cross-dressing; his sexual fetishes; and experiments in pottery. His transvestic appearance semiotically differs from the feminine image that Novic displays. Perry has expressed that he prefers to dress in outfits that are fetishistic (Jones, 2006). On the cover of this biographical text, entitled *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Girl*, he seems to be riding a child’s tricycle while wearing such a dress. He does not have breast forms. He wears a wig with a large bow on it that matches his dress. Trans* people and partners socialising in the Village have commented that, in their views, his transvestic image hampers the mainstream acceptance of cross-dressing. Their opinions concern that he presents overt fetishistic motivations, which may reflect the judgemental medical opinions about the alleged sexual motivations of cross-dressing.

A biography connected with the Gay Village is Grant (1994). Julia Grant became sensationally famous within UK media texts resulting from the BBC television coverage of her gender transition, leading to GRS (Pearson, 15th Oct. 1980 to 17th Oct. 1980). In her autobiography, Grant details both her medical difficulties regarding her transition and her relationships but Grant's text does not express her actions in the Gay Village from the 1990s. However, she was interviewed during the Sparkle 2011 festival and details some of her experiences from this time (g7uk.com, 10th Jul. 2011).

According to the interview, Grant socialised in the Village since she was 18 and had observed the development of this area. In 1993, she formally moved to Manchester and opened a café in the Village. After positively interacting with volunteers of the Manchester gay celebration Mardi Gras in 1996, she expanded her business to create a multi level bar which she named Hollywood Showbar (now called the AXM Bar) and allegedly enforced a gay only policy on this venue. As a result of her status amongst gay groups in the area, she, apparently, was able to launch the Manhattan and Legends bars in the Village and owned the LGB&T friendly International Hotel, which is just outside the Village.

In her interview, she talks about the development of the annual Manchester Mardi Gras and Pride LGB&T weekends with the disinterest from the GMP at that time; her alleged difficulties regarding interactions with the Manchester City Council (MCC); and the increasing numbers of heterosexual people socialising in the Village particularly after the showing of the BBC television programme *Queer As Folk* (Winder, 28th Feb. 1999:1).

She describes how big businesses, indifferent to LGB&T groups, were purchasing venues on Canal Street as “[e]veryone wanted to be in the Gay Village –

whether you were from Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford ... It was the place to be” (g7uk.com, 10th Jul. 2011:1). Despite her extensive charitable actions regarding gay communities, she allegedly encountered oppositions:

For the first time Julia talks publicly about how she faced an alarming campaign of harassment and intimidation. Including a visit by masked gunmen who took nothing but warned her to get out of town.

She sold up shortly afterwards, in 2002.

(Ledward, 7th Aug. 2011:1)

In her interview, she expresses fondness for the Village and is encouraging about the annual trans* celebratory Sparkle events. Nevertheless, some trans* people in the Village have expressed criticism about some of Grant’s alleged self-focussed motivations. However, their opinions may be debatable as Grant’s initial re-presentation on national television concerning her gender reassignment is regarded as ground breaking in its overt promotion of transsexual issues (Anderson *et al.*, 21st - 25th Jul. 2011). Conversely, her recent appearance on the television programme *Four In a Bed*, which was shown on Channel 4 (Studio-Lambert, 4th Apr. 2012), has been controversial and may reflect the voiced contentions (snowdoggy and ice-maiden, 3rd - 7th Apr. 2012)

2) Trans* Magazines

The Northern Concord and the Beaumont Society transgender support organisations publish quarterly magazines for members entitled *Cross-Talk* and *The Beaumont Magazine* (Baker, 26th Apr. 2013; Beaumont-Society, 2013b). These publications both present transgender advice; personal experiences; fictional and factual stories; historical reviews; advertisements; and personals. I was a member of Northern

Concord when it hosted meetings in the Village and so I received the *Cross-Talk* magazine. This publication has been advertised in contemporary trans* supportive magazines, including *TransLiving* (Marcus, 2011:72). In issue 58 of *Cross-Talk*, various transgender events in the UK, with their dates, are listed, including the Sparkle 2007 festival (Baker, 2007:4/5).

International Repartee is a British national 'glossy' quarterly MTF trans* themed publication. It is connected to the 'Rose's Forum' online website. Martine Rose set up this magazine 1989 and has been living full time 'en femme' since late 2006 (Bella-Jay, Oct. 2007). She has had facial feminisation surgery and breast implants but has self-identified in *International Repartee* as a "heterosexual transvestite" (3). Brianna, the publication editor, is the main organiser of the annual Sparkle festivals celebrating transgenderism. Features in this magazine comprise biographical features and professional photography of transvestic and transsexual women. 'Sue', who is the wife of the glamorous transvestite Leah True, also writes supportive articles within this magazine (Bella-Jay, Oct. 2007; Sue, Summer 2008).

In issues 57 and 66 of this publication there are articles I have authored, which concern extracts of the preliminary data gained from the international quantitative survey results (Chapter 4.2), hosted by the Gender Society (Middlehurst, Spring 2008 and Feb. 2011). In issue 58 there are advertisements for the London based nightclub Way Out Club, owned by Vicky Lee (Bella Jay, Summer 2008:57), the transgender support organisation the Beaumont Society (58) and the Novic (2004) text (52).

The visually similar *TransLiving* magazine also advertises in *International Repartee* and features a supportive helpline telephone number for MTF trans* people. Differently from *International Repartee*, this publication features articles, which explicitly discuss sexual matters and are supportive of variations in trans* sexualities.

This includes issue 28, comprising an interview featuring a trans* woman who was bullied at school for being gay. She has had breast implants and works “in the porn industry” (Marcus, 2009:15).

In Issue 34 of *TransLiving* magazine, there are features that suggest the national significance of the Sparkle events to trans* women, including discussing hotel availability for attending Sparkle 2011 (Marcus, 2011:3). There is a feature in this issue, concerning GRS issues written by the surgeon, Dr. Richard Curtis, who gave a presentation at Sparkle 2006. Chelsea Nicole Attonley, the annual hostess for Sparkle events on the performance stage in Sackville Gardens, is also interviewed in this magazine.

The Beaumont Society advertises in this issue. Directly beneath the Society title, the advertisement describes that it “supports Sparkle” (49). *Way Out Publishing*, the transgender publishing organisation owned by Vicky Lee, and the Way Out Club both advertise as well, citing the ‘Sparkle TG Award 2008’ for the nightclub, which was allegedly “voted by 1000s worldwide” (15). Moreover, there is an advertisement for the online *Frock! magazine* (42), which is run by The Gender Society who had stalls at the Sparkle 2008 festival. Consequently, this magazine reflects many of the analysed texts in this chapter that are directly or indirectly connected with the actual experiences of trans* people in Manchester’s Gay Village.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated varied media texts, which have re-presented diverse non-academic views of MTF trans* people. Portrayals of female characters on stage were originally only by men but with the acceptance of women on stage from the 17th Century, cross-dressed male actors were only recruited occasionally, often performing humorous roles in plays.

During the Victorian era, there were FTM and MTF stage characters, which attracted audiences who were enticed by the actors 'passing' in their presented gender role. Some of these MTF roles can be referred to as 'drag' acts and were popular during the 20th Century, gaining mainstream popularity, including in visual media texts. Influenced by 'drag' performances, male musicians, during the 1970s through to the mid 1980s, enjoyed mainstream success, combining partial cross-dressing with sexual ambiguity. However, the popularity of cross-dressing waned with the advent of the AIDS epidemic. From late 1990s there was a partial acceptance of transsexual acted roles within mainstream popular television programmes but such accepted characters 'pass' as natal women. However, the contemporary mainstream portrayal of transvestites on television seemed to remain controversial.

The re-presentations of transgenderism in contemporary mainstream magazines and newspapers are also divisive. Of the examined publications, most of the magazines feature transsexual people and not cross-dressers. The magazines *love it!*, *new!* and *Chat* are sensationalistic but are not explicitly prejudiced against the transsexual individuals featured. The article featured in *love it!* magazine that concerns transvestites (Spencer and Lain, 6th - 12th Oct. 2009:9) appears to be implicitly transphobic. However, the article featured in the *Closer* magazine is overtly

biased against transgender identities. Nevertheless, many mainstream ‘women’s magazines’ are not clearly transphobic. Additionally, some of these magazines feature telephone adverts at the end of these papers that feature lesbian and bisexual contacts. There are suggestions that the sensationalistic advertising of trans* people on these magazine covers may be waning.

The analysed ‘tabloid’ newspaper articles concern transsexual people and are sensationalistic in presentation. One of the articles misinforms potential readers about the gender identity of the trans woman featured, including photographs that interviewees allege are illegally obtained. Nevertheless, there are suggestions that some newspapers may be rejecting the sensational publications of transgenderism but they do not appear to include transvestic people.

The variations in trans* identities and sexualities are repeatedly portrayed in texts authored by trans* people. Some of these texts replicate mainstream magazines and appear to be predominantly hedonistic. These magazines often feature references to Manchester’s Gay Village and repeatedly mention the annual trans* celebratory festival Sparkle.

Some of these publications have international readers. Extracts from the quantitative data concerning trans* identities, which were presented in the *International Repartee* magazine (Middlehurst, Feb. 2011), were republished (with my permission) by the Australian transgender support organisations, the Seahorse Society of New South Wales (March 2011) and the Seahorse Society of Queensland (April 2013).

The next chapter will continue historical reviews in examining the growth of Manchester and the development of the Gay Village.

THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER AND THE GAY VILLAGE

Every town and city has its story, but few have a history that belongs to the world. Although Manchester has been intermittently inhabited for almost two thousand years, a process beginning just over two centuries ago was to put this hitherto remote Lancashire commercial and manufacturing town on the international map. Manchester was arguably the first modern city.

(Kidd, 2008:1)

Following the review of literature related to transgenderism, this chapter presents investigations into the historical development of Manchester. It will be demonstrated that this city has hosted various manufacturing industries with resultant social difficulties arising from poor housing, which were exacerbated as the industries declined. Recent progressions of this city shall be explored resulting from the reuse of derelict buildings, prominently regarding the area that became referred to as the Gay Village.

The Development of Manchester

In the middle ages, the location of Manchester was regarded as geographically unattractive, however, its location, growing around the River Irwell and the smaller rivers the Irk and the Medlock, served its adaptability throughout the various phases of the city's existence (Law, 2001; Kidd, 2008). From the 16th Century, the city became noted for woollen, linen and silk industries. Cotton industries became dominant and the city became nicknamed 'Cottonopolis' (Law, 2001; Nicol and Pelham, 2006; Unsworth, 2008; Spinning_The_Web, 2010).

By the 1800s, the city had become central to the 'industrial revolution'. The changes from this time shaped the present structure of the city. It had experienced the

development of many cotton mills and also of numerous warehouses, storing goods to sell for this growing commercial city. The city had a range of work types, although many businesses derived their existence in some manner from cotton products. As a result, Manchester not only experienced revolutions in the cotton industry but also in the engineering and chemical technologies.

There were revolutions in transport technologies during this period. The creation of canals in the area allowed easy transport of materials, including those for fuel, construction and consumption. One of the first canals completed in Manchester was the Rochdale Canal in 1804 (Law, 2001), which runs through the area that in the 1980s became known as the Gay Village (Appendix 1). Apparently, railway development also originated in the Manchester area, and initially connected with Liverpool.

Within these developments, there was a massive growth in the urban population. However this, combined with pollutant effects arising from industrialisation, made Manchester an over-crowded and unhealthy, disease ridden, place to be. Property areas came to be divided by class. Working class residential properties, often poorly built, with inadequate sanitation, were close to the businesses where the residents worked. Middle class properties were built away from the city centre, several into more rural areas (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000; Law, 2001).

The city witnessed social disturbances, including high levels of criminal activity. Some from the middle classes felt that the lower classes were suffering from a lack of moral guidance. The 'Manchester Mechanics Institute', built in 1854, was seemingly the host of adult education schemes (London-Metropolitan-University, 2004). Later it prominently hosted union meetings. Unionisation grew with workers being pressured by erratic wages and aggressive victimisation.

However, from the latter half of the 1800s, working class militarism waned, including the mass unemployment resulting from incidents such as the cotton shortage during the American Civil War. While several types of work could have erratic stability, working factory workers did benefit from good increases in wages with associated developments in leisure industries, such as music halls. Unions became focussed upon reform rather than aggressive campaigning. Manchester hosted a significant change in trade unionism. In 1868 was the first gathering for the Trades Union Congress at the 'Mechanics' Institute' and fostered the image of 'respectable' unionism (Kidd, 2008).

In the late 19th Century, the city experienced the development of the retail trade. In addition, the city became home to different national (and religious) groups, such as the Irish, Germans, Greeks, Russians, Romanians and Armenians, each expressing their distinctive identities (Kidd, 2008). Thus Manchester was becoming a cosmopolitan city. Nevertheless, there were still struggles against inequality.

Mortality rates were still high in this time but the rates began to decline in the latter part of the century as understandings of sanitation and infectious disease increased. Education standards increased during this period. However, reading and social expressions were still restricted for girls, continuing historical misogynistic prejudices. The rising literary ability within the city's population assisted the growth of the women's suffrage movement, which apparently originated in Manchester. It also assisted the development of the popular press.

London became the primary focus of concern regarding poverty and maltreatment. Contrastingly, Manchester was, delusionally, regarded as a city that embraced growing civilised behaviour, with its increasing size and impressive buildings, such as the city's Town Hall, completed in 1877 (Manchester-Confidential,

2010). It seems that the city's considerable social problems, similar to those faced by London, were often ignored (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000; Law, 2001). These difficulties seem to have been exacerbated by the city's declining cotton trade with associated unemployment. The building of the Manchester Ship Canal was to revitalise the cotton industry. Instead, its main benefit was to engineering businesses, encouraging the development of the industrial estate, Trafford Park. Nonetheless, unemployment between the two world wars was still significant, often giving rise to unhealthy slums, with resultant public unrest. While Britain's survival during World War II was assisted by Manchester's engineering industries, these industries deteriorated after the war. By the 1950s the retail trade and service industries were coming to dominate.

Leisure distractions also became more important, including the popularity of cinemas after the decline of music halls. Nevertheless, by the late 1950s and into the 1960s they were also declining, as television became a powerful magnet for people. However, sports clubs developed; notably football, rugby, cricket, boxing, speedway and greyhound racing. Manchester United and Manchester City were both popular football clubs, with the former gaining an international following, notably following its recovery following the death of eight of its football players in the infamous Munich air crash of 1958 (BBC_News, 2008; The_Times/The_Sunday_Times, 2008).

In the late 1950s many housing estates still hosted poverty, with associated health problems. They often had considerable social problems and relocating communities into new housing estates, notably high-rise buildings, increased these difficulties (Law, 2001). Apparently, racial communities tended to segregate in distinct areas often as a result of racial prejudices. Some of these limited areas in central Manchester became recognised for their racial dominance, such as 'Chinatown' (BBC_Home, 2004).

Manchester continued to decline from the 1960s. By the 1970s, the population living in the city centre had decreased dramatically (Law, 2001). Inner cities were increasingly overcrowded. The recession of the 1980s continued with increased destitution and unemployment in the city. However, during this time, influenced by the Conservative government's market philosophies, Manchester began to reinvent itself. With increasing globalisation, fuelled by the massive development of the Internet, Manchester's local government, which was dominated by members of the Labour party, felt the necessity to rebrand the city (Darbyshire, 2007) as an entrepreneurial hub. It encouraged the growth of leisure industries that contributed to Manchester's new image of a forward-looking innovative cosmopolitan city. This cosmopolitanism included the gentrification of the city's Gay Village. With the expanding student population attending the universities in Greater Manchester, a significant number of residents in the city centre were not Manchester born, enhancing the city's alleged diverse nature.

The Development of the Gay Village

The Gay Village geographical area is an example of how the expressions of human sexuality have both been strongly influenced the structure of cities and, in return, have influenced their structure (Knox and Pinch, 2006). During the 1800s, this region was not a social part of Manchester in that it hosted manufacturing organisations and storage warehouses (Burton, 1987). By the mid 20th Century, this area was in decline with the buildings being shut, abandoned and derelict. The streets and buildings close to the Rochdale Canal had become dark and secluded. This area drew prostitution with some of the pubs nearby, including the ‘Rembrandt Bar and Hotel’, hosting various criminal elements (Kidd, 2008; Yelp, 2014).

The dark and hidden locations around the Rochdale Canal also appealed to gay men to meet for discrete sexual encounters (Knox and Pinch, 2006). Additionally, some pubs in the area attracted homosexual clientele. The licensee of the Union pub on Canal Street was arrested in 1965 for openly accepting gay men (Taylor *et al*, 1996; Whittle, 1994). The pub was renamed ‘New Union’ some time after his release (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000).

Significant developments, which ultimately led to the creation of the Gay Village, came from the creation in 1964 of the North Western Homosexual Law Reform Committee (NWLRC). Alan Horsfall and Colin Harvey founded this organisation in Manchester. In contrast to some London based gay campaign groups, NWLRC wanted to assist the establishment of gay clubs following the incomplete legal status given to homosexuals after the *Sexual Offences Act (1967)*²² was passed

²² H-M-Government (1967).

(Grey, 1992; Bedell, 2007). In 1971, NWHLRC became the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE) (Weeks, 1977).

Gay clubs did not initially universally form in the Gay Village but, instead, developed close to certain parts of Manchester renowned for gay 'cruising' (TheGayUK, 2011:1). Darbyshire (2007) discusses this:

A club called Rouge, for example, which later became the Queen's Club opened near Knott Mill and was followed by the Rockingham on Brazenose Street and later Slingsby's Bar and Heroes Club on Wood Street. While something of a commercial gay bar and club scene started to emerge, ... it was situated some distance from where the Village is now between Albert Square and Deansgate. Deansgate did not remain the main centre for gay people in Manchester for very long. The centre shifted when [the bar] Samantha's opened on Back Piccadilly [street] in 1970. It moved a couple of years later to George Street where as Samantha's II it was very near to what is now known as the Village.

(84/5)

It would seem then that gay focussed venues on Deansgate only briefly existed while other clubs in the Village area continued. Napoleons 21 Club, on Bloom Street, was founded in 1972 and still remains popular. Nowadays it is just called Napoleons and advertises itself online as the longest running gay pub in Manchester (Napoleons-Nightclub, 2009). However, it appears to be a club that is predominantly popular with MTF trans* people and their admirers (Whittle, 1994).

Through the 1970s and 1980s, some members of the police force were influenced by homophobic/transphobic attitudes, notably by James Anderton, the Head of the GMP force from 1975 to 1991. In 1978 police raided the Napoleons nightclub, arresting people using a 19th Century by-law prohibiting men from dancing together (Darbyshire, 2007). More than twenty policemen raided it again on 17th November 1984, demanding that those attending give their personal details. Apparently many of the transvestites in the club refused to co-operate (Whittle, 1994).

The club was briefly closed but the farce seemingly cemented the alliance by LGB&T groups opposing the police in that “This incident resulted in a public meeting at the town hall (on 2 December 1984), which was attended by approximately 100 people, and a Gay Police Monitoring Group was set up” (G7uk.com, 7th Jul. 2011).

During this time homophobic paranoia increased with the recognition of the disease AIDS (Treichler, 1987; Avert, 2010). Resultantly, anything perceived as homosexually 'affected' was suppressed. Various media organisations, emphasising heteronormative attitudes, encouraged the national Government to pass homophobic legislation, notably 'Section 28' (or 'Clause 28') of the *Local Government Act (1988)*,²³ which prohibited the 'promotion' of gay sexuality by local authorities. This homophobic harassment enhanced the formation of the Gay Village, in seeking a refuge from anti-gay verbal and physical assaults. In this area properties were also cheap to rent or purchase (Taylor *et al.*, 1996).

In 1988, the Central Manchester Development Corporation was formed, which began the process of renewing and/or developing parts of Manchester. Furthermore, as part of resisting the homophobic attitudes of the national Conservative Government and GMP during the 1980's and early 1990s, the MCC gave greater support for homosexual people from that time. Consequently, gay clubs and pubs could be created with fewer restrictions (Darbyshire, 2007). As a result, the Gay Village became marketed as part of the publicity to re-present Manchester as embracing cosmopolitanism:

Manchester's straight-friendly Gay Village is buzzing with bars, clubs, cafes and restaurants. Ample canalside seating along the main drag of Canal Street gives summertime in the Village a cosmopolitan feel, and the fabulous Manchester Pride festival every August sees ten days of floats, parades and parties to which everyone is invited - provided you buy a wristband of course.

²³ H-M-Government (1988).

‘Pride 2007’ raised £95,000 for LGBT and HIV/AIDS charities and groups, which is definitely something to be proud of.

(Unsworth, 2008:41)

This yearly ‘Pride’ celebration reflects similar festivals in other countries, celebrating gay identities. However, from 1999, the Village has been fenced during the Manchester Pride festival, with purchasing tickets in order to access the area. This has been regarded as controversial as it is expressed on the G7uk.com (2012) website: “To add insult to injury, we’re told that fencing in ‘Pride’ is to keep us safe. It’s some kind of liberation and celebration when we must buy a costly ticket and pay private security guards if we want to be safe in the gay part of Manchester” (1).

The anonymous writer of this quote claims that some people within Manchester’s gay community have become disconcerted that many contemporary heterosexual people socialise in the marketed Gay Village, notably at weekends and most visually by groups of young straight women. Subsequently, this area has allegedly become perceived as less safe for gay people (Moran *et al.*, 2004; Binnie and Skeggs, 2006; Darbyshire, 2007).

Perhaps, as a result, overt ‘gay male’ social spaces have developed in the last five years, in addition to the Manto bar. These include the G-A-Y and Queer bars on Canal Street. Similarly, the Vanilla bar, which caters for primarily lesbian clientele, has had a policy that “men can only come in if accompanied by a woman” (Piglet, 2007:1). However, while trans* women have regularly attended the Village from the 1970s, there do not appear to be current venues in this area, which are primarily and permanently targeted at trans* people. Additionally, it seems that there have been no previous intensive investigations of the Village becoming less safe as a refuge for trans* people (Chapter 12).

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the development of Manchester with its importance as a centre for cotton processing. Resultantly, the city became nicknamed ‘Cottonopolis’. Manchester became significant during the Industrial Revolution in the 19th Century. Facilitating this, canals were built that went into central Manchester, transporting goods to and from the city. From this period, people, from a range of racial and national identities, were attracted to the city, contributing to the city’s cosmopolitan identity. However, the increasing population and continuing exploitation during this time gave rise to social tensions between socio-economic and racial groups. From the 20th Century, Manchester declined with continuing social difficulties. Many of the previously productive manufacturing and storage buildings became abandoned and derelict. However, in the late 1980s, the city began to reinvent itself, becoming more entrepreneurial.

The area, which has become referred to as the Gay Village, was not a social area in central Manchester during the 19th Century. After the decline in manufacturing industries in the city, this area became derelict and secluded, apparently attracting criminal elements. Gay men were also drawn to this area, seeking surreptitious sexual interactions before the legalisation of homosexuality in 1967. The raid upon the gay club Napoleons on the 17th November 1984 enhanced the campaign for gay rights in Manchester alongside the resistance to homophobic legal restrictions in Clause 28 of the *Local Government Act (1988)* as well as the mainstream paranoia regarding the AIDS disease.

By late 1980s to early 1990s, the Gay Village became increasingly popular and marketed as a signifier of Manchester’s cosmopolitan identity. This marketing has

included highlighting the charitable achievements by those organising the annual celebration of gay identities called Manchester Pride. From 1999, this celebration has involved fencing around the Gay Village, allegedly to protect the LGB&T people attending it. This ‘fear’ by gay people socialising in the Village apparently concerns the increasing numbers of heterosexual people regularly socialising in this area’s venues. Nonetheless, there are suggestions that LGB groups are being assertive about retaining predominantly gay venues in the Village. However, there are no equivalent venues explicitly focussed upon trans* people.

The next two chapters will detail the methodologies and methods, which have assisted the investigations of contemporary trans* communities within the Village.

OPENING THE METAL BOX METHODOLOGIES

The study of transgendered people brings with it important questions about theory and methods. How do academics understand transgendered lives, bodies, and experiences, how is data gathered to further this understanding, and what are the implications of this research when it is applied to concrete social problems – to the daily life circumstances of transgendered people?

(Namaste, 2000:9)

Following investigations into the historical reviews of transgenderism and of Manchester, this chapter includes examinations of research philosophies that have assisted the methodological developments within postmodern research as regards MTF trans* individuals socialising in the Gay Village. In what follows I will demonstrate that these analyses have benefitted from applying priori knowledge of trans* issues as well as deconstructive posteriori understandings. Investigations will be made of previous investigations of trans* issues by trans* and non-trans* researchers from the social sciences. There will also be critical examinations about concepts of researching as ‘outsiders’, ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders-within’.

(Trans) feminism shall be analysed including concepts of ‘otherness’, resisting hierarchal notions and oppressive expressions of power. Furthermore, deconstructing binary conceptions will be examined, including research strategies within the social and natural sciences. Additionally, connections with feminism and action research will be inspected alongside a deconstruction of linguistic prejudices and controversial gendered conceptions of qualitative and quantitative research.

Various expressions of ethnographic research will be analysed together with reflexive postmodern viewpoints. Within these perspectives, Queer Theory shall also be critically inspected alongside the incomplete observance of social realities. Additionally, Grounded Theory and Template Analysis standpoints will be examined.

Applications of participant observation and participatory action research stances shall also be investigated. The resultant self-reflective viewpoints will be explored.

Postmodern Research Framework

Theory can be developed as data emerges, as opposed to developing theories prior to undertaking the gathering of information (Ekins, 1997; Berg, 2007). Such a philosophy is comparable to some postmodern perspectives, which are “working without rules in order to find out the rules of what you’ve done” (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995:50). Meanwhile aspects of this research standpoint can also be deciphered within Grounded Theory and within the related approach of Template Analysis (Kristeva and Moi, 1986; King, 2004). Fernández (2005) asserts that such stances work to avoid creating theoretical prejudices that are divorced from actual experiences.

Berg (2007) presents a research structure that is a combination of “the research-before-theory and theory-before-research models. This is possible because the proposed approach is conceived as spiralling rather than linear in its progression” (24). He details progressive stages, which are continually updated as the research develops:

1. Approximate initial ideas for the research topic
2. Literature Review
3. Configuration of the research
4. Gathering and arranging the data
5. Examinations and outputs
6. Publishing the results.

This structure mirrors my methodology with the developing steps of the research having a spiralling reflective and reflexive approach that is committed to understanding the complex and at times contradictory conditions under which the trans* individuals and communities operate on a daily basis.

The Melancholia of Researchers

I have academically researched various trans* communities in Manchester since 2003 (Middlehurst, 2005). From this time, it has been observed that a contemporary trans* person's uncertain and, sometimes, changeable gender identity can arguably reflect the methodologies used to investigate current trans* phenomena. In mixing gender identities, the (intermittent) trans* person may be searching for an elusive personal 'wholeness', which recalls the 'melancholia' concept expressed in Freud (1917). In whatever way this search is exhibited, it is similar to the researcher using analytical techniques that could facilitate the objectives of hir study but fail to eliminate the personal lacking that the researcher may be intuitively aware of but does not necessarily know what it actually is. The development of methodologies to assist the examinations might be motivated by the researcher's personal melancholia in searching for a research completeness that, consciously, appears to be unattainable. Becker (1998) expresses this by saying, "Once you've accepted the idea that our social

science imagery is lacking something, what do you do? Why is our imagery so bad? How do we improve it? I suffered, with other students, the difficulties that came with seeing the problem but no solution” (11).

Becker alleges that the procedures many social scientists use to gather data are potentially incomplete because the scientists are not ‘of those’ people they investigate. He claims that they will risk missing instructive data but also may fail to understand what data is uninformative and/or misleading. This can link with some of the investigations of trans* issues instigated by the EHRC (Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009).

However, Becker’s perspective is controversial. Transgender themed texts written by several seemingly non-trans* researchers are respected and informed (Monro, 2000; Johnson, 2001; Monro, 2005a; Ekins and King, 2006; O’Connor, 2006; Sanger, 2006). Furthermore, as such researchers are not overtly trans* they are perhaps not able to attain the alternative perspectives of a trans* person, which may present unconventional and postmodern viewpoints that go beyond the restrictions of language (Derrida, 1976). Pearce (Spring 2012) alleges as much, in indicating that her transsexual identity enables her to be seen as an ‘insider’ regarding some transgender matters. Additionally, Hines (2007) suggests that, in being a non-trans researcher she may attain different analytical results from investigations by a trans researcher. Furthermore, aspects of my analyses suggest that my overt trans* standpoint appears to have enabled countering negative impacts from previous research upon trans* issues. Several interviewees have commented they are aware of incomplete and unethical studies about transgenderism and are wary of non-trans* academic researchers. Becker touches on another related topic. To discuss this necessitates

deconstructing the artificial barriers between the natural ('hard') and social ('soft') sciences (Derrida and Bass, 2001; Helmenstine, 18th Feb. 2013).

In portraying organic chemical reactions (such as aromatic nitration) in textbooks, the associated constructed diagrams re-present processes and portray the 'correct' results of the discussed reactions (Sykes, 1981; Pine, 1987). However, the processes shown in these diagrams are fictitious. In reality, chemical reactions are complicated and difficult to express in written form (Greenwood and Earnshaw, 1984). This is similar to social science investigations where an examination of transgenderism can give correct results but, as Becker contends, the researcher might mistakenly express the development of these outcomes.

The potential misunderstanding of transgenderism being described in this post-structural fashion can be regarded as intimately linking rhetoric with science (Dicks *et al.*, 2005). My postmodern approach may in some respects be regarded as carnivalesque in apparently defying some academic sociological hegemonic methodologies (Bakhtin, 1968; Bakhtin, 1984 [1929]). However, my intention is not contradict such methodologies but, conversely, my varied conceptions assist effective interactions with the multitudinous nature of such investigations. Inevitably, within such analyses, there should be reflective insights about how personal past experiences may affect the research. This includes deconstructing binary concepts within the sciences as part of reconceiving my industrial chemistry training. My viewpoints also include deconstructing the concepts of the researcher being objective within developing empathic outlooks (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Gott, 28th Aug. 2008).

The Development of Empathic Research

The transphobic incidents encountered on Friday 27th June 2008 enhanced my post-structural reflexivity, resisting the partial position as an 'objective' researcher. It is alleged that such an objective analysis can be an imperfect researching perspective (Miller and Glassner, 1997). Contrastingly, my experiences of transphobic harassments enhanced an empathic consciousness of trans* people's adverse treatment (Schwartz and Schwartz Green, Jan. 1955; DeWalt, DeWalt and Wayland, 1998). This interfered with perceptions of 'self' and 'other' as, in Western mainstream society's misogynist perceptions, there was increasing awareness of my 'otherness' by not adhering to gender normativity (de Beauvoir, 2010 [1949]; Haraway, 1999). My transphobic experiences developed comprehensions of the hegemonic perspectives in mainstream society that indoctrinate many people to obey 'rules' of gender stereotypical behaviour. As such, those that conform

fail to perceive the suffering of the oppressed or they believe it is freely chosen, deserved or inevitable. They experience the current organization of society as basically satisfactory and so they accept the interpretation of reality that justifies that system of organization. They encounter little in their daily lives that conflicts with their interpretation. Oppressed groups by contrast, suffer directly from the system that oppresses them.

(Jaggar, 2004:56)

Consequently, in resisting patriarchal hierarchies within this research, I have been influenced by a Marxist epistemology, further shaped by Foucauldian insights (Marx, 1998 [1848]; Worldview, 2012). My deconstructive perceptions encompass discomfort with the power relationships of the interviewer/interviewee (Gramsci and Forgacs, 1988; Namaste, 2000; Berg, 2007). Hierarchical interviewing styles can lead to manipulation by the researcher (Gergen and Gergen, 2002). Such inequality can

even create tension and misunderstandings between the interviewer and the respondent (Skeggs, 2002). Additionally, a researcher could be potentially hypocritical by avoiding expressing hir actual beliefs for fear of affecting (potential) interviewees and/or their associates (Schwartz and Schwartz Green, Jan. 1955; Middlehurst, 2005). This mirrors the concerns raised by Oakley (1981) who expresses “Where both the interviewer and interviewee share membership of the same minority group, the basis for equality may impress itself even more urgently on the interviewer’s consciousness” (55).

During discourses at trans* support meetings, it was recognised that many MTF trans* people in the Village were aware of academic research techniques. Several had expressed they were sceptical about such analyses due to personal experiences that previous investigations had seemingly produced no positive alterations in mainstream conceptions of transgenderism, particularly transvestic identities. Some trans* people alleged they had been ‘manipulated’ by past researchers and concern was conveyed that my investigations might also be socially ineffective, reflecting their wariness of my academic position. Therefore, it was recognised that the perspective as a distanced researcher may be potentially damaging in liaising with (potential) interviewees. It has been recognised that postmodern reconceptions of current ethnographic research strategies may have derived from (partial) empathic viewpoints and so such outlooks will be examined in the following section.

Ethnographic Researching

Spradley (1979) points out that ethnographic fieldwork “involves the disciplined study of what the world is like to people who have learned to see, hear, speak, think, and act in ways that are different. Rather than *studying people*, ethnography means *learning from people*”²⁴ (3). However, Hammersley (1998) mentions that various investigators have claimed to use ethnographic research techniques but that there is no consistency about what constitutes ethnography. Barker *et al.* (2013) describe that there are “several research methods, often referred to as ‘ethnography’. These include Case Studies, Participant Observation, Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology, Grounded Theory, Biographical Methodology and Clinical Research Methods” (1). With the development of present-day communicative approaches, current research strategies must also include digital/online ethnographic investigations (Sandoval, 1999; Monro, 2005a).

Marcus (1998) examines ethnographic research from a postmodern and anthropological perspective. He examines ethical issues concerning ethnographic studies and competitiveness within some reflexive research. Marcus discusses examinations of reflexivity. He also sceptically reviews the modernist and postmodern perceptions within academic sociological, anthropological and feminist viewpoints. He considers the feminist opinion that “contests the sort of existentialist rhetoric and binarism (male/female, culture/nature) as a cogitative mode that is so biased toward rigidity and inflexibility questions of gender and ‘otherness’ in language use” (401). Within this perspective, my post-structural ‘otherness’ replicates (trans)

²⁴ The italics are present in the original text.

feminist viewpoints that such identifications can be conceived as adaptable and cannot be rigidly identified.

Marcus writes “although there may be differing opinions on the ultimate value of the postmodern debates for research traditions, there is little disagreement about the widespread sense of need for a distinctive set of changes in the ways contemporary societies and cultures are studied” (403/4). He asserts that ‘messy’ and complex texts (such as those within my thesis) are postmodern expressions that enable strong reflexive and diverse perspectives to influence qualitative research in the social sciences.

Zweig (1949) alleges a sturdy ethnographic position, not as an evaluator but as an equal, which reflects my own post-structural position (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995; Namaste, 2000; Wilchins, 2004). My personal ‘insider’ perspective stems from being personally uncertain about my gender identity from being a young child and socialising in the Village as a cross-dresser since late 2001 (Berg, 2007; Hines, 2007; Pearce, Spring 2012). Therefore, I am regarded by several trans* people as ‘one of us’ (Hartley, 2004). However, by adopting this overt egalitarian researching perspective, there must be reflective attentiveness to the contradictory identification as an ‘insider’ and as an ‘outsider’ to the research. Herzfeld (1983) discusses this situation, expressing that an ethnographer is on a unstable fluctuating border to the investigated communities in that the researcher cannot absolutely be an ‘insider’ or an ‘outsider’. Herzfeld claims that by negotiating this position, it is not possible for the ethnographic researcher to enact a consistent status. My research may demonstrate differences between those who have studied transgenderism primarily as an ‘outsider’, as opposed to mainly being an ‘insider’. Ekins (1997) claims that he did not align himself with any particular transgender group, stating that he gathered his data as an ‘outsider’.

Nevertheless, Hines (2007) does express the uncertainty of being an ‘outsider’ researcher.

Bloom (2002) and Suthrell (2004) are ‘outsiders’, researching transgenderism, as part of their non-inclusivity results from being cissexual. Aspects of their texts suggest that being an ‘outsider’ can set up emotional barriers between the researcher and the researchees. This is implied when Bloom was initially introduced to several of the researched transvestites as “‘Amy the writer’. Some men flinch” (2002:63) in response. During her studies, she claims that she gets “cold-shouldered by the men who find my presence as neither wife nor support staff burdensome” (93). By defining these apparent cross-dressers as ‘men’, she also suggests her judgemental interpretations about their trans* identities.

Bloom implies her mainly ‘outsider’ status when she quotes Ray Blanchard: “‘Crossdressers do not map onto anything in our world ... You will never know how they feel if you are not one of them’” (Bloom, 2002:79). This is an interesting quote, considering his controversial stance regarding trans* people (tsroadmap.com, 2009). Blanchard’s viewpoint is analogous to a comparable perspective concerning another aspect of transgenderism expressed by Whittle (1995) as “Only a transsexual could theorise a transsexual life; only a transsexual can be beyond the dualist-gendered epistemology that belongs to the project of modernism” (Appendix B). This quote could be deconstructed and, therefore, similarly claim that only a cross-dresser can conceive of a transvestic existence; only a cross-dresser can be outside the gender binary that is an intrinsic part of present-day society. The position as a cross-dresser rejects a permanent adherence to any gender stereotypes (Garber, 1992).

Problematic issues for people immersed in an unfamiliar culture/sub-culture are recognised by Giddens and Birdsall (2001). They write that a person’s beliefs and

behavioural rules are deeply rooted and suspending them can be both difficult and confusing. As a result, viewing from a different perspective can be hard to attain. Thus, gathering information predominantly as an ‘outsider’ may have significant differences from that gathered by those who are perceived as chiefly ‘insiders’.

Collins (2000) describes her personal identification within her research as an “outsider-within” (197). She details that a black female researcher’s racial and gender identity are almost required bonds in effectively gathering data from other black women. However, Collins expresses the difficulties faced by black female sociologists in conforming to and confronting white masculine bias within academic structures. Hence her term ‘outsider-within’ refers to the contradictory position that she and other black female scholars encounter in their research of black feminine cultures, which reinforces the allegations expressed by Herzfeld (1983).

The trans researchers, Hartley (2004) and Davy (2008), may also be regarded as ‘outsiders-within’. Hartley writes, “As an indigenous researcher the difference I bring to the research is a particular knowledge about ‘trans’ lives that I know through my own experience” (2004:128). In this context, I am also, in several respects, an ‘outsider-within’ in being a trans* person researching trans* communities but conforming to patriarchally-shaped, cissexual, cisgendered academic structures in processing the gathered data.

Davy (2011) echoes my own postmodern perspective concerning the alleged conceptual subversive nature of drag (Butler, 1999). While I address deconstructing the social expressions of (intermittent) trans* expressions in the Village, Davy examines deconstructing trans identities within medicolegal issues. She considers ‘gender-queering’ matters, which have been observed during my investigations (Chapter 10). Noting that Davy and several other contemporary researches of

transgenderism include awareness of Queer Theory within questioning androcentric observations, it will be explored to demonstrate the influence upon research methodologies.

Queering Research of Transgenderism

Perspectives within Queer Theory, including those adopted by Butler (1999), have been repeatedly and critically examined. Whittle (1996) describes that the origins of Queer Theory were from assertions by gay academics to gain appreciation for integrating their personal lives within objective investigations and by deconstructing sex, gender and sexuality. Whittle expresses that these viewpoints are similar to those by several current trans academics. Nonetheless, he describes that while academia can be partially protective, gay and trans academics still face dangers within many social spaces. Whittle queries Butler's concept of performativity, which has been sceptically analysed by several researchers together with Butler's debatable proposals about the disruptive nature of self-aware drag (Davy, 2011). Namaste (2000) expresses cynical viewpoints comparable to those of Whittle and Davy, claiming that Butler's theories fail to account for the realities of transgender people's lives. Reflecting these sceptical opinions, I have observed, in the social geography of Manchester's Gay Village, that trans* presentations, including drag, can be unconsciously disruptive, as deconstructing the observers' viewpoints do not depend upon the self-awareness of the observed trans* individuals.

Gender crossing within some sub-cultures can be rigidly controlled and, within more mainstream cultural preconceptions, transphobic prejudices can be harmful and sometimes murderous (danielle_tg, 2012; TGEU, 2012c). While Namaste initially

refers to gay drag queens and their unstable positions within gay male heterophobia,²⁵ she extends her criticism to studies that investigate other forms of transgenderism. Namaste sceptically reviews Garber (1992) who apparently regards transvestism as a performance without considering a transvestic identity.

Ekins (1997) is also distrustful of standpoints from several queer theorists concerning their lack of focus upon the realities of transgender people's lives. He discusses Stein and Plummer (Jul. 1994) who write:

There is a dangerous tendency amongst new queer theorists to ignore 'real' queer life as it is materially experienced ... while they play with the free-floating signifiers of texts. Resolutely and unapologetically laden with theoretical jargon, it limits its audience to only the most theory-literate.

(184)

This may be regarded as an ironic quote when considering that Ekins expresses "theoretical jargon" in his text, which, therefore, can be restrictive for his potential readers. However, I am aware of the contradictory stance that several academic researchers are compelled to adopt. They may be motivated to highlight actual experiences of non-academics but express their investigations within modernist and patriarchally shaped academic textual formats that are not accessible to many non-academics (Derrida, 1976; Whittle, 1995; Collins, 2000). Indeed, the formatting of that previous sentence is an example of these conflicting positions.

Haritaworn (2008) examines Queer Theory, highlighting its explicit connection with feminist perceptions. Reflecting the realities of trans* peoples' experiences, Haritaworn writes that "A queer methodology could be a way of examining and redefining social relations, both in a traditional sociological sense, and in an emancipatory sense of reframing difference with a view to social change" (3).

²⁵ 'Heterophobia' is the dislike of heterosexuality.

However, Haritaworn questions the possibility of a queer methodology in that, by embracing deconstructivist perceptions, one deconstructs any defined methodology. Foucault (1977) writes of sciences' preoccupations with labelling and, resultantly, from his viewpoints, the existence of Queer Theory and queer methodologies reflect a complex society's obsession with labelling, identifying and restricting people. It would seem then that these could only be approximate inspirations for researchers, and not firm identifications. Indeed, any of the labels personally applied and those that define others can only be inexact. Prosser (1998) expresses cynicism regarding associating queer with trans methodologies. However, he does appreciate the disruption of binary identifications and theorising beyond gendered heteronormative concepts. Nevertheless, it could be regarded that this lack of accuracy in identification presents uncertainties within previous analyses of transgenderism.

Recognising the claims by Haritaworn concerning the connections of queer theory with some feminist viewpoints and my analyses of the connections between misogyny and transphobia, I shall examine the influences of (trans) feminist thoughts upon my methodological stance.

Feminist Standpoint

Feminist theory and praxis has also questioned the ... privileged position of observer-author. Here the argument has not been about the over-or-under representation of men and women as ethnographic authors, but rather about the relationships between feminism, gender and ethnography at more fundamental levels (Jennaway 1990). ... Wolf (1992) also offers a feminist perspective on ethnography and representation, suggesting that reflexive, self-critical attitudes are particularly characteristic of feminist thought. Feminism in general encourages an examination of power and powerlessness, the mutual obligations of researcher and researched.

(Dicks *et al*, 2005:29-30)

Reason and Bradbury (2001) look at feminist scholarship alongside resisting the enforced sexual stereotypes within masculine authority. They describe feminist sociological views that derive from actual experiences and allege they are similar to the observations of action researchers. Such feminist standpoints deconstruct hierarchal perceptions and express advice concerning exposing the concealed arrangements of oppression. Reason and Bradbury state, “Feminist grounded-research uncovers how gender and other locations influence people’s voicing and locations” (66).

They allege that researchers in feminism and action research challenge power associations within social spaces including the beliefs expressed in the social sciences of academia. Reason and Bradbury support the strategies of participatory researchers resisting hierarchical stances and preferring collaborative approaches of the researchers and the researchees. From this perspective, my research came to be motivated by my being a partial ‘insider’ to the trans* communities and deconstructing academic detached perceptions by inviting non-academics in the trans* communities to become partial ‘insiders’ to my academic studies.

Via critical self-reflexive stances, feminist-grounded action researchers develop their practices and analyse how modernist patriarchal viewpoints may implicitly influence current research strategies. This includes deconstructing prejudices that can be beyond linguistic formats (Derrida, 1976). Reason and Bradbury claim that feminist objectives have influenced action research viewpoints that information gathering should be transparent and reconceived.

Trans feminists seek to highlight and deconstruct power expressions concerning transgenderism (Davy, 2011; Hartley, 2004). The trans feminist, Julia Serano (18th Apr. 2012), critically discusses the multiple feminist stances and that other prejudices, such as racism and ableism,²⁶ can interact with sexism. Serano claims some feminists emphasise gender binary prejudices, which can have overt impacts upon trans people. She defines this discrimination as ‘cissexism’ and claims this bias declares

trans people’s gender identities and expressions as less legitimate than those of cis people (those who are not trans). Cissexism - or as some describe it, transphobia - can be seen in how individuals, organizations and governments often refuse to respect trans people’s lived experiences in our identified genders/sexes; in the discrimination we may face in employment or medical settings; and in how trans people are often targeted for harassment and violence.

While some examples of cissexism are quite trans-specific, others have strong parallels with what women face in a male-centric society. For instance, trans people and women are routinely objectified and deemed incompetent to make informed decisions about our own bodies, and our perspectives and lived experiences are often not taken seriously.

(1)

Serano states that this position is controversial amongst some other feminist writers. Raymond (1979) regards MTF trans people disapprovingly, “regarding them as little more than insulting parodies of the feminine” (200). The trans feminist

²⁶ ‘Ableism’ is the discrimination against disabled people.

Bornstein (1994) understands the concerns about “male-to-female transsexuals entering ‘women-only’ spaces, and attempting to assume a position of control and power” (76). She does recognise that an MTF transsexual woman can intermittently express her prior masculine dominating characteristics. However, she expresses that discomfort should not be about transsexuality but about expressions of masculine privileges. She also expresses that trans women should not conceal their transgender identities and asserts that such perspectives about trans openness are in the process of developing. During my research similar trans* expressions have been observed in the Gay Village. Some can be reconceived as hyperreal presentations (Chapters 1, 10 and 11).

Feminist conceptions of the androcentric partiality in scientific analyses are relevant to this thesis. Harding (1986) details feminist methodologies that reconceive scientific practices in order to combat historical patriarchal prejudices that result in poor analyses. She describes a postmodern feminist stance, which can be connected to perceptions correlating to the adverse treatment of female scientists with that of trans* people scientifically analysing. Westmarland (Feb. 2001) discusses Harding (1986) during her investigations of feminist research. She critically expresses:

It has been argued that methodology has been gendered (Oakley, 1997; 1998), with quantitative methods traditionally being associated with words such as positivism, scientific, objectivity, statistics and masculinity. In contrast, qualitative methods have generally been associated with interpretivism, non-scientific, subjectivity and femininity.

(Westmarland, Feb. 2001:1)

Influenced by this scepticism of binary presumptions, my deconstructive standpoint is resisting the sexist identifications of research methods. Consequently, this thesis is not restricted by the alleged gendered identifications of qualitative and quantitative studies. This reflects discussions regarding the preferential usage of

qualitative methods rather than quantitative research within Grounded Theory and Template Analysis (Fernández *et al.*, 2006; Clarke and Gibbs, 29th Nov. 2008; Keen, 2013).

Grounded Theory

Barker *et al.* (2013) claim that Grounded Theory, which was conceived by Glaser and Strauss (1968), is adaptable for a variety of investigated phenomena. They assert that the researcher must be sensitive to the subtle meanings of the data and that active participation in the examined communities is essential to gain understanding. Barker *et al.* detail the systematic stages of Grounded Theory including that the researchers initially decide upon an appropriate intricate project to be investigated. However, they do not indicate how this research topic was nominated. In this context, my choice of investigated subject derived from my active involvement with trans* communities in the Gay Village before my academically shaped examinations. This reflects a position described by Whittle (1996) who argues that a nominated research stance can derive from non-academic personal motivations.

Barker *et al.* state that the data collection within Grounded Theory standpoints may be qualitative and/or quantitative, which reflects the postmodern research standpoint I adopt through my data compilation. Their advised techniques include individual and focus group interviewing; questionnaires; diaries (field notes); and self-evaluation (reflective/reflexive explorations). Within the practice of Grounded Theory, this gathered information is interpreted, or coded, in three ways. The initial stage is open coding where gathered data is identified, characterised and ordered. The second stage is axial coding where relationships amongst the gathered information are

recognised. According to Barker *et al.* this can be “referred to as the ‘paradigm model’” (1) in order to enhance understanding of the investigated topic. The final stage is ‘selective coding’ where the central category of the gathered data is identified and related to the other recognised areas within the collected information. During analysis of this processed data theoretical viewpoints are developed.

During his discussions of Grounded Theory, Ekins (1997) alleges MTF transvestic and transsexual identities have received limited non-medical investigations. Additionally, he claims previous medical examinations of transgenderism influence presuppositions within social science explorations of transgender issues. Furthermore, he writes that there has been a shortage of egalitarian and ethical explorations of the social lives of MTF transgender people. Ekins resists conceptions of stereotypical binary gender expressions and recognises the complex inter-relationships within the expressions of transgender realities.

Ekins’ concerns are recognised throughout my investigations of trans* identities in Manchester’s Gay Village. This includes the current re-presentations of transgenderism that predominantly include transsexual identities rather than gathering understandings of the actual majority of trans* expressions (Chapters 2.2 and 2.3). Thus, presuppositions of cross-dressing/transvestism negatively impact upon the expressions of present-day transgenderism as well as explorations of contemporary trans* issues. During his critical examinations of the classifications of transgender identities, Ekins unconsciously mirrors the attempts discussed earlier regarding the diverse identities of LGBTQIA. He quotes, “‘Categories are not precious, just captivating. The analyst should modify them as successive data may demand’” (31).

Ekins praises interactionist approaches but places his standpoints about Grounded Theory between ethnography and ethnomethodology. He is critical of

ethnography which he claims uses anthropological fieldwork. Ekins' concern then is that such research is descriptive rather than theoretical. He goes on to point out that ethnomethodology examines the occurrence of transgenderism rather than investigating the actual social interactions of transgender *people*. Perspectives preferred by Ekins have been embraced during the gathering and processing of data for this thesis.

Berg (2007) discusses Grounded Theory and refers to Fernández (2005), writing that such an approach “forces the analyst to a new gestalt” (285) by creating easily tested and potentially expandable theories. These more valid concepts are based upon actual gathered experiences and potentially more impartial than theories derived from studies prior to actual experiences. Grounded Theory viewpoints and those of Template Analysis are adopted within prior examinations of LGB&T and intersexual issues (Alderson *et al.*, 2004; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Kneale *et al.*, Oct. 2011; Todd, 2011).

Template Analysis

Template Analysis, a form of Thematic Analysis, is related to Grounded Theory and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis viewpoints (Clarke and Gibbs, 29th Nov. 2008; Waring and Wainwright, 2008). Analysing templates within qualitative data encompasses using ‘coding’ - a technique similar to Grounded Theory but more flexible in its operation. King (2004) advises that Grounded Theory and Discourse Analysis can inhibit the researcher from being certain of the correct analyses to apply. They apparently can be too descriptive and obscure the researchees under the examined themes.

Within Template Analysis, King advises the researcher to gain preliminary investigative ideas from prior academic literature and from the researcher's personal knowledge and experiences, which can involve observational explorations. Cassell *et al.* (Jun. 2005) adopt this perspective during their research ²⁷. This standpoint reflects my postmodern approach, which derives from the data gained, firstly, as a non-academic and then through the eyes of an academic (Middlehurst, 2005).

After gaining preliminary knowledge about the subject being explored, the primary template for the investigated topic is usually created during preparing for and carrying out interviews. King (2004) discusses the contrast between initially being very well prepared or steering the interviews with adopting a more minimalist outlook to allow new issues to develop. My postmodern perspective as an interviewer involved a combination of both positions.

Once the interviews taken have been transcribed, the researcher then systematically analyses them, identifying themes or 'codes'. The codes developed during Template Analysis may have a hierarchical arrangement with main codes and subsidiary ones (Cassell *et al.*, Jun. 2005; Clarke and Gibbs, 29th Nov. 2008).

King (2004) expresses the development of the template(s) should be a self-critical and reflexive process. He warns that there can be uncertainty in ceasing in the elaboration of the research template and that coding can lead to the research gained being descriptive rather than analytical. Moreover, there is concern that listing the identified codes by the frequency they are expressed may not signify the most consequential issues (Clarke and Gibbs, 29th Nov. 2008). Direct quotes from the interviewees are also necessary in shaping the research as part of being reflective of realities. However, "A fundamental tension in Template Analysis (indeed in most

²⁷ The Economic and Social Research Council.

qualitative research) is the need to be open about the data and the need to impose some shape and structure on the analytical process” (269). Noting that the qualitative aspects of both Template Analysis and Grounded Theory seem to include participatory observations (Reinard, 2005) I will explore this perspective.

Participant Observation

Howell (1973) plus Giddens and Birdsall (2001) discuss being a participant observer, which is “not simply as an observer but as an active participant in its daily life” (654). They express the complications of being an ‘outsider’ to the investigated community but also the advantages of being actively present and building friendships within the examined groups. Giddens and Birdsall express the difficulties involved in gaining acceptance as an overt researcher as some of the researchees may regard the researcher as an ‘outsider’. Additionally, they write of complex ethical problems within this researching perspective. Confidentiality issues in the researcher’s texts were discussed, regarding altering the interviewees’ actual identities and presenting photographs of them. I have also encountered these matters as some researchees were indifferent about me changing their actual names in this thesis and several explicitly favoured having their real names published. However, no photographs of researchees are included in this thesis in order to avoid issues concerning visually objectifying them. This stance indicates one of the varying levels of participant observation.

DeWalt *et al.* (1998) have discussed the extents of participant observation. They recognise that there are several degrees from limited to complete participation where the researcher becomes strongly integrated with the researched communities. Related to these levels, Macionis and Plummer (2005) discuss the different

complications and advantages of covert and overt participant observation. They express that, in being an undercover participant, one of the problems they consider is the issue of complete participation. Macionis and Plummer classify this as “‘*going native*’,²⁸ which refers to the fact that a researcher will cease to be a researcher and will become a full-time group participant” (1). However, I allege this situation can also be a potential issue for being an overt participant. Another problem they recognise, concerning being an unconcealed researcher, is the situation they refer to as the “*Observer effect*,²⁹ where the behaviour of those under study may alter due to the presence of the researcher” (1). Nonetheless, recalling post-structural viewpoints, I contend that the overt *or* covert presence of the researcher in any community can affect the community (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995).

Related to this situation are positions outside social science, prominently the paradox story *Schrodinger’s Cat* (Schrodinger, 1935), which illustrates the uncertainties within quantum mechanics. This story concerns a fictional experiment in a sealed metal box. One cannot know with certainty what the outcome of the experiment will be. However, if one opens the box to discover the truth, the experiment will be contaminated. From a post-structural standpoint, researching any social ‘space’ is like opening the metal box. Resultantly, in entering this ‘space’, the researcher inevitably ‘contaminates’ the investigation. Conscious of this position, notions of ‘objective’ research could be regarded as delusional. Connected with this issue, it is recognised that the process of interviewing can have notable effects upon the interviewee (Frank and Hackman, 1975; O’Muircheartaigh and Campanelli, 1998; Davis *et al.*, 17th Sept. 2009). Additionally, while I can be conceived as an academic “outsider-within” regarding trans* communities, my personal experiences of

²⁸ The italics were used in the original article.

²⁹ The italics were used in the original article.

transphobic abuse further deconstructed the perspective of an impartial academic researcher.

Hence, consideration must be undertaken of the outcomes and impacts upon individuals and groups affected by my investigations. This should include reflective and reflexive perspectives. From these stances, together with my trans* feminist empathic perspectives and examinations of texts discussing prejudices against trans* people, my overt participation has developed to become a participatory action researcher (Scott and Marshall, 2005; Berg, 2007).

Participatory Action Research

My research has been influenced by symbolic interactionism (Berg, 2007:9). As these studies have examined human interactions, notably that my perspectives and empathic abilities are fundamental to these communications, it could be regarded that the studies also concern phenomenological research. An effective researcher must either be part of the process of the examined interactions or intimately understand the interactions and their processes. Within my research, I sought to be both from different perspectives.

I explicitly became a participant action researcher as my studies encompass assisting trans* individuals and organisations in their campaigns against transphobia but also assisting supportive and social events in the Village for trans* people. Berg (2007) writes that an action researcher actively supports and collaborates with the examined community. He alleges, “This type of research is considerably more value-laden than other more traditional research roles and endeavours” (230).

Personal Awareness

I have felt somewhat uncomfortable writing this chapter. I am objectifying those I am writing about as I discuss my analytical strategies. In this context, Probyn (1993) writes of the difficulties of ethnographic research and echoes some of my own contradictory perceptions. Within ethnographic fieldwork, I can embrace egalitarian perspectives as I interact with other trans* people. However, as I write, I deconstruct the realities of the people I have interacted with and myself into an academic textual replication of discourses.

With reference to these aims, the quote below from Whittle (1996) can be deconstructed and read in two ways, with reference to the false realism in the academic production of my research and in the production of my identity within the Village:

I become a part of the object of my study as I produce. In studying I politicise and theorise the culture of gender and irreversibly change it. The truth of my 'becoming' however, is a falsity, though it may be true at the level of the text ... No matter how hard you try to talk about somebody else, you are always going to be talking about yourself.

(196)

My re-presentations are perhaps unavoidable and can only be partly compensated by being openly self-analytical. Nonetheless, fashioning this research into academic formats does restrict presenting aspects of my personality that can be part of the foundations of my research philosophies. I am attentive to a person's body language as I talk with them. Within this, I register unspoken visual emotional information that suggests alternatives to what is verbalised. As nearly all other researchers, I unconsciously use my own body language to enhance liaisons with those I approach and so I cannot divorce myself from these assessments. All these factors are post-

structural complexities in the attempts to create effective expressions within modernist academic writings (Derrida, 1976; Baudrillard, 1981).

Conclusion

This chapter includes discussions of various research methodologies, which have influenced my investigations of transgenderism in Manchester's Gay Village. Allegations of omissions within some previous research investigations have been explored. These debatable claims suggest that some of these absences may have been partly due to several prior researchers not being from the communities they examine.

This chapter has discussed the process of deconstructively applying natural science theories into social science investigations. (Trans) feminist post-structural standpoints have been analysed alongside awareness of 'otherness' and concepts of empathy. There have also been cynical examinations of power and hierarchical relationships. These sceptical stances have assisted deconstructing interviewer/interviewee interactions. Additionally, this chapter has included critical views about concepts of 'outsiders', 'insiders' and 'outsiders-within' together with explorations of critically self-reflexive ethnographic research.

Queer Theory, with its connections with feminist viewpoints, has been sceptically explored. Links between feminism and action research have been examined alongside deconstructing linguistic, binary and gendered prejudices. This includes encouraging combinations of qualitative and quantitative research. There have been inspections of Grounded Theory and Template Analysis views, which can reflect some postmodern perspectives. Strategies of participant observation have been inspected together with stances that deconstruct delusional attempts of objectivity with

the recognition that interviewing can powerfully influence the interviewee. The consequential participatory action research position is discussed where the researcher explicitly assists the examined communities.

The next chapter examines the methods applied within the explorations of trans* communities in Manchester together with preliminary gathered data, which has reflexively influenced qualitative and quantitative investigations.

OPENING THE METAL BOX METHODS

Following the analyses of methodologies, this chapter will detail my multi-method analyses and preliminary results from my qualitative and quantitative explorations of trans* identities. It will be suggested that my initial investigations in 2005 concerning transvestic communities socialising in Manchester's Gay Village have shaped and assisted the postmodern examinations that characterise this thesis.

These successive investigations include pilot questionnaires, which were distributed and analysed between April and May 2006. This quantitative information, gained from the responses from 90 trans* and natal women socialising in the Village, will be examined. It will be alleged that they have assisted my qualitative research as well as my trans* themed international online quantitative studies. There will be analyses of these online questionnaires, which have gathered 390,227 data inputs from respondents. Subjects discussed in the questionnaires specifically focussed upon MTF trans* identities will be analysed. It will be proposed that some of these survey results assist triangulating the qualitative research explorations.

Ethnographic analyses including digital ethnography will be critically inspected. Additionally, gaining interviews through email discourses and creating weblogs shall be investigated. Ethical interview techniques shall be studied, including sampling strategies. There will be examinations of focus group discourses and the topics discussed within the interviews of individuals. Concepts derived from Template Analysis techniques to assist the investigation of my gathered research data will be detailed. The outcomes and impacts upon interviewees from being interviewed shall be explored. Critical investigations of the outcomes of researching upon researchers will also feature.

Preparations for the Research

The preparations for my postmodern research began during the qualitative investigations presented in my post-structural document *Queering Transvestism: From the Internet Closet Out and In Manchester* (Middlehurst, 2005). The title of this paper recalls the motivations by gay academics to integrate aspects of their personal experiences within their research (Whittle, 1996; Hartley, 2004; Davy, 2008). Similarly, my explorations of this subject derive from my personal identity as a cross-dresser.

During my reflective and reflexive academic investigations, I enhanced my knowledge of ethical qualitative research methods. My studies included ethnographic investigations online and in the ‘reality’ of the Gay Village. My 2005 research was centred in this area as I had observed, since 2001, that many parts of the Village seem to be trans* supportive geographical social spaces.

Moreover, I investigated the outcome of online interactions with other MTF trans* people, in which transvestic women were inspired to openly socialise in the Village (‘come out of the closet’). I had observed venues hosting LGB&T and non-cross-dressing heterosexual people plus transphobic incidents with political motivations by trans* people resisting trans* discriminations. Furthermore, I explored the social and political trans* supportive ‘Sparkle 2005’ festival and analysed online quantitative data concerning trans* identities.

There have been recent examinations of transgender issues using online questionnaires (Whittle *et al.*, 2007; McNeil *et al.*, Sept. 2012; GIREs, 28th Sept. 2012). They seem to be mainly focussed upon medical and legal issues. While they

recognise gender variance, they do not intensely examine the social interactions of transvestic and transsexual women.

Quantitative Research

1) Pilot Questionnaires

The research compiled in this thesis builds upon previous and parallel research activities from October 2005. Within this principally qualitative analysis, quantitative research was undertaken from April to May 2006. Referring to the previously gathered qualitative information and texts advising about the design of surveys, pilot questionnaires were created and distributed for trans* and for natal women socialising in the social spaces of the Village (Oppenheim, 1992; Foddy, 1993; Fink, 1995; De Vaus, 1996; Peterson, 2000). An example of these is reproduced in Appendix 2b. The data gained from 90 respondents was processed through the SPSS³⁰ computer programme and then the results were analysed (Appendix 2).

These questionnaire results suggest the nationwide attraction of the Village to transvestic women. Moreover, interactions between cissexual women, trans* women and LGB people socialising in the area seem to be restricted. Additionally, I recognised, through analysing the data from the pilot quantitative investigation, that focus groups could benefit the research for this thesis as well as enhancing knowledge of complications regarding qualitative sampling methods (Appendix 2 and 2b).

The quantitative information about the sexualities of respondents was investigated. Some of the data echoes previous quantitative explorations, which

³⁰ This is an acronym of 'Statistical Product and Service Solutions'.

suggest that transvestic women were mostly heterosexual when not cross-dressed but that figure may decrease when the respondents were cross-dressed (Bullough and Bullough, 1993). This proposes that some transvestic identities can challenge both stereotypical expressions of gender ('gendernormativity') and heteronormativity portrayed within mainstream Western societies.

However, during my qualitative interactions with trans* women in 2006/7, it was recognised that many were unwilling to discuss sexual issues. This reluctance may be a negative impact deriving from rejecting the historical presumptions of transgenderism with homosexuality together with the paradoxical support for trans* identities within a social geography identified as Manchester's Gay Village (Chapter 2.2). The reluctance of some trans* women wanting to associate with LGB identities has been observed. This includes the apparent unwillingness of trans* women to actively assist promoting trans* issues at Manchester Pride 2011 and Manchester Pride 2012. Thus, it was acknowledged that predominantly investigating social issues for trans* women in the Village would be more informative than attempting to comprehensively analyse related sexual matters in this geographical area. This decision is also enhanced by awareness that sexual issues in the Gay Village have been recently investigated (Darbyshire, 2007; Held, Jun. 2011).

2) International Online Questionnaires

The pilot quantitative investigations also assisted the development of internationally available questionnaires, which were accessible online from 2nd January 2007 to around 12th December 2010 on the Gender Society website (Glover, 2012). This postmodern quantitative investigation gained 390,227 data inputs from respondents

(Appendix 3). Aspects of this data, which was obtained from transvestic and transsexual women, are quoted in this thesis to assist the analysed qualitative information. Topics discussed in those questionnaires concerning MTF trans* people are re-presented in Appendix 5.

Qualitative Research

1) Digital Ethnography and Email Interviews

During observations of Internet discourses, investigations of previous research investigations and examinations of the above qualitative and quantitative analyses of transgenderism, it was recognised that digital ethnographic research should be an important part of my research (Stone, 1999; Monro, 2005a; Berg, 2007). Masten and Plowman (2008) discuss the limited usage of digital ethnography within sociological research. However, aware of the increasing influence of the Internet upon many social interactions within most Western cultures, effective research of transgenderism must include analyses of the outcomes and impacts online texts have upon trans* communities. Previous researchers of trans* issues have noted that the Internet provides notable and expanding aspects that significantly influence transgender individuals (Ekins, 1997; Whittle, 2001; Suthrell, 2004; Monro, 2005a; Ekins and King, 2006). However, these and other academic researchers, which investigate transgender issues, appear to omit analysing contemporary online discourses hosted on the 'UK Angels', 'Rose's Forum' and 'TVChix' websites, which are regarded by thousands of current trans* people as three prominent UK based trans* supportive websites (Chapter 7).

Murthy (Oct. 2008) claims that studies in digital ethnography are identical to other ethnographical researches except in the ways they are expressed. He describes that interviews gained through email communications can produce useful data from remote interviewees. However, he expresses concern about the incomplete integration of these sources of data collection within sociological studies. Murthy focuses upon and critically analyses “the possibilities and problems of four new technologies – online questionnaires, digital video, social networking websites, and blogs – and their potential impacts on the research relationship” (839).

Murthy has found that there have been insufficient comparisons of covert and overt analyses of digital ethnography. He describes ethnographers’ stealth examinations of websites and expresses concerns regarding ethical issues with guarding the confidentiality of researchees. Attentive to such concerns, the online data gathered from my investigations is overt. Furthermore, within the examined online discourses, the participants frequently use pseudonyms and do not detail their exact locations. Consequently, their confidentialities are safeguarded.

Murthy stresses that research data gathering from social websites, such as Facebook and My Space, are of interest when combined with other means of data collection from interviewees. He examines online blogs, also referred to as weblogs, where researchers and/or researchees write entries on a website. In this way, Murthy details that social research can be more accountable and encourage greater equality between interviewer and interviewee. Similarly to my research, he has interacted with individuals online who he has then met in ‘reality’ as interviewees.

Within digital ethnographic investigations, registrations/memberships have been undertaken with the major trans* support websites, including the ‘UK Angels’, ‘Rose’s Forum’, ‘TVChix’, and the Manchester Concord discussion forums. The

websites of trans* individuals, trans* communities and trans* supportive organisations were also regularly visited. Recalling the recommendations by Murthy (Oct. 2008), these memberships enabled creating weblogs for my research hosted on the Manchester Concord website (Appendix 8), plus the 'UK Angels' and 'Rose's Forum' websites (Middlehurst, 7th May 2010; Middlehurst, 8th May 2010). As part of my post-structural standpoint, they were composed to enable my academic research to be unconcealed and to inform trans* people about the stages of my research (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995). It also assisted online discourses between trans* people regarding the investigations. Objectives during these interactions were to enhance trust amongst trans* groups and to reflexively influence my research. These weblogs attracted trans* individuals who expressed approval of my aims and several volunteered willingness to be interviewed.

Interviewees gathered in this fashion were only interacted with by emails, sending them questions which they were able to answer in whatever manner they wished (Appendix 6). This perspective assisted deconstructing the debatable hierarchy of the interviewer/interviewee (Reason and Bradbury, 2001). One email interviewee had been befriended when she lived in Manchester and had regularly socialised in the Village up to late 2007. Questions were emailed to her as she had moved to another city (Appendix 6). Aspects of these interview transcripts expressed in this thesis have only been adjusted according to formatting differences or inadvertent spelling errors.

Murthy asserts that Internet usage is socially unequal and therefore digital research may not be applicable to all individuals in the UK. He acknowledges that social interactions are progressively defined online but stresses that researchers must be critical of such social interactions. He is disquieted by the alleged limited actions

by some academic sociological departments to gain knowledge about popular online social interactions.

Due to ethnographic observations, there was recognition of the significance of the TransForum Manchester within trans* communities in the Village. Therefore, membership of this organisation was attained, which involves receiving monthly email updates. These emails include issues important to trans* campaigning groups. The membership enabled officially assisting the organisation at Manchester Pride 2011 and Manchester Pride 2012.

2) Ethnographic Research and Interviewing in ‘Reality’

In preparing for ethnographic observations within the Village and for effective interviewing, several ethical paradigms were researched. Spradley (1979) outlines guidelines for interactions with researchees:

- Regard them with respect.
- Explicitly detail the research aims.
- Guard their confidentiality.
- Do not exploit them.
- Make the results available to them.

The Research Enterprise Development (RED) website for Manchester Metropolitan University details similar instructions (Rossall and Goodwin, 2011). Hartley (2004) also describes notable and influential research directives, derived from Stanley and Wise (1983), which shaped her interviewing procedures. Hartley advised that encouraging feminist investigations, including studies of male identities, enables greater comprehensions of transgenderism. Assisting the research of the Village, the

interviewees featured in this thesis cross identities of sex, gender, sexuality, class, and race. Autoethnographic assessments have also been included (Probyn, 1993; Skeggs, 2002) as part of awareness that my presence in the trans* communities in Manchester's Gay Village can influence the investigations.

Interviews were conducted from 13th May 2009. Sampling strategies were varied, resulting from my numerous interactions within the trans* community in the Village since 2001. Initially, there were observations of social spaces in the Village, which are most frequented by trans* people. As a result, both staff and trans* people were approached at several of the venues in the area. Several interviewees were initially met at the annual Sparkle festivals in the Village. Some researchees were contacted in venues not in the Village but were knowledgeable about the area. Consequently, it could be regarded that my postmodern research strategies included aspects of purposive sampling.

A wide range of trans* people are often present in the Village, from those who have been coming to the area for several years, to those who are initially 'coming out' as explicitly transgender. Several such individuals were often arbitrarily met at various venues in the Village. The initial objectives were interacting with trans* women as a non-researcher, facilitating familiarity and trust. Some interviewees, who were known to me for several years, were often initially approached in this way. The interviewing with them was enhanced by the fact that they knew my trans* character and my ethical awareness. Accordingly, they were usually open respondents, requiring no dramaturgical interviewing techniques. As I was explicit about my academic investigations, some individuals, having been informed about me from other unspecified trans* women, would offer to assist the research. Thus, interacting with researchees in this way could be interpreted as snowball sampling.

As the Northern Concord group and its sequel organisation, Manchester Concord, were sources of several interviewees, concerns could be expressed that some collected data could have been gathered using convenience sampling. Such a sampling method can have weaknesses arising from gathering non-random groups that may not be suitable for the specific research (Berg, 2007). However, awareness of this concern, coupled with familiarity of the Village, motivated the recruitment of informative interviewees. Nonetheless, concerns regarding sampling at Manchester Concord meetings are unnecessary.

Many trans* women regard the Concord groups as the most notable trans* support organisations in the North West of England. Moreover, they have also been unofficially recognised as such by some members of the, London based, Women Of the Beaumont Society (Beaumont-Society, 2011b). Additionally, many trans* women in Greater Manchester regard Wednesday night as the main night for trans* people to attend the Village, which derives from the weekly Wednesday meetings of the Concord organisations since 1986.

During discourses with various trans* women online and in the Village, it has been recognised that either of the Concord groups were often the first trans* supportive organisation in Manchester that trans* people attend in the process of 'coming out of the closet' - being overtly transgender. Several interviewees have not attended Concord meetings for a number of years but were first encountered at several gatherings. Similarly, some trans* researchees were approached from sources other than the Concord and, during discourses with them, they revealed that their trans* identity had been initially expressed at Concord meetings.

Several academic and media researchers approached the national transgender support organisation, the Beaumont Society, for potential interviewees as well as

information regarding transgender communities nationally (Gosselin, 1980; de Kerchove d'Exaerde, 2001; Suthrell, 2004; Wax, 2010). Consequently, they have not gained alternative data resources from either of the Concord organisations, which could be regarded as 'outsider' trans* support groups with its members perhaps having alternative perspectives.

In addition, Manchester Concord is a major sponsor for Sparkle, the annual trans* celebration (Sparkle-Management, 2007). A number of its members are prominent organisers of the events within the celebration. Resultantly, individuals within the Concord membership are able to supply distinctive research information about the Sparkle festivals.

Finally, several organisations in the Manchester area visit Concord meetings. Several transgender dressing services in Greater Manchester recommend their clients to attend Concord meetings, often escorting them. Representatives from other notable organisations, such as the GMP, attend and detail supportive measures to oppose transphobic hate crimes. Accordingly, Concord meetings are regarded by other organisations as having significant trans* supportive functions.

Hammersley (1998) expresses that by studying small samples gained from qualitative investigations, the ethnographic data produced cannot be nationally generalised. The information gained for this thesis will not be directly generalised but this postmodern research presents knowledge of the national significance of the Village to trans* groups, particularly regarding the annual Sparkle celebrations. This includes observations of Government Home Office representatives presenting talks at Sparkle 2011 and Sparkle 2012 in order to gather data for the national support of transgender people.

Quoted extracts from my international online questionnaire data assist investigations of trans* communities in the Village. Such gatherings of information are recognised as productive and useful (Murthy, Oct. 2008). This quantitative data can imply potential national connections alongside the gained qualitative data.

3) Focus Group Interviewing

References to focus group discourses are advised strategies within Grounded Theory and Thematic Analysis perspectives. These tactics reflect characteristics within my postmodern qualitative and quantitative investigations (King, 2004; Barker *et al.*, 2013). Berg (2007) mentions the uncertainty about the ideal size of a focus group and concludes that the more complex the issue(s) to be discussed, the fewer involved participants. He suggests a group of five to seven individuals. Hartley (2004) uses two focus groups in her PhD research about trans people. These were a focus group of five trans women and another of three trans men. However, there is also another personal factor in my research, which concerns my hearing difficulties. Resultantly, a large group would present me with hearing complications, handicapping my position as an interviewer/moderator for the meeting.

A focus group was assembled on 13th May 2009 in the basement lounge area of the Taurus restaurant in the Village. This group consisted of four cross-dressers (Arista, Elsa, Hannah and Pamela), who were recruited volunteers through online discourses (Appendix 7). My position as a moderator was shaped by applicable knowledge outside of academia, previously being a Personnel Officer and Quality

Auditor.³¹ More extrovert participants could dominate the group if it was not ensured that all group members were able to express their opinions. One of the primary objectives in this focus group was to emphasise that my research was to be intrinsically shaped by trans* people in the Village and not by my personal views of what the research should cover.

The focus group discourses were initially influenced by the results gained from the pilot questionnaires. However, the participants were able to discuss various relevant subjects. These topics included transvestic women feeling content when cross-dressed but also being comfortable when expressing their male identities. They talked about the erratic understandings of trans* terminologies both within trans* communities and mainstream organisations. Their discourses included the phenomena of cross-dressers expressing separate male and female identities; of transvestites becoming transsexual; and of trans women disliking the term 'transsexual' due to the 'sexual' part of that word. The group participants considered influences of supportive online discourses upon trans* identities. They claimed that the Village helps trans* women to 'come out' and that it is generally a safe area for them. Manchester Concord was repeatedly mentioned with relation to these issues. They discussed that trans* people may dress differently within the Village social spaces than out of this area and how trans* women were supported in the mainstream shops of central Manchester. There were dialogues that some transvestic women should socialise outside the Village in order to assist non-trans* people becoming familiar with all expressions of transgenderism and, resultantly, resisting transphobic prejudices. There were political discussions that trans* people were not as publicly acknowledged as gay

³¹ As a Personnel Officer, I jointly interviewed people for job positions. As a Quality Auditor, I interviewed people in their workplace, comparing the tasks of their jobs with the details in the Quality Assurance paperwork, describing their tasks in order to update the paperwork. This position often required dramaturgical interviewing.

people, citing difficulties with acceptances within mainstream newspapers. The annual Sparkle celebrations were explored. It was stated thousands of trans* people attend and that these festivals may inspire trans* people who are reluctant to express their gender variant identities due to fears of transphobic harassments.

Whilst these four participants could be identified within racial, sexuality, class and cultural categories, these areas were not prominently explored in the limited length of this thesis, as there have not been any prior intensive examinations of the social interactions of Manchester's trans* communities. This concerns the lacking in thorough analyses of trans* supportive groups, which have existed in Manchester since 1975.

4) Interviewing Individuals

Below are the 35 interviewees who participated in this research. Further details of these interviewees and the individual interviewing processes are in Appendix 7.

Dee and Matt – (16.06.09)
Greta – (17.06.09)
Mick – (08.07.09)
Chloe – (11.07.09)
Joan and Josy – (18.07.09)
Maggie – (19.11.09)
Mary – (08.12.09)
Carl – (10.03.10)
Katy – (23.03.10)
Alicia – (25.03.10)
Luke – (10.04.10)
Peter/Petra – (19.04.10)
Dan – (09.05.10)
Leah and Liz – (12.05.10)
Larissa – (28.05.10)
Jenny-Anne – (31.05.10)
Marianne – (02.06.10)

Brianna – (09.07.10)
Arista – (24.09.10)
Valerie – (06.10.10); (31.05.12)
Alan – (10.10.10)
Jo – (11.10.10)
Rachel – (11.10.10)
Eleanor and Sharon – (13.10.10)
Laurie – (14.10.10)
Farah – (19.10.10)
Milo – (20.10.10)
Pamela – (23.10.10)
Lucy – (02.11.10)
Lavinia – (24.01.11 to 15.03.11)
Francesca – (13.12.11)
Liz – (28.09.12)

It was initially assumed that respondents would prefer to be interviewed in the Village, aware of many trans* people's desire to maintain confidentiality. However, this was not always their favoured choice. For example, two trans individuals, Joan and Josy wanted to be interviewed in my hometown, as we had been friends for several years. This is a different approach than the one taken by Darbyshire (2007) who analysed gay groups socialising in the Village. He advises avoiding going to interviewees' homes or inviting them to the interviewer's home, stressing personal risk. His negative experiences of interviewing gay individuals were different from my experiences of interviewing trans* or trans* friendly people, as there was no sense of personal risk at any point of interviewing or data gathering. Contrastingly, my research encompassed reassuring interviewees that their privacy and safety would be respected. Nonetheless, most of my interviews were carried out in the 'neutral' venues of the Village.

In conducting all these interviews, each respondent was given three forms to review. Two of them were adapted from the sample consent forms present on the RED website for Manchester Metropolitan University. These forms comprised

‘Information Form 1’, which detailed assurances for the interviewee, including guarantees to maintain confidentiality, and ‘Information Form 2’, which outlined the research (Appendix 8). Once those papers had been studied, a ‘Consent Form’ was given to the respondent for signing to indicate their understandings of the papers and acknowledgement of their freedom to withdraw from the data collection at any point with no repercussions. The two types of the Consent Forms used are reproduced in Appendix 9.

The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder but the respondents were informed that it would be largely ignored. It would be expressed that the interview would resemble having a ‘chat’, effectively a ‘semi-formal’ or ‘semi-standardized’ interview (Berg, 2007:95). A more rigid interview was avoided

because of the associated problems of preconception on the part of the interviewer in such methods. It is easy as a researcher to be setting the agenda, presupposing the answers and hence limiting the issues that people are able to discuss. An informal interview can empower the subject and enable them to direct the research to what they see as the important issues, and to clarify their own agenda.

(Whittle, 1995:Appendix B)

Deconstructing hierarchical formats of the interviewer controlling the interview, the interviewees were often informed that they would be in a superior position in many situations because they knew more about certain subjects than me (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Gergen and Gergen, 2002). This ethical interviewing style also assists the respectful interactions with respondents previously befriended prior to being interviewed. Resulting from these friendships, it was often acknowledged that they were familiar about significant issues in the Village and were aware of numerous ethical issues. Additionally, several interviewees knew what topics were to be explored and so, occasionally, pre-emptively discussed these issues before they were

asked about them. These prior friendships with respondents affected the formats of the interviews in that it can superficially appear that I was ‘leading’ the interviewee’s responses.

There were several subjects in mind to be discussed but my post-structural interviewing style would allow the respondent(s) to express various pertinent topics that I was unaware of (Whittle, 1995). This interviewing philosophy contrasts with the techniques other academic researchers of trans* issues. During the interview with Dan, I discussed various interviewing methods:

I think it’s a bit more respectful because I don’t like that thing of being, “Oh, I am the high and mighty researcher and you are my interviewee. ... I much prefer to start going, “No. This is two friends ... sitting down, talking.”

(09.05.10)

Other interviewers, who have predominantly developed their knowledge of transgenderism through research and may have assisted it by limited social interaction with researchees, can construct a series of questions based upon their studies of previous literature and brief contacts. They might design their questions to be open-ended, allegedly enabling flexibility for respondents to add relevant information. Dan expressed personal critical opinions about this approach:

It’s like [an interviewer] got certain questions and some people might find those questions a bit invasive or... they might not want to go there ... But if it just follows its own natural flow, you probably learn something that, “Oh, that’s something I’ve never heard of before. No one’s ever put it quite like that. No one’s ever viewed the Village or dressing in that way.” ... You can learn new things if you’re prepared to be more open-minded. It seems quite closed minded to ask these questions Go through questions and, [*speaking sarcastically*] “Thank you very much for that. See ya!” What you’re gonna learn from that?

Dan - transvestite (09.05.10)

This interviewing style using set questions can be problematic in other respects. Prior texts concerning transgenderism have often not significantly informed my interactions with interviewees, as previous research into transvestite identities has been incomplete and contradictory. In deconstructing the potential interviewer/interviewee hierarchy (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Gergen and Gergen, 2002), Valerie expresses some of these issues before she was asked any questions:

I've read around transvestism generally, and continue to be quite horrified by some of the gross misinterpretations and misunderstandings and even down to ... relatively recent papers making the assumption that there are strong links between sexual preference – in other words, whether you're gay – and transvestites. And this being quite widely distributed and publicised ... So not stuck away in a library to be forgotten about but actually considered of worth and yet you only have to spend a few weeks hanging around the trans scene to realise it ain't like that! So someone's written a paper never having actually gone close to a scene that involves transgender people and transvestites in particular. So those sort of things do worry me so I'm all ... in favour of supporting ... somebody close to our community and is one of the group like you as far as I'm concerned.

Valerie - transvestite (06.10.10)

In her last sentence, she expresses her positive regard of my position as part of the transgender 'group', with her implicit presumption that being regarded as a trans* 'insider' (Hartley, 2004), I would be able to proficiently research contemporary trans* women socialising in Manchester.

There can be adverse effects if the interviews are lengthy. Interviewers using set questions and inviting the interviewees to talk about other subjects at the end of the interview may result in the interviewee forgetting to mention a significant topic thought of earlier in the interview. In discussing such a method, Dan sceptically expresses:

Sounds too much like ... a job interview, where they go at the end, “Have you any questions for me?” and you just try and come up with something so it sounds like you were listening and that you are interested. You come up with a something and nothing question.

Dan - transvestite (09.05.10)

There should be consideration of the interviewee’s fatigue that impedes hir willingness to express further data. I habitually observed any visual signs in the respondents’ expressions that may suggest their desire to end the interview.

During interviewing there was never any awareness of efforts by the respondents to avoid discussing certain areas, potentially requiring dramaturgical tactics (Berg, 2007). Contrastingly, there were incidents when the interviewees detailed personal confidential information. These individuals were allowed to express their feelings to a point where they refocused on more relevant topics about the Village, occasionally with gentle verbal guidance. After completing the interview, many respondents expressed that they welcomed my interviewing style and that they felt able to build mutual trust by asking me questions about my own past, prominently my own trans* identity. Some wanted my opinions about some aspects of transgenderism and/or information about relevant historical research. This deconstructs potential interviewer/interviewee hierarchical arrangements in that the interviewees controlled aspects of the interviews (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Gergen and Gergen, 2002).

5) Analyses of the Interviews

After taking these interviews, their recordings were then transcribed and explored. Strategies related to Template Analysis were applied (Clarke and Gibbs, 29th Nov. 2008). Within this research perspective, an identified “code is a label attached to a

section of text or to index it as relating to a theme or issue which the researcher has identified as important to his or her interpretation” (King, 2004:257). Consequently, several codes or themes within the discourses of the taken interviews were recognised (Appendix 10). These identified codes (such as ‘Connections between Different Trans Identities’) are ordered in this Appendix with the names of the interviewees discussing these themes.

While these themes indicate important issues, their order, deriving from the numbers of interviewees discussing these topics, does not solely signify principal matters (King, 2004; Waring and Wainwright, 2008). The consequence of such themes may also be ascertained by the detail an interviewee discusses them. Resultantly, while “Views and Venues of the Village” is the most frequently discussed topic and is the central theme that relates to all other subjects discussed in the interviews, the code identified as “Violence in the Village” refers to an important topic that is discussed in detail by interviewees who are knowledgeable about this issue. Therefore, as King (2004) has suggested, the significance of a theme was identified by my triangulation of different research techniques. Thus, the interpretation of my coded qualitative interview data is supported by my digital ethnographic research with my participant observations of the trans* communities in the Village since 2001 and it can also be assisted by my quantitative research (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Berg, 2007). King (2004) echoes some of my triangulation strategies as he recognises that some codes can link with positivism and therefore researchers may incorporate quantitative explorations with data gathered from interviewing. Within my postmodern standpoints, the combination of my collected qualitative information and some of my international quantitative data might be regarded as post-positivist (Trochim, 20th Oct. 2006).

As a consequence of my coding and triangulation methods, the thesis chapters were formed and ordered. The sequence of these chapters reflects the actual stages of many MTF trans* people's lives in Manchester's Gay Village. Initially, the next 'Terminologies' chapter details terms, which are consistently applied throughout this thesis. Furthermore, it includes the terms preferred by trans* women in reality. The 'Gen(d)realised Perceptions' chapter presents postmodern theoretical concepts that have derived from the interpretations of the collected research data, which recalls procedures from Grounded Theory and Template Analysis.

The 'Online Support' chapter stems from interpretations of my qualitative and quantitative investigations that the initial stage, for many MTF trans* people, is undertaking online explorations prior to venturing out into the Village (as well as after socialising in the Village). As numerous trans* women seek support in being explicitly transgender, the 'Social Support' chapter follows the 'Online Chapter'. This reflects the appreciation that many trans* women have for the mutual assistance from other trans* women in the Village. The following 'The Connections of Trans Identities' chapter details investigations of this mutual support and the personal uncertainty a trans* woman may have about the specific nature of their trans* character. The associated 'Visual Expressions' chapter explores the varied presentations of trans* women in the Village, which can partially reflect the forms of their gender divergence. The Sparkle chapter relates to the previous chapters as well as those that are following. In it are analyses of the annual attendance of thousands of trans* women at the Sparkle celebrations in the Village, from those who have learnt about this festival during online explorations to those who frequently socialise in the Village. This chapter also explores the discrimination that trans* people can experience during these celebrations that links with actual experiences of transphobia.

The following 'Transphobia' chapter details that discrimination in the UK, and primarily in Greater Manchester. The subsequent, related, 'Political Support' chapters analyse politically motivated trans* supportive organisations in the Village and trans* assistance through mainstream human rights discourses together with actions by regional and national Government departments.

Outcomes and Impacts of My Research

The after-effects upon interviewees from being interviewed have been intermittently investigated (Frank and Hackman, 1975; O'Muirheartaigh and Campanelli, 1998; Davis *et al.*, 17th Sept. 2009). Within my reflective and action research viewpoints, I am aware of some of the outcomes and impacts upon my interviewees resulting from these studies.

Outcomes of my discourses with trans* women socialising in the Village include the befriending of several of the participants and their on-going assistance with my research. Following her interview with me, Liz has assisted a number of trans* women (including opposing transphobic hate crimes) and became involved in the annual trans* supportive Sparkle festival (Sparkle-Team, 2012b:1). During Sparkle 2012, I helped her organise charity auctions to benefit trans* women. I was recruited as one of the singers for her entertainment event, entitled *Keep Sparkle Sparkling*, which was at the Eden bar/restaurant on 13th July 2012. Additionally, she is on the Manchester based committee that plans Sparkle events.

Pauline, a transvestic woman, is also on this committee. She appears to have become actively political, following her interview. She is now a committee member for TransForum Manchester and, as an outcome from my trans* themed film

presentations at the Manchester Metropolitan University (20th Feb. 2012, 27th Feb. 2012 and 5th Mar. 2012), she is now an active visitor to related film presentations and interacts with university students, promoting trans* acceptance.

An impact resulted from my interview with Maggie. She approached me during the Sparkle 2011 celebration and thanked me for my interview with her, which apparently influenced her to identify as transsexual.

Added to these situations are outcomes and impacts that derive from my research of several non-trans* identified organisations. On 23rd January 2012 and 2nd April 2012, I assisted the Equality and Diversity Team at the Manchester Metropolitan University in an educational workshop and the creation of official informational documents regarding LGB&T awareness for staff at the university.

Resulting from discourses between Jenny-Anne and staff at the Manchester Museum of Science and Industry, a representative of the museum invited Liz and I to be formally interviewed concerning the annual Sparkle festivals. The outcome of this is that extracts from this interview with me featured in the publicly accessible exhibition *Behind the Scene: Stories from Manchester's LGBT communities*. It was officially opened on 10th August 2012 and ran until 1st March 2013.

There was personal awareness, towards the end of my research fieldwork, that I had become partially disconnected from my 'insider' status, particularly as I became increasingly focussed upon completing this thesis:

A further cautionary note for the insider researcher comes from Hockey (1993:199) and concerns the danger of 'the native going stranger' thereby potentially endangering the benefits of insider status. Whilst my initial stance was that of the insider, as the year of study progressed I became gradually aware of a certain dislocation occurring between my sense of being a participant within the research arena and my acceptance of a non-participant observational stance. This certainly has resonance with Hockey's concept of 'the native going stranger' but contrary to Hockey's warnings, this re-location did not appear to incur any loss of benefits.

Le Gallais (10th Sept. 2003:6)

I am aware of the repeated translations that result in the writings of social science research. This is evident in processing the data provided by interviewees. Each respondent translates his feelings/opinions from personal structures to the conceived verbal demands of the recorded interview. Mason (2002) details this situation, saying “The [interviewee’s] narrative form [provides] coherence, sequentially, a sense of progression, a purpose or a plot, and an author” (232). Within this perspective, any researcher is dependent upon the constructed and edited information that the interviewee expresses. Then there is the researcher’s personal interpretation of the recorded data, including how compatible it is with the researcher’s objectives. After that is the translation of the researcher’s comprehensions of that data into academic phraseology, prior to a reader’s own conception of the researcher’s distilled written information. This academic way of interpreting reality is inevitably shaped by dominant, historically derived masculinist, scientific preconceptions (Harding, 1986; Collins, 2000), which distort the interpretation of data concerning groups that exist outside this prevailing epistemology. Thus, all any researcher’s written work can achieve is an approximation of the gathered data. This can indicate postmodern issues concerning the inability to deliver a fundamental truth (Barthes, 1977; Karp and Kendall, 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Consequently, alternative and distinctive interpretations of ‘truth’ can only be expressed in this thesis.

Conclusion

In this chapter there have been analyses of my 2005 qualitative research about transvestites socialising in the Manchester's Gay Village with its influences upon the qualitative and quantitative investigations outlined in this thesis. Results from pilot questionnaires were examined with their resulting effects upon the qualitative research. These qualitative and quantitative explorations influenced the development of online questionnaires.

Digital ethnography has been critically studied, recognising allegations that such investigations have previously been unevenly researched. Examinations of online trans* support, my weblogs and email interviews were discussed. Ethnographic explorations in the Village were studied with the ethical applications of autoethnography. Additionally, the sampling techniques of potential respondents have been examined.

Ethical considerations and required distributed documents for qualitative interviewing were explored. Interview techniques have also been critically discussed. Furthermore, focus group discourses were analysed, prior to detailing subject areas discussed by interviewees. Procedures from Template Analysis and their applications for investigating the gathered research data have been studied. Moreover, there are critical explorations of outcomes and impacts upon interviewees after being interviewed. There have also been assessments of outcomes affecting the researcher during completing the research.

Within this chapter there have been terms regarding (trans)gender identities that have been conflictingly applied in various texts investigating transgenderism. The discourses by the focus group participants include claims that comprehensions of these

terms vary. This reinforces concerns by the *Trans Research Review* (Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009). The next chapter will investigate the applications of trans* defining terminologies.

TERMINOLOGIES

Terminology takes on particular importance in this context, for the attempt to avoid constructing the past in contemporary terms often means taking great care with the way we choose to name. ... The terms *transgender*, *transsexual*, *transman*, *tranny boy*, *FtM*, *MtF*, and so forth describe varieties of role nonconformism based on either biological sex or gender, assuming that these are not only socially constructed but also fluid. *Queer* is perhaps the most elusive of such terms. Once a taunt used against homosexuals, queer has recently been reclaimed by a variety of activists and theorists ... However, many object to the term, arguing that it erases important differences among the L, the G, the B, and the T.

(Meem *et al.*, 2010:3)

In this chapter there will be critical explorations of the ‘official’ (trans)gender terminologies and the contemporary expressions actually used within trans* communities. There shall be investigations of some gathered qualitative and quantitative information to facilitate comprehensions of ‘transvestism’, ‘cross-dressing’ and ‘transsexualism’ with related terms. Also, there will be sceptical analyses of descriptions applied by representatives of the Beaumont Society and of Manchester Concord. Within this, there are examinations of online definitions of LGB&T with ‘queer’ identities.

It shall be alleged that American definitions of ‘transvestism’ have caused controversial impacts upon concepts of ‘cross-dressing’ within UK medical, legal, academic and trans* supportive organisations. This contestable causation may also have influenced some dictionary definitions of ‘transvestism’ and could have confused and harmed the self-respects of transvestic people.

Some of my tasks as a participatory action researcher will also be detailed, assisting understandings of the diverse transgender identities. Moreover, the gained international quantitative data extracts will be examined, which presents trans* terms

used by non-academic MTF trans* people. This is alongside the qualitative information regarding the trans* terms gathered from non-academic trans* women in the Village.

Transsexualism and Transvestism

Concepts of ‘transsexualism’ are predominantly consistent within trans* research and media studies. Permanent transitioning from MTF or FTM is the main academic and medical understanding of ‘transsexualism’. The ‘sexual’ part of the word is often disliked by many of those who are transsexual, stressing that their choice to transition was not sexually motivated (BloodLeopard *et al.*, 24th Nov. 2010). Consequently, such people prefer the terms ‘transgender’ or ‘trans’.

The origins of ‘transgenderism’ are less certainly identified. This term apparently derives from the word ‘transgenderist’ which was allegedly created by the trans* woman Virginia Prince in the late 1960s and popularised in the 1970s, notably within the annual transgender celebration entitled Fantasia Fair, which is in Provincetown, Massachusetts (Ekins and King, 2004; Fair-Organizers, 2011).

The academic definitions of ‘transgenderism’ are increasingly ‘fluid’ but are inconsistent (Valentine, 2007). This inconsistency is shown, for instance, by the text *Invisible Lives: The Erasure of Transsexual and Transgendered People* (Namaste, 2000) and the similarly described article by Whittle *et al.* (2007), which are both contradicted by Moran *et al.* (2004) when they refer to “transvestites and transgendered people” (139). The incongruous conceptions of ‘transgendered people’ in these texts could indicate academic uncertainties regarding trans* identities with the resulting impact that these terms are misapplied within many non-academic

organisations. Contrastingly, the National Trans Police Association presents information that defines ‘transgenderism’ as term that encompasses expressions of transsexualism, transvestism and other gender divergences (ACPOS *et al.*, 2011). At various Sparkle festivals, there have been discourses with police officers that assert the GMP adheres to this inclusive definition.

Transvestism and Cross-Dressing (or Cross Dressing or Crossdressing or...)

On the website for the national transgender support organisation, the Beaumont Society, there is a downloadable article which details non-judgemental definitions of transgender identities:

Transvestism³² refers to the adoption, fully or partially, of the clothes normally identified as belonging to the opposite sex. Some people may also dress as part of a disguise, for entertainment or fetishism.

Cross-Dressing is the desire to adopt the clothes, appearance and behaviour normally associated with the opposite gender. For some it is simply "dressing up", while for others, known as Dual Role Cross-Dressers, it is a need to adopt the opposite role as fully as possible, on a temporary, or on a full-time basis. Sometimes such individuals are referred to as **transgenderist**.

Beaumont-Society (2011b)

These definitions do not seem to distinguish between ‘transvestism’ and ‘transvestic fetishism’. APA defines the latter in recent editions of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (Winters, 26th May 2011). Apparently, several senior members of the Beaumont Society regard ‘transvestism’ as ‘transvestic fetishism’ and, consequently, reject that word:

³² The italics and bold fonts are in their original article.

Matt [to Dee] Wasn't someone that you spoke to from the Beaumont Society?
 Dee Yeah.
 Matt 'Cause I was gobsmacked by what she said and stuff like that ... 'cause she's proper old school wasn't she?
 Dee Yeah ... We actually had someone from the Beaumont Society come up here to do an article on the shop and they're supposed to be putting it in a double page spread in the 'Beaumont' magazine and Josephine was brilliant [to Matt] wasn't she? ... She told me to get in touch with the 'Women Of the Beaumont Society'. About partners. So I got in touch with this woman. She was about 80 and I said about transvest- People have different things about transvestites, cross-dressers, TSs, TVs and all [pause]
 Matt Different categories.
 Dee From my thing is cross-dressers cross [pause] dress and don't tend to wear wigs and stuff like that.
 Matt ... They just want a feel of it. They could have a beard ...
 Dee That's my thing and that's what most people sort of think and she'd go, [mockingly dramatic] "Oh, don't call them transvestites! Oh! [pause] Ohhh! [pause] ... We want to stay away from that dirty word." Transvestites! And- [laughs]
 Matt I hear it about 800 times a day! [laughs]
 ...
 Lee When was that?
 Dee Last week on the phone!

Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

Mary, who has been a prominent 'hostess' in the Northern Concord and Manchester Concord, discusses this terminology. We had both attended the launch meeting for the Trans Resource and Empowerment Centre (TREC) on 7th November 2009 where we had met a senior member of the Beaumont Society:

Lee There was something that got me quite puzzled and maybe you can cast some light on this one [pause] that she said to me at one point- I was talking about something or other and I said "... that some transvestites do such and such." [pause] and because I'd been quite pleasant with her she was not off with me but she said, "Well, I don't ... like 'transvestite'. I prefer 'cross-dresser'..." or the big thing she really liked was 'transgendered'. Obviously ... the two of us ... [Mary laughs] are quite happy about 'trannies', 'transvestites', whatever.
 Mary Yeah, not bothered at all.
 Lee Have you come across that before?
 Mary Some people have hang-ups about the wording. It tends to be more the TSs who are more [pause] fussy about the terminology. As far as I'm concerned, a 'transvestite' and a 'cross-dresser' are the same thing.

Mary – transvestite (08.12.09)

It appears that the American medical diagnosis that ‘transvestism’ is a fetish has had a profound impact upon contemporary definitions and (academic) research of gender nonconformity (Boyd, 2003; Alice_L100, 2010). Virginia Prince had an associated dislike of that term and she influenced the development of the Beaumont Society from the 1960s. From 2005/6 I have observed the impacts of this view of ‘transvestism’ during verbal discourses within academic departments.

Resulting from this contentious diagnosis, various dictionaries give controversial definitions, which may generate further impacts, including confusing and potentially damaging the self-respect of transvestic women. On an American website, ‘cross-dressing’ is defined as “the practice of adopting the clothes or the manner or the sexual role of the opposite sex” (Farlex-Inc, 2011a:1), whereas for ‘transvestite’ two identifications are given. The first is a “person who dresses and acts in a style or manner traditionally associated with the opposite sex” (Farlex-Inc, 2011b:1). The second description is:

(Psychiatry) a person who seeks sexual pleasure from wearing clothes that are normally associated with the opposite sex

[from German *Transvestit*, from TRANS- + Latin *vestītus* clothed, from *vestīre* to clothe]

(ibid)

Acting in “the sexual role of the opposite sex” (Farlex-Inc, 2011a:1) may be true for a small number of cross-dressers but defining a ‘transvestite’ as someone dressing to seek “sexual pleasure” (Farlex-Inc, 2011b:1) would be opposed by several trans* interviewees as well as within several texts analysing cross-dressing (Bullough and Bullough, 1993; Ekins, 1997; Suthrell, 2004, Drummond, 2011).

Devilliers (2008) expresses the complications regarding defining these terms:

That great bastion of the English language, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd Edition, 1989), is both simplistic and condemnatory simultaneously, since it defines cross-dressing, which it refers to as ‘*transvestism*’, as:

“*The action of dressing in the clothes of the opposite sex; **the condition of having an abnormal desire to dress in the clothes of the opposite sex.*** (emboldening added)”

A further complication is introduced by the fact that many people - including some professional commentators and authorities - treat the descriptor cross-dresser as a synonym for the word transvestite ... as if they think that the latter is simply a more formal version of the former. Strictly speaking that is not the case, as much of the professional literature tries to make a distinction between the two words, in that it ascribes a sexual or erotic component to transvestism, which they do not ascribe to cross-dressing *per se*, and also that transvestites are allegedly troubled by their cross-dressing whilst cross-dressers are not. For my part, however, and like Kinsey before me, I will make no distinction between the words cross-dresser and transvestite, nor of any of their diminutives or variants; as far as I am concerned, they are all validly interchangeable and indistinguishable from each other.

(1)

Consequently, within this thesis, there will not be any distinction between ‘transvestism’ and ‘cross-dressing’ unless, for example, an interviewee expresses a preference. The article featured on the Beaumont Society website also defines the ‘transgender’ identity:

Transgender describes the general case of a person adopting clothing, appearance or lifestyle of the gender opposite to that assigned to them at birth. The term embraces **all aspects of gender variation** from fetishistic transvestism at one extreme – through variations of cross dressing – to gender reassignment at the other extreme.

Beaumont-Society (2011b)

‘Fetishistic transvestism’ is a trans* identity that the Beaumont Society does not formally define. The American Farlax-Inc website details definitions in its “Medical dictionary” (2011c):

Transvestism

Sexuoeroticism that hinges on dressing or masquerading in the clothes, especially underwear, of the opposite sex; it is far more common in men than in women. Cross-dressing with extreme gender dysphoria – persistent discomfort with one's present gender role or identity – may lead to sexual reassignment.

Transvestic fetishism

A paraphilia of cross-dressing; clinical question is whether the TF is accompanied by gender dysphoria—persistent discomfort with present gender role or identity, which if extreme may eventuate in sexual reassignment.

(ibid)

These definitions suggest that all expressions of transgenderism can be linked. Some trans* people are troubled by potentially transphobic updates in the DSM-5 by the APA, which can be connected to these above definitions (Winters, 26th May 2011). When Greta was interviewed she was training as a psychologist. She discusses her observations about British psychology and clinical psychology experts regarding 'transvestism':

- Greta I don't think they are familiar with it ... I guess people [pause] even psychologists [pause] are the product of the society in which they are brought up in and in which [pause] ... if you're brought up in a society that views cross-dressing as odd, then you're going to see cross-dressing as odd [pause] ... even if your professional job might involve dealing with [pause] cross-dressers ...
- Lee What do you personally feel about that? Obviously you're doing the degree, your girlfriend's a clinical psychologist [pause]
- Greta I think ... I can understand why you might get people in the 'healthy' professions who are not that much more clued up about transvestism than [pause] anyone else. And I guess the solution to that is education and awareness raising ... I suppose if you go back 20, 30 years ago [pause] gays and lesbians were in the same position in that they were ... in the shadows, as it were. But now, if you go into a psychology course, it's almost inevitable at some point that [pause] they'll be training about sexuality [pause] where it is not inevitable that you'll get material about transgender. ... I mean that may change in the future anyway because [pause] ... you've got, like, the *Gender Recognition Act*, [pause] there's more and more people [pause] revealing themselves as transgender. There's lots more LGBT societies that are becoming LGBT societies ...
- Lee You're quite well informed about this.
- Greta I wouldn't say I was that well informed [pause]
- Lee Well, you know about these changes that are going on.
- Greta [laughs a little] I'll tell you why I know about the *Gender Recognition Act* and stuff. [pause] One of the things I had to do in my day job was some work for the [pause] police ... Now the National Police Improvement Agency is ...

the central agency that is ... training and development ... for the police forces... They produced a [pause] diversity training package which I had to go through as part of the work that I was doing and I ... learnt a lot about transgender from that diversity training 'cause they talked about the *Gender Recognition Act* and ... it's actually a really good ... course. I learnt a few things [pause] Maybe psychologists should go on that course! [laughs]

Greta – cross-dresser (17.06.09)

This quote suggests that the previously mentioned lacking in the understanding of transvestism has produced impacts where several psychologists may be unable to effectively assist all trans* identities or to inform non-academics regarding ethical information concerning transgenderism.

As a consequence of this interview and as a participatory action researcher, I co-presented a 'trans* awareness' workshop on 7th October 2011, which was entitled *Engaging the Community*. Within this, I helped Jenny-Anne in the education of clinical psychology students attending the Psychology department of a local university. Additionally, I assisted Jenny-Anne when she presented a similar workshop at the Salford Royal Hospital on 28th October 2011. I was also present when she spoke at the Equality Legislation training course in central Manchester on 4th November 2011 and helped her make a presentation at a diversity promotion workshop on 8th November 2011. This hosted by the Sefton Equalities Partnership in Waterloo, Merseyside.

Queer Identities

Originally 'queer' was not directly connected with sexual matters but evolved into an abusive identifier regarding stereotypically non-normative people. However, during the 1980s, LGB&T activist organisations named 'Queer Nation' began to proactively

assert this word (Sears, Oct. 1992; Connell, 2005). After this re-signification, academic researchers articulated several LGB theories as 'Queer Studies' (Wilchins, 2004). Nevertheless, it has been observed that present-day non-academic trans* political activists rarely use this academic application of 'queer'. There have been misgivings that such expressions by some academics are divorced from the realities of current trans* people's lives (Ekins, 1997; Prosser, 1998; Namaste, 2000).

The online article by the Beaumont Society does not describe gender non-conformative 'queer' identities. Someone identified as 'queer' may, for instance, define himself as non-gendered or bi-gendered or any similar description. Resultantly, this person may not be regarded as transgender or may be regarded as transgendered intermittently, depending upon how that person presents and/or regards himself (Valentine, 2007). Consequently, some organisations use the collective abbreviation 'LGBTQ' (Guild-of-Students, 2011).

In perhaps avoiding the non-academic misunderstanding of the term 'queer', 'LGBTQ' has often been defined as abbreviating 'Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Questioning' (Surrey-County-Council, 2011). Contentiously, 'LGBTQ' has been defined as "having a sexual orientation other than heterosexual", failing to recognise that the identities abbreviated to 'T' and 'Q' are not connected with sexuality (Double-Tongued-Dictionary, 2009). Perhaps partly due to this confusion, several current non-academic organisations supporting gender diversity awareness, such as TransForum Manchester, prefer the applications of 'trans*' (TransForum-Manchester, 2013).

Insider Terminologies

There seems to be scarce research upon the varied terms non-academic trans* people use within gender divergent communities. Using qualitative research data gained within Manchester's Gay Village and the gathered international quantitative information, some of these terms will be examined.

1) Transvestite and Cross-dresser

These two descriptions are rarely used in full. Trans* people referring to themselves or other trans* people frequently apply the terms 'TV', 'T-girl', 'girl' or, more occasionally, 'CD'. However these two descriptions are inconsistent in application by trans* individuals:

I have to admit that I am a transvestite but, for some reason, am very uncomfortable with the term and am happier calling myself a cross-dresser, which I know is silly.

Rachel – cross-dresser (11.10.10)

I communicated by email with Rachel, who is often 'in the closet'. This phrase is an example of how terminologies regularly used within gay counter cultures (and by some heterosexual people in their discussions of gay people) are re-interpreted by those in trans* communities. This alternative definition of being 'in the closet' and the related term, 'coming out' – shortened versions of the phrase 'coming out of the closet' – refer to being openly trans, as opposed to being explicitly gay (Chauncey, 1994; Kennedy, 1996). Use of the word 'straight' is also altered, which is often taken to allude to being 'heterosexual' within gay and heterosexual cultures. Within trans* groups, 'straight' frequently applies to non-trans* heterosexual

people but it can refer to ‘non-LGB&T’ people. If Rachel was socialising with other cross-dressers, her preferred terminologies may alter.

Leah has socialised in the Village since early 2002 and regularly uses terms predominantly applied by trans* women:

I’ve been in ‘Vanilla’ where guys are not allowed because it’s a girl pub but they allow the odd ‘T-girl’ and I’ve been lucky to be one of the ‘T-girls’ that they’ve allowed in.

Leah – transvestite (12.05.10)

Here, Leah did not use the term ‘girl’ when referring to trans* people probably because she is discussing ‘Vanilla’ which is a bar predominantly for lesbians. Her claim that she has been ‘lucky’ to be admitted to this bar is perhaps alleging that if a trans* woman is regarded as proficiently presenting feminine performativity then she will be allowed to socialise in ‘Vanilla’.

However, the main organiser for the annual trans* celebration, Sparkle, frequently expressed this term ‘girl’, referring to trans* women, in hir ³³ interview:

You know, and there's always some drag queens in the park and there's always girls who aren't even dressed. You know, they come in ‘male mode’ just to look around ... There's some girls who are in evening wear and posh frocks and there's other girls there in hot pants and mini shirts ... It's one of the nice things about Sparkle is that it attracts all sorts of people and it's got a real sort of mixture of people attending it really.

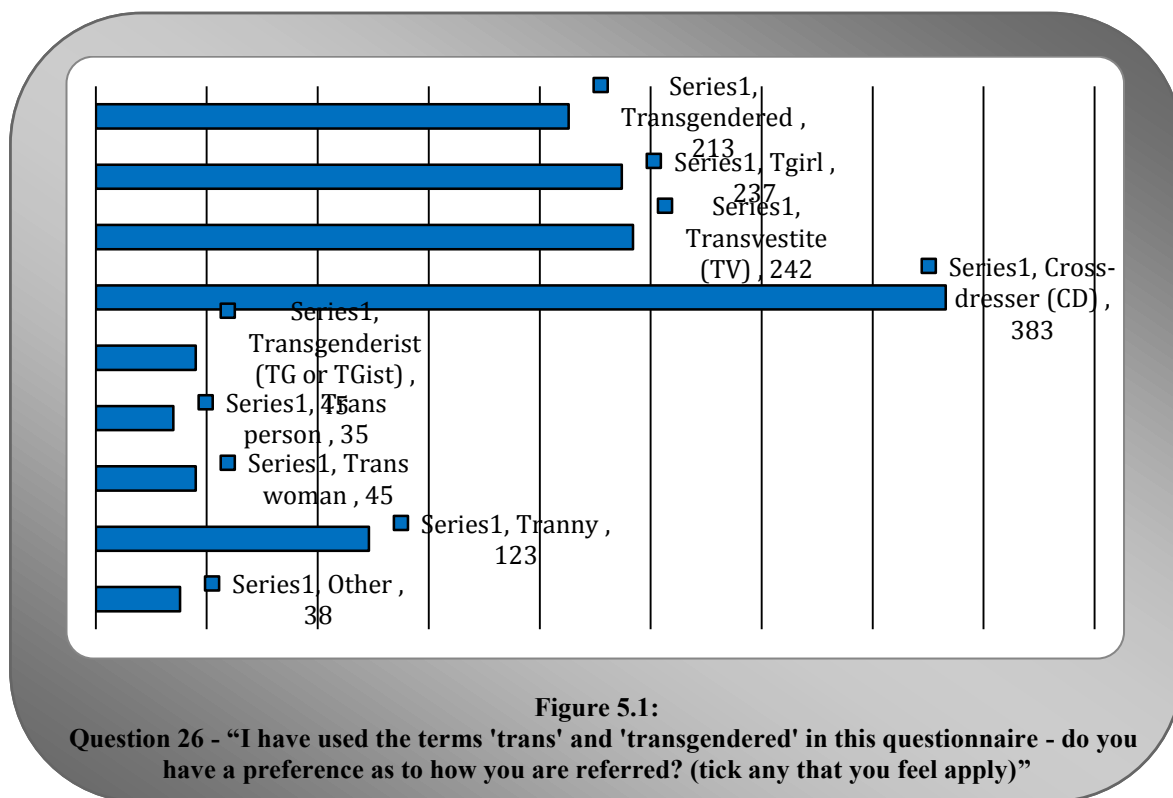
Brianna – transvestite (09.07.10)

Here Brianna applies the term ‘drag queen’ to trans* people who cross-dress extravagantly (Boyd, 2003). Transvestic women who are not cross-dressed are often referred to as being in ‘male mode’ or ‘bob mode’ (tina-jane *et al.*, 8th Nov. 2011).

³³ I have gender neutralised pronouns concerning Brianna because (s)he was not cross-dressed when I interviewed hir.

‘Tranny’ is a controversial term that is often used by trans* people in the Village. It is rarely abusively applied amongst trans* groups. However, I have heard this word being used by non-trans* people in an insulting manner. Perhaps some trans* people may be ‘owning’ that word in a similar way to how the word ‘queer’ was originally abusively applied (Connell, 2005). Transsexual people, such as Marianne, when referring to themselves and/or other trans* people, occasionally express ‘tranny’.

Aware that representatives of the EHRC recommend combinations of qualitative and quantitative data for present-day research strategies and that this also an advocated standpoint for contemporary Public Engagement research within universities (Duncan and Spicer, 2010), the information gathered from my online international questionnaires shall now be re-presented, regarding the terminologies preferred by MTF trans* people (Appendix 5). These questionnaires do not include the term ‘trans*’ as this was not in common usage when these surveys were designed. Therefore the term ‘trans’ was only conceived as the abbreviation for ‘transgender’. For respondents who identify themselves as MTF Transvestites/Cross-dressers/Transgenderists, they were asked about their preferred transgender terms. The 1361 selections are re-presented in Figure 5.1:



The 'Other' favoured terms are: 'female impersonator', 'No preference' (x3), 'woman' (x6), 'Girl', 'Transsexualite', 'man or bi', 'TV/CD/TG', 'Shemale', 'Sissy', 'don't care', 'Tranny only by other T-girls', 'Tran-dress-tight', 'Trans lesbian' (x2), 'Exploring', 'alternate lifestyle', 'Inner femme', 'bird', 'or my CD name', 'a person', 'ts', 'gurly, gurly guy', 'gurly-boy', 'Crossdresser' (x3), 'not sure', 'confused lover of silky satin lingerie and sleepwear on my body', 'bi-gendered', 'queer', 'pandrogonous'.

Of the responses given in this questionnaire question, 'queer' was used once. This term is also rarely applied in the Village. A related and postmodern term expressed here is 'pandrogynous' (the respondent entry above mis-spelt the term). It has been defined as:

The conscious embracing of elements from so many sexualities/sexual orientations, gender roles, religious viewpoints, cultural and ethnic traditions, indigenous handcrafted clothings and hairstyles, so as to render the person's original identity completely indecipherable.

Urban_Dictionary (2013:1)

I have had discourses with Arista about the concept of both of us, in different aspects, being self-conceived as 'bi-gendered'. Leah, Arista and several other trans* women regard me as androgynous whereas Arista explicitly defines herself as 'bi-gendered' due to separately adopting a male or a female character. It could be proposed that an alternative term for a transvestite/cross-dresser might be being 'bi-gender'/'bi-gendered' or being identified as a 'bi-genderist'. This may, for some transvestic people, be a suitable description of their gender identity.

2) Transsexual

'TS' is a frequent abbreviation used by many trans* people. 'Transsexual' is a infrequently applied word amongst trans* people in the Village, especially now the term 'trans' has gained common colloquial usage within trans* communities. A transsexual woman often prefers to be addressed as a 'trans woman' just as transsexual man may be identified as 'trans man'.³⁴

Several transsexual people call themselves 'women' once they have GRS because they perceive that they are no longer 'trans women'. However, some trans women in the Village would rather be referred to as 'women' before GRS as well. Trans women, such as Jenny-Anne, Josy and Joan, refer to other trans* people as 'girls'.

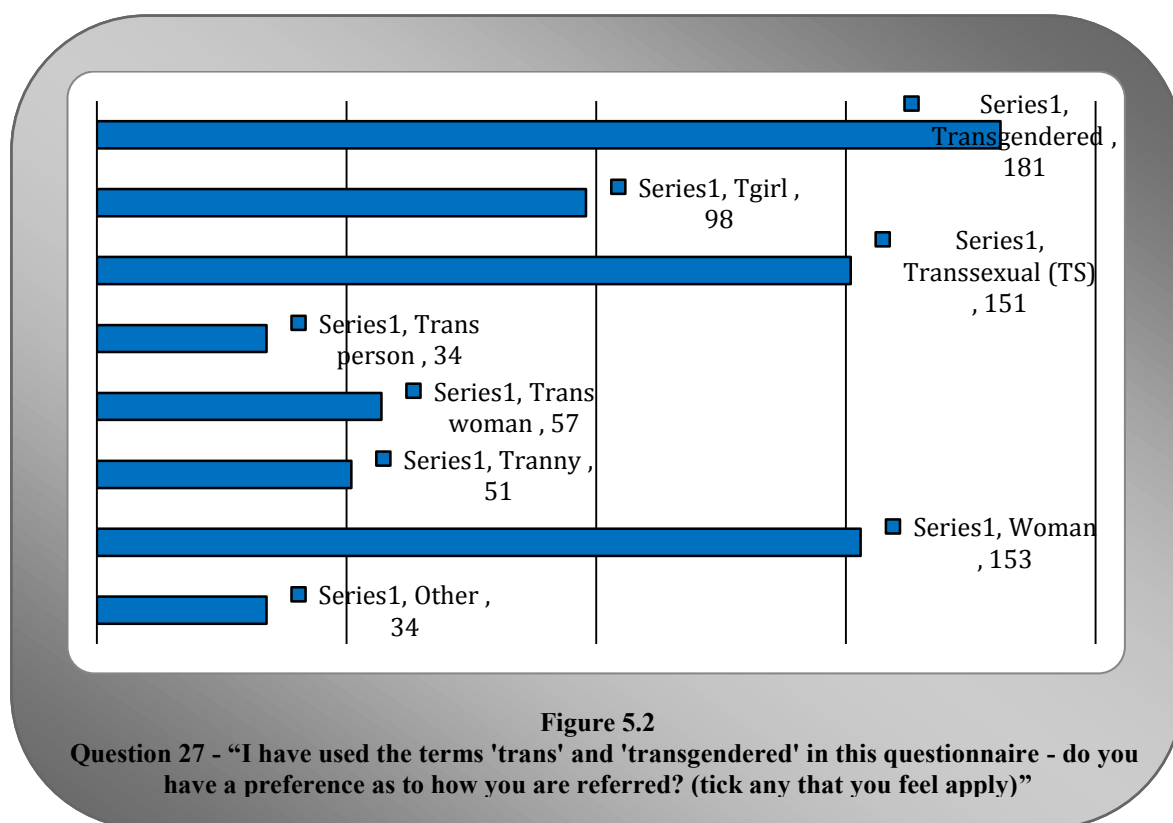
³⁴ However, that latter term has been deconstructed by an interviewed transvestic woman, Hannah, who expresses in my focus group (13.05.09) that she regards herself as a 'man who is trans' and so, therefore, as a 'trans man'.

The applications of any trans* terms by trans* people are varied. Laurie borders on transsexual and writes about transgender terminologies through email discourses:

Personally I don't associate myself with the labels transvestite, crossdresser, nor transsexual, I guess I am a transgendered person, trans female if you will, unless anything of an official nature comes along I'd rather be determined as female.

Laurie – transgender woman (14.10.10)

MTF transsexual people were also asked in the questionnaires about their preferred terms. The results gained from 759 responses are re-presented in Figure 5.2:



The 'Other' nominated terms are: 'No preference' (x3), 'me' (x2), 'crossdresser' (x4), 'just me', 'Its just a label', 'Transgender', 'Pre-op M2F', 'shemale', 'non op presently', 'transvesdit', 'By my name', 'The term "Girl" applies to young/young

looking women', 'Transsexual woman', 'two-spirited' (x2), 'girl', 'femboi, girlyboy, etc', 'FemMale', 'intersexed & transsexual', 'bad girl', 'CD', 'Individual', 'TG', 'woman/girl', 'pre op transsexual', 'bitch', 'gender variant', 'female'

'Queer' is not a term referred to by any of these respondents. The above partially comparable phrase 'gender variant' and the identifying 'trans*' term is increasingly applied in the UK, referring to the diversity of transgender identities. Jenny-Anne often uses these expressions during her campaigns for trans* rights (TransForum-Manchester, 2013). 'Gender variant' is also recognised within psychotherapy (Lev, 2004).

An additional occasionally applied word, which refers to a trans* woman, is 'gurl'. An online American trans* friend has used this term in discourses through the 'MSN Live Messenger' computer program and refers to me as 'gurlfriend'. A couple of trans* women in the Village are aware of this expression as well.

Cissexual and Cisgender

There is academic confusion about the terms 'cissexual' and 'cisgender', including inconsistency regarding how these two terms originated. Volkmar (Feb. 1998) is credited with creating the former identification. It is often used in Serano (2007) and refers to a person whose birth sex and gender identities are concordant. 'Cisgender' was allegedly first used by Defosse (25th May 1994) and is described as "the set of unearned advantages that individuals who identify as the gender they were assigned at birth accrue solely due to having a cisgender identity" (Wallis and Costello, 2010:83). However, Boyd (2009), who is a natal, heterosexual woman, outlines this term's inconsistencies:

So your average butch woman, who is not trans, or is, depending on how she feels about it ..., is now somehow cisgender. So is someone like me. So is a femme-y gay man who maybe performs a more gender normative masculinity for his job. That is, those of us who have variable genders, who maybe are gender fluid or gender neutral but who don't identify as trans, are now somehow cisgender.

(1)

Considering this perspective it should be expressed how these terms are consistently used in this thesis. Someone who is 'cissexual' is someone who is not permanently or intermittently transgendered. Someone who is 'cisgender' conforms to gender stereotypes in Western society (and most human societies). Consequently, a cisgender woman is one who is 'feminine' and a cisgender man is one who is 'masculine'. This view remains consistent within varied national stereotypes of gender. Thus, a Scottish man wearing a kilt is not cross-dressing as he is cisgender. Additionally a trans* woman is not cissexual but she may be cisgender. A 'butch'/'masculine' acting woman can be cissexual but not (always) cisgender.

These definitions may create confusion about the term 'transgender'. Perhaps this could be regarded as compatible with Derrida's determinations to deconstruct language (Appignanesi *et al.*, 1995):

Transgender people – whether they are crossdressing truck drivers, gay employees who refuse to “butch it up”, women who wear suits, or transitioning transsexuals – are becoming more visible and outspoken, and they are witnessing a dramatic expansion of the legal discourse on gender stereotypes.

(Wilchins, 2004:60)

In this context 'transgender' can mean more than someone expressing the gender that contrasts hir sex, defined at birth. However, to assist effective clarity within this thesis, the structural linguistic restrictions of 'transgender' will be adhered to in order to facilitate comprehending the deconstruction of the limiting terms within

‘transgenderism’. Consequently, someone may be described as, for example, “being transgender but acting cisgender”. Discourses have been exchanged with a post-operative transsexual woman who is proud to be a ‘tomboy’, that is, a ‘masculine’ woman. Therefore she could be seen as not ‘cissexual’ but not consistently ‘cisgender’ either.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the variations and contradictions of (trans)gender terminologies used in texts by several organisations. There have been critical investigations of texts by members of the Beaumont Society and Manchester Concord. There have been qualitative and quantitative analyses of transgender expressions actually used by non-academic transsexual and transvestic women. Within these examinations there were analyses of the terms ‘queer’ and ‘trans*’ as well as reinterpretations of phrases that are applied by gay people.

It was suggested that some controversial, present-day, UK descriptions and opinions about ‘transvestism’ have been shaped by American perceptions. This includes related mainstream dictionary definitions. It was proposed that impacts from these contentious identifications might have harmed the self-regard of cross-dressers. Several of my trans* supportive undertakings as a participatory action researcher were analysed.

The variations in transgender terminologies may suggest that present-day expressions of transgenderism enhance deconstructing modernist attempts to classify ‘identity’. Resultantly, academic definitions of ‘queer’ personalities and those within the ‘cis’ terminologies are perhaps attempts to categorise postmodern gender and

sexuality characteristics that resist modernist identifications. This resistance to unambiguous gender classifications is further explored in the following chapter, which deconstructs gender identities and presents alternative theoretical perceptions.

‘GEN(D)ERALISED’ PERCEPTIONS

Your gender isn't beauty or ugliness. I mean - that's all your ideas.

(Boy-George, 1995:2)

This chapter presents theoretical viewpoints about transgenderism that derive from postmodern investigations of the gathered data. Previous analyses relating to the motivations of trans* people will be deconstructed within standpoints that stem from analysing the actual experiences of trans* communities socialising in Manchester's Gay Village.

This chapter includes deconstructing the statements by de Beauvoir (2010 [1949]) within Queer Theory and alleged masculine insecurities. There will also be investigations of the preoccupations of people to 'pass' within stereotypical gender normativity. During this, there shall be critical evaluations of various theories, including those by Lacan (1949) and Butler (1999), which encompass deconstructing psychoanalytic hypotheses.

Adverse impacts upon transvestic identities are examined, which include deconstructing connections between transvestism and fetishism. Within this position, the intense emotional needs to cross-dress shall be analysed. There will be investigations of the alleged hierarchy of trans* identities that may be an impact deriving from several previous assessments of transgenderism. There will also be cynical examinations of societal preoccupations with 'binary' concepts.

False Perceptions

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, USA, there is an abstract painting by Jackson Pollock called *Autumn Rhythm (Number 30)*. When I saw it in 2004, I overheard a museum guide describing this painting to a group of young people. She instructed everyone looking at it not to make meaning from what is seen but rather from what is felt.

Similarly, in order to attempt to understand a trans* person's existence, one must deconstruct traditional ways of perceiving. Many medical and social science examinations of cross-dressing have attempted to comprehend the phenomenon by objective fixed perceptions (Bullough and Bullough, 1993). These observations originate from patriarchal – male controlling – indoctrinations with attempts to define 'reality' and separations of 'fact' from 'fantasy'. This separation is illusory. It is 'gospel truth' – barely questioned mythological biases that have shaped and repeatedly reshaped societies for thousands of years (Barthes, 1957; Levi-Strauss, 1958).

Trans* people (and others not conforming to patriarchal normativity) socialising in Manchester's Gay Village define perceptions in their minds and then shape the social spaces of this area. The Village is mainly a protective refuge that provides alternatives from what is perceived 'outside' as mainstream 'reality'.

Gender Insecurities

Tyler (2003) discusses theories of the philosopher Luce Irigaray who asserts that, by being a 'mimic', a woman challenges patriarchally designed feminine stereotypes. The objective is to suggest a concept of femininity, which is not dependent upon the gender binary concept with masculinity. However, Tyler expresses that the imitation emphasises masculine hegemony rather than destabilising it. Furthermore, 'queer theorists' contest the assertion of a 'true' or 'fundamental' femininity. Indeed de Beauvoir writes, "one is not born, but rather, becomes a woman" (Beauvoir, 2010:x [1949]). Therefore, the 'mimicry' is a false construction of a false construction of femininity. Consequently, there is cynicism about this ironic multifaceted falsity being able to deconstruct de Beauvoir's definitions of 'woman' as the 'Other' of 'man'.

Nevertheless, these theories ignore a fundamental binary construction of 'masculinity' performed/adhered to by many men within most patriarchal societies. Masculine identity can often be defined as being 'not women' (McElvaine, 2001). Several religious teachings emphasise numerous ways to separate 'man' from 'woman'. Some stress, for instance, a man should never shave his beard to avoid looking like a woman. Religious teachings often stipulate distinctively gendered clothing and prohibit countering normative gender identifications. Within western societies, particularly after World War II, there developed a frequent dislike by heterosexual males of the colour 'pink', commonly defined as 'feminine' and as a signifier when worn by homosexual men (Garber, 1992). There is the 'basic' definition of men as being connected to death as opposite to women being connected to life through childbirth (Laqueur, 1990). These gender insurances may suggest

‘man’ being jealous of ‘woman’, defined by the psychoanalyst Horney (1939) as ‘womb envy’. It has been suggested that ‘breast envy’ can also be a connected factor (Beiter, 11th May 2010).

Thus, the regard of women as being the ‘Other’ of men within patriarchy may rest upon a disguised insecurity that many men could actually regard themselves as the ‘Other’. Consequently, sexism, which may be violent and maliciously expressed, can be viewed as being based upon patriarchy’s central anxiety of the status of ‘man’, not as being fundamental to the formation of life but of being an ‘accessory’.

Women are then deceived into constructing a false image that is the reflection of the fabricated masculinity that derives from an unconscious instability. An ironic parody that is not recognised as irony, indeed it cannot be so recognised because it is not allowed to deconstruct. Thus the mimicry is not an ironic deconstruction but an assurance against masculine anxiety. Central to this is the ‘male ‘gaze’, which Mulvey (1975) critically analyses concerning the objectification of women in cinema (and in reality). Resultantly, conforming to this ‘gaze’ can shape the actual appearances of many contemporary women.

So where do trans* people feature in this?

An MTF trans* person occupies numerous preconceptions and presuppositions. Is the trans* woman shaping her female identity as to masculine visual presumptions about femininity? Is she conforming to the preconceptions of femininity as many women? Is she deconstructing those presuppositions about gender identity, especially if she knows she will not ‘pass’?

Passing

Serano (2007) details the contradictory concept of 'passing' for gay men and lesbians. Here to 'pass' is to be visually assumed to be heterosexual, a desire that is wrought by heteronormative patriarchy. In a similar vein, Serano writes that her 'passing' was 'pretending' to be a male. However, 'passing', before her permanent gender transition, also meant that in her cross-dressed 'guise' she would be visually taken for being a woman. However 'passing' can also be divorced from the trans* person's active preoccupation. Mainstream cisgender societies police the gender consistency of everyone seen. Thus the concept of 'passing' is a preoccupation enforced upon most people. There could be a multiple aspect to a trans* person 'passing'. She/He may be effective in 'passing', effectively becoming cisgender.

In Manchester several transvestic women have been observed who have no intention to 'pass' as conforming to gender normativity. They are not always overtly political nor are some even consciously aware. However, their deconstruction of stereotypes is notable in that it counters the patriarchal 'gaze'. Their visual deconstruction cannot completely divorce itself from patriarchal control. Rebellion, which can be unknowing, can only exist if it has something to rebel against. Irigaray's contention of an alternative existence that is not dependent upon difference becomes more interesting from that perspective.

Tyler refers to a woman's identification that is not a reflection but as her 'jouissance', which apparently concerns a woman having a sense of her internal sexualised 'gender identified' being in a way that a man may not. Perhaps this arises from women being defined as central to the creation of new life, whether they reproduce or not. This internalised and expressed power can sometimes be expressed

as, in Lacanian terms, possessing the 'maternal phallus'. This is Lacan's Caucasian, middle class, patriarchally defined heterosexual signifier for the mother's various desires leading to control over the (male) child (Stratton, 1996; Bailly, 2009). A possible alternative viewpoint could be dualistic within a female position as being a maternal being and, separately, as a sexual being (Chodorow, 1989; Spillers, 1987). Perhaps the power over the child, that is either an actual child or one who is the object of her non-sexual influence, could be referred to as 'matric' power whereas the power that is the femininely sexually propelled influence over someone or something might be named 'connubialic' power. This is not the active sexual interactions with anyone but can involve manipulating the patriarchally shaped 'gaze' of men upon a woman (Mulvey, 1975; Foucault, 1977).

So it could be suggested that a male child can be the object of 'matric' power and she teaches him, implicitly and explicitly, that he is not like her. Perhaps this leads to his need to compensate for his lack of identification through interpreting and developing 'phallic' power, particularly during his teens. Consequently, 'phallic' power becomes expressed as the less complicated metaphor used by some academics such as Tyler. A female child may identify with her mother but the child's 'connubialic' power, developing through her puberty, might give her a need to become more clearly distinct from her mother.

This is not suggesting a reversal of power interpretations, leading to a suggestion of male inferiority, but rather different viewpoints to unearth the sources of some male insecurity and female self-doubt arising from the uncertainty generating ('gen(d)erating'?) diktats of binary interpretations.

From these above theoretical suggestions a trans* person's development could be expressed differently. An MTF trans* child may be puzzled by hir mother's

instructions that (s)he is not like her when (s)he wishes to replicate hir mother's 'matric' power rather than fully embracing 'phallic' power. A FTM trans* child may be confused by hir mother's suggestions that they are alike when the child feels they are not. This may lead the female child to identify with 'phallic' power. As much as anyone theorises about alternative definitions, these meanings are intrinsically connected to gender binaries in some way. All that can be achieved are alternative perceptions for the 'gen(d)eralised' binaries. This is where transvestic identities may give further different viewpoints.

Transvestic Fetishism and Fétichisme

Transvestites have been psychoanalysed as attempting to be 'phallic women' (Bullough and Bullough, 1993). Transvestism is often contentiously dismissed as a fetish (Johnson, 2003; Ekins and King, 2006). Several researchers contradict this assumption (Woodhouse, 1989; Boyd, 2003, 2007; Serano, 2007). The psychologist Fenichel (1946) postulates that the transvestite both fetishes hir 'phallic mother' and wishes to replicate her. However, Tyler describes how in contemporary society "both masculinity and femininity are signified fetishistically, and love itself, for both sexes is fetishistic" (2003:52). This replicates assertions by Gosselin (1980) although they only seem to discuss these theories in a heterosexual context. Tyler reflects a normative heterosexual mutual desire for completeness postulated by Lacan (Bailly, 2009:142-144) and mixes the patriarchally defined word 'phallic' with her previous detailing of the feminine 'jouissance'.

A central aspect of a person's fetishism may be hir seeking 'completeness', whatever this individual's gender identity and sexuality. A cross-dresser can seek a

sexual desire additionally to emotionally needing to cross-dress. That sexual desire may be expressed differently or similarly, depending upon whether or not the transvestite is cross-dressed. This could suggest that the need to be trans* might not be directly connected to a sexual motivation. Consequently, I apply the word ‘fétichisme’ to indicate the strong emotional desire for expressing a trans* identity. Thus, the female outfits can signify the MTF trans* person’s internal ‘fétichisme’ (Chandler, 2007).

Serano (2007) details her progress as a cross-dresser to her permanent gender transition. Her autobiographic details outline not only her progression but also how cross-dressers are perceived and how they regard themselves and their relationship with sexual feelings. Serano desired to be female when she was a child but was taught, as many young male children are, that femininity was inferior to masculinity and so, consequently, women were marginalised within society (Hooks, 1984). This marginalisation, or ignorance, of women can lead many men to objectifying women. Studies suggest that some boys who are very strongly gender instructed develop powerful misogynistic attitudes (Ducat, 2004). However, as Serano writes, even within their sexist views, many men do have a powerful curiosity about this mystifying gender.

Those boys/men who are cross-dressers may feel this curiosity stronger than many other boys/men. Serano (2007) describes cross-dressers

are likely to be a heterogynous groups, encompassing a spectrum of individuals who have a feminine gender expression and/or a female subconscious sex, and who experience those inclinations at varying intensities. This explains why some crossdressers never transition, while others eventually do, and why some view crossdressing as a way to express a feminine side of their personalities, while others see it as an opportunity to experience themselves as female as much as a male bodied person possibly can.

(294)

Serano details that this marginalisation of femininity assists the understanding of how MTF and FTM trans* people differ in the progressions of their gender identities. She writes that children can identify their gender identity early in life but learn between four and seven years old that gender is fixed – referred to as ‘gender constancy’ (Ruble *et al.*, 2007). Serano opines that boys who recognise their feminine aspects prior to ‘gender constancy’ never see femininity as puzzling. Some of these boys then become ‘primary’ transsexuals, transitioning in their teens or twenties.

Serano describes how boys who have become aware of their self-identified (partial) feminine character then, by some process, integrate this into their patriarchally taught viewpoint that femaleness is ‘alien’. Thus, their intense emotional ‘need’ - their ‘fétichisme’ - to express their perceived inner femininity, may be compartmentalised through intermittent cross-dressing.

A Cross-dresser’s Self-perceptions

The term ‘cross-dresser’ is used here because it may be regarded that, initially, nearly all transgender people could be perceived as cross-dressers. Most remain as cross-dressers while some go on to permanently transition. Within that brief sentence are a multitude of variations. Some always wanted to transition from a very young age but not every transsexual person knew when s/he was a child that s/he was going to transition. There are also those who fit many transsexual criteria but choose not to transition.

Several begin cross-dressing before puberty whereas others cross-dress from their teens. The pubescent period is confusing for nearly all people with the development of their sexual feelings, triggered by the hormone testosterone present in

both sexes (Burke, 1996). Social effects shape a person's conceptions of sexual desire(s). Tyler details how fetishistic perceptions of gender are signified within numerous present-day societies, where the designs of many clothes for women appear to emphasise sexual allure (Boyd, 2003). Consequently, cross-dressing often (confusingly) becomes tied into this growing sexual awareness and so a transgender person's sexual desires can become linked to their emotional fétichisme. However, some researchers examining transgenderism do not account for these situations, including ignoring that numerous contemporary women dress in sexually alluring clothing (Brown and Rounsley, 2003; Johnson, 2003). These researchers may be indoctrinated by patriarchal societies' insinuations about stereotypical femininity. Many cross-dressers/transvestites move beyond their initial perceptions but, like numerous cissexual women, are still mildly (often unconsciously) sexually aroused by certain feminine clothing. Some items, such as corsets, are more intensively erotic both for cissexual women and for cross-dressers. This effect is often unavoidable as corsets are often used by many cross-dressers/transvestites who want to express what they perceive as a more 'feminine' figure.

Just as the process that young women go through, cross-dressers travel along paths of learning what female clothing reflects the woman they want to be. For many MTF transgender people, their perceived masculine physicality 'inhibits' their feminine appearance. However, their self-perception is not completely reliant upon stereotypical masculine defined realities (Mulvey, 1975). The graphic novel *How Loathsome* by Naifeh and Crane (2004) deconstructs present-day concepts of sex and sexual conduct (Derrida, 1976; Foucault, 1979). It features Chloe, a trans* woman, who, at one point, privately discusses her self-perception while looking at her reflection in a mirror:

Drowning in you. The cold-eyed reflection of the secret self reflected in the mirror. Sights unseen. Hopes undreamed.

“What would you say to yourself, myself, my projection, the perfect image of ‘me’ without dichotomy? I am- more perfect than I will ever be. My eyes deceive me.

“I refuse to live afraid of my own shadow.”

...

A fantasy version of reality Vs. the real me.

(100)

Thus, we reconceive perceptions of ‘fantasy’ and ‘reality’. If human concepts of gender have been repeatedly altered over the past centuries, then, through postmodern concepts, one can be compelled to deconstruct perceptions of reality and resultantly question the ‘validity’ or ‘falsity’ of a trans* person’s perceptions. Gender ‘reality’ in the quote above is a person’s perspective against the collective conditioning of people conforming to mainstream versions of gender ‘reality’. The mirror’s reflection is not merely an image of one ‘reality’. It may change according to the watcher’s mind. The mirror can present a private trans* perception, which could be visually interpreted as an idealised form of their fétichisme, divorced from the constraints of ‘unwelcome’ masculine stereotypes.

Inevitably a trans* person’s obsession with hir reflection brings up references to concepts of ‘narcissism’ (Freud, 1914) and the ‘mirror phase’ (Lacan, 1949). A reflected person is recognised as both himself and immediately not himself (Bailly, 2009). As Lacan describes it, the reflection is the ‘Ideal-I’. This narcissistic idealisation is expressed with the knowledge that the image seen is not what others may perceive but it can also reinforce the desire to become that ideal.

Serano (2007) writes:

Eventually, I reached the point where I could fairly consistently appear female to myself when I looked in the mirror. This “mirror moment” was always the highlight of any crossdressing session for me, as I found it strangely comforting to be able to see my female reflection staring back at me.

(300)

She also details that in her passage towards transsexuality she began to cultivate “relationships with people who primarily or solely knew me when I was in girl mode” (303/4). This led to her being perceived differently. She was less viewed as a heterosexual man or even occasionally not as a man at all. The spaces she existed in during this time were different from the spaces she had previously attended. She began to perceive herself not as a cisgendered male but as bi-gendered person and then ultimately as a transsexual woman.

The Village in Space

The Village is both a partial reflection as well an alternative to this narcissism. It provides social spaces that are attended by many trans* people regardless of their sexualities. Serano’s personal positive experiences of the social spaces she attended while cross-dressed can be partially replicated in the Village. She expresses:

While I certainly do not believe that crossdressing is phase that eventually leads to becoming a transsexual woman, I do believe that many crossdressers experience similar phases of demystifying femaleness/femininity and unlearning maleness/masculinity over the course of their lives.

(306)

The Village is an area at discursive margins. In this place, perceptions are different from mainstream society. Separated from patriarchal gender normativity, perspicacities of gender roles and expressions are diverse in this geographical area.

The alternative nature of this area's social spaces is shown during annual events hosted in the Village such as the international trans* celebration Sparkle. During Sparkle, the Village becomes, reinterpreting Bakhtin (1968, 1984 [1929]), 'carnavalesque'. Bakhtin makes a distinction between contemporary carnivals and those from medieval times, saying that the former are merely displayed performances whereas the latter enable potent personal re-interpreting events for the participants. The Sparkle festivals enable large numbers of trans* people to visually express their trans* identity with constructive support. For some, it leads them to publicly expressing their gender divergent identity in mainstream social spaces. That largely safe public expression allows them to learn about their personal position along the line from intermittent to permanent transgender identity.

A person can express non-cross-dressed representations outside the Village that may replicate stereotypical gender normativity but, when cross-dressed in the Village, this person is able to express different verbal and physical expressions. Here, a cross-dresser negotiates what can be named as an internal 'Foucauldian Pendulum'. This is a combination of ideas from the philosopher Michel Foucault and the physicist Jean Foucault (Foucault, 1972; Mordin, 2009). The latter was credited with the invention of 'Foucault's Pendulum', which is a tall pendulum allowed to swing in any direction. Its movement is visible evidence of the rotation of the Earth. If I reinterpret this concept with Michel Foucault, then a 'Foucauldian Pendulum' swings internally to the cross-dresser's varying expressions (and perceptions) of hir body, according to the contradictory discourses (s)he has to repeatedly negotiate. Throughout hir various expressions, hir fétichisme never disappears. It may (intermittently) fade, it may stabilise or it may intensify to such a distracting extent that (s)he needs to dismantle hir 'Foucauldian Pendulum', perhaps surgically.

Transsexualism Vs. Transvestism

Apparently, some transsexual women ‘look down’ upon cross-dressers or even less ‘dedicated’ transsexual women (Buhrich, 1996 [1976]; Whittle, 2001). Within poststructural standpoints, these hierarchical perceptions of ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ can be reinterpreted as Marxian class definitions (Marx, 1998 [1848]; Tajfel, 1978; Bechhofer and Elliott, 1981; McLeod, 2008). Therefore, the medical and social ‘definers’ of transgenderism could be regarded as the ‘bourgeoisie’. The MTF and FTM transgender people who have transitioned permanently to their preferred gender may be defined as the ‘petit(e) bourgeoisie’. The ‘petit(e) bourgeoisie’ also includes people who, when cross-dressed, ‘pass’ as, patriarchally defined, ‘glamorous’ women and, resultantly, they possess ‘connubialic’ power. The transvestites/cross-dressers who are ‘out of the closet’ can be classified as the ‘proletariat’. ‘In the closet’ transvestites/cross-dressers might be controversially described as the ‘lumpenproletariat’ or ‘underclass’ (Blunden, 2008). These categories are viewed in Figure 6.1.

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The triangular stratified class structure presented in Figure 6.1 can visually suggest the sizes of these groups. This structure connects with the assertions of power defining knowledge (Foucault, 1972, 1977), which is reflected by those in the transgender 'petit(e) bourgeoisie' who may assert their attained 'status' with increased transgender knowledge/power upon the perceived 'lesser' transgender people. The transgender 'proletariat' and 'lumpenproletariat' are conflicted between (mostly) accepting their 'subverted' status and the few who seek 'political' changes.

This hierarchical structure is perhaps a consequence of past medical objectification of trans* people, particularly those who are transvestic. Medical, legal,

and academic discourses appear to collaborate in the indoctrination of many trans* people to reflect societal gender normativity. It could be regarded that this has produced an impact where some transgender people may attempt to attain delusional superiorities upon other trans* identities and, thus, are perhaps developing a trans* hegemony, rather than regarding the varied expressions of gender diversity as equally valid.

Binaries

There are repeated references to binary conceptions within societies' structures (Cixous, 1975; Whittle, 1996). Many heteronormative misogynistic prejudices assert that 'male' is 'superior' and 'female' - the 'Other' - is 'inferior' (de Beauvoir, 2010 [1949]; Suthrell, 2004; Serano, 2007). This seems to be similarly expressed within other binaries.

Within Manchester's Gay Village interpretations of these hierarchical prejudices can be observed within the multiple layers of binary definitions of LGB&T communities. Some gay men are prejudiced against lesbians, which can evoke concepts of misogyny (Geoghegan, 28th Sept. 2009). There are dualistic prejudices actioned by both heterosexual and homosexual people, which include the bias against bisexual people as they deconstruct the sexuality binary. 'Biphobia' is dubiously claimed to be "the last bastion of prejudice" (Nunn, 14th Jul. 2009:1), which seems to ignore the hierarchical prejudices against trans* people as they deconstruct the gender binary. Therefore, transvestic people can be the recipients of adverse duality prejudices by some heterosexual, homosexual and transsexual people.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented several hypotheses, which assist in the deconstruction of visual assessments of trans* women, divorced from the patriarchal insistence of stereotypical gender presentations. There were examinations of masculine insecurities with suggestions that they could lead to the objectification of women. As a result, trans* women may reflect this objectification and seek to 'pass' as natal women in order to conform to patriarchally shaped gender normativity.

The Caucasian middle-class heteronormative Lacanian hypothesis of the 'phallic mother' is critically analysed. Alternative theories of 'matric' and 'connubialic' power are proposed to support the development of transgenderism. There are sceptical investigations of the claimed opinions that transvestism is a fetish. It is suggested to define the intense emotional need to cross-dress as a 'fétichisme'.

It is proposed that Manchester's Gay Village enables transgender women to learn internally and externally about their feminine personae with their 'fétichisme'. This theorised emotional 'need' is in all trans* identities and the hypothesised 'Foucauldian Pendulum' is a visual metaphor to aid understanding the different intensities of 'fétichisme'.

It is proposed that the contemporary hierarchy of transgender identities could be an impact from previous studies of gender diversity. These claimed levels of transgenderism, within a transgender hegemony, may have had negative effects upon the self-regard of some transvestic women and related trans* supportive political actions. These adverse effects are coupled with multiple prejudices against cross-dressers, which derive from transvestic people opposing the deconstructions of binary normativities.

The next chapter will examine Internet trans* discourses with indications that these discussions inspire trans* women to express themselves within the Village. This chapter will also examine present online deconstructions of trans* concepts.

ONLINE SUPPORT

Without the Internet, I'm 100% sure I would not be going clubbing [cross-dressed] or even gone out in the first place. It was the Internet and the links it gave ... that allowed me to make contact with other girls/groups. I use the 'net to keep in contact with my many TV friends around the country, it's mostly chat-rooms that I use ... but I belong to a number of TV groups which I use if I need information on a TV related subject. ... [T]he Internet has now developed into a kind of underground network for TVs, meaning we can pass information to individuals and groups very fast.

Julie – transvestite (from Middlehurst, 2005:22/23)

Continuing reconceiving perceptions about transgenderism, this chapter concerns the development of the Internet discourses that deconstruct geographical separations of varying trans* communities. It will be suggested that online interactions effect and affect trans* expressions in the social 'reality' of the Gay Village. It shall be proposed that contemporary trans* female personae, re-presented in the Village, are outcomes of postmodern reproductive acts deriving from online interactions of self-aware 'trans* cyborgs' (Haraway, 1999; Stone, 1999).

The symbiotic links of online expressions of trans* people and their expressions within the Village shall be examined. There will be explorations of online postmodern challenges to patriarchal gender normativity, which include analysing social unifications of trans* and natal female 'proletariats' and their possible unconscious adherences to "Cyborg Feminism" (Sandoval, 1999:248).

The alleged detrimental impacts from previous limited research shall be examined. There will be critically analyses of Internet trans* discourses resisting the medical, legal and academic assumptions that transvestism is motivated by fetishism. There shall be studies of political actions expressed online by transvestic individuals, including resisting transphobic hate crimes. Examinations will suggest that these

online discourses may be assisting the developing co-operative assertiveness of transsexual and transvestic women in central Manchester.

Trans* Support and the Village Before the Internet

Mary describes her progression to an ‘out of the closet’ transvestite:

I got married in 1962 so I waited until [*pause*] 1986 - 24 years ... The kids had gone to university and you start thinking, “Now it’s my time.” I’ve always wanted to do this kind of thing ... I went ... where [to the dressing service] ‘Transformation’ was. Went actually ... round to Stephanie Anne Lloyd that day.³⁵ Her house and stayed for the evening meal as well. Cost me 70 quid for that but where do I start? [*laughs*] ... After that ... I asked them, “Is there anywhere we can go?” [They said,] “We can take you down to ‘Dickens Club’.” But they didn’t tell us that [Northern Concord] was [also] there on a Wednesday night.

Mary – transvestite (08.12.09)

Her language and her visual expressions during the interview suggest that her transvestic desire is not significantly motivated by fetishism. Mary was either uncertain or reluctant to discuss exactly how she found about the location for the Transformation dressing service organisation. However, Katy also discusses Transformation and states that, before Internet advertising, this organisation and its location was detailed in telephone directories and various publications.

Several trans* people socialising in the Village have critically discussed this dressing service. Comments frequently regard Lloyd being transsexual but that her company allegedly ‘manipulates’ transvestic customers. This may be suggested by Mary’s claim concerning staff at Transformation not informing their clients of the trans* support organisation Northern Concord (Baker, 2010a; Keith, Mar. 2012).

³⁵ Lloyd is the founder of the Transformation dressing service, which is based in Bury, a short distance from central Manchester (Lloyd, 2010).

As Mary was unable to discover trans* support groups within Manchester, she found out about the Concord from a transvestic woman in a Birmingham trans* support organisation. She gave Mary the telephone number for a central Manchester based transgender helpline, which was managed by another trans* woman called Barbara:

No Internet. ... How do you find out? Turns out, apparently, there was a reference to the helpline in the Thompson [*pause*] Directory. ... Won't be there now. I don't think there are helplines anymore. It was very effective. Barbara did that helpline for over 25 years. 'Cause she used to go to the TV/TS Group. She was part of that. So did Stephen Whittle. ... He was part of it.

Mary – transvestite (08.12.09)

Leah also discusses the difficulties of finding trans* supportive groups before the advent of Internet communications:

Now when you look at people like Mary ... you think without people like her and the people down in London – Way Out Club – the people that run Napoleons ... and [other people] that have got a lot to do with Manchester Concord, ... they've paved the way for me [*pause*] ... My age group if you like. They've been doing it for 20 odd years and they've ... [*pause*] allowed, if you like, me to be able to express myself and now I'm finding that I'm allowing people to express their selves at a younger age and, obviously, there is the Internet. Whilst I was aware of the Internet there was no social groups like there are now ...

This was in the 80s ... So the only way you found out about, in my case, Transformation because they advertised in the national newspapers and then ... Northern Concord – that you suddenly find that there was a society that you could along and, lo and behold, there were all people there that, not necessarily the same as you but had [*pause*] gender issues.

And then there was the explosion of the Internet – 'Rose's'; 'TVChix'; 'Angels' – all round about 2002, 2003 sort of era.

Leah – transvestite (12/05/10)

Leah claims that contemporary support for trans* people is more plentiful due to the expansion of online websites assisting trans* individuals, their partners and admirers. Several researchers have investigated some of this support (Suthrell, 2004; Ekins and

King, 2006; Wolmark, 1999). However, none seem to have analysed the international online discussion forums ‘Rose’s’, ‘Angels’ and ‘TVChix’. These three websites have been frequently referred to during discourses with various trans* women in the Village. Therefore, the online forums of these significant websites shall be critically explored.

Contemporary Trans* Support on the Internet

1) ‘UK Angels’

I have had varied discussions with Katy since about 2002 when she identified as a transvestite, calling herself ‘Tanya’. Since 2008/9 she has identified as transsexual. She expressed that she has difficulties in gaining employment so financial difficulties may be a reason why she rarely goes to the Village. She was interviewed at her home where discourses involved our interactions in its social spaces as cross-dressers:

- Katy I don’t know if you’ve noticed it ... When we came out ... it was sort of on a crest of a wave. I think it was because of the Internet. ... So you found out about these places and we all started searching them.
- ...
- I used to go on ‘Angels’ [website] more ... but ‘Angels’, I think, is south based. You actually talk to people about what they’ve done [*pause*] ‘cause I remember reading people’s exploits thinking, “God, I wish I could do that. Wish I was that brave – ‘She walked to the post box!’” [*Katy and Lee laugh*] And things like that. [*pause*] They do spark up friendships through that and then, occasionally, you meet some people in person. Sometimes it works. Sometimes it doesn’t.
- Lee ... When you say, “occasionally” meet, do you mean arrange, like, a get together in, [*pause*] like, the Village or something like that?
- Katy Yeah ... It’s a good way of keeping in contact with people intit? ... Especially when ... it’s a support network for us isn’t it? Without it we’d just dissipate ... apart from going out to a regular [club] like Concord you just wouldn’t meet people – make friendships and stuff.

Katy – transsexual woman (23/03/10)

Katy's interview responses suggest that the outcome of her interactions with other trans* people in such sites was gaining the confidence to publically express her trans* identity in the Village. The impact of that confidence was coupled with positive responses she received from other trans* people online and in the Village. These social interactions included observations that she 'passed' as a natal woman, which assisted her transition towards transsexuality.

Leah, Arista, Marianne, Joan, Josy, Eleanor and Sharon also refer to the websites 'UK Angels' ('Angels') and 'Rose's Forum'. This includes interacting with other trans* women online and then in 'reality' such as the resulting friendship between Eleanor and Sharon, apparently following meeting at the 'Angel's' 10th birthday party at the Pink Punters nightclub in Milton Keynes.

On 11th August 2012, the 'Angels' discussion forum site allegedly had 6131 members who have participated in this online forum, which has hosted 18,095 discussion topics with 303,705 entries since it was formed (UKA-Systems, 2012:1). The dialogues expressed on this site suggest mutual support for transsexual and transvestic people, encompassing different sexualities. One discussion was instigated by a bisexual trans* woman and is entitled "Hi, I'm new, scared and alone", which resulted in sympathetic and empathic responses expressed by other trans* individuals on this website (lonely-vamp and chilli, 29th May 2012). This trans* woman receives assistance in liaising with her medical General Practitioner and approaching a dressing service in order to give her assistance concerning her trans* presentations. Supportive venues are also suggested, including those in the Village, as well as references to the annual Sparkle trans* celebrations.

'Angels' has hosted discussion topics concerning the Village and Sparkle events, despite it being "south based" as Katy supposes. Although, her claim may be

reinforced by the existence of a social group within the ‘Angel’ website, which is named Northern Angels. They organise get-togethers in various venues in northern locations of England. Nevertheless, trans* individuals, such as Sharon, often attend such gatherings, despite living in London. Hence, she was interviewed with Eleanor in the Village (13th Oct. 2010) and there were discourses with her during Sparkle 2012 (13th – 15th Jul. 2012).

There are discussions on the ‘Angels’ forum website which suggest constructive connections between several trans* and natal women. Sharon, who is presently transvestic, took part in several such discourses, including a topic entitled ‘Feeling Girly’, in which trans* women assert their perceived inner concepts of feminine identity. She wrote:

The dressing seems to me to be a response to an innate femininity rather than a catalyst for feminine feelings. My outer woman is made to match my inner one, as it were.

(Grace *et al.*, 12th-13th Aug. 2011:1)

One of the people in this discussion, Sheilah, describes herself as “an rg” (ibid), which means that she is a ‘real girl’. This term refers to a natal woman. Sheilah expresses that ‘real girls’ identify with the feelings expressed by the trans* women in this discussion. As a result, these and other expressed online discourses by trans* women suggest that they often apply written signifiers, which are also apparently expressed by cissexual women. These discourses may suggest that some natal women are aware of connections between transphobia and misogyny. The ‘Angels’ website hosts discussions concerning experiences of transphobic harassment and recommendations of reporting such incidents to police officers as hate crimes (Wixxxa and Helen_Wilson_37, 29th Jun. 2011; Wixxxa and PaulaJaneThomas, 26th Dec. 2011).

On the 'Angels' website, there are discourses regarding transphobia actioned by gay men. Apparently, some incidents have occurred in the Village with homosexual men allegedly prohibiting transgender women from entering certain gay venues (Lucylloyd and Sunbird, 11th Dec. 2011). Several trans* individuals compare these claimed incidents with historical racist prohibitions. However, it was alleged that a number of transvestic women did not want to instigate political protests against these apparent prejudices. This resistance may suggest aspects of 'internalised transphobia' (TREC *et al.*, 2011:4). This could perhaps be an impact from the, previously discussed, biased and/or deficient earlier research where the concept of transvestism has been dismissively defined as a fetish and not an expression of gender dysphoria. Consequently, cross-dressers may become ashamed and, therefore, secretive about their transvestic identities.

Nonetheless, several transvestic women participate on this website concerning political discourses on hate crime, and some such discussions appear to have been instigated shortly after these above claims of transphobia (danielle_tg and Sunbird, 19th Jan. 2012). These include critical analyses of alleged transphobic hate crime data accompanied by information quoted by official organisations including the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). Resultantly, on the 5th August 2012, online data expressed on the CPS website was examined. Transphobic crimes are identified (Crown-Prosecution-Service, 2012a) but there are no further informative details except within the descriptions concerning "Homophobic crime" (Crown-Prosecution-Service, 2012b). It is uncertain as to why this omission occurs, particularly when considering the analysed data regarding the similar estimated ranges of trans* and homosexual identities within Western societies. However, on 10th August 2012, Jenny-Anne informed me that this issue has been allegedly recognised by the CPS

with the resulting objective to correct this deficiency at some undetermined point in the future.

There are discourses on the 'Angels' website regarding rejecting hiding a person's trans* identity, in order to assist countering transphobia. However, trans* women discussing this are aware of transphobic violence arising from not 'passing'. Nonetheless, there are cynical views about mainstream assertions:

If gender had an innate binary nature (or an innate non-binary nature) ... this forum wouldn't exist and nor would we... It would be impossible to modify any aspect of our physical appearance.

(danielle_tg and Sunbird, 19th Jan. 2012:4)

As a result, it could be regarded that these online discourses assist in the deconstruction of gender identities. This is further discussed on the 'Rose's Forum' website.

2) 'Rose's Forum'

Discussions featured on the online 'Rose's Forum' are similar to those analysed on the 'Angels' website. On 11th August 2012, it was claimed on the 'Rose's Forum' that this website had 4,406 members with 42,981 hosted discussion topics and 961,764 entries since this site was formed (Roses-Forum, 2012:1). 'Rose's' participants also seem to be supportive of all trans* identities. Similar to 'Angels', the website hosts discourses regarding the Village and, apparently more prominently than 'Angels', numerous discussions about the annual Sparkle festivals. This is despite that the transsexual woman who is the co-founder of Sparkle also co-developed the 'Angels Forum' website. However, the current primary transvestic organiser of the Sparkle

events, Brianna, is also the editor of the 'Rose's' *International Repartee* magazine, which is associated with the 'Rose's Forum' website (Middlehurst, 7th May 2010; True, Feb. 2011).

On this website there are dialogues which concern performativity (Butler, 1999). In one discussed topic, several transvestic individuals critically compare different stereotypical gendered expressions of physical actions, such as walking styles, exhibited within their male and female personae (Rebecca-H *et al.*, 10th Jul. 2012). Several of these individuals stated that they unconsciously perform dissimilar behaviours according to their exhibited gendered identity. One transvestic woman theorised that they were expressing 'associative coherence', where the worn clothing influences the wearer's actions (Morewedge and Kahneman, Oct. 2010; blog.ethicworld.net, 23rd Jul. 2012). Nevertheless, this psychological theorem does not appear to explain any trans* person's motivation to wear gendered clothing which is not stereotypically associated with their identified natal sex.

There is a topic concerning uncertainties by some non-trans* people of correctly identifying a transgender woman's preferred gender identity, which may suggest associative coherence (Tina_notts4 *et al.*, 27th Jun. 2012). The individuals participating in this discussion seem to regard such mistakes within organisations as not necessarily transphobic but rather a symptom of deficient company training about diversity awareness.

On this website, there are discussions concerning the alleged greater contemporary acceptance of homosexual people within mainstream cultures compared to trans* people (T_V_Sammy *et al.*, 25th Jul. 2012). These discussions concern transphobia exhibited by some heterosexual people as well as by certain gay men. They discuss the frequent explicit presentation of gay characters and presenters in

current mainstream television programmes. While several trans* individuals disagree with the proposed 'greater acceptance of homosexuality', implying the expressions of homophobic prejudices, it was recognised that there seem to be no overt transvestic characters/presenters regularly featuring on contemporary mainstream television.

Debates regarding the alleged greater status of transsexual people over transvestic people are discussed and implied on this website (and on 'Angels'). Concerns are also expressed regarding the 'cogiti test' (Reitz, 23rd Mar. 2009). This test allegedly identifies the participant's trans* character (Rebecca-H *et al.*, 13th Apr. 2011). This discourse involves MTF and FTM trans* people co-operatively exchanging cynical assessments about the claimed validity of such tests.

'Rose's Forum' website includes discussions regarding the emotional vulnerability of trans* individuals and uncertainties about the extents of their gender dysphoria. This may suggest the erratic availability of competent counselling for transvestic people, which can be another possible impact from the prior insufficient research into transvestism. One online discussion concerns a transvestic woman who was unsure if she was transsexual after experiencing enjoyable events 'en femme' (Heather-B *et al.*, 24th Jul. 2012:1). Another transvestic woman warned her:

Beware the pink mist.

All that's happening is that you're making up for lost time.

(ibid)

This quote seems to deconstruct the binary presumptions that the non-sexual enjoyment of being 'en femme' can be an indicator of transsexuality.

3) 'TVChix'

On 11th August 2012, the forum discussion page for 'TVChix' was examined. There are critical discourses on the 'Angels' and 'Rose's Forum' websites alleging openly sexual topics are discussed on this website. However, it was recognised that only one of the 15 discussion categories explicitly concerns sexual discourses. It is claimed on this site that it has 117,008 members who have made 1,423,250 comments (tvChix, 2012a).

During my fieldwork, it was observed that members of this site have instigated celebratory events in venues in the Village during several of the annual Sparkle festivities. Discourses on the 'TVChix' website include reviewing trans* supportive venues, notably those in the Village (KittyKatt *et al.*, 26th Oct. 2007). Some discussions on this site are critical of the Village and allege adverse treatment of MTF trans* people in the social spaces of this geographical area (MariaTgirl *et al.*, 23rd May 2006). However, several participants in this online debate praise the Village as a protective area for trans* people despite awareness that many of those socialising there cannot 'pass' as natal women, unlike other social spaces around central Manchester. These observations by MariaTgirl *et al.* concerning the Village being largely a safe area for trans* women seem to counter the previously alleged dangers to transgender women within this geographical region (Moran *et al.*, 2004).

Transashian *et al.* (18th Jul. 2012) critically discuss transphobic homosexual men in the Village. It was conveyed by trans* people of varied identities and sexualities who had experience of such transphobia, that gay men infrequently express prejudices against transgenderism. However, discussions referred to the riots in New York on the 28th June 1969 arising from the police raid on the 'Stonewall Inn'

(Duberman, 1993; Stryker, 2008). Discourses included that although these riots apparently developed from trans* women resisting transphobic violent actions by the police officers that day, the UK charity organisation, 'Stonewall', is allegedly overtly LGB and not Trans* supportive (Stonewall, 2012). This claimed omission may derive from homosexual transphobia, which is reflected by the apparently restricted admission of trans* women within the Stonewall Inn when it existed (Duberman, 1993; Namaste, 2000).

On the 'TVChix' website, there are critical discourses concerning Sparkle celebrations in the Village. Some trans* individuals write positively of the supportive aspects of these festivals, expressing that they provide safe social spaces for transsexual and transvestic people. Contrastingly, others suggest that Sparkle is insular, publically unacknowledged, and, therefore, ineffective in gaining the social acceptance of trans* people within mainstream communities (DeeOliver *et al.*, 13th Jun. 2012). However, these critical statements are countered by observations by some discourse participants that the Village is fenced off during the annual Manchester Pride events whereas the Sparkle celebrations are open and, unlike Pride festivals, do not require visitors to pay for attending.

Moreover, none of these discourse respondents were able assess the actions by the Manchester based organisers for Sparkle 2012 (12th – 15th Jul. 2012), who have initiated the explicit promotions of the Sparkle celebrations, including multiple interactions with mainstream organisations in Manchester.

Several discussions concerning Sparkle events seem to be linked with controversial discourses attempting to define transvestic and transsexual identities as well as with political issues regarding the acceptance of trans* people within normative communities. It is claimed that the insular nature of the Sparkle festival

reflects the insular nature of transvestism. In addition, it is alleged that transsexual people, contrastingly, integrate with mainstream society and thus assist political acceptance (DeeOliver *et al.*, 13th Jun. 2012). However, a transsexual woman co-founded Sparkle and several transsexual women are active participants in the Sparkle events such as the interviewees Jenny-Anne and Joan.

Additionally, I have observed and have been informed by interviewees that many transvestites attending the festival regularly use public transport, mainstream shops and restaurants in Manchester and many other cities in the UK (and internationally). Furthermore, there are a number of overt politically motivated transvestites present in trans* support organisations; on business websites; in counselling organisations; and as authors of contemporary texts, which present alternative conceptions of transvestism (Drummond, 2011; Pink-Therapy, 2012; LinkedIn, 2013; TransForum-Manchester, 2013).

Within these discourses on the 'TVChix' website are comments that the terms 'transvestism' and 'cross-dressing' encompass wide-ranging trans* identities. Moreover, there are discussions concerning the previously considered impact from imperfect research about 'transvestism' including the inaccurate assumptions by many non-trans* people that 'transgender' is equivalent to 'transsexual' (DeeOliver *et al.*, 13th Jun. 2012; ambergoth *et al.*, 18th Jul. 2012; Nicky_tgLondon *et al.*, 19th Jul 2012).

4) Mainstream Websites

The Internet is a great tool now. These days I don't know anybody who's not online. We've got the mobile phone. Everything's online these days ... 'Facebook'; 'Twitter'. You go on 'Facebook' and the pictures are plastered all over the 'net. And you're finding on the Internet forums I visit it's more like, "We're organising a night out." I know some girls went to see [the play] *Priscilla* [*Queen of the Desert*] in London twice this year ... there's about 32 girls³⁶ going to see *Priscilla* and that's right in with the public. That's not in the haven of the Village ... right into the mainstream area of London to see the show. And after they'll meet up in a bar. They'll just walk in. And that's what happening now.

Joan – transsexual woman (18/07/09)

Joan is one of the primary Manchester based organisers for Sparkle 2012 and her responsibilities have included online promotions for this festival. Most of my interviewees have Facebook accounts and several also have Twitter profiles, reflecting the mainstream popularity of these online social websites. Several transvestic interviewees have Facebook profiles, which only concern their female personae. Interviewees with Facebook accounts have initiated connections with my personal Facebook and Twitter profiles. This possibly suggests the impact of my adherence to ethical researching and my empathic trans* perceptions.

Through Facebook accounts, there have been numerous discourses between trans* and non-trans* individuals, who are usually natal women, and those interactions have enabled social contacts between them in various mainstream venues. This may suggest mutual support in resisting transphobic and misogynistic prejudices.

³⁶ She is referring to transsexual and transvestic women.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined trans* support prior and after the development of Internet based trans* assistance. Critical analyses have been undertaken of the trans* supportive discourses hosted on the 'UK Angels', 'Rose's' and 'TVChix' forum websites, which allegedly have thousands of trans* members. This has included examining discussions regarding trans* women publically exhibiting their trans* identities in social spaces such as those in Manchester's Gay Village.

There have been critical evaluations of Internet discourses regarding transvestic presentations with awareness of performativity and associative coherence. There were explorations of discussions by trans* women regarding inabilities to 'pass' as natal women, which is supposedly evident in the social spaces of the Village. There were investigations of online discourses concerning transphobic harassment. There were analyses of claims that homosexual people more accepted within mainstream television than trans, particularly transvestic, women.

There were examinations of the regard of the annual trans* supportive Sparkle festivities. Connected with the disapproval of these celebrations are the assertions by some transsexual women that transsexualism is superior to transvestism. It was suggested that such hierarchical perceptions could be an impact from incomplete and prejudicial research, which alleges that transvestism is a fetish and not a signifier of gender dysphoria. The analysed online discourses have proposed another impact stemming from this lacking research, which concerns a transvestic woman's internalised transphobia with resultant secretiveness and reluctance to assert legal respect for socialising while cross-dressed. Related to this is the alleged erratic availability of counselling for transvestic identities.

Supportive Internet discourses between trans* and natal women have been investigated. Additionally, there have been analyses of the claimed awareness amongst transvestic and transsexual women concerning the legal assistance and deficiencies in countering transphobic hate crimes and incomplete trans* awareness within some mainstream organisations.

In the next chapter there will be critical explorations of social interactions in the Village, which present-day transvestic and transsexual women experience following online encouragement. As the social interactions in Manchester of many trans* women initially derive from attending the trans* supportive Northern Concord/Manchester Concord groups, these two organisations will be analysed.

SOCIAL SUPPORT

One thing I like a lot about here is that – the first or second night I was ... in Manchester Concord there was a policewoman talking ... about transgender issues to the transgendered. I think Mexico's really far away from that kind of stuff ... Training ... police people to understand transgendered. To interact with them ... Also I saw ... a company policy about transgendered people ... "We encourage our people to accept LGBT." ... I can go back to [Mexico] and start teaching them this stuff. I hope I can do that.

Francesca – trans* woman (13.12.11)

Following the analysed online discourses where supportive organisations were discussed, this chapter will feature investigations of the development of such groups in Manchester and, most prominently, in the Gay Village. It will be suggested that the present-day organisation, Manchester Concord, which assists trans* individuals and has meetings in the Gay Village every Wednesday, derives from the trans* supportive TV/TS Group. Investigations shall be undertaken of the weekly Northern Concord and Manchester Concord gatherings in the Village. It will be proposed that these organisations have explicitly assisted individuals of all trans* identities.

The contentions that these Concord organisations are predominantly focussed upon transvestic identities will be explored with analysis of the supportive interactions between natal, transvestic and transsexual women in these groups. It shall be suggested that these organisations have assisted cross-dressers who transition to become transsexual.

Alleged negative impacts arising from the incomplete viewpoints about transvestism within medical, legal and academic organisations will be examined. This will be contrasted by analysing my 'insider' perspective in researching these groups in the Village as a cross-dresser with the outcomes deriving from that perspective.

There shall also be examinations of the claimed transphobic harassments, which have affected the venues where Manchester Concord meetings were held. There will be explorations of the assertiveness by transvestic women in countering this transphobia.

Support for Trans* People in Manchester

Organised trans* support has existed in central Manchester since 1975 with the formation of the TV/TS Group, which is supposed to be “the very first support group for transsexual people in the United Kingdom” (sensagent, 2011:1). Jenny-Anne discussed that it became reconceived as the Wednesday Group in the late 1970s:

I was really quite lucky ... ‘cause in those days there was no Internet ... I came to live in Manchester and a friend of mine ... – another trans* woman – ... said, ... “Jenny-Anne! You’ll never guess! There’s a support group that meets in the University of Manchester just down Oxford Road! ... We’ve got to come. It’s next Wednesday!” ... And that’s how the Wednesday Group had started which Stephen [Whittle] was involved in setting up and eventually became Northern Concord and then Manchester Concord ... So that’s group has been running for 35 years at least.

Jenny-Anne - transsexual woman (31.05.10)

Therefore, the trans* support organisations Northern Concord and Manchester Concord developed from giving support for both transsexual and transvestic identities (Baker, 2010b; Manchester-Concord, 2010a). However, several interviewees have described these two groups as principally assisting transvestites. This may be an outcome of the greater numbers of transvestic people than transsexual people. Furthermore, it has been expressed that these organisations are insular and not politically motivated. However, the alleged insular stance by some transvestic women might be an impact deriving from the contestable medical, legal and academic views

that ‘transvestism’ is a fetish. The resultant effect could be that transvestic women may be ashamed of their need to cross-dress – their ‘fétichisme’ – and, thus, are secretive (Chapter 6).

Nevertheless, the Concord organisations have gathered in the Village every Wednesday evening from 1986 (Baker, 2010b). It has explicitly given support for trans* identities mainly in the North West of England but also for visiting trans* people from other parts of the UK. This has been repeatedly observed during my attendance at Concord meetings since 2001. These weekly gatherings have impacts upon trans* groups socialising in the Village:

- Lee I’ve noticed that Wednesday in the Village generally [there] seems to a massive upsurge in trans groups.³⁷ Even people who don’t go to the Concord, it seems like Wednesday is the night.
- Maggie It is. It is. It’s funny that it has been made every Wednesday. Wednesday is trans night, you know.
- Maggie – trans* woman (19.04.10)

During discourses with MTF trans* people socialising in the Village many of them are aware of the Northern Concord/Manchester Concord. Several trans* people socialising in the Village are appreciative of Concord but that they “no longer go there”. Consequently, effective studies of the support for trans* people socialising in the Village should include analyses of these two support organisations.

³⁷ During these interviews ‘trans’ is defined as an abbreviation of the ‘transgender’ term.

The Development of the Northern Concord

From 1986 to 1997, visitors to the Northern Concord met in the upstairs of The Rembrandt Bar and Hotel on Canal Street in the Village. After temporary locations, the 'Concord' moved, from 24th June 1998, to the upstairs of the Hollywood Showbar (Baker, 2010a):

[F]or me it was just a place where you could meet up with other people who wanted to dress and talk to them and that was a good starting point 'cause I very quickly found out I was happy to go out and visit other places in the Village ... I wasn't coming out on my own. Which in the early days, it was quite important ...

But also it was an aspect where, obviously, Mary, who, although she wasn't the founder of Northern Concord, ... organises it ... as a place where people who want to dress can do so in safety and security and privacy with people who want to do the same ... [*pause*] Quite a few people ... who don't want to be out and about in the Village, ... come there and they're happy to dress and talk to other people and then at the end of the evening, they go home.

Lucy - transvestite (02.11.10)

This presence of MTF transvestites who only cross-dress for the evening within the safety of Northern Concord gatherings may suggest that they are affected by their 'fear' of transphobic harassment. Indeed, some trans* people are so anxious on their first visit to the Concord that they cannot cross-dress:

Joan So I looked on Internet and I found the Concord ... I spent hours and hours looking at Internet forums. I ever joined 'em. I just used to read 'em. ... And then I went to the Concord and that was it. ... The first time I ever went, I couldn't dress. I couldn't go through with it. I was that nervous.
Lee I remember seeing you the first time. You were in 'drab'.³⁸

Joan - transsexual woman (18.07.09)

³⁸ This description of being in 'drab' is a common expression used by MTF trans* people. It is often taken to mean 'Dressed As a Boy', which means 'not cross-dressed'.

These Concord meetings were upstairs in the Hollywood Showbar. The Northern Concord visitors were charged £2 for members and £3 for visitors. Natal women were not charged, which apparently was an aim to enhance supportive interactions between trans* and natal women. Two senior members of the Concord administered the payments. They were Betty, a transsexual woman, and Alison, a transvestic woman. Their joint presence might have emphasised the objectives of the Concord to assist both transvestic and transsexual identities. Transvestic and transsexual women regularly attended the Northern Concord meetings, which enabled gaining familiarity with the trans* people often socialising in the Village:

I walked into this place ... and, obviously, I was a new face ... I heard two girls having a conversation. ... Marianne ... and Eileen,³⁹ ... I got chatting to them and quickly felt really at home there. ... It was just me dressing what I've always wanted to do. Got to meet Mary and some other girls so I thought, fabulous! So I went down the week after and then they said, "Oh right. We're right off into the Village after Concord. Would you like to join us? Said, "Yeah! Great!" They were my first real footsteps into the Village, feeling confident in myself. You know, with other girls. ... So the Village was instrumental in bringing me out and building my confidence up ... Interacting with people. Knowing I wasn't the only one. Getting tips from looking at other girls.

Josy - transsexual woman (18.07.09)

I formally joined Northern Concord in March 2004 as part of the initial qualitative research (Middlehurst, 2005). My regular attendance as a cross-dresser enhanced my overt 'insider' position. As an outcome of this, trust and friendships were developed with many trans* people socialising at the Concord and with those socialising in other venues in the Village. Several advised me about transgender issues, including giving information about the online trans* support networks sites 'Rose's Forum' and 'UK Angels'. On these websites, discourses were read which stressed the importance of Concord to many trans* people, including discussing the

³⁹ Marianne is transsexual and Eileen is transvestic.

encountered difficulties during the meetings of the Concord during 2007 and early 2008 (molly.bramwell, 20th Apr. 2008).

From the Northern Concord to the Manchester Concord

It was alleged during discourses on ‘The Angels’ Internet forum that the management of the Hollywood Showbar wanted to double the rent for the Northern Concord to continue repeatedly attending this venue (ibid). Lucy and Mary claim that the management was unreliable in enabling access to the venue for Concord members and not providing any heating for the club during the winter months. These issues may suggest that some of the managerial staff for this bar were being transphobic.

At the same time, issues between a primary organiser for Northern Concord and Mary were apparently becoming prominent. It was claimed that this organiser was unresponsive about the proposed rental increase for attending the Hollywood Showbar. Additionally, Mary expressed discomfort concerning the financial management of the Concord. This situation apparently became untenable, leading Mary to create the Manchester Concord. She claimed that she wanted to make this offshoot organisation “more democratic”.

Consequently, a committee was set up to manage Manchester Concord, which consists of a mix of transvestic and transsexual women. Pete/Petra, a committee member, claims that he/she was one of the two people who assisted gaining the new venue for the Manchester Concord gatherings, which was the Rembrandt Bar and Hotel. A hotel room on the second floor was arranged to be available that evening as both a changing room and as a possible place for up to two members to sleep in overnight.

It was expressed on the Northern Concord website that this move to the Rembrandt Bar and Hotel occurred on the 2nd January 2008. Once the Manchester Concord regularly attended this venue every Wednesday, it became regarded in the Village as having the same trans* supportive status as the Northern Concord:

Lee Obviously, for a lot of people, the Concord is their first step.
Farah It is a very valuable function for that and I can't think of anywhere else that has that same sort of week in week out thing. A lot of other places are, at best, every fortnight. 'Nottingham Chameleons' meet every fortnight ... Some of the other places meet once a month and they tend to be a lot smaller ... OK. They do a valuable job. Yeah. Fair enough. But, you know, it's a lot harder for anybody 'coming out' to go into a group which is only 15 to 20 strong, whereas the Concord, it can be double that number [*pause*] easily.

Farah – transvestite (19.10.10)

The Rembrandt Bar and Hotel is primarily regarded as a gay venue, but staff members were seemingly not prejudiced against trans* people. However, while there are stairs directly leading up to the function room from the downstairs bar, trans* visitors were, apparently, informed by the management that the downstairs gay male clientele prefer trans* visitors to use the side entrance for the hotel, which has a staircase leading directly to the function room and hotel rooms.

As part of this continued support for all trans* identities, a detailed Manchester Concord website was set up with a discussion forum similar to that of 'Angels'. During 2008/9, this forum appeared to be active. Therefore, my initial research aims and requests for potential interviewees were expressed on this site. These expressions became 'Information Sheet 2' (Appendix 8).

Furthering the objective to sustain familiarity with Northern Concord, the Manchester Concord gatherings at Rembrandt Bar and Hotel were organised similarly. However, Betty, the transsexual women hosting at Northern Concord meetings, no longer regularly attended, which may be connected to the fact that Alison, the

transvestic hostess, had possibly passed away around this time. There was a rota for different members to be at the main table during the evening, accepting the payments from attending visitors. On the day I interviewed the transsexual woman, Marianne, she had volunteered to be part of this rota. Joan and Josy also continued to praise the Concord:

- Joan I'll still keep helping others 'cause what's amazes me now is every time I go to the Concord there's new faces-
- Josy New people. ...
- Joan And you can see Mary and she's introducing people – “Oh, that's Joan. She's been coming in here for a few years.” ...
- Josy I'm proud of [Concord].
- Joan [*nodding in agreement*] I'm proud too, yeah.
- ...
- Am of any person who walks [in] ... who's transgendered because I think it's braver than most people give them credit for.
- Lee Oh, I agree with you totally.
- Joan ...When I think back to when I first started it took a lot for me to walk out in public like this [*indicating herself*].
- ...
- Josy It is ... more a place for cross-dressers than transsexuals even though transsexuals are welcome; partners are welcome.
- Joan - transsexual woman; Josy - transsexual woman (18.07.09)

While Josy observes there are more transvestic than transsexual women attending the Manchester Concord, when she and Joan initially visited the Northern Concord meetings, they did not identify as transsexual. As a result, they suggest the ‘inter-’ and potential ‘intra-’ connections between transvestism and transsexualism.

While the Rembrandt Bar and Hotel had occasional critical comments, this venue was mostly welcomed and seemed to compliment the functions of this new Concord trans* support organisation. However, the Rembrandt Bar and Hotel was hosting the Manchester Concord meetings until 11th August 2010 before another venue was urgently being sought for hosting these Concord gatherings.

The Change of Venue for the Manchester Concord

It all just happened very suddenly. We all knew that the 'Rembrandt' was changing hands and Mary was in discussions with the new management. And, right up to the point that the contract was signed, all the information coming back ... was very positive and, "Oh yes. There'll be no problem. You'll still be welcome at the 'Rembrandt' after the sale." Might mean that we can do the place up and everything but nothing really is going to change and the instant the contract was signed, it was, "Get out next week!" So I think that everyone at Concord was a bit disgusted about that. It was just such a short notice. "You've got one week, then you're out! Find somewhere else to go."

Pamela – transvestite (23.10.10)

Resulting from this apparent transphobic incident, Mary made urgent enquiries as to various suitable alternative venues. According to discussions on the 'Angels' forum, it appears that several bars in the Village were enthusiastic about supportively hosting the weekly Manchester Concord meetings (UKA-Systems, 2011). From 18th August 2011, the upstairs room in the New York New York bar was the new hosting venue for Manchester Concord meetings:

The very positive response from Tracy [the manager of New York New York]. If you've never met Tracy, she's brilliant. She's just the sort of person you need to spend ten minutes with and realise she's on our side. Very positive to all the people who are ... the roots, the soul of the Village. And she says, you know, "In ten years time all these people that are coming in and find it a fashionable, safe place, will have moved on. But the core of the [transgender] people, the gay community ... they'll still be here."

...
She's agreed to clear a new changing room for us. We've committed over a period of time to have that fitted out as a proper secure changing facility, which is ... behind the bar ... The place is going to be refurbished.

Valerie – transvestite (06.10.10)

Nonetheless, this sudden move of venue unsettled some Manchester Concord regulars, who were troubled by the structure of the New York New York bar:

What my feeling is that [pause] Now I'm out and about and I'm fine with myself [pause] I know that there are a lot of new girls that come to the Concord and they start off being terrified of the world and I felt that at the 'Rembrandts', ... they've got this safe area that they could sit but they could still watch the world going ... by [through the bay windows] and they could see other girls out up and down Canal Street and you could say, "Hi. Lovely night. D'you fancy coming for a walk?" and you could sort of coax people out and they could see that it was fine out there. And you sort of felt ... you could see the world. The world can see you. You're not hiding away from it. But New York New York – that's not really there. And I just feel that some of the shyer girls are possibly going to be just that little more difficult to pull them out of their shell and get them going out there. It just feels a bit too much as if it's kind of, "Oh yes. We're a private club ... No one can see us." [pause] It's no fault on the committee or anything. New York New York ... is the best venue that we could find at a really short notice.

Pamela – transvestite (23.10.10)

The alleged refurbishment of the bar did not occur. It was claimed by several trans* women that this might have been resulting from the lower than expected attendance of trans* people at the Concord meetings in this venue. As a consequence, several members and former members of the Concord began negotiations with the management of the Villaggio's restaurant on Canal Street to have the weekly Concord meetings upstairs in this restaurant's function room (Villaggio, 2011; Manchester-Concord, 2012). In Mary's online blog on the Manchester Concord website, she writes about the first meeting in Villaggio on the 7th March 2012:

WELL, what can I say, we have emerged into the light again. The atmosphere here in Villaggio's is bright warm and comfortable. ... We had around 60 people come along during the evening and everyone agreed that this was a good move. ...

It is always nice when new people come along and join us so it was great to welcome Kelly and her partner Sheila who had found us on the Internet and decided to give us a try. Kelly is now member number 445 so they obviously enjoyed the experience and we hope to see them again very soon.

(Manchester-Concord, 2012:1)

The meetings in this venue seemed to be busier gatherings than those at New York New York. Additionally, the regular attendance of transvestic and trans women and

young trans men was observed. Apparently this assertive and productive change of venue was a confident undertaking by transvestic women from the Manchester Concord group working co-operatively with natal women from Villaggio.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated trans* supportive groups, which have existed in Manchester since 1975. It has been suggested that the weekly Wednesday evening meetings of the Northern Concord and then the Manchester Concord in the Village have generated the impact that this is a popular night for MTF trans* individuals to socialise in the Village.

While these two organisations are perceived as primarily creating safe and secure social spaces for transvestites, it has been proposed that this is a consequence of the greater numbers of transvestic women than transsexual women within society. However, it was suggested that these organisations consist of all trans* identities actively supporting each other. There have been observations of natal women and trans* women supporting each other during Concord meetings. Furthermore, there have been analyses of positive outcomes from openly undertaking research, coupled with my ‘insider’ perspective as a cross-dresser.

Investigations have been made of these organisations allegedly being insular and not being overtly politically motivated. However, it has been proposed that they may be impacts from the medical, legal and academic viewpoints claiming ‘transvestism’ is a fetish. This contention could have the effect that MTF transvestites can become ashamed and secretive of their need to cross-dress.

There have been explorations of apparent transphobic actions by bars in the Village, which have instigated the Concord organisations to seek alternative hosting venues. However, it was suggested that the instigation of the Villaggio bar/restaurant becoming the hosting venue for the Manchester Concord meetings might signify assertiveness by some transvestic women socialising in the Village. Additionally, this change in venue seems to have been accompanied by co-operative social interactions between transvestic women, trans women and trans men.

Aware of the social and potentially personal connections of contemporary transvestic and transsexual identities, the following chapter will further investigate this situation.

THE CONNECTIONS OF TRANS* IDENTITIES

As far as I can figure it, what me quack said, there's something in the region of about 45 different types. From normal transvestite to pre-op, to [pause] the full-blown Gender Recognition Certificate female. I'm still trying to work out to this day ... what those 45 are.

Maggie – trans* woman (19.11.09)

This chapter will include investigations of the ‘inter-’ and ‘intra-’ connections of transvestic and transsexual identities. This follows and expands upon the analyses within the previous chapters exploring the related presentations of trans* women online and within trans* supportive organisations in Manchester.

It will be proposed that links between transvestism and transsexualism have often been recognised within trans* groups in Manchester’s Gay Village. This may connect with concerns that several social science academics may have incomplete understandings of the actual experiences of trans* women (Ekins, 1997; Namaste, 2000). It will be suggested that several of these trans* connections are expressed in the Village with a number of trans* women attempting to attain (connubialic) power concerning ‘passing’ as patriarchally defined ‘glamorous’ cissexual women (Chapter 6). There will be explorations of the availability of counselling for trans* women who are uncertain about their transgender identity. Investigations of related quantitative data gained from 437 trans* women shall be undertaken.

Connections between Transvestism and Transsexualism

Feinbloom (1976) describes a presentation in Boston, USA, entitled, “The Changing Aspects of Gender Identity” where she met and befriended a middle-aged trans woman who had previously self identified as a heterosexual transvestite but had decided she was “now probably a preoperative transsexual” (2). Feinbloom writes about how her investigations of this situation were received:

The usual response to my research has been amazement and disbelief that "such a thing" exists. In addition I found that both professional colleagues and general audiences have many misconceptions about the meaning of transvestism and transsexualism.

(3)

I presented a paper entitled, *Recent Past, Present and Future Views of Transvestism* at a gender themed social sciences conference on 21st – 22nd June 2006. All the attendants at this conference had been supplied with numerous leaflets detailing support information for transsexual people. However, support information for other expressions of transgenderism was absent. Experiences at this and four other similar conferences during 2006 to 2007 suggest that many academics within the social sciences may have a limited awareness of the connections between present-day trans* identities.

Ekins (1997) discusses the connections between transvestism and transsexualism. Similar to Namaste (2000), he expresses disquiet at the inability by some academic researchers to examine the actual experiences of transgender people. Suthrell (2004) recognises the potential connections between transvestism and transsexualism. However, she writes that, for the transvestites who become transsexual women, “the experience of living as a male is not only frustrating and

unpleasant but does not fit at all with the person they feel themselves to be” (59). This thesis will suggest that her assessment may be incomplete.

During investigations of social science research into current transgenderism (Chapter 2.2), it has been recognised that there have been no intensive examinations of present-day trans* communities within Manchester’s Gay Village. Much contemporary information on transgenderism appears to originate from in and around London. Suthrell does acknowledge that her research findings may be biased and lacking, as most of her interviewees and respondents to her quantitative studies were members of the London based Beaumont Society. While Ekins writes in his text that he has interviewed one respondent from the Manchester area, he does not seem to have explored trans* communities socialising in the Village.

Social Connections of Trans* Identities in the Village

Larissa describes the Village with relation to trans* identities:

There’s the transgender then there’s the grey area then there’s transvestite then there’s the grey area then you’ve got drag queen. [*laughs*] That’s what I [*pause*] understand that spectrum ... It goes up and down. You can’t ever say that someone is definitely at one point on the ladder. It’s very rare you can say someone is very definitely on the line. And I think back in [my home town] Cambridge ... a lot of it was drag queen verging onto transvestite community. So when I come up to Manchester it was quite a new thing ... I would say it is more ... transvestite verging to transgender here.

Larissa – cissexual woman (28.05.10)

How Larissa applies the term ‘transgender’ reflects the inconsistency in terminologies previously described (Chapter 5). Her incomplete perception is that ‘transgender’ is an alternative term for ‘transsexual’. Notably, she is excluding links between ‘drag queens’ and other trans* individuals socialising in the Village as the ‘drag queens’

observed in the social spaces of this area rarely interact with other trans* groups. However, her observations of some drag queens being transvestites in Cambridge may propose cynicism about assertions that cross-dressing, for drag queens, is just for performance (Namaste, 2000). It could also suggest uncertainties concerning contentions about the deconstructive aspects of self-aware 'drag' (Butler, 1999).

Larissa has enabled the 'Villaggio' restaurant in the Village to be trans* friendly, including hosting a Sunday lunch there during the annual Sparkle celebrations from 2006. The lunch here requires pre-booking, as it is apparently popular with trans* women. Her interactions with trans* women have included supportive discourses:

This poor person's life story ... I think I spent two and a half hours just chatting ... I felt really sorry and ... I'm glad I asked questions from people for two years. If not, I wouldn't have known how to answer her questions ... He [said,] "I have a wife and kids. ... but ... I'm not allowed to see the kids as a woman." and "I don't know what to do. I can't live with myself. If I don't dress then start doing my 'meds' again."

...

I've never heard anyone tell me they've been on the meds ... about 20 years plus ago ... [B]ack then, he lived somewhere down London – "I was 'It' back then ... I was transitioning. I transitioned young." So he was saying it was easier and the body was adapting to it quite well and he was saying, "The community down [in London] ... found this really impressive and amazing."

...

The reason I was so impressed with him 'cause ... it's not something I've seen in the transgender scene personally myself or ever really noticed before that age was such a factor. Whereas it really is in the gay male and female scene. Be 'It' when you're young ... I've never seen age as such a thing before within the transgender community ... He said, "It would have been so much easier to continue down that route when so young ... I've started dressing at work but I get cold feet when someone says something" ... He was really cut up about it. He was doubting it as well.

Larissa – cissexual woman (28.05.10)

The concept of being 'It' within MTF trans* communities is not related to the transphobic/homophobic gender misrecognition of a trans* woman as 'it'. The contrasting perception of being 'It' can be interpreted as being effective in 'passing' as

a young, stereotypically ‘glamorous’, gender normative, cissexual woman. The attainment of this patriarchally defined feminine glamour can also be regarded as gaining ‘status’ and resulting ‘connubialic’ power (Chapter 6). This attainment has been recognised amongst international trans* communities (Johnson, 1995).

In her interview, Joan discusses her personal life and details her confusion about her need to cross-dress from seven years old. From several discourses with Joan after her first visit to Northern Concord, it seems that the counselling and support she received was predominantly from trans* women she had interacted with in the Village as well as those she exchanged discussions with online. When she decided she was transsexual, the members in the Manchester Concord and the individuals she interacted with online, continued to welcome her presence.

Josy, who was an official Concord representative at the Sparkle 2007 celebration, expresses that her personal voyage towards transsexualism is comparable to that of Joan. Initially, Josy had refused to identify as transsexual and assertively regarded herself as a cross-dresser. However, after her divorce, she began to dress full time in 2008 and gained family support prior to undertaking GRS in March 2010.

There are two versions of a ‘joke’ regarding the alleged link transsexualism and transvestism. Jenny-Anne expresses one version:

Jenny-Anne	You know we have a saying in the community – “What’s the difference between a TV and a TS?”
Lee	[<i>laughs</i>] yes [<i>pause</i>]
Jenny-Anne	... “About five years.” ...
Lee	Yeah ... I get slightly [<i>pause</i>] I wouldn’t say irritated but [<i>pause</i>] there are some trans people who feel like, “Oh, you should know <u>right</u> from the start that you’re transsexual.” and it’s like [<i>pause</i>] it doesn’t work like that all the time.
Jenny-Anne	No, it doesn’t. You can never say where somebody will go.

Jenny-Anne - transsexual woman (31.05.10)

During my discourses with trans* women in the Village over the last decade, another version of this ‘joke’ has been repeatedly expressed:

What they say, and the classic one and I really- it upsets my wife a little bit – “What’s the difference between a TV and a ... TS? Two years.” And I’ve gone two years. I’ve gone from not going out my bedroom door to going out and socialising as Eleanor in normal environments. And so you have to worry about that. But I’ve got a very strong marriage. I love my wife tremendously. I’d crawl over broken glass so I didn’t hurt her. That was the hardest thing I ever told her was that I enjoyed going out as Eleanor.

Eleanor – transvestite (13.10.10)

Most transvestites never want to transition (Serano, 2007). Furthermore, as Larissa describes, there are situations where transitioning to a transsexual identity is delayed, often by family situations. This is a related situation regarding Jenny-Anne’s impediment in transitioning. Nevertheless, she does query the motivations of some trans* people wanting to transition. Leah expresses similar concerns. She has several friends who have transitioned and also recognizes aspects of her personality that she regards as transsexual. Nonetheless, she remains wary about some motivations for transitioning:

Once you’ve made the decision that you’re going to transition and you’ve set down that road, it’s very difficult to get off that ... bus. I know ... one person that is decidedly at this stage to transition, which was everything that they were about, isn’t for them. And so they stopped. Now, they were working full time. But now, they’re ... effectively cross-dressed, ‘cause they’re having to go into work as a woman when they actually aren’t wanting to transition anymore and they’re being a man.

...

And all the problems that you think changing that into a woman is going to solve – it isn’t going to solve those problems because it creates a completely new set of problems on top of the ones that you’ve already got.

...

Everybody’s got problems ... but reassigning gender isn’t going to get rid of those problems. A lot of people have failed as a man. They’ve had a failed marriage, you know? They’ve lost their job or whatever. ... So [pause] “I’ll transition.” ... But that’s what counselling and talking to psychiatrists is about ... – to stop people making a mistake ... And everybody seems to think if [you] rectify a birth defect - for want of a better way of putting it – the birth

defect is ... a female inside a man's body. If you rectify that, all the problems will go away and they won't! ... Yes, sometimes it will put things right.

Leah – transvestite (12.05.10)

This quote indicates the unease Leah has regarding some psychological assessments of trans* identities. However, she is supportive of many transsexual women who socialise in the Village. Dan expresses similar viewpoints in his cynical reviews of the motivations by some trans* women to transition.

Their concerns reflect other discourses in the Village where it was expressed that troubled people may too easily attain transitioning. This unease includes the ability to purchase hormones online without suitable health support from medical groups; the lack of proficient counselling; and the limited assessments by some medical organisations abroad, which seem to be more interested in their patient's abilities to pay for surgical treatment than whether the surgery is ethically correct for that particular patient. Jenny-Anne expresses this concern from a transsexual perspective:

Jenny-Anne I'm approved for surgery ... So I'm very happy and also, perhaps being a mature person, I'm very happy that they've taken that time because it makes you think about it and it also gives you time to monitor your health and ... make sure that's what you really want to be so I'm quite happy with all that and- So to some of the people who are clearly not happy you need to think longer about this.

Lee Yeah. I know what you mean. ... I know that ... there are a couple of people that I've met over the last ... five, six years [*pause*] and one in particular I'm thinking of- It wasn't so much that I didn't think she was transsexual. It was that I felt that she needed to put other issues to rest before she took the step.

Jenny-Anne That's right. I think that's very, very important. I do think that you have got to really come to terms with things and you've got to think just what you do need and what you don't need.

Jenny-Anne - transsexual woman (31.05.10)

It has been observed that this uncertainty of identifying as transsexual is a prominent issue for several trans* women in the Village. However, it appears that professional support may be inconsistent.

Counselling for Trans* People

Josy and Joan offer support and critical advice to trans* people who are uncertain about their gender identity:

Josy You see ... with being a transsexual meself now, I tend to concentrate my efforts more on the transsexual side rather than the transvestite side because – I know it starts there – but until they ... move from a transvestite to transsexual, I don't really get involved. You know, I'll talk to 'em about make-up and help them but when they sort of deliberate about "Am I TS? Am I not?" That's when I like to get involved with things.

...

And I really enjoy that side of it. I really do. I'm there. Me phone's going constantly at home. Every night. [*to Joan*] Yours too ... You can't have a five-minute conversation with people. You're on the phone for an hour, you know, and that's what it's like now.

Joan I find a lot of the girls want someone to talk to and someone to listen ... I often say to people, "Look. You've got a lot of problems. ... I can't tell you what to do but I can do is listen. ... It's dead easy to say you're transsexual. Anyone can say that. But you need to really sit down and think what you're gonna do.

Josy - transsexual woman; Joan - transsexual woman (18.07.09)

While Joan and Josy are knowledgeable about aspects of transgenderism, they are aware that they are not trained counsellors. However, the counselling support for trans* people can be contradictory and lacking as expressed by several trans* women on the 'Angels' and 'Roses Forum' websites. On these online discussion forums there are several discourses between trans* women regarding counsellors being judgemental and/or expressing relationship opinions, contradicting their clients' assertions (Anna_86 *et al.*, 24th Aug. 2010; Anna_86 *et al.*, 20th Oct. 2010; Rachel_I_Brown *et*

al., 8th Dec. 2010). However, there are alleged misunderstandings concerning the connections between transvestism and transsexualism (Suzie-W *et al.*, 6th Sept. 2008).

Conversely, there have been positive experiences concerning all aspects of transgenderism, seemingly with appropriate researching (Pollik and Ellen, 23rd Jul. 2008; Rebecca-H *et al.*, 27th Jan. 2011; Livingstone, 2011). Nevertheless, several of these counselling practices are not based in the North West of England (Hawley, 2011; Owens, 2011). Moreover, concerning survey information regarding counselling within the National Health Service (NHS), assistance for all trans* people is available but the support for transsexualism predominates (Schonfield and Gardner, Jun. 2008).

Dee and Matt discuss counselling support for cross-dressers, detailing discourses with a representative from the Women Of the Beaumont Society (WOBS):

Dee [I said,] “[I]s there any, like, literature you could give me on partners of”
[*pause*] She says, “Oh everybody thinks they’re a counsellor.” So I said, “No, I’m not saying that I’m a counsellor. ... I want to get a group together, not counsel them or speak to them, just so they can be ... safe.” So she said, “Are you qualified in counselling?” I said, “No, that’s not what I want.”
...
So she said, “Well let me tell you, dear, there are only three official women of transvestite counsellors in the country.” She said, “And I am one of them.” ... I said, “Well, I’m not saying that.” She obviously wasn’t listening to what I was saying ... Then she said, “Well, if your partner wants somewhere to go ... go to Manchester Concord.” ... I thought what a waste of time that was. It was just a total [*pause*] I can imagine, I was lucky I didn’t particularly have a problem. She’s like the Women Of the Beaumont Society who, when the partners phone up if they’ve got issues or problems or [*pause*] ...
Matt It’s hard enough as it is.
Dee Well, she’s stuck up there isn’t she with, like, the Beaumont Society ... She says, “Oh we’re the only ones in the country ... We’ve been doing it for so many years.” And basically [*pause*] they’re all down ... south ... like they’re all down, like, in a big circle, I don’t know whether she said Wiltshire or somewhere like that.

Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

This interview extract suggests contradictory positions about the existence of Manchester Concord, which seems to be officially ignored by the Beaumont Society

(Beaumont-Society, 2010; Beaumont-Society, 2011a). However, it appears that several members of the WOBS do informally recognise the trans* support offered by member of the Concord. Dee and Matt also discuss a professional counsellor who visited the Manchester Concord while accompanying a transvestic client:

- Dee [I]f you're a counsellor and you go to somewhere like the Manchester Concord and then somebody comes up to talk to you and you go "Oh I'm a counsellor." To me, that shouldn't have been said ... I thought she was wrong in actually saying that she was his counsellor. She should have [pause]
- Lee She should have, more or less, said, "I'm his friend or" [pause]
- Dee Yeah! It was like she was a bit embarrassed or you know that she was [pause] with 'im ... and was trying to make excuses of why she was there though.
- Matt For a start you've got to educate her first haven't you? You'd have to educate her first before she could even dream of tryin' to help 'im.
- Dee She can't help him!
- Matt ... She didn't know the first thing about the T-girl world at all, you know?
- ...
- Dee [Y]ou knew she was anti-transvestite or whatever. She just didn't want to be there. It was a job ...
- Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

This concern recalls the previously examined national online discourses about the alleged erratic availability of therapeutic support for trans* women. This issue also seems to be expressed by Jenny-Anne within her actions as a member of the Parliamentary Forum on Gender Identity and by members of the Pink Therapy LGB&T therapy support organisation (Pink-Therapy, 2012).

Recalling the recommended combinations of qualitative and quantitative research data (Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009; Duncan and Spicer, 2010), there have been analyses of my recently gathered online quantitative data, which include investigations of counselling/therapy (Appendix 5). Figure 9.1 shows results gained for the effectiveness of counselling/therapy for 197 respondents who identified as MTF transvestites/cross-dressers/transgenderists:

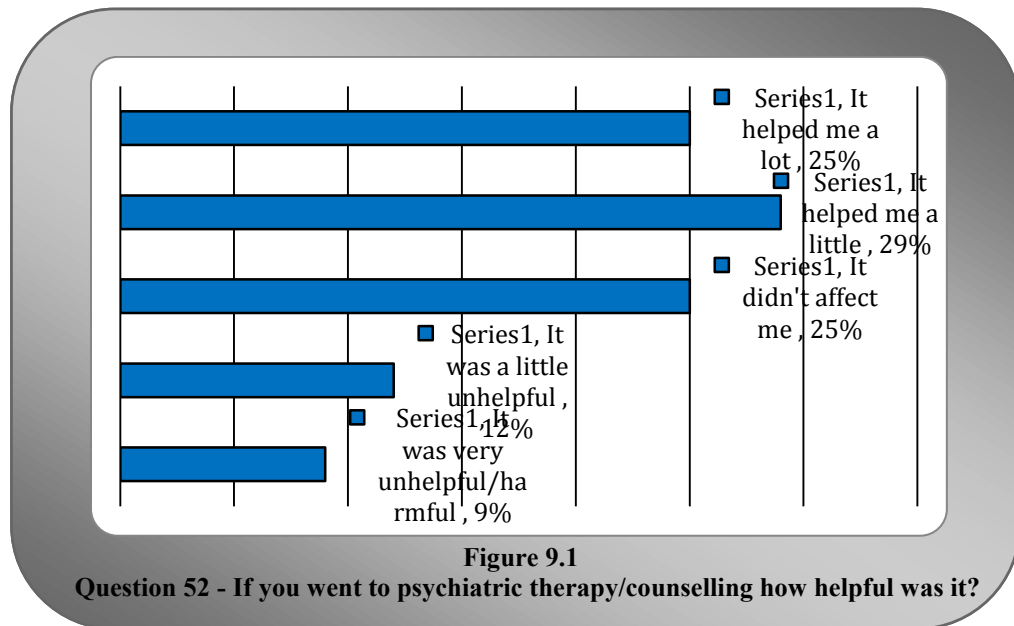
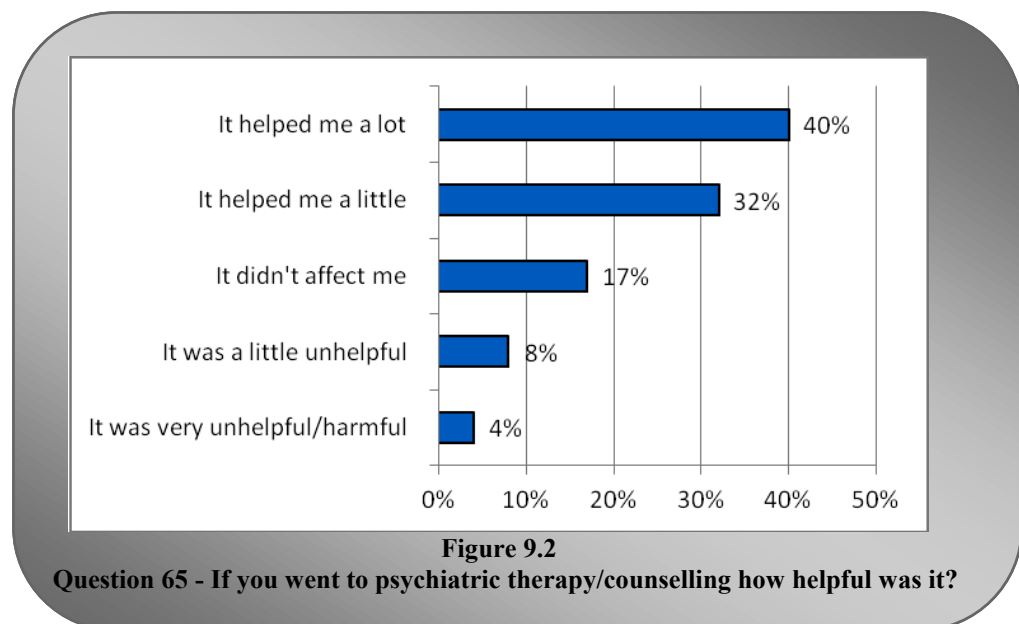


Figure 9.2 shows the results for the effectiveness of the counselling/therapy support for 240 respondents who identified as transsexual women:



These results suggest that MTF transvestites/cross-dressers/transgenderists are significantly less likely to receive helpful 'expert' therapy/counselling than transsexual women. Disturbingly, this data also suggests that MTF transvestites/cross-

dressers/transgenderists are more than twice as likely to get ‘very unhelpful/harmful’ therapy/counselling than transsexual women. This apparent lack of suitable support could suggest less detailed relevant knowledge of other forms of transgenderism than transsexualism.

Conclusion

In this chapter there have been analyses of past studies of links between transvestic and transsexual identities. It has been suggested that many trans* individuals within the Village seem to be conscious of the ‘inter-’ and ‘intra-’ connections of transvestism and transsexualism. There were investigations of the concept of being ‘It’, the perceived pinnacle of youthful glamour/attractiveness, which is recognised within trans* and gay communities. Amongst trans* women, this is seemingly appearing to be a young, patriarchally defined, glamorous, cissexual woman.

There has been analyses of concerns expressed by transvestic, transsexual and natal women that the competent counselling for trans* women, particularly transvestic women, has, allegedly, erratic availability within the North West of England. The gained quantitative data includes related information given by 437 trans* women. This survey data seems to reinforce these concerns and also suggests that these difficulties may be international.

Furthering this investigation of the varied trans* identities, the next chapter will present explorations of the visual expressions of trans* women in the Village.

VISUAL EXPRESSIONS

You're born naked and everything you put on after that is drag.

RuPaul
(Chermayeff *et al.*, 1995:130)

Following the previous analyses of the connections of trans* identities, this chapter will detail explorations of the visual presentations of transvestic and transsexual women socialising in the Village. Allegations by Suthrell (2004) will be examined concerning the apparently incomplete academic investigations of clothing issues and their links with transvestism.

Definitions of gender dysphoria plus its connections with the appearances learnt and expressed by transvestic and transsexual women will be examined. My previously expressed theories concerning alleged feminine social 'power' will also be incorporated with the expressions of 'glamour' during investigations (Chapter 6).

There shall be explorations of the controversial existence of trans* prostitutes in the Village. Additionally, the connections between transvestic women's cross-dressing, age and difficult personal experiences will be analysed. Furthermore, there are studies of the claims that medical hypotheses regarding trans* identities might have had negative impacts upon some trans* women's self-worth with associated risks of being abused and limited access to effective counselling/therapy.

This chapter shall also detail the awareness of political issues by several trans* women regarding conforming to and resisting mainstream images of masculinity and femininity within their visual presentations.

Clothing and Gender Dysphoria

Suthrell quotes Tarlo (1996) who asserts that, within anthropological fieldwork, the examinations of clothing were dismissed “perhaps largely because clothes were considered a 'feminine issue' and thus too frivolous to be of interest to the academic or serious-minded” (Suthrell, 2004:15). However, she alleges that while clothing is, essentially, merely practical, it signifies multitudinous aspects of a person’s financial status; age; class; adherence to social conformities or opposing them; and, significantly, gender identity. Suthrell claims that clothing suggests a person’s characteristics to other people in that it “is a key element in the constructed image that says 'I belong’” (16). She also discusses the converse use of clothing to expresses non-belonging.

Nonetheless, while Suthrell acknowledges that academic investigations into clothing issues have recently expanded, she contends that there have been few examinations of connections between clothing and transvestism. She claims that these two issues have received insufficient academic analyses and connects this with the contentious view that, within patriarchal societies, being a woman is regarded as inferior to being a man (126).

Consequently, the allegations by some medical, legal and academic researchers that ‘transvestism’ is a fetish, together with their resulting adverse impacts, may partially derive from insufficient research into transgenderism and clothing issues (Boyd, 2003). It has been claimed in online medical articles that the preferences for gender specific clothing can be an indication of gender dysphoria (NHS-Choices, 21st May 2012b), which Whittle (1996) claims has become regarded as an alternative contemporary term for the identification of transsexualism (198).

However, the NHS-Choices website proposes that transvestites can also be gender dysphoric (NHS-Choices, 21st May 2012a). This site appears to have generated online critical responses from several transsexual women. Some of them reject this alleged expansion of the gender dysphoric definition and assert that the writers for this website need to consult GIRES. Their objections may be interpreted that they conceive that transvestites are part of an ‘out-group’ and, therefore, they should not be integrated with their self-defined transsexual ‘in-group’ (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1985; McLeod, 2008). However, Boyd (2003) regards transvestites as “mildly gender dysphoric” (142). Her text about trans* issues has apparently been positively reviewed on several occasions since its publication (Lake *et al.*, 24th Apr. 2004 - 3rd Aug. 2012; Boyd, 2012).

Furthermore, GIRES do express that gender dysphoria, which they suggest can alternatively be defined as gender variance, can be applied to cross-dressers although they contentiously associate ‘transvestism’ with sexual stimuli rather than expressing it as an alternative term for ‘cross-dressing’ (GIRES, 31st Aug. 2008; Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009). This gender variance is suggested by data from my international online questionnaires and by several of my interviewees:

[T]here’s loads of people in the middle but, because they’re in the middle, you don’t know about it because they’re perfectly happily getting on with their lives. And I think you’re being forced one way or the other ... because ... you’re not encouraged to observe those variables you have to fit in this group or fit in that group. Your ‘in-group’ or your ‘out-group’. You’re either a man or a woman. You’re either a transvestite or a transsexual.

...

I don’t know whether that’s a self-induced idea ... because that’s the path that’s been taken in the past ... when you go for your psychological assessment and that’s because quite often girls talk to girls.⁴⁰ They tell them all the answers ... and all the rest of it. ... They become pre-prepared ... because you are so scared that nobody will believe you are genuine ... Just because you want to keep your penis ... because you don’t relate to that being any less than-

...

⁴⁰ Similarly to the previously discussed terms applied by trans* women themselves, Liz identifies these trans* women as ‘girls’.

You don't quantify yourself in terms of your genitalia. You quantify your femininity into what's in here [*points to her head*] not ... what's between your legs.

Liz – cissexual woman (28.09.12)

In this quote, Liz appears to echo the suggestions that past medical evaluations may have had negative impacts upon how contemporary trans* women self-regard and how they divorce themselves from other trans* identities. Liz, Dan and Joan propose that, for some transvestic and transsexual women socialising in the Village, simply wearing feminine clothing appears to be a primary motivator rather than how it appears when worn. While Liz and Dan acknowledge that transvestic fetishists do visit the Village, they claim that many of these analysed transvestic and transsexual women may not be motivated by fetishistic desires. Since 2003, there have been repeated observations of such people in the Village during my academic research.

Therefore, it can be inferred that several gender dysphoric people do not necessarily empathise with the 'Other' gender role (de Beauvoir, 2010 [1949]). Instead, their (temporary) discomfort with their gender may be to escape from stereotypical masculine performativities (Butler, 1999).

Drag and Drab

Dan does not use a female name when he is cross-dressed nor does he want to be referred to as 'she' or 'her'. He describes his personal reasons for cross-dressing and for socialising in the Village:

Well, do you want to be a boring moth that everyone shoos away because they're dull or do you want to be a butterfly who people gravitate towards because of how they look?" ... So the contrast between what I've done Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, up until Wednesday night, is quite significant ... [Y]ou're out and, all of a sudden, you're chatting to people. Sometimes you

go elsewhere in the Village and there's women in there are fascinated and want to know more and 'av their picture taken and then ... once that's over, Wednesday night, everything comes off. I go back to Thursday.

Dan – transvestite (09.05.10)

Therefore, Dan's attraction for many types of female clothing seems to be contrasted with the relative 'drabness' of male outfits. During discourses with Dan in the Village we have recognised that many transvestic women describe their cross-dressing as being 'en femme'. Leah expresses similar views to Dan:

But what you get is [the] girl who [pause] because of the Marilyn Monroe syndrome – for want of a better way of putting it – because they are looking at that [pause] glamorous – and I think without doubt it's the best thing woman ever created – glamour is without doubt what people go for. What transgender people go for ... because who wouldn't?

And the opportunity to go from a drab style of clothing that is male clothing into a glamorous female attire. It's very alluring, especially if you've got the dysphoria that goes with it. [pause] You got to have that [pause] ... desire.

Leah – transvestite (12.05.10)

Leah discusses the Sparkle celebrations and, like Brianna, asserts that these annual festivals feature trans* women wearing a wider range of feminine clothing styles than other occasions in the Village. Leah particularly details four trans* women she observed at Sparkle 2009 who were identically and convincingly dressed as modern airhostesses. She contends that any trans* woman who saw them during that celebration admired them and desired replicating their glamorous appearance. I had also observed these four trans* women at this festival and detected that many trans* women were seemingly appreciative of them.

It appears that Leah and Dan may be reflecting allegations by Johnson (1995) concerning trans* women acquiring social 'power' with developing and expressing the patriarchally defined feminine 'glamour' (Mulvey, 1975; Foucault, 1977). Recalling the previous theoretical investigations (Chapter 6), this may be regarded as a visual

expression of the hypothetical ‘connubialic’ power and the contentions that a young trans* woman could be regarded as the glamorous ‘It’ (Chapter 9).

Like Leah, Matt has contended that a trans* woman’s ‘gender dysphoria’ shapes her attraction to feminine ‘glamour’. Attraction to the visual signifiers of feminine ‘glamour’ is an aspect of transvestism that is referred to in previous texts but, apparently, many do not explicitly connect it to gender dysphoria and/or the attempt to gain perceived feminine social ‘power’ (Bullough and Bullough, 1993; Farrer, 2000).

Since socialising in the Village since 2001, it has been observed that many transvestic and transsexual women assume that the reality of feminine identity and the visual signifiers of femininity are the same. It may be examined that numerous natal women socialising in mainstream venues also seem to make this assumption (Peacock, 2006).

Gaining Skills and Self-Belief

The Village encompasses social spaces that enable varied expressions of transgenderism, some of which are not exhibited outside this area. It is not always immediately evident if a trans* woman has only recently ‘come out’ and is, consequently, learning how to confidently express her feminine appearance. This area can enable, for many trans* women, a gradual cross from unskilled learning to confident dressing.

How trans* women learn to proficiently visually express their femininity varies. Before Dan ‘came out’ in the Village, he had examined female outfits and learnt about make-up techniques and feminine hairstyles through magazines and television programmes. Once he was satisfied with his ‘en femme’ appearance, he socialised in the Village while cross-dressed. Dan contends some trans* women in this area wear feminine clothing inappropriate for their age and apply their make-up inexpertly but surmises that they may have missed the opportunities to wear feminine clothing when they were younger. During their individual interviews, Pamela and Marianne also assert this reasoning. Marianne expresses:

Well, it’s just like women in the real world. You know, apart from the ones who are driven by a fetish but [*pause*] You know, real women wouldn’t wear that out in the street! [They] might occasionally on a night out in a particular area or a particular event, but generally they don’t really wear their fetishes out in the [real world]. Whereas, you know, the trans* community - quite a lot of cases will do but there’s quite a lot of reasons why they dress so [*pause*]

[O]f course we’ve got a lot bottled up ... Even for me, being full time to a degree, I’ve got catch up to do because ... as far as age and beauty are concerned, are behind me. I’ve lost 30 years. ... I’ve missed on doing that as a girl [*pause*] So there’s a bit of catch up and all the mistakes that you would have made as a teenager or into your twenties which any woman would say, “Hey, what were you wearing when you were 20 and you were going out-” “Oh, my God! No! Don’t get the photos out!” [*Lee laughs*] And we’re living that. We’re making those mistakes now because we haven’t learnt them.

...

And, also, maybe because we've living ... a big proportion of our life as men, we must make mistakes!

Marianne – transsexual woman (02.06.10)

Other trans* women, including Joan and Josy, learnt skills in 'en femme' presentations similarly to Dan, but contend that they gained additional abilities in feminine performances by studying other trans* women in the Village. Several trans* women who frequent this area, such as Leah and Lucy, have used dressing services to improve their techniques:

Starting off [*pause*] being to dressing services and being dressed and made up. And then the lady who ran that [*pause*] In the early days, when I was paying her, she'd get me dressed and we'd go out again shopping [*pause*] But we quite rapidly became friends so that we still do that, even now, go shopping together but as friends.

...

And ... we've been to the Outlet ... at the Lowry [*pause*] Centre. But mostly we tend to go to the Arndale Centre because it's handy.⁴¹

...

So I now do it on my own. Sometimes I just go round and look at things and sometimes I go in and try things on and if things nicely fit, I'll buy them. I'm a terrible shopaholic!

Lucy – transvestite (02.11.10)

This extract suggests that the gathering of skills in presenting their feminine appearances enables transvestic and transsexual women to confidently visit social spaces beyond the largely protective venues in the Village. However, several transvestic women never gain the confidence to venture beyond this area's social spaces. Accordingly, numerous trans* woman describe the Village as a 'big closet'. Some trans* women's experiences and fears of transphobic prejudices are potent but, from the previous analyses of some of my quantitative data, it would appear that the availability of professional counselling/therapeutic assistance for transvestic women, which can help resist this 'fear', may be inadequate (Chapter 9).

⁴¹ The Lowry Outlet shopping centre is in Salford. The Arndale Centre is in central Manchester.

Related to this issue, Dan has identified groups of transvestic women who present immature feminine appearances. If one reinterprets the allegations made by Storr (1964) concerning sexual inferiority, their presentations could suggest unconscious self-blaming due to their needs to express their trans* identities coupled with awareness of transphobic prejudices within mainstream society. This may also lead some to be vulnerable to being indoctrinated into ‘accepting’ humiliations and sexual abuse (Roberts, 9th Mar. 2011). It could be proposed that the apparently judgemental perspectives by those within medical, legal and academic organisations are not only incomplete but that their viewpoints can present erroneous assumptions about the expressions of transvestic women. Their imperfect perspectives might have had negative impacts upon counselling/therapeutic support for transvestic women.

Power and Sex

Dan, Marianne, Valerie and Liz have also discussed another range of trans* women whose presence in the Village can be regarded as controversial. Liz describes some of these trans* women; including one she has had discourses with in the Village:

But it's quite interesting that within the community there is also a sub class, which is girls who ... just to survive ... [pause] ... become prostitutes ... because they don't want to dress as a man but can't afford the operation. They can't afford this, that and the other.

...

She can't get work because she's been out-ed so many times ... Because of that her weapon of choice is prostitution. Her means of ... surviving all of that. ... That is really no different from the way people get into prostitution ... whether you're straight or not.

Liz – cissexual woman (28.09.12)

Marianne befriended some of these trans* women in a nightclub and seems to be aware of their ‘connubialic’ power expressed during their interactions with

potential clients. She describes that their contact with these ‘punters’, as she names them, were a falsity in that they appeared to be welcoming but, during confidential conversations with Marianne, they expressed critical viewpoints about these clients. These ‘tranny admirers’,⁴² as many trans* women seem to name them, frequent some clubs in the Village. However, the majority of trans* people resist interactions with these individuals and object to the assumptions that transvestic and transsexual women socialise in the venues of this area in order to attract sexual interactions.

However, Dee and Matt detail that, for some people socialising in the Village, the desire for sexual contacts does motivate them to cross-dress in order to gain ‘connubialic’ power:

Dee	This gentleman that we know he’s [pause] <u>gay</u> . He’s got to a certain age 40ish and he’s not getting the younger lads he’s used to, so what does he do? He wants younger lads so now what he’s done is startin’ to dress up as female, as a transvestite ... and-
Mark	He’s gorgeous!
Dee	Absolutely lovely.
Mark	Absolutely gorgeous!

Dee – genetic woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

This potentially distressing issue of getting to a “certain age” relates to other traumatic motivations to gain ‘power’ through cross-dressing.

⁴² Other nicknames can be ‘tranny fanciers’ and ‘tranny fuckers’. These names are sometimes abbreviated to ‘TFs’.

Power and Trauma

Dee and Mark give emotional support to transvestic women as well as giving assistance regarding 'en femme' abilities during their dressing service profession. They discuss mixed emotional motivations for cross-dressing:

- Dee What I've found out is that transvestites who get to 40, 50ish, usually have had a trauma in their life. Usually they lose their mum; they lose their sister; lose [pause] somebody; and what they tend to do is then start getting out their clothes out the wardrobe and being close to them and smelling them and feeling them.
- ...
- One of them, the wife started having an affair ... [pause] He thought she was having an affair. He started going through her underwear drawer - I don't know what he was looking for [laughs] - ... and started that feeling in him. Because he thought she was having an affair it was a comfort thing to him, hoping that she wasn't and that's ... usually when they get to that age 'cause I don't think it could just pop in their 'ed ... there's got to be some reason behind it or [to Matt] like you say, has it been there for a while but maybe never-
- Mark Just going to kick start it.
- Dee Yeah.
- Lee I understand that comfort thing 'cause, like when things were going wrong between myself and my ex in the last 18 months we were together, we just got more and more distant and the cross-dressing was like a comfort thing. 'Cause it was like closeness to something feminine 'cause my girlfriend was going away.
- ...
- Dee It wasn't like a sexual thing. It was more like a comfort thing. Being close. I think sometimes when your self-esteem goes down. I've heard that when your self-esteem's going, you tend to grab at anything and most transvestite men think they look better when they're dressed as a woman, you know ... Every one of them [pause] they either look younger; they feel younger; they feel as if they've got more [pause] nicer clothes, nicer material. I mean we, we've always said it's hard really that men, even of this day and age, can't wear nice [pause] frilly clothes; satiny clothes; silky clothes, 'cause they still can't, can they?

Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

While both Pamela and Arista express that their transvestic appearances are presenting younger images than presentations of their male personae, they both contend that they are bi-gendered. The analyses expressed in this chapter could suggest that many aspects of transvestism may be visual significations of bi-gender

identities, which can be a component of their dysphoria regarding conforming to mainstream masculine gender normativity. Both Pamela and Arista regularly socialise in mainstream locations as part of their political motivations about gaining mainstream acceptance respect for trans* identities.

Power and Politics

Visual expressions of trans* women have been discussed during the political expressions of transgenderism. Rikki Arundel is a politically active UK trans woman who has personally experienced transphobic discriminations. She opposes gender inequalities and participates in related online discourses with other trans* women (Arundel, 2012). She queries the visual appearances of numerous trans* women during critically observing their compliances to patriarchally defined stereotypical feminine appearances rather than ‘queering’ the gender conformities.

Brianna has observed the appearance of a number of MTF trans* people at Sparkle events in the Village who deconstruct stereotypes of visual gender identities. This deconstruction can be referred to as ‘gender fucking’ (Bornstein, 1994; Whittle, 1996). Similar presentations have been observed elsewhere in central Manchester. Apparently, several trans* women have expressed criticisms about such people to Brianna, questioning the suitability of their presence at the Sparkle festivals.

Such deliberate resistances to gender conformity have been expressed during various performances by ‘drag queens’ (Butler, 1999). Vincent Meehan, for instance, asserts that his drag performances are visually expressing the combinations of the masculine and feminine aspects of his personality (Chermayeff *et al.*, 1995:41).

The explicit homosexual identities of drag performers expressed within this 1995 text present the previously analysed contemporary misunderstandings and assumptions about the sexualities of trans* women (Chapter 2.2). This is exacerbated by the promotions of LGB dominated events such as the Manchester Pride 2012 festival, which is promoted by numerous posters featuring an image of, apparently, an MTF cross-dresser. It would appear that these promotions do not openly stress the separate identities of trans* people to LGB people.

During discourses regarding the stereotypical expressions of femininity portrayed by some trans* women, Liz contends these currently existing erroneous assumptions about the sexuality of trans* people within mainstream communities:

- Liz I think that the things that are attached to masculinity ... that makes you a man I suppose. The signifiers that are the clothes and all the rest of it and going to the other extreme of being very pretty - very feminine.
- Lee ...
- Lee Do they just don't see that there's any other option? Male or female. There's nothing in between?
- Liz Well, I think they think the something in between is gay. And I think that what they see - man, women, gay.

Liz – cissexual woman (28.09.12)

Thus the connections of sexuality with the visual presentations of all trans* women can lead to them being the recipients of both transphobic and homophobic hate crimes.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented investigations into the visual appearances of transvestic and transsexual women socialising in the Village. This enhances prior academic analyses of clothing issues and of cross-dressing expressions, which apparently have been limited. It has been proposed that this insufficient research may have enhanced the erroneous assumptions by those in medical, legal and academic organisations about connecting fetishism with cross-dressing.

There have been analyses of gender dysphoria conceptions with the controversial viewpoints that transvestic women are gender dysphoric. This contentious opinion appears to present perceptions of ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ within transgenderism despite gender variance having been observed by GIRES and implied by my quantitative information. There were examinations of trans* women socialising in the Village, which suggest that gender dysphoria may not be shaped by empathy with the ‘Other’ gender but by discomfort with the patriarchally shaped masculine performativities.

There have been explorations of trans* women’s attractions to feminine ‘glamour’ and its connected ‘power’ to influence people. It has been suggested that this can be regarded as the theorised ‘connubialic’ power (Chapter 6). The varied learning in proficiently expressing feminine performativity amongst trans* women has been examined. It is alleged that not being able to learn how to competently express femininity earlier in the lives of trans* women can lead to them making ‘deficient’ feminine appearances.

Potential impacts of incomplete research in medical, legal and academic bodies have been analysed. These may concern the issues of self-blaming by transvestic

women due to their needs to cross-dress, which can lead to some being vulnerable to abusive manipulation. There have been investigations of prostitution by a number of trans* women in the Village as a consequence of them receiving transphobic prejudices within mainstream organisations. The use of cross-dressing by gay men to gain sexual interactions has also been explored.

Furthermore, triggers to cross-dress have been examined, which might be due to traumatic experiences and age issues. There were explorations of some transvestic women regarding themselves as being bi-gendered. Connected with this, are the apparent expressions of political assertiveness by some trans* women. There have been examinations that suggest cross-dressing can be linked with deconstructive 'gender fucking'. Explorations of such blurring of gender identities have included analysing erroneous assumptions by some of those within mainstream communities that trans* women are gay men. Thus it has been recognised that trans* women can possibly be the recipients of both transphobic and homophobic hate crimes.

As a result of these analysed varieties in visual appearances and the developing trans* political expressions, events in the annual Sparkle celebrations shall be analysed in the next chapter.

SPARKLE

I heard about Sparkle when I was at Northern Concord, and thought it sounded bloody brilliant! At last, a Pride for the [trans*] community – who I don't think are still very accepted within general Pride celebrations.

Jo – cissexual woman (11.10.10)

This chapter details investigations of the annual trans* supportive Sparkle celebrations in Manchester's Gay Village from the first festival in 2005 to the one in 2012. There will be examinations of the explicit co-operative political assertiveness expressed by transvestic and transsexual women during these celebrations. Support for trans* people at the Sparkle festivities regarding social, medical and self-confidence issues will be explored.

There shall be analyses of the deconstructions of contemporary MTF trans* identities within these celebrations. Collaborations between trans*, LGB and heterosexual people, as part of assisting and promoting Sparkle festivals, will also be studied. Moreover, there will be examinations of Manchester Pride celebrations and the varied party-political support for LGB&T people.

In this chapter will be explorations of trans* women experiencing and opposing transphobic hate crimes. As part of this, there shall be analyses of actions by Government Home Office representatives, working with trans* campaigners, in developing official transgender supportive documentation, which opposes transphobia.

There will be investigations of the outcomes and possible impacts from my activities during Sparkle festivals as an overt participatory action researcher, which incorporate expressing postmodern artistic concepts. Additionally, there will be analyses of the adverse impacts deriving from the previous incomplete research of transgenderism, particularly regarding transvestic identities.

Eight Years On

It was stressed by the Manchester based committee members organising Sparkle events that Sparkle 2012 would be the most successful such festival since its origins in 2005. On 16th March 2012, I asked a committee member, Liz, to accompany me to see a play in central Manchester called *I'm Your Man*, which was about a lesbian couple where one partner wanted to become a trans man. An outcome from seeing this show is that Liz instigated negotiations with its director to have *I'm Your Man* performed during Sparkle 2012 at the Taurus bar/restaurant on the evening of Thursday 12th July 2012. Resultantly, Sparkle 2012 festival ran from that day to Sunday 15th July.

Another member of the Sparkle committee, a trans woman called Karla, was a major motivator in encouraging businesses within the Village to sponsor, promote and market the celebration. In effecting these accomplishments, she worked alongside the manager for the Icon bar, an openly gay man, who is supportive of trans* women. He was the manager for the AXM Bar on Canal Street when it was the central hosting venue for Sparkle events from 2006 to 2008. Apparently, he financed and instigated the production of the posters re-presented in Figure 11.1. These posters, declaring the event as the world's largest such celebration, were publically displayed in all the bars/restaurants in the Village, claiming that 28 businesses have openly supported aspects of the Sparkle 2012 festival. This is in addition to the 16 sponsoring businesses detailed on the Sparkle website that are based outside central Manchester (Sparkle-Team, 2012c).

across the TG spectrum” (Sparkle-Team, 2012a:1). It was claimed that 2500 transgender people attended the celebration (Sparkle-Team, 2012c). It appears that the Sparkle festivals in Manchester are inspiring the creation of similar UK events. On 17th November 2012, the trans* supportive celebration ‘Swansea Sparkle’ was launched (Tawe-Butterflies, 2012:1).

Development of the Sparkle festivals

The first of these annual transgender celebrations was called *Sparkle Day* on 25th June 2005 in Manchester’s Gay Village (Middlehurst, 2005). Jenny-Anne recalls *Sparkle Day*:

In a way, that first Sparkle was a much more intimate affair ... because there was stuff up and down Canal Street but the main events were in the Thompson’s Arms in the evening ... In that first year ... probably ... six or seven hundred people came. We had that first year a much better measure of numbers because we had a guest book and anybody who signed the guestbook got a little Sparkle badge so lots of people came and signed to get them.

Jenny-Anne - transsexual woman (31.05.10)

Brianna described that the first Sparkle celebration was planned as just a day event but it was recognised that many trans* women attending the celebration stayed for the weekend. Therefore, Sparkle 2006 became a weekend festival from 23rd to 25th June (Payne, 2006). It was entitled “Sparkle – gender euphoric” (Sparkle-Management, 2006:1) in its information pamphlet, which perhaps assertively refers to and deconstructs the phrase ‘gender dysphoric’. This phrase, applied by some medical, legal and academic groups, may be regarded as restrictively identifying and, therefore, objectifying trans* people. The Manchester City Council, the Village

Business Association and the AXM Bar management supported this second celebration (Sparkle-Management, 2006; Sparkle-Management, 2007).

The Sparkle management arranged for the rental of several rooms in the Aytoun building of Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) for the Saturday where several trans* related talks were conducted. These were by the transgenderist, Janett Scott, the president of the Beaumont Society (Scott, 2002); the transvestic author Dr. Alice Novic (Novic, 2005); the specialist in transsexual issues Dr. Richard Curtis; the facial feminisation surgeon Dr. Jeffrey Spiegel, and the trans legal specialist Prof. Stephen Whittle (Angel, 29th Jun. 2006). These presentations may suggest the approximately equal support for transvestic and transsexual identities at the Sparkle festivals.

Attendance at Sparkle 2006 seemed to be greater than in 2005:

A huge step forward for Transgender and acceptance. Over 5,000 people attended Sparkle with over 1,000 of those being Transgendered (TG) - Sparkle 2006 in Manchester was not only a huge success but a massive step forward for Transgender Globally.

(1)

Consequently, Sparkle 2007 (22nd – 24th June) became advertised as “The World’s Biggest Transgender Celebration is back in Manchester!” (Sparkle-Management, 2007:1). As part of advertising this festival, the Sparkle management attended the Manchester Pride 2007 festival (22nd-24th Aug. 2007) and hired a pink tank (Figure 11.2) to participate in the Pride parade on Saturday 25th August:

Thousands of people lined the streets of the city centre to watch one of the biggest parades we've ever seen raise the profile of a wealth of businesses, organisations and community groups. The Sparkle entry, with its bright pink bubble-blowing tank and Sparkle Army in tow, took the prize of Best Float, but thanks goes out to all 80 entries for making such an effort.

(Manchester-Pride, 2011a:1)



Figure 11.2
The pink tank in the parade at Manchester Pride 2007 (Manchester-Pride, 2011b).
 (The Manchester Pride management kindly permitted my use of these photographs.)

The Sparkle Army and the management wore T-shirts which had been custom made to promote Sparkle. The tank also openly advertised the *Repartee* magazine. Brianna, the editor for this publication, was not the original instigator for the Sparkle celebrations but was the Press and PR Officer, co-writing information guides (Sparkle-Management, 2006; Sparkle-Management, 2007). However, in 2008, the initial founder/organiser ended her association with Sparkle and the ‘Angels’ website for personal reasons and so, resultantly, Brianna became the main manager behind the Sparkle events. Within the Village, some trans women expressed disquiet that the event has become more focussed on transvestism than transsexualism. This may be due to a fundamental change between the etiological nature of Sparkle that was initially formed and dominated by a politically motivated transsexual woman whereas now Brianna, who is a transvestic woman, shapes its ontological status. Nonetheless, the Sparkle 2008 events suggest that there has been little alteration in support for all

trans* people, including the continued support of management at the AXM Bar remaining the primary hosting venue for the Sparkle celebration.

However, Sparkle 2009 events altered following the sudden closure of the AXM Bar (Dunning, 16th Oct. 2008). Therefore, the first floor function room of the Rembrandt Bar and Hotel on Canal Street was the central hosting venue as, during this time, this place hosted the Manchester Concord meetings. Moreover, financial matters prevented renting rooms at the Aytoun building of MMU for hosting talks and workshops during this festival. Nevertheless, there were limited workshops and a festival film showing at the Shang Hi restaurant on Princess Street.

On Saturday 11th July 2009, I observed the stalls in Sackville Gardens, which are collectively referred to as the ‘Sparkle in the Park’. I noticed trans* people conversing with police officers present in the park. They supported the celebration and collected information regarding assaults on any trans* people. It was alleged online that some trans* people experienced harassments during Sparkle 2009:

Josy	I read quite a bit on ‘Facebook’ ... A lot of people got abused at Sparkle... and threatened.
	...
Joan	Yeah. You look on ‘Rose’s Forum’ ...
Josy	A lot of people this year.
Joan	... Some of the people ... that got the abuse, they might not be dressed as well but might be dressing more outrageously.
Josy	Doesn’t matter does it?
Joan	It was considered a safe haven but now it’s putting doubt in people’s minds but when I passed two hen parties on a Saturday afternoon at Sparkle – I think that says it all to me. If the hen parties are coming there, what mainly follows the hen parties is groups of lads trying to get off [with them] ... “Oh, let’s bash a tranny.”

Joan - transsexual woman; Josy - transsexual woman (18.07.09)

Such incidents may have encouraged the political assertiveness of some transvestic and transsexual women. This developing resistance to prejudices against trans* identities was assisted by the change of dates of Sparkle from late June in 2008 to

early July in 2009. As a result, Sparkle 2010 would become officially shared with the monthly meetings of the explicitly political TREC organisation. Sparkle 2010 information guides indicated the active mutual support of Manchester Concord, TransForum Manchester and TREC.

Sparkle 2010

During her interview, Arista discusses the financial support by the Manchester Concord for the Sparkle celebrations and addresses the lacking informative and political talks during Sparkle 2009. She discusses objectives for Sparkle 2010:

One thing we wanted out of it was the talks. We need this campaign, educational side but ... it would cost a lot of money. So we agreed we would try to ... get a grant from Manchester Pride. Which is what we actually did

...

I accept that there will always be a strong party element to [Sparkle] because without that, people won't come. ... There should be other things. The problem is for the vast majority it's just about going out and enjoying themselves.

Arista – trans* woman (24.09.10)

However, Arista does not appear to consider that, most of the LGB people, attending the annual Manchester Pride events, are allegedly not politically motivated but prefer enjoying the festival's entertainments (McDowell, 30th Aug. 2011). I have observed this situation during the Manchester Pride festivals of 2007, 2011 and 2012.

Moreover, there are the impacts resulting from the incomplete investigations of transvestism by some medical, legal and academic analysts, which may inhibit transvestic women from politically asserting their trans* identities. Indeed, Arista is uncomfortable with such terms as 'transvestite'. Her bi-gender identity and refusal to

transition might imply absences in prior examinations of transvestism/cross-dressing (Namaste, 2000).

However, there have been political discourses by several transvestic and transsexual interviewees regarding the apparent protective aspects of the Village. They suggest that incidents of transphobia within this area may not be as frequent and/or as intense as those outside the Village. Marianne was interviewed in the month before Sparkle 2010 and has attended all previous Sparkle celebrations:

Lee So what do you think about Sparkle?
Marianne [*squeals in pleasure*] ... I'm so looking forward to it.
 ... I know a lot of girls from all over the country that I've seen at various events. There a lot of socialising and meeting up with people you've not seen in quite a time. That's always good fun.
 I do like seeing the girls who don't really get out that often. ... I mean ... some of them are complete [states]. And a lot of trans people, now and again, say they give us a bad reputation and things like that. And I think ... there for the grace of God that ... could be where I am. I could've ended up not splitting up with my wife and ... being only able to dress on a Sunday afternoon in my little shed or things like that ...
 I know that I'm reasonably passable and I know there's plenty of girls who just [*pause*] just because of their body shapes, and what genetics have done, just means that they'll never pass and so, you know, they get a chance at least to be out and wander about in the fresh air. Rather than be hidden away ... And ... I don't mind that because if we're looking for acceptance that we should be accepting of those that don't look great as well as those that do ... It gives some people who wouldn't ever otherwise be able to walk down the street ...
 I think that is actually the best and most important thing about Sparkle.

Marianne – transsexual woman (02.06.10)

Interviewed on the first day of Sparkle 2010, Brianna expresses opinions that are similar to those of Marianne:

I think ... one of the important things about Sparkle, is not the people who actually come to Sparkle. It's all the other people who, kind of, perhaps closet trannies who perhaps never go out ... They've got no chance of ever going to Sparkle but they can actually see that ... trannies are going out in public and they're celebrating this thing in a public place and they're not being beaten to death. They're not being arrested ...

"It isn't something I've got to be ashamed of for the rest of my life. It's something I can, perhaps, live with and cope with." And I think that's as

important as the people who actually come here and have a good weekend, you know. And having the thing in the park. You see the photographs. You see the crowds and you see the people ... I think that's what makes it. ...

And I think that's the important part of it.

Brianna – transvestite (09.07.10)

The *Sparkle 2010 Programme* pamphlet and the Sparkle 2010 website feature explicit political aspects during this event. This includes GIRES representatives on Saturday 10th July 2010 at the Lesbian and Gay Foundation (LGF) headquarters, where they detailed oppositions to transphobic hate crimes (North-West_TRANS_Listings, 2010):

With funding from the Home Office, GIRES launched, at the 2010 Sparkle event in Manchester, a national system that enables trans people, together with witnesses and others, to report the horrific crime that many experience: www.TCrime.net

GIRES is a member of the Spotlight Group, which Galop has established to integrate 'LGB&T' crime reporting in London.

GIRES (2012b:1)

This pamphlet and the Sparkle 2010 website detail that, on this day, there were also political talks undertaken at The Mechanics Institute, which is on the corner of Major Street and Princess Street. Whittle detailed legal rights arising from the *Equality Act (2010)*,⁴³ including the legal alterations benefiting transvestites/cross-dressers. Vicky Lee, who regards herself as bi-gendered, gave a presentation about relationships between feminism and transgenderism. It can be proposed that she may be personally and politically deconstructing feminist viewpoints concerning gender binaries. Another talk was given by Natasha Kennedy, a politically active trans woman, who has written several trans* related articles featuring on *The Guardian* website. Denise Anderson also gave a presentation, which concerned investigations of LGB&T

⁴³ H-M-Government (2010).

domestic abuse by the London based transgender political organisation, Spectrum London (Anderson, 2011:1).

My postmodern action researcher perspectives shaped my presence at the Mechanics Institute on this day. My efforts here were implicitly trans* political but, explicitly, I highlighted the habitual disposal of disused items that can be recycled. Within my standpoint of deconstructing arts, natural and social sciences, I invited trans* and trans* friendly visitors to take part in creating an art picture by adhering fragments of waste CDs onto an image. This picture was named *Holly Sparkles* (Figure 11.3) and was inspired by an image of Holly Golightly, a role that the actress Audrey Hepburn portrayed in the film *Breakfast At Tiffany's* (Edwards, 1961). This actress's photographic and painted pictures, which were part of promoting this film, have become iconic signifiers, interpreted as feminine 'glamour' (Moseley, 2002:119). Furthermore, from critical analyses of this film, it was observed that *Breakfast At Tiffany's* has subtle LGB&T supportive messages, which deconstruct the explicit aspects of the film.



Figure 11.3
***Holly Sparkles (2010)* on display at**
the ‘Manchester Concord Sparkle Ball’

Once completed on this day, *Holly Sparkles (2010)* was displayed at the Manchester Concord Sparkle Ball where it was auctioned. The proceeds went to support the Sparkle 2011 celebration. Consequently, the construction of this art piece at Sparkle 2010 enhanced my legitimised status as an ‘insider’ and demonstrated my position as an action researcher.

Brianna expresses the uncertainty of funding for the Sparkle celebrations:

[T]he biggest problem for Sparkle is the way that Sparkle is financed ... Sparkle is financed by some very, very generous people ... or from the groups that they're in and the whole of Sparkle is probably financed by about eight people or groups. And every year, we're on tender hooks to get those people to come back and to give us the money again. ... And it's trying to make Sparkle more commercial so we can get money in, in a different sort of way. I was asked last year to charge people for going into the park and I absolutely don't want to ... be saying, ... "If you can't afford come to come to Sparkle

then you can't come.” I want Sparkle to be free and open to everybody. People just walking passed and just wander in to have a look, sort of thing.

...

You know, there's nothing like that in the whole world and you know when you walk in that park and you see all of these stalls and all of these people and that stage and the marquees and [*pause*] I think it's fantastic, you know? And I know a lot of other people do as well.

Brianna - transvestite (09.07.10)

Thus, the public accessibility of the festival is regarded by Brianna and by the Manchester based Sparkle committee members as part of educating non-trans* people about trans* communities. The attractions in Sackville Gardens during Sparkle 2010 were mainly stalls and marquees, most of which promoted numerous commercial organisations. However, several stands promoted political groups, raised funds for cancer sufferers and provided varied assistance for trans* women. This support involved opposing transphobic hate crime, housing difficulties, and medical issues in the NHS.

Sparkle 2011

Emphasising political assertiveness within Sparkle 2011 it is announced on the associated website that, on Saturday 9th July 2011, 'Sparkle in the Park' in the Sackville Gardens "will be officially opened by Lynne Featherstone MP – Minister for Equalities." (Sparkle-Team, 2011c:1)

The range of stands present in the 'Sparkle in the Park' was similar to those at Sparkle 2010. However, of the stalls observed, there were few stands that were not explicitly commercial. The presence of Eastlands Homes, which seemingly has a "charitable status" (Eastlands-Homes-Partnership-Ltd, 2007:1), perhaps suggests the

continuing difficulties of obtaining suitable ethically managed accommodation for trans* people.

The workers union, UNISON, had a stand, detailing their assistance for trans* people against transphobia within the workplace. Next to them was a stall promoting the North Wales Police (NWP). The presence of NWP may have derived from Jenny-Anne, who has interacted with various emergency services in Wales and the North West of England, promoting trans* awareness as part of her actions to nationally promote diversity issues. The NWP stand also presented information from the NTPA as part of reiterating police support for all trans* identities.

The Labour party has had stands at Sparkle 2011 and Sparkle 2012, although no other political parties seemed to have stalls at the Sparkle celebrations. In 2011 and 2012, I had volunteered, at TransForum Manchester and Manchester Concord meetings, to officially assist their joint stands during the Manchester Pride weekend festivals in the Village. Whilst there, I examined the other stalls at these celebrations and observed that all three main political parties had stands present.

The stalls for the Conservative party at Manchester Pride during 2011 and 2012 repeatedly displayed the logo *LGBTory*, which is controversial amongst trans* groups, claiming that this logo appears to eliminate the 'T' for 'Trans' in 'LGBT' (Helen-G, 2008; Carvath, 2010). The stands for the Liberal Democrats party featured posters, which allege that this party champions full marriage for gay people, apparently in opposition to Conservative party policy. However, there was no mention of trans* issues on their stalls. As a result, these stands may suggest a limited regard for transgenderism within the Conservative and Liberal Democrats party policies.

My participations in Sparkle 2011 celebrations included several overt expressions of my postmodern participatory action research. On the evening of Friday

8th July, I was a singer in a music band that was co-created by the transvestic women Valerie and Farah with the natal woman, Liz. We performed at the *Manchester Concord Music & Comedy Evening @ NYNY* along with other entertainers. The audience present was sizable, composed of various identities, including trans* women, lesbians and, seemingly, LBG&T friendly, cissexual, heteronormative women and men. These events were seemingly part of the objectives by the Sparkle 2010 organisers in entertaining and informing trans* and trans* friendly people.

I was also asked by Jenny-Anne to give a talk at the LGF building on Richmond Street, summarising some of my research findings on the 'heterosexualisation' of the Village. My presentation was at 12.30pm and was, perhaps, adversely affected by people not being able to be present after attending the late night entertainments on Friday or not aware of the LGF location. The difference in attendance from my presentation on Friday night may also indicate that most trans* people are not politically motivated but are attracted to the Sparkle entertainments. However, suggesting my positive regard amongst many trans* women, several previous interviewees were present. Additionally, a trans woman, who knew me from another university, attended.

There were other presentations and workshops, which included assistance to oppose transphobic harassments and being trans* supportive of workplace rights and housing situations. However, several of these presentations, notably those concerning medical issues, were primarily focussed upon transsexualism (TREC *et al.*, 2011). This may have inhibited transvestic women from attending the talks and workshops. However, some transvestic women have had Facial Feminisation Surgery. Martine Rose, the founder of the *Repartee* magazine, has had such surgery, including breast implants but still seems to define herself as a transvestite (Bella-Jay, 2009). Her

identity may perhaps further indicate uncertainties within prior medical, legal and academic comprehensions concerning the multiple facets of contemporary transvestism. Moreover, trans* comedienne Holly Granger also gave a talk at Sparkle 2011. Apparently she has had GRS but her personality would seem to be knowingly resisting gender normativity. In several respects, Rose and Granger deconstruct feminine performativity, although Rose may not be consciously aware of this issue (Butler, 1999).

At the Sparkle 2011 celebration, there were prominent politically based talks concerning investigations of all expressions of transgenderism. On Saturday 9th April 2011 representatives of GIRES gave a presentation entitled, “Continuing the Battle for Trans Equality” (TREC *et al.*, 2011:4). Additionally, on the next day was the:

Trans Equality Action Plan

Presentation about developing further the Community Statement of Needs (SON) and the work with the Government Equalities Office (GEO) for the Transgender Equality Action Plan by Bernard Reid & Paula Dooley from GIRES.

(6)

Thus the Sparkle 2011 festival was developing combinations of trans* supportive social and political events in Manchester.

Sparkle 2012

From 18th March 2012, I attended the monthly Manchester Sparkle committee members meetings. Pamela, Jenny-Anne, Mary and Liz were members. Thus, the committee was composed of transvestic, transsexual and natal women cooperating supportively. As part of my postmodern ‘insider’ perspective, Liz, along with Valerie

While making this art piece in the park, several non-trans* men, transvestic and natal women made financial donations as part of assisting the formation of *Holly Sparkles* (2012). However, it was observed that some transvestic women seemed to be reluctant to be involved in explicitly supporting the fund raising. This may be another indication of the impacts deriving from the limited and judgemental assessments of transvestism by some legal, medical and academic researchers. Nonetheless, *Holly Sparkles* (2012) was displayed and purchased on 1st November 2012 during the *Celebration of the Co-operative's Support of the LGBT Community* in Manchester, with funds benefitting the Sparkle events.

The *Holly Sparkles* (2010) and *Holly Sparkles* (2012) art pieces can be regarded as postmodern in that they reinterpret and deconstruct artistic concepts in several respects. The re-presentations of the figures are inspired by modernist pop art styles (Osterwold, 2007) and incorporate mosaic art techniques using waste Compact Disc (CD) fragments (BBC_News, 17th Aug. 2007). CD's are an expression of contemporary society's modernity but can also incorporate recorded data that can include late modernist texts. Thus, I deconstruct these incorporated late modernist texts within creating my art pieces to produce visual re-presentations that are referencing other modernist re-presentations. I further deconstruct artistic preconceptions by inviting non-artists to assist making these art pieces. In this way, I combat suggestions of the hierarchical position of the artist creating and audience viewing.

As these art pieces highlight environmental awareness in deconstructing waste materials that are often disposed of within contemporary society rather than recycled, they appeal to environmental awareness, which can originate from pre-modernist concepts (McNeill, Dec. 2003; c2.com, 17th Dec. 2012). While

the re-presentations of these art pieces in this thesis are examples of support for trans* people they are not the originals. Accordingly, these re-presentations become expressions of hyperreality (Baudrillard, 1981). As a consequence, by combining my multiple postmodern artistic perceptions with pre-modernist viewpoints, my art pieces could be regarded as expressions of post-pre-postmodernism. Resultantly, my art pieces visually signify the uncertainties of definitively identifying contemporary postmodern transgenderism.

Conclusion

In this chapter are explorations of the development of the annual Sparkle festivals in Manchester's the Gay Village, which, since 2007, have been promoted as the world's largest annual trans* celebrations. Apparently, there are no previous academic texts that have intensively investigated all Sparkle events. There have been investigations of the Sparkle celebrations from its origin in 2005. There have been investigations of the allegations that the Village attracts thousands of trans* women to these festivities. The contrasting and similar expressions within Manchester Pride festivals have been examined. Furthermore, there have been explorations of claims that Manchester Pride organisers have financially assisted Sparkle events.

Analyses have been made of committee meetings within Manchester where events during Sparkle 2012 have been planned and co-operatively developed by transvestic, transsexual and natal women. There have been studies of trans* people's open promotions of this festival during multiple interactions with mainstream UK organisations. There were examinations of transphobic hate crimes during the Sparkle celebrations. Investigations have been made of the associated political actions

undertaken by trans* people and Government representatives participating in the Sparkle festivals.

There have been examinations of seemingly detrimental impacts deriving from incomplete and prejudicial prior analyses of transvestic women by some medical, legal and academic groups. As a result, there would seem to be an absence in investigating the contemporary deconstructions of the previous restrictive definitions of trans* identities. Explorations have suggested that various gender divergences are present during the Sparkle festivities. There were examinations of my explicit position as a postmodern ethically shaped participant action researcher, deconstructing concepts within arts, natural and social sciences. Outcomes of these actions were investigated.

This chapter and prior chapters in this thesis discuss transphobic discriminations. Therefore, issues concerning prejudices against trans* women will be explicitly examined in the next chapter.

TRANSPHOBIA

For many trans people, being in a public space is linked with experience of violence and abuse.

(Monro, 2005a:51)

Following the previously analysed discourses, which refer to claims of harassments against trans* women, this chapter presents investigations into the alleged transphobia exhibited inside and outside Manchester's Gay Village. There will be explorations of prior examinations of 'fears' of homophobic violence in the Village. There shall be inspections of contemporary official crime data for central Manchester. Moreover, studies of trans* supportive actions by present-day police officers will be made.

There will be examinations of transphobic hate crimes. It will be suggested that resulting from 'outsider' positions, trans* people may have distinctive viewpoints regarding the heterosexual people socialising in the Village. Moreover, there will be studies of alternative perspectives about trans* women socialising in the Village, which, allegedly, may assist acceptance of transgenderism by non-trans* people.

Violence in the Village

Whittle (1994) describes that the Village is a safe area for gay people compared to elsewhere in the city. However, he expresses that it “could also become a ghetto, an area where gays could become isolated and segregated” (17). Nonetheless, he prefers to view this area as liberated from societal normativity. Conversely, Moran *et al.* (2004) and Binnie and Skeggs (2006) examine claims of homophobic ‘danger’ within this cosmopolitan Village. “Straights were associated with abuse, threats, harassment and occasional violence against lesbians and gay men in the Village.” (Moran *et al.*, 2004:157) Increasing numbers of heterosexual people in the area are accused of ‘invading’ the gay bars and clubs and, consequently, generating ‘fear’ within homosexual people socialising there. UNESCO (2006) and Lazard (2009) discuss this ‘invasion’ as ‘heterosexualisation’. This ‘fear’ is reinforced on a contemporary gay supportive website where official crime data provided online by the GMP was analysed. It is asserted, “Manchester’s gay village is the worst part of the city centre for violent crime.” (G7uk.com, 1st Feb. 2011:1)

Consequently, this thesis includes critical examinations of the online representations of the official police crime data for central Manchester from December 2010 to April 2012 (Police-UK, 3rd Jun. 2012). There have been specific studies of police data for ‘Anti-Social Behaviour’ (ASB) and violent criminal actions, which “[i]ncludes offenses against the person such as common assaults, Grievous Bodily Harm and sexual offenses.” (1)

Jenny-Anne has expressed that some transphobic hate crimes are actioned immediately outside the Village. Accordingly, there have been analyses of the combined occurrences of crime in and around the edges of Village. It was found that

this examined area had significantly major concentrations of ASB incidents in central Manchester for 13 of the 17 months analysed. The other locations in central Manchester, which regularly have substantial incidents of ASB, were around Piccadilly Gardens and Oldham Street. The Village and the edges of this area also were the major concentrations for violent criminal actions in 13 of the 17 examined months.⁴⁴ These criminal incidents do not identify hate crimes.

There have been critical analyses of data reviewed by Gascoigne (24th Oct. 2011) concerning criminal activity in the Village from September 2010 to August 2011. This information may not include all the online information for the violent criminal incidents I have analysed as I have investigated the combined online data for within and just outside the Village. Gascoigne is part of the 'Manchester Crime & Disorder Team'. She alleges:

Nearly two thirds (63.9%) of all crimes in The Village were either theft or assaults (Actual Bodily Harm)

Peak months for theft from person were January 2011 (68 offenses) and the 3-month period from March to May 2011. Peak month for miscellaneous theft was October 2010 (56 offenses). There was no specific peak month for ABH assaults, but the highest counts were in January and February 2011.

(Gascoigne, 24th Oct. 2011:3)

She does not examine ASB incidents. Gascoigne claims that most offenses she analysed were committed on Friday and Saturday evenings into the mornings of the next day up to 4am. The majority of crimes were apparently actioned during the early hours and most of the victims were men and between 19 and 35 years old. She also examines the ethnic identities of the victims but does not investigate if any of the victims were trans.

⁴⁴ Some of these 13 months are different from the described 13 months concerning incidents of ASB.

At the TransForum Manchester meeting on 18th February 2012, a GMP representative presented “Victim support on the need for The New Police Crime Commissioners to pay particular attention to (Trans) Hate Crime” (Bishop, 17th Feb. 2012:1). During my discourses with this representative, she acknowledged that the online data did not identify hate crimes and seemed to consider instigating police investigations into this omission. Nevertheless, I recognise that, according to the online criminal data, the month with the appreciably highest numbers of ASB incidents is July, which is when the Village hosts the largest numbers of trans* people socialising in this area due to the annual Sparkle trans* celebrations.

However, apart from brief (contestable) references, Moran *et al.* (2004) do not investigate trans* groups socialising in the Village and so omit exploring transphobic hate crimes. Furthermore, Binnie and Skeggs (2006) do not examine trans* communities in the Village. One of my interviewees expresses claimed prejudices against trans* people:

Anywhere that you'll find people that are ... a minority, you will always find two things. Whites against the minority... and the minority against the minority. If you're lesbian - you're hated by the gays. If you're gay - you're hated by lesbians. If you're a tranny - you're hated by everybody.

Maggie – trans* woman (19.04.10)

From this ‘outsider’ perspective, trans* people may gain distinctive viewpoints about the Village.

Transphobic Incidents Within and Near the Village

Dee and Matt discuss their knowledge of the Village and harassments of trans* people in the area:

- Dee I knew some who were targeting transvestites. Pinching people's money and things ... I think it's stopped now. But five years ago it was the in thing. Go in there, bash a tranny, only to grab her handbag, not to do anything else. But what happened was they got a couple of people who were armed forces, trained, and they forgot that it was a man underneath ... They didn't have a leg to stand on. They didn't get their handbags.
- Matt ...
[T]here's been couples tryin' it on as well. Pickin' them up and then gettin' them somewhere quiet and then turnin' 'em over. You know? ... It is so easy. People had a drink and that like, people getting' compliments and ... next minute you go, "Who was it?" like.
- Dee ... all that's stopped now.

Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

Without overtly connecting topics discussed within their interview, they suggest another factor concerning why these forms of attack may have supposedly "stopped". They, and several other interviewees, have described the attitudes within the GMP concerning LGB&T people in the Village:

- Matt We know somebody who got slapped a few weeks ago ...
- Dee She said it was an assault.
- Matt Police are good down there. Aren't they? ... People are picked out in the police force to go down there. ... Could have gone completely wrong if they'd had the wrong kind of police there.
- Dee ...
There was a big thing with the police in the Village.
- Dee ...
It's changed now. Because the police were anti-gay I suppose. ... There was a big thing about it [pause] probably 20 years ago or something like that.

Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

There are also political trans* groups, which have constructive interactions with the GMP (Bishop, 2011a; TREC, 2011). Reinforcing Jenny-Anne's allegation

concerning incidents of transphobic crime on the outside edge of the Village, Eleanor, details her attacks:

- Eleanor I got assaulted a couple of months ago ... I was so surprised. My wife was with me. Half past two in the morning. ... I reported it as a transphobic incident. I went down to the police station ... The police officer was great about it ...
- Lee Where was that?
- Eleanor That was on the walk back to the Ibis [Hotel] down Princess Street?
- ...
- Eleanor [*Talking further about that night*] ... So I put my wig back on and we walked further down. And I'm not kidding. We got to the traffic lights near the hotel and a carload of youths screaming, "Ah! Fucking tranny!" That's two incidents in the space of, like, five minutes!
- Eleanor – transvestite (13.10.10)

'Heterosexualisation' of the Village

Carl talks about the Village and its 'heterosexualisation':

- Carl The Village – I think has changed ... The Village is not... the Village it used to be. ... I think it's more of a [*pause*] hen party and stag party weekend.
- Lee Yeah, you see that a lot ...
- Carl Yeah. I think a lot of the gays claim they're not [*pause*] bothered so much 'cause some gays want to be with gays. They don't want to be in bars with screaming women with flashing, flashing ears on their heads! [*Carl and Lee laugh*]
- ...
- Lee You've been coming here for [*pause*]
- Carl Five, six years.
- Lee So you've seen that change ...
- Carl Especially since I started working here ... Especially in the summer. I wouldn't say so much now that it's a Gay Village. I would say it's 'gay friendly'.
- Carl – barman in the Village (10.03.10)

Many trans* people, who regularly socialise in the Village, have observed this 'heterosexualisation' of the social spaces there with incidents violence in the area:

Josy A lot more [pause] theft going on. Attacks. [pause] Fights. [pause] You know ... You down on a Saturday night now, you see police a lot now, late on. 2, 3 o'clock scuffles and that. I mean, girls gettin' - not just girls.⁴⁵ I mean gay people, you know, and straight people. They're all fighting.

Joan ...
I probably say some of the bars aren't too fussy now about who they're letting in, to be honest with you.

Joan - transsexual woman; Josy - transsexual woman (18.07.09)

Joan's allegation that the bars seem to be less particular as to potential clientele has also been observed by Dan. This suggests that some of observations expressed in Moran *et al.* (2004) and Binnie and Skeggs (2006) may result from this issue. Brianna,⁴⁶ talks about hir perceptions of the recent changes within the Village:

There were people last year complaining about the situation on Canal Street. There was a poor girl⁴⁷ ... A wheelchair user? She got abuse last year on Canal Street for being a "cripple" ... And, you know, that's absolutely disgusting ... I've noticed it over the years, you know. I actually feel less and less comfortable on Canal Street on a Saturday night ... because it's opened up to the mainstream.

...
I [pause] had my wig pulled off one night in the Village ... It was pulled off in 'New Union' once and I had a kid ... trying to grab it as he ran passed once and I had two lads nick the wig ... jumped in the car and sped off with the wig. So it's happened to me three times in my nine years of tranny-ing ... in the Village. Never anywhere else. And I've been out in London. I've been out in Brighton; Birmingham; Leeds.

Brianna - transvestite (09.07.10)

(S)he feels safer in the Village when (s)he is accompanied by other trans* women. Nonetheless, despite hir negative experiences, Brianna emphasises that the success of Sparkle was due to the geographical placing of Manchester and the range of trans* friendly venues in the Village, all within easy walking distance. (S)he also details the security (s)he puts at Sackville Gardens when stalls and trans* entertainment acts are performing there during Sparkle and the supportive presence of GMP officers.

⁴⁵ Josy is referring to trans* women.

⁴⁶ Brianna was not cross-dressed during the interview hence I have used 'hir' and '(s)he'.

⁴⁷ Brianna is referring to a trans* woman.

Arista agrees with the observations by Joan, Josy and Brianna. She has been ‘out of the closet’ for several years, and has been cross-dressed in many heteronormative social spaces, such as shops, pubs and theatres. Arista details a perspective as to why the ‘heterosexualisation’ of the Village has adversely affected trans* women:

If I go to the Village I know that I will get read by everyone ... because this is where trannies come. So, you know, they're there so you don't have much problem spotting them.

Outside [*pause*] the last thing people are thinking, “I wonder if they are any trannies about?” ... I think you blend in a lot more easily ...

The newcomers come to the Concord. They step outside ... There's lots of people about. People realise without any problem that they're trannies. Maybe they get a bit of abuse and they think, “Well, if this is the safe area, what's it gonna be like out in the big wide world? Let's not go there.”

It's what Marianne and Leah and I were saying [*pause*] Any abuse the three of us have had has been in the Village, not outside ... Maybe if a big group of you go out into the big wide world, you're gonna get read [*pause*] You might get a little bit more. But in ones and twos, you just would blend in like everyone else.

Arista – trans* woman (24.09.10)

This concept of trans* women being ‘read’ in the Village is marketed by some LGB publications as a visual signifier for gay events, including the *ONW* magazine promoting Manchester Pride 2012 (Robertson, Aug. - Sept. 2012). These visual signifiers could be mythically conceived as third order significations symbolising LGB communities in Manchester (Barthes, 1957).

Arista's contention of trans* women's obscurity outside the Village may be suggested during my interview with Pamela on Saturday 23rd October 2010 in the café of a large mainstream shop in central Manchester. We were cross-dressed and discussed how we were regarded:

But you do get the feeling that there's a lot of people in the Village ... go there expecting to see a few trannies ... In that way, you don't get that out here, [*referring around to the café*] you know? ... I presume that people have noticed us but I'm not aware that anyone's ... bothered. Just getting on with their own lives. They've got other things to do.

Whereas ... you get ... blokes and women ... go staggering over to the Village. "Ah! Let's see some trannies! ... We'll get another drink and we'll have a good laugh!"

Pamela – transvestite (23.10.10)

However, transphobia in the Village is not limited to several heterosexual people as some homosexual people can also express prejudices against trans* people.

Transphobic Gay People in the Village

Namaste (2000) and Connell (2005) write that there is limited acceptance of drag queens within gay male cultures. Dee contends that gay men are more opposed to trans* women than lesbians and that gay men could regard the Gay Village as primarily their territory. Alicia alleges these restricted perceptions:

I get asked a lot by, particularly, gay men, "Why do I do it? Why am I like I am?" and I've actually had people turn round to me and say, "Why don't you just be honest? You're a gay man ... and stop dressing like that if you want to pick up a man?" and my answer is, "I'm not a gay man. I'm a woman."

They do tend to stop the argument when you tell them that because, usually, they have the idea that all transsexuals – and unfortunately gay people do not understand transsexuals because they think you're pretending ... Well, I presume some of them think, "Well, you must be that ugly that you've got to dress as a woman in the hope to get a man!"

Alicia – transsexual woman (25.03.10)

Jo, who is lesbian, has socialised with me when I have been cross-dressed and not cross-dressed. She was doing a psychology degree in Manchester up to 2007 and expresses:

I think the general attitude especially from the gay community towards [trans*] people can be quite shocking – it's easy, as I found with the amount of heterophobia displayed within my study group for my dissertation, that although as lesbians or gay men can go through a period of negativity from others for their sexuality, that actually lesbians and gay men still promote negativity towards groups that then aren't 'their own', namely bisexuals, heterosexuals and [trans*] people.

Jo – cissexual woman (11.10.10)

Larissa is also lesbian and has reprimanded gay men for verbalising transphobia in the restaurant she manages. These transphobic verbal harassments could add to contentions by Arista, Marianne, Leah and Pamela regarding the relative invisibility of trans* women in mainstream society. However, they do not consider incidents such as my personal transphobic harassment in my hometown, in Greater Manchester. Another trans* friend has also experienced transphobic abuse in my hometown on Saturday 9th June 2012. She reported the incident to local police officers as a hate crime and I provided a witness statement for the police. Several other trans* people have also experienced significant harassments outside the Village.

Transphobia Outside the Village

Dee and Matt discuss transphobic attacks in Greater Manchester:

Dee	I mean, we was talking to a girl last week [<i>to Matt</i>] wasn't we? And she lived in Failsworth ... which is quite a decent area.... But [she] lived there and she's crossed over to transgender now, I don't know how, but she'd lived there for 10 years and she said [<i>pause</i>] she'd had a nightmare. ...
Matt	She been attacked. She's been verbally abused.
Dee	She's had her car done.
Matt	She's been sexually abused a couple of times.
Dee	She's had everything. Why she put up with that I don't know.
Matt	She had to move out.

Dee – cissexual woman; Matt – transvestite (16.06.09)

Every 20th November is the Transgender Day of Remembrance (GLAAD, 2010) with gatherings since 2006 at the Beacon of Hope memorial of Sackville Gardens in the Village (LGF-News-Team, 2007; Bishop, Nov. 2011). This day “has been set aside to honour the memory of all those transgender people killed by violence every year and to affirm our resolve to report transphobic crime” (Manchester-Metropolitan-University, 2008:1). At this memorial gathering, volunteers read out the names of all the trans* people murdered around the world since 1998. In early 2011, I was due to interview Bryony, a trans woman, about her transphobic persecutions. However, on 6th February 2011, I received an email from Mary:

I am sorry to have to be the bearer of bad news, but Bryony, one of our long standing members, was found dead in the canal at Ashton, near where she lived, on the afternoon of Friday the 28th of January.

Mary – transvestite (06.02.11)

Police found no evidence of foul play. It may have been an accident. However, several trans* people expressed to me that she might have been murdered as she had experienced several transphobic incidents, some of which were detailed by Mick during his interview. The full facts of her death may never be determined.

After campaigns from 2010, actions were undertaken in 2013 to instigate developing the Transgender Remembrance Memorial Project in the Village (Foale *et al.*, 27th Nov. 2010 to 14th Aug. 2013). Individuals within TransForum Manchester and the Friends of Sackville Gardens association (The-Lesbian&Gay-Foundation, 2011) assisted creating this sculpture (Figure 12.1), which was placed close to the Beacon of Hope on 27th July 2013. It is alleged to be the world’s first permanent transgender commemorative memorial (Moonchild, 28th Jul. 2013). However, from

the 7th August 2013 it has been reported that this sculpture has been repeatedly vandalised (Roberts, 7th Aug. 2013).



Figure 12.1
The Transgender Remembrance Memorial

The Gradual Dissolution of Transphobia in Manchester?

Bryony used to regularly attend the Manchester Concord meetings in the Village as she regarded these gatherings as safer social spaces for her than in her hometown. Valerie expresses that the increasing numbers of 'straights' in the Village can encourage greater tolerance. Larissa also gives this view about the heterosexualisation of the Village and refers to a transphobic incident experienced by Alicia:

I've been outside the Village with Leah, dressed as Leah. Yeah - people have looked but ... they've never looked and gone, "Oh, my God! ... What the fuck? ... Let's point and stare." ... I've never experienced that to that extent but if you went back to [Cambridge] where I'm actually from ... If Leah walked into 'Tesco's' ... it would turn a lot more heads than in a 'Tesco's' in Manchester. I think there's a difference between walking in the Village and walking outside of the Village but I don't think it's as dramatic as it could be made out to be. I think Manchester is very liberal if you look at it in contrast to other places ...

You know, the guy in the street may have gone to Alicia, saying, "Bloke." But, in Cambridge, that wouldn't have been saying, "Bloke." that would have probably been a punch in the face. ... The Village is spreading out into Manchester ...

It's not uncommon for someone who has transitioned, they could get a job in Manchester ... I think that is normally a bit more common here than if you go out of Manchester ... Maybe not in London ... The degree to the negativity is a bit more like a double take in the street as opposed to an actual action upon it and I think that does show some progression in the way that society is changing here that I don't is as forward as in other places.

Larissa – cissexual woman (06.10.10)

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated transphobic incidents in and around Manchester's Gay Village. These explorations complement previous examinations of homophobia with the alleged increasing numbers of heterosexual people socialising in this area. There have been critical analyses of official police crime data gathered from September 2010 to April 2012, which seems to propose that people socialising in the Village are often more likely to experience incidents of ASB and violent criminal actions than in other social spaces in central Manchester. However, there is no present information about what proportion of these crimes is based upon transphobia and/or homophobia.

There have been studies of gay themed publications suggesting that many trans* women are visual signifiers for this cosmopolitan Village but, allegedly, there are transphobic harassments actioned by some heterosexual and homosexual people frequenting this area. Resultantly, it has been proposed that trans* women can have 'outsider' viewpoints about the Village.

Assertions have been explored that transphobia outside central Manchester may be more harshly actioned than within the Village. It has been observed that Sackville Gardens hosts the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance, which tributes trans* people around the world who have been murdered.

Observations have been made that representatives of the contemporary GMP support trans* people socialising in the Village and assist opposing transphobic hate crimes. There are suggestions that the presence of trans* women in this area may assist the gradual acceptance of transgenderism in central Manchester and beyond.

The next chapter will analyse the politically motivated trans* supportive groups in the Village who resist transphobic harassments.

**POLITICAL SUPPORT
TRANS* ORGANISATIONS**

[F]or probably most of my life ... I deliberately identified as TV ... It's like, once I'd become an open transsexual, I suddenly was in the protected class. It was almost like you then joined proper society. Now that's not fair. All the other people that are in our community - which are the vast majority - are not protected and properly looked after and that's completely unfair and I'm going to continue to be an open person and talk about that.

Jenny-Anne – transsexual woman (31.05.10)

Following the investigations of transphobic harassments, this chapter presents examinations of the politically motivated trans* supportive groups, TransForum Manchester and TREC, which are managed by MTF and FTM trans* people. Their claims for providing secure, protective spaces for individuals of all expressions of transgenderism will be critically explored. Within their provisions, the assistance the LGF has given to trans* people shall be studied. There will be examinations of these groups' supportive undertakings within Sparkle and Manchester Pride festivals. Additionally, there will be explorations of actions by representatives of the GMP and the CPS.

There will also be studies of my postmodern actions within being a participatory action researcher as part of interactions with trans* people at these organisations' meetings.

TransForum

To avoid confusion with similarly named non-trans* companies, this organisation is officially referred to as TransForum Manchester (Bishop, 2011a) but many trans* people in the UK just refer to it as 'TransForum'. This organisation developed during meetings within the LGB&T supportive Metropolitan Community Church (MC Church) (Jones, 2011). However, TransForum, formed in February 2003, is officially separate from the MC Church (Bishop and Heart, 16th Feb. 2009). It is described as

a Transgender discussion group and mutual peer support forum for all Transgendered people and those in any way questioning their gender, together with their partners, family, friends and allies meeting in a Safe and Comfortable Space on the 4th Saturday Afternoon each month at 3.30pm.

(Bishop, 2011a:1)

The TransForum website details that this organisation interacts with emergency services, medical associations, legal organisations and Governmental departments. Additionally, TransForum co-operates with various local services, including schools, private businesses, individuals and families.

From 26th March 2011, TransForum began to meet on the second floor of the building used by the LGF on the edge of the Village (Bishop, 2011c). The LGF have made several actions to assist trans* people:

Lee	I kind of get the impression that LGF is much more positive these days.
Jenny-Anne	It is and that's partly because of the work the [Manchester] City Council did in consulting with the [trans*] community ... and we had the first one ... in 2009 at the LGF. And ... over 30 people came to the consultation. Half of them were trans men ... and there was a complete mix from <u>all</u> the groups. Like, there were a number of people from Concord. There were people from MORF; ⁴⁸ from TransForum; from the <i>Trans Youth Network</i> ⁴⁹ ... There were

⁴⁸ MORF (Male OR Female) is a Manchester based support group for trans* men.

⁴⁹ Details of this organisation are on the website by YouthBUG (2012).

people from the police from the Village team too. There were a number of people from the Council. And we had a really good evening and we defined the issues that were really important to the community. And these were the basic things – housing and homelessness; health; employment, and policing.

Jenny-Anne – transsexual woman (31.05.10)

From 2011, TransForum have rented spaces at the LGF building in order to host talks and workshops during the annual Sparkle festivals. At several such workshops, TransForum members emphasise being informed of any transphobic incidents. Jenny-Anne, the chairperson for this group, speaks about transphobic hate crimes in the Village:

Yes, the Village can be very empowering in allowing you to come out and be yourself but there are still dangers and one of thing things we're doing at TransForum and TREC is we're very interested in getting hate crime reported and we're very interested in giving people the tools to be safer.

...

And we're aware of some of the things that go on and the worse case that I know of a couple of years ago was when somebody got picked up in Napoleons.⁵⁰ Went home with somebody they didn't know and were murdered for being trans ... And that wasn't widely reported because the parents didn't want it to come out that [their child] was a trans person. So it didn't even get reported as a hate crime, which was very sad.

Jenny-Anne – transsexual woman (31.05.10)

TransForum meetings have hosted visits by GMP representatives who gave advice about reporting transphobic hate crimes (Bishop, 17th Feb. 2012). Transphobic harassments were discussed during the weekend of the Manchester Pride 2012 festival (Friday 24th – Monday 27th Aug.) where TransForum and Manchester Concord shared a large stand, which I volunteered to assist at. On the Saturday at this festival, CPS representatives detailed to me their fervour for trans* people reporting transphobic hate crimes. However, deficiencies in reporting such hate crimes was observed on the

⁵⁰ This nightclub is in the Village on Bloom Street (Appendix 1)

CPS website. The representatives claimed that these online absences had been recognised and that objectives were in place to correct them by an unspecified date.

Aware of the co-operative interactions of the trans* support groups TransForum and TREC regarding receiving hate crime reports, there will be analyses of this latter group.

TREC

On 21st October 2009, an announcement was made on the 'UK Angels' online discussion forum, promoting the initial meeting of TREC and detailing the range of trans* identities this organisation would allegedly support. Benjamin Thom, apparently the PFC Vice-President, had written this statement:

By 'Trans/Transgender' we are referring to all people who consider themselves to fall under the trans/transgender and gender variant umbrella. This includes, but is not limited to: Cross-dressing & transvestite people, trans women, trans men, transsexual men & transsexual women, people identifying as androgyne, polygender, genderqueer, gender non-conforming, dual gendered, & non-gender identifying, gender questioning people, gender variant & gender diverse people, transgender people & intersex people and anyone who feels that the gender assigned to them at birth incompletely describes or does not at all describe their own personal gender or non-gender identity. TREC holds central to all its activities that everyone should be safe and valued whatever their gender identity/gender diversity and have full freedom in their gender expression.⁵¹

(Abi-Christopher, 21st Oct. 2009:1)

Denise Anderson, an organiser of the politically motivated transgender organisation, Spectrum London, added comments within this discussion topic. She wished that a comparable group existed in her home city and praised the LGF for hosting TREC meetings (Anderson, 22nd Oct. 2009). Luke, a member of MORF,

⁵¹ This extract was also used on the website 'the f word: Contemporary Feminism.' (Helen-G, 25th Oct. 2009)

claims that the availability of the LGF offices for the TREC meetings came out of the symbiotic desires between LGF and these two trans* groups. He asserts that transgender groups have perspectives and knowledge beneficial to the LGB campaigners while the LGF enhances its status of actively supporting trans* communities.

This organisation was launched on the 7th November 2009 in the LGF headquarters, which, then, was just on the edge of the Village in a building on Princess Street. It was observed that several trans men from MORF and trans* women from TransForum attended this launch. Furthermore, Mary, Farah and Valerie were present as representatives of Manchester Concord and as representatives of transvestic women. Mary discusses this launch on her weblog and estimates that about 100 people were present. In asserting the connections between all trans* identities, Mary describes that, towards the end of this initial TREC gathering

we had a very interesting talk From Professor Stephen Whittle about the history of TRANS people and what they had to go through to get where we are today. He emphasised the fact that we should not forget what has gone before us and should remember those people who had to go through some very traumatic experiences before attitudes started to change. He also pointed out how important Manchester and its Council has been in this struggle.

(Manchester-Concord-forum, 9th Nov. 2009:1)

In addition, there were two representatives from the Beaumont Society who had come up from London in order to support this launch. One of them had discourses with me and appeared to have mainly insular perspectives about transgenderism. These representatives had a stand by a large board detailing a map of the UK, split into various geographical sections, which are the areas providing support for transgender people by different offshoots of the Beaumont Society. I talked with Mary about this map:

Lee I'm sure you probably noticed ... they had a big list of all these groups. And there was this big space around the North West. [pause]

Mary There isn't a regional organiser for the North West. [pause]

Lee What are your thoughts about that? ... The Beaumont Society position about that kind of thing.

Mary Well, I actually spoke to the girl from Birmingham and actually suggested why don't you treat Manchester Concord as your North West regional representative? I'm quite happy ... If you want to do that, why do I have to join to do that? Can't we just work together? And [she] said, "Yeah. Of course we can." ...

Lee Well, that's good because the [other woman] ... [pause] she struck me as a bit [pause]

Mary I didn't get nice vibes from her at all.

Lee ... I was being, obviously, very polite ... [pause]

Mary But she didn't strike me as the right personality at TREC. [pause]

Lee She was talking, "Oh, we're gonna have a stall over at Sparkle" ... It was almost like ... she was trying on the route towards setting up a 'Beaumont' approved society in Manchester ...

Mary The last Beaumont Society rep ... was going to run meetings in AXM - would you believe - on a Wednesday evening. I think she might have attended there twice. And then it stopped happening.

...

[S]o why don't they recognise where we are, what we are and make us part of it?

Mary – transvestite (08.12.09)

Although Mary was given assurances that Manchester Concord would be formally recognised on the Beaumont Society website, Concord remained officially ignored (Beaumont-Society, 2011c). This is contrasted by the explicit support the Manchester Concord organisation has given for the political campaigns of TREC (TREC, 2011; TREC, 2012a).

Luke was a significant instigator for the creation of TREC. It has been observed that he has been politically active in the Manchester trans* scene for several years, including giving a speech at a Manchester University meeting during the 'Get-Bent – A Festival of Queer Diversity' (Get-Bent, 2007). He detailed several political aims of TREC, which included interacting with the Sexual Health Clinic and the Manchester police force regarding transphobic hate crime. Some TREC members have also been trained to receive details of transphobic hate crime incidents.

Additionally, TREC objectives include supporting the creativity of trans* people and hosting guest speakers regarding topics such as law issues.

Luke also discussed TREC resisting transphobic media organisations. This included discourses about tabloid newspaper reporters manipulating the personal stories of trans* women and violating their confidentiality. This is a similar perspective to the critically investigated tabloid newspaper articles (Chapter 2.3). Within these discourses, Luke seems to only discuss transsexual people. This may reflect the dominance of articles within mainstream newspapers that publicise transsexual identities more than transvestic identities. Pamela highlights the discrimination against transvestic women within media re-presentations:

As far as public profile in the media, there is some positive media coverage but, I think, to some extent, tranny bashing is one of the, sort of, last things that more disreputable sections of the media can get away with. You know, you can't do a comedy sketch about stereotypical coloured people anymore because you're a bloody racist! It's scandalous and you shouldn't do it! But you can put on crap adverts for bingo or whatever with people very, very badly cross-dressing [*pause*] and it's meant to be funny!

...
[S]ome of the images that you see on cross-dressing, transvestism or whatever in the media, you wouldn't be allowed, if you were referring to gay people or ... coloured people.

Pamela – transvestite (23.10.10)

Valerie, another politically motivated transvestic woman, has organised several workshops within TREC and has favourably described this organisation during online trans* discourses. On 10th October 2010, she informed readers of the Manchester Concord online forum discussions that TREC had moved to the new 'LGF' premises on 5 Richmond Street in the Village. She also discussed concerns within TREC regarding Government cut backs that may negatively impact trans* people.

On 16th September 2012, I asked Jenny-Anne why she was no longer actively involved with TREC meetings. She claimed that the TREC organisation had issues

regarding funding applications and interactions with commercial companies. She alleged trans men dominated the organisation and that several members appeared to be prejudiced against cross-dressers. Pamela also commented to me that TREC seemed to be dominated by trans men, which I had observed during attending several meetings.

However, on the TREC website, Iffy Middleton was timetabled to give a presentation about hormone therapy on 21st September 2012. Allegedly, she has been working at Charing Cross specialising in exclusively supporting trans women. Additionally, I attended a TREC meeting on Friday 21st September 2012 where trans* women and men were present at a talk given by

Sam Rankin ... a facilitator and trainer ... She ... represents the Equality Network in Beyond Borders, ... providing services for ethnically and culturally diverse LGBT people in six European countries. In her spare time she does transgender and bisexual specific activism.

The venue is fully accessible and there are changing facilities available.

(Whittle, 25th Nov. 2012:1)

While this quote suggests transvestic people can attend and change into different gender specific clothing, there were no overt details on the TREC website concerning support for transvestic people beyond stressing the assistance for all trans* identities (TREC, 2012a).

Conclusion

This chapter has presented examinations of politically motivated trans* supportive groups, predominantly TransForum Manchester and TREC organisations, which meet in Manchester's Gay Village. There were studies of actions by these two groups in resisting transphobic hate crimes. There have also been explorations of my undertakings as a participatory action researcher.

There have been explorations of the origins of TransForum. There were analyses of this group's interactions with regional and national bodies, concerning emergency, medical, legal and educational services. There have been studies of positive interactions between members of TransForum, TREC and Government representatives.

The development of TREC was examined, which developed from unifying political motivations within MTF and FTM trans* supportive groups. There were investigations of positive actions by Manchester City Council and the LGF in the development of this trans* alliance. There have been analyses of the assistance by transvestic women, which included members of Manchester Concord and the London-based Beaumont Society. Additionally, there have been examinations of TREC members' connections with medical, security, political and media organisations.

Aware of recent actions by regional and national Government representatives concerning trans* issues, the next chapter will critically analyse their undertakings.

POLITICAL SUPPORT
HUMAN RIGHTS, REGIONAL AND
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
INVESTIGATIONS

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. All human rights are universal, interdependent, indivisible and interrelated. Sexual orientation and gender identity are integral to every person's dignity and humanity and must not be the basis for discrimination or abuse.

(Corrêa, Mar. 2007:6)

Aware of the previous explorations of the apparent present-day political assertiveness of trans* people in the North West of England, this chapter will include investigations of the trans* supportive actions undertaken by representatives of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, Manchester City Council and the national Government.

It will be suggested that regional and national Government departments have been influenced by human rights articles from UK and international legally knowledgeable organisations who have discussed issues regarding transgenderism. Seemingly, as a result, Government representatives have instigated several explorations into the contemporary experiences of British transgender people. This chapter shall critically examine some of these investigations. It will be suggested that these articles may present deficiencies in their analyses but, contrastingly, that they seem to allege absences in the prior research of transgenderism, particularly concerning transvestic people.

In this chapter, there will be inspections of Governmental attempts to identify transphobia and to assist countering it. This includes the assessments of transphobic hate crimes. However, there will be investigations into these documents' failures to understand and to support trans* people who are not transsexual despite the transphobic harassments experienced by trans* people who do not transition.

Moreover, this chapter will suggest that some of the proposals expressed within these documents are being reflected by present-day actions by trans* people, prominently by several cross-dressers. Analyses within this chapter highlight possible misunderstandings and discriminations against transvestic people by representatives of medical, legal and academic organisations.

Furthermore, it is recognised that the reviewed documents in this chapter do not identify the term ‘trans*’. Consequently, their applications of ‘trans’ can refer to all transgender identities.

The Trans Research Review

Conforming to the directives of the *Equality Act (2006)*, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) was set up (EHRC, 25th Feb. 2009). The EHRC was given Parliamentary “mandate to challenge discrimination, and protect and promote human rights” (EHRC, 2012:1). In May 2008, the EHRC employed representatives from the National Centre for Social Research

to establish a clear picture of the recent and relevant evidence base (quantitative, qualitative, and policy) on equality and discrimination in relation to trans people. The baseline and resulting implications will be used to inform future policy development and strategy in Britain.

(Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009:iv)

This document has been critically reviewed, which is entitled the *Trans Research Review*. These EHRC representatives, Mitchell and Howarth, acknowledge there are numerous inconsistent assessments of transvestic people and the definitions of ‘transgenderism’ and ‘trans’ have been contradictorily expressed within several articles. However, they conform to the assumption that gender dysphoria is a

transsexual phenomenon despite the application of that term being debatable (Whittle, 1996). Nonetheless, Mitchell and Howarth recognise a lacking in assessing the diverse transgender identities and assert such studies are urgently required. They contend that transgender people may be assisted by LGB campaigns but can also be hindered by them.

Mitchell and Howarth (Autumn 2009) contend a number of transvestic people “may cross-dress for enjoyment” (14) but do not define what this ‘enjoyment’ is. Furthermore, Mitchell and Howarth express that the claim that transvestites/cross-dressers are ‘trans’ can be regarded as controversial but they do not state why. They contrast this with post-operative transsexual people who no longer regard themselves as transgender and, therefore, seem not to be politically involved in assisting transgender issues. However, they do recognize that some transvestites can become transsexual.

Mitchell and Howarth mention several studies, which claim that there are numerous online transgender communities, but they only discuss the Internet presence of transsexual people. Nonetheless, they contend such communities online and in reality are assorted. Additionally, they are aware that there is limited research into this area. Mitchell and Howarth express that cross-dressers may be regarded as ‘trans’ because they can receive transphobic harassments. They assert that transphobia is connected with misogyny and that more investigations into transphobia are needed. Related to this, Mitchell and Howarth recognise the absence of analyses of the family lives of transgender people; the employment difficulties by transgender people; and the unconstructive presentations of transgender people within the media.

They discuss the wariness of transgender people to report their experiences of transphobic hate crimes and will, therefore, not assist the gathering and interpretations

of such information. However, Mitchell and Howarth do not consider that transvestic women may not feel able to assert their transgender identities and report their harassments due to the impacts upon them by the previously alleged medical, legal and academic judgemental assessments of transvestism/cross-dressing.

Mitchell and Howarth propose that investigations of transgender communities using combinations of surveys and interviews may be productive but these are apparently infrequent. Thus, the findings by these researchers suggest that my qualitative explorations of trans* communities in Manchester's Gay Village coupled with my quoted online quantitative data may provide useful information about numerous present-day trans* matters in the UK.

The Assistance for Transgender People by Manchester City Council

[T]he nucleus of people is in the North West partly because of the Village and the greater tolerance in the North West for [trans*] people, particularly Manchester. And I ... pretty deliberately came back to live in the North West again because I knew I would have a better time as a trans person. I lived in the North West in the 70s and the early 80s, and then, for family reasons, I moved back down to the South where I come from and I was down there until the mid 90s and yet I lost my job yet again for being trans and I eventually got a job in Oldham because I was almost siphoning out the jobs in the North West because that's where I felt I would be happier and better treated.

Jenny-Anne – transsexual woman (31.05.10)

Jenny-Anne describes several councils are legally compelled to critically assess that their policies are effective and they are seemingly aware they have deficient information about LGB&T issues. This entailed them to be pro-active and receptive to matters expressed by transgender people. Jenny-Anne talks about a conference with representatives of the MCC:

I was in a meeting the other day ... and they said something to me like, “What was it like in the past?” and I said, “It was very difficult. There were only a few places we could go. And I couldn’t have come to a meeting like this. I’d never even the remotest chance of being invited and I certainly wouldn’t have been allowed to speak.” You know, and that’s how it’s greatly changed.

Jenny-Anne – transsexual woman (31.05.10)

There were several consultations between Council representatives and trans* people concerning supportive policy alterations. One was on Thursday 2nd July 2009 at the LGBT Centre on Sydney Street. Apparently, the MCC aimed to organise a focus group of transgender people. However, over 20 trans* people attended, resulting in three Council representatives disseminating information with limited interactions with the audience. Nevertheless, the representatives emphasised the transgender supportive outlooks of the MCC and alleged that the Council ensured the GMP were respectful of the identities of transgender people before the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)* was enforced. Audience members stressed the difficulties of transgender people in obtaining secure accommodation, which the representatives seemed to be attentive to. Jenny-Anne spoke at this gathering, expressing the MCC was doing “ground breaking work” in Council support for transgenderism. This and three other consultations were reviewed in a gathering organised by the Council at the LGF on 15th June 2010 where outcomes of these sessions were detailed. However, there did not seem to be any overt identifications of support for transvestic people during these consultations.

On 12th November 2009, I received a formal letter from the office of the Manchester Lord Mayor concerning the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance. Inside, on quality card, was an invitation to attend “a Reception in the Town Hall on Friday 20th Nov. 2009 from 6.30pm” (Manchester-City-Council, 2009:1). At the Town Hall, I was respectfully directed to the Reception. It was a large room with

several trans* people attending. Council employees politely offered me a choice from a selection of drinks. Luke, Jenny-Anne and Alicia were also present where Councillor Paul Fairweather gave a courteous speech to everyone attending. Luke discussed how this event was arranged:

They said, "Let's do a formal ceremony. How would you like that? What would you like us to say about it? How can we support you?" ... I think they've been very pro-active as well at the consultations 'cause I must admit, I was a bit cynical at first "Oh, it's gonna be a tick box exercise for them. They want to hear our views and say, 'Oh yes, we've consulted with the community. We can tick that one off. There's our impact assessment done.'" But actually ... they keep us updated – "OK, since the Housing and Homelessness meeting this is what's happened. This is who you can contact. This is what we're hoping to achieve." ... Regular ... updates is important and ... to know [a Council representative] who's taking time out of his own life to come to TREC. He's not getting paid to do it. He wants to be here. He genuinely wants to hear about the issues and build up the relationship with us. Build up that trust and ... I trust him 100% ... So, as a Council goes, they're pretty progressive.

Luke – transsexual man (10.04.10)

The Transgender Day of Remembrance is commemorated on the Sunday nearest to the 20th November each year at 3.45pm alongside the Beacon of Hope in the Village. On Sunday 22nd November 2009, I observed Paul Fairweather attending this gathering. He participated in reading the names of trans* people who, around the world, have been murdered since 1998 (St.Pierre, 2007; LGF-News-Team, 2007; Bishop, Nov. 2011).

The Assistance for Trans* People by National Government Representatives

Following assertions within the international human rights articles, including *The Yogyakarta Principles* and the *Transgender Persons' Rights in the EU Member States*, together with declarations within the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)* and the *Trans Research Review*, the UK Government is required to gather data regarding the contemporary needs of transgender people (Corrêa, Mar. 2007; Directorate-General-for-Internal-Policies, 2010). The transgender supportive contentions within the Government sponsored *Equality Act (2010)* will be critically examined as it was discussed by Whittle during his presentation at Sparkle 2010.

1) The *Equality Act (2010)*

The Government's Equality Bill with its 218 clauses was passed on the 6th. April 2010, replacing all the previous equalities legislation. The main components of the Act came into force in October 2010.

(Heath, Sept. 2012)

This Act includes the *Equality Duty*, which explicitly protects nine human characteristics, which are age; disability; marriage/civil partnership; race; religion/belief; sex; sexual orientation; pregnancy/maternity; and gender reassignment.

Helen-G (2nd Aug. 2010:1) criticises this Act and quotes an online article from another trans woman Zoe Brain (Brain, 1st Aug. 2010) who apparently claims that this Act legitimises discrimination against transsexual people. Helen-G and Brain assert that this Act supports trans women who intend to transition but discriminates against women who have transitioned and have had their acquired gender legally recognised.

Hopkins (2010) also criticises the *Equality Act* within a report for the UNISON union. He highlights the alleged failure of the Act to recognise gender diversity:

Transgender people who do not intend to transition gender may not be protected. We think the protection should be on grounds of gender identity, covering all transgender people, instead of on grounds of gender reassignment.
(2)

This issue might be an impact from hierarchal discriminations in that this ‘consideration to transition’ in order to gain legal recognition under the *Equality Act* could be interpreted as ‘achieving’ to be part of the transsexual ‘petit(e) bourgeoisie’ rather than remaining as the legally dismissive transvestic ‘proletariat’ (Chapter 6).

These criticisms of the *Equality Act* suggest that all transgender women are still regarded as inferior to cissexual people. As most of these discriminations can include transvestic people, they can be part of the assertion by Helen-G (2nd Aug. 2010):

Trans people are routinely dehumanised and demonised, excluded and harassed, attacked and even murdered with impunity by cis people from across the entire class spectrum - and, be honest, would *you* trust a system in which nearly everyone you meet treats you as less than human?

...

And as far as I'm concerned, with this legislation, the government looks set to do a far better job of morally mandating people like me out of existence than Janice Raymond could ever dream of.

(1)

Considering the human rights articles that have influenced the national Government (Corrêa, Mar. 2007; Directorate-General-for-Internal-Policies, 2010), there will be analyses of the *Trans Community Statement of Need: Version 26 April 2011*. This article led to the Government Equalities Office (GEO) creating the

document *Advancing Transgender Equality: a Plan for Action*, which shall also be explored (H-M-Government, Dec. 2011).

2) The *Trans Community Statement of Need: Version 26 April 2011*

Recognising deficiencies in data regarding contemporary transgenderism, the GEO enabled four workshops between March 2010 and March 2011 where matters significant to trans* people were apparently discussed. This 56-page *Statement Of Need* (SON) document details these issues. It explores 11 topics and discusses subjects in the *Trans Research Review* and the *Equality Act*.

These reviewed topics are ‘Employment’; ‘Education’; ‘Discrimination’; ‘Identity & Privacy’; ‘Health’; ‘Safety & Support’; ‘Community & Capacity’; LGB&T; ‘Research & Evidencing Need’; ‘Society’; and ‘Procurement & Services’ (Dooley, 26th April 2011:4).

This text alleges the *Equality Duty* is incomplete in several matters, including countering transphobic discriminations concerning employment and educational issues. It is proposed that the increased existence of transgender people in the workplace would enhance mainstream familiarity with transgenderism but this text gives limited suggestions to undertake this. Moreover, in order to enhance transgender awareness in educational establishments, the text’s objectives include “To achieve far more role models in public life. The encouragement and support of ‘out and proud’ trans* people as champions for the community” (11). However, there are no proposals how to identify or gather such ‘champions’.

Within the ‘Discrimination’ section, there are discussions regarding difficulties by some cissexual people to accept transgender people in mainstream toilets

associated with their acquired gender. Within this or any other section of the SON there are no discussions about any differences in how FTM and MTF trans people are treated. Additionally, there are concerns regarding contradictions between religious and transgender legal rights but this issue appears to be accepted in this document. This section highlights deficiencies in the *Equality Act* in failing to recognise non-gendered or bi-gendered people. This text suggests there may also be other discriminations not covered in this Act but they are not identified.

Regarding the ‘Identity & Privacy’ section, it is alleged media presentations of transgender people are scarce and that media organisations can be insensitive about respecting confidentiality of transgender people. It is also asserted the *Gender Recognition Act* needs adapting to make such organisations more legally liable. Moreover, this SON document alleges there were several transgender groups who have expressed the needs to improve this Act. However, it is claimed in this section that there have been no appropriate Government actions. The absences in assessing the needs of people who do not conform to the gender binary are acknowledged in this section. Additionally, it is recognised a trans person, after transitioning, cannot remain ‘married’ to their partner if they wish to.

Concerning ‘Health’ topics, it is alleged that there were breaches of the *Equality Act* and the *Human Rights Act (1998)*,⁵² especially concerning “some gender specialists whose approach needs to be modified” (Dooley, 26th April 2011:27). This section highlights deficient recognitions of the diverse range of transgender identities.

Within the ‘Safety & Support’ section, there are aims and actions to enhance the identifications of transphobic hate crime and to resist fortifying the gender binary.

⁵² H-M-Government (1998b)

The article recognises the impacts of transphobic harassment upon a transgender person's self-worth but it does not explicitly identify if transvestic people are included.

It is also claimed "80% trans people experience domestic abuse from partner/ex-partner" (37). This section does not detail how this data was obtained, particularly when considering that several investigations are unable to quantify 'trans' identities. Moreover, the expressions of this abuse do not identify any differences in the mistreatment of FTM and MTF trans people or of transsexual and transvestic people. This section also incompletely describes transphobic hate crimes and the insensitive descriptions of transgender people within media texts, which may incite transphobic abuse.

In the 'Community & Capacity' section, the unification of transgender groups is proposed due to "the lack of funding, capacity, financial skills and coordination in the trans community" (41). Several transsexual people oppose this alliance, questioning whether this is "either workable or desirable" (41). While it is recognised there are health and several social issues that differ within the transgender community, this quote suggests impacts from hierarchies within 'transgenderism', which may exacerbate discriminations against transvestic people. Indeed, this section recognises the deficiencies in understandings and representations of all trans* identities. Furthermore, it is claimed that not all transgender identities are legally protected. Therefore, it is expressed that more research into cross-dressing is needed.

The LGB&T section reinforces this lack; expressing many of those within LGB communities do not understand transgender groups. It is also suggested Government supported LGB&T occasions should include "a least one trans person present." (45)

Regarding the ‘Research & Evidencing Need’ section, there are aims “To encourage transparency and wider community engagement” (47) so that required needs within transgender communities are recognised. This includes consulting family members.

This section is critical of the ineffectiveness of previous funded academic research into transgenderism. It is recommended that qualitative investigations be commissioned, as quantifying the transgender population is seemingly not easy. It is suggested that exploring the numbers of transgender people and transgender terminologies should not be undertaken, which counters the allegations in the *Trans Research Review*. Furthermore, my qualitative and quantitative examinations suggest that trans* terminologies are inconsistently applied within contemporary medical, legal and academic documents.

There are added contradictions in this section regarding the size of this alleged “small trans population” (48) without data estimating its magnitude. This uncertainty about quantification is acknowledged in this section when considering post-operative transsexual women who live in ‘stealth’ and so do not interact with other transgender people. This doubt is further recognised by referring to those who are afraid of being explicitly transgender due to fears of harassment. Moreover, it is suggested that these ‘fears’ should be explored at intervals to assess any changes in mainstream acceptance of transgenderism, which links with my investigations into contemporary transphobic harassments.

Regarding the ‘Procurement & Services’ topic, it is suggested to “enable trans organisations to become cost-effective providers of services for the trans community” (55) but it is recognised that local authorities and associated governmental organisations may need educating to facilitate this. However, it is conceded that such

training may not be financially available, although it is claimed that ‘GIRES’ may be able to provide advice about these educational needs. This section also emphasises that service suppliers to transgender communities must adhere to “National standards” (56) but there is no clear indication as to how they would be actioned. Additionally, this section reinforces that considerations for non-gendered and bi-gendered people should be undertaken by organisations in the “private sector” (56). However, as this document recognises deficiencies in the research for such people, it is unclear as to how such considerations may be carried out.

3) *Advancing Transgender Equality: a Plan for Action*

The SON was allegedly to enable the creation of this text, which was formally launched online on 8th December 2011 (H-M-Government, Dec. 2011). Trans* people often refer to it as the Action Plan. In the ‘Ministerial Forward’ of this article, it alleges the Government’s position:

Transgender people, from transsexual to non-gendered, want to be able to participate in and make their contribution to society and the economy. The Government, employers and public services have a role in enabling this to happen and addressing the barriers that prevent them from doing so.

(May and Featherstone, Dec. 2011:5)

This definition of ‘transgender people’ can include transvestites/cross-dressers. This paper includes four sections, which concern the education of transgender children and teenagers; employment issues; health services with confidentiality; and altering cultural perspectives regarding transgenderism.

‘Section 1’ of this article recognises the existence of “gender variant children” (H-M-Government, Dec. 2011:6), which may suggest these children are not

necessarily transsexual. Four of the five proposals are to be actioned in 2012 except for making certain that “National Citizen Service (NCS) for 16 year olds” (7) is transgender supportive, allegedly by April 2015. This section refers to, but is not critical of, the *Equality Act*.

Employment issues are addressed in ‘Section 2’, acknowledging that transgender people face discrimination within their workplace. Apparently, the Government is enabling on-going research about the employment difficulties of LGB&T people. Nevertheless, this section does not seem to discuss actions to counter the claimed deficiencies within the previously critically analysed texts, including the *Equality Act*.

‘Section 3’ regards public services but it is accepted that this document is incomplete regarding a number of transgender issues presented to Government representatives. There are proposed actions for assisting the mental health of those experiencing ‘gender dysphoria’ but there are no indications if this term includes trans* people who are not transsexual. Regarding identity and confidentiality issues, it is claimed that the GEO will examine issues concerning the *Data Protection Act (1998)*⁵³, the *Human Rights Act (1998)*⁵⁴ and the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)*⁵⁵ by March 2013. Moreover, this department will allegedly be “evaluating the *Equality Act*” (12) by October 2015.

‘Section 3’ discusses promoting prospects for some transgender people to become ‘role models’ by December 2012. Additionally, it is claimed that there will be on-going actions to enable transgender women to assist the presence of women in Government. However, there is no indication if that includes transvestic women.

⁵³ H-M-Government (1998a).

⁵⁴ H-M-Government (1998b).

⁵⁵ H-M-Government (2004).

In ‘Section 4’ it is recognised that “between 2009 and 2010 there has been a 14% increase in transgender related hate crime – going up from 312 incidents to 357 incidents” (14). It is alleged that, from April 2011, police forces have been compelled to investigate hate crimes. It is alleged in this section that the *Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Bill*⁵⁶ and the *Criminal Justice Act (2003)*⁵⁷ will be amended by January 2012 to cover transphobic criminal actions. Also in ‘Section 4’, there are recommended actions regarding housing and transport difficulties arising from transphobic hate crimes.

This section proposes collaborating with transgender groups to assist discussions about equal marriage, which, it has been observed seems to be an area dominated by campaigns for LGB human rights. ‘Section 4’ also refers to immigration issues concerning transgender asylum seekers and on-going matters discussed by the UN Human Rights Council. However, this document does not seem to explicitly discuss resolving any differences in the legal rights between transsexual and transvestic people.

Combining the Social and Political Support for Transgenderism

This chapter has expressed political support for social expressions of transgenderism. Nonetheless, the acknowledged previous deficient research for transvestic people continues to fail enhancing facilities and protections for them. Upon examining mainstream media texts, there developments in the presence of transvestic people assertively expressing their ‘en femme’ personae and, thus, some could be potentially

⁵⁶ This led to the *Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012* (H-M-Government, 2012).

⁵⁷ H-M-Government (2003)

regarded as the ‘role models’ identified within the *Trans Community Statement of Need: Version 26 April 2011* and *Advancing Transgender Equality: a Plan for Action*.

On 10th October 2012, Libby Purves interviewed the cartoonist Steven Appleby on the Radio 4 *Midweek* programme (BBC, 10th Oct. 2012). Appleby is an ‘out of the closet’ transvestite and overtly discusses his cross-dressing during this interview and on his postmodern website (Appleby, 2012). Appleby expressed to Purves that he admires two other ‘out’ transvestites who are famous within various media texts.

One is the successful artist, Grayson Perry, winner of the Turner Prize in 2003 (Saatchi-Gallery, 2012). However, a number of trans* and trans* friendly people in the Village have expressed that they are critical of Perry’s controversial transvestic persona, including his explicit links with his sexual desires and cross-dressing (Jones, 2006). This linkage can reflect the contentions about some transvestites accepting abuse, such as Perry’s apparent sexual desires connected with personal humiliation (Chapter 10).

The other ‘out’ transvestite Appleby refers to is the accomplished comedian, actor and writer, Eddie Izzard, who won the *British Comedy Award* in 1993 and 1996 and two *Emmy Awards* in 2000 (Izzard, Oct. 2004a [1996]; Izzard, Oct. 2004b [2000]; IMDb.com, 2012). Several trans* and trans* friendly people have expressed he has become internationally regarded as a ‘role model’ for several trans* and non-trans* individuals. This includes being nationally admired during and after he completed 43 marathon runs in 51 days for charity during 2009. As a consequence, Izzard was given a “BBC Sports Personality special award” (BBC, 13th Dec. 2009:1).

On the *Sydney Morning Herald* website, Creagh examines an interview with Izzard, taken in Sydney, Australia (Izzard *et al.*, 5th Nov. 2011) where he describes his open identity as a transvestite and his political aims:

At this point the transgender community is still struggling to get into the mainstream and gay and lesbian communities are better up the ladder there. If you're not planning it's not really gonna happen ... I just have to plan like crazy.

(1)

Izzard expresses that he intends to become a member of the UK Parliament or the Mayor of London by 2020 as part of his political objectives to assist the promotion and mainstream acceptance of transgenderism. Some of his plans may derive from his previous experiences of transphobic hate crimes. They may have been accentuated when Izzard was assaulted on two occasions in 2013 for cross-dressing (Blay, 30th Sept. 2013; Express-reporter, 30th Sept. 2013). He discusses these incidents in the *Sunday People* newspaper:

"I wasn't doing anything wrong but because I was dressed in women's clothes they set upon me. I was badly injured. It was horrible. I was very upset and frightened ...

"I think people should be able to live their lives freely."

(Hind, 29th Sept. 2013:1)

Conclusion

This chapter has included critical investigations of transgender supportive undertakings by the Manchester City Council and the national Government. There have been explorations of the EHRC instigated *Trans Research Review* (Autumn 2009). This article claims there are inconsistencies in trans* terminologies and the regards of transvestites/cross-dressers.

There were descriptions of overt actions by the MCC from 2009, where the Council is gathering legally required information about transgender people. It has been alleged that this organisation is pro-active in assisting transgender groups in Greater Manchester.

There were critical analyses of articles instigated by the national Government, which are the *Equality Act (2010)*; the *Trans Community Statement of Need: Version 26 April 2011* (SON); and the online document *Advancing Transgender Equality: a Plan for Action* (Action Plan).

The *Equality Act* has been criticised by some transsexual women, asserting it is prejudiced against trans women who have transitioned to their preferred gender. Additionally, it is alleged there is little legal protection for gender divergent people who do not wish to transition.

The SON includes criticisms of the *Equality Act* and the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)*. There are acknowledgements that there are shortages in information about the varied transgender identities. Furthermore, this SON refers to possible financial difficulties in effecting several of its objectives and actions. This paper is critical of the claimed lack of effectiveness of some previous research into transgenderism. This document expresses aims to achieve more transgender people in the workplace and transgender individuals who can be 'role models', inspiring other transgender people, but the proposals for achieving these objectives would appear to be limited.

The SON enabled the formation of the Action Plan document. This latter article appears to support all trans* identities. However, it does not explicitly refer to transvestic people. The Action Plan would appear to be intermittently critical of the *Equality Act*, recommending that it should be re-assessed. This paper refers to

discrimination in the workplace and it refers to the potentially inspirational presence of transgender ‘role models’.

Combining the social and political aspects of my poststructural thesis, this chapter also includes details about transvestic people present in mainstream media, notably referring to, the openly transvestic, Eddie Izzard. He has personally experienced transphobic harassments and is supportive of enhancing the presence of trans* people in the ‘mainstream’. He has alleged he aims to become an MP or the Mayor of London by 2020. Within expanding research into recent expressions of the diverse trans* identities, Izzard could be regarded as a ‘role model’ for many trans* people and so may assist reconceiving cross-dressing.

CONCLUSION

Throughout investigating trans* communities socialising in Manchester's Gay Village from 2005 to 2012, it has been observed how concepts of 'transgenderism' are becoming increasingly blurred under current postmodern conditions. This uncertainty can include those who observe trans* people, such as academic researchers, and trans* people themselves.

This research has suggested that perceptions about contemporary 'transvestism' by many investigators within medical, legal and academic organisations are restricted by out-dated modernist prejudices. This hampers comprehensions of the varied current expressions of transgenderism and the supportive needs of trans* women, particularly those who can be transvestic. Consequently, while this thesis overtly reflects some aspects of modernist academic explorations, it deconstructs such examinations, including implicitly expressing critical viewpoints beyond the restrictions of language (Foucault, 1972; Derrida, 1976).

This multifaceted deconstruction reflects the postmodern perspectives of ethnographic research expressed by Dicks *et al.* (2005). Thus, explicit and implicit parts of this thesis can be interpreted as critically adopting creative and multifarious types of interpretations in order to reflect the intricacies and shapes of actual trans* lives.

The national Government instigated setting up the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in 2006. EHRC recognises the incomplete comprehensions of transvestism following evaluations expressed in the *Trans Research Review* (Mitchell and Howarth, Autumn 2009). This review claims that characterisations of current transgenderism are inconsistent with continued uncertainties about the connections

between transgender identities. It is alleged there have been insufficient investigations of contemporary matters, such as online transgender communities; transphobic harassments; topics concerning the families of transgender people; employment difficulties of transgender people; and insensitive portrayals of transgender people within media texts. During research for this thesis, the explorations of several previous studies concerning transgenderism reflect these claimed inconsistencies. The aspiration is that this thesis may assist informing further debates about the major issues expressed by Mitchell and Howarth.

These investigations have suggested that the obstacles experienced by trans* people derive from misogynistic and homophobic prejudices, which were shaped and expressed in various situations over at least three millennia. Moreover, current complications experienced by trans* women have been further intensified by the contentious American definitions of transvestism and cross-dressing.

It has been proposed that misogynistic prejudices influenced medical staff from the late 1800s. Many dominant medical, especially psychiatric, judgements about transvestic people are based upon inadequate contact with trans* people in the context of everyday life. With the medical failure to identify a 'cure' for transgenderism, investigations within the social sciences developed. However, there are uncertainties about numbers of trans* people within societies except that it is repeatedly emphasised there are far more transvestic than transsexual people. Nonetheless, continuing the concerns that explorations into transgenderism have insufficient understandings with the actual lives of trans* people, there is more research into transsexualism than transvestism. This includes UK PhD/DPhil studies undertaken since 1980, which represent incomplete studies of transgenderism. Many of these prior analyses of transgenderism do not combine qualitative and quantitative research techniques, which

is a recommended strategy by representatives of the EHRC and the National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE). Nevertheless, several of these theses (such as Hartley, 2004; Sanger, 2006; Davy, 2008) do distinctively expand upon aspects of transsexualism and recognise gender diversity.

During the research expressed in this thesis, there were investigations of non-medical, non-academic media texts. Cross-dressing was a regular expression on historical stage performances, which then influenced re-presentations of transgenderism in films and television programmes. The analysed recent mainstream magazines and newspapers mainly sensationalise transgenderism. In contrast, various media texts authored by trans* people recognise there are more transvestic than transsexual women in society. However, these publications are not mainstream texts and have not been thoroughly analysed during previous studies of transgenderism.

In this thesis the progress of Manchester from medieval times to the present-day has been explored. This included critical inspections of the development of the city's Gay Village. These studies recognise that this 'Village' has become a marketed signifier of Manchester being a cosmopolitan city. However, previous research suggests there are 'fears' within gay groups that, while the Village was an attempted refuge from societal heteronormativity, it has become a collection of social spaces popular with non-trans* heterosexual people. The unprecedented investigations detailed in this thesis comprise intense academic analyses of transphobic harassments and hate crimes in Greater Manchester, which includes the Village.

This thesis includes critical explorations of methodologies influencing the research of contemporary transgenderism. Postmodern standpoints propose that natural science understandings can enhance social science studies. In addition, this author's personal experiences of transphobic harassments have influenced the shaping

of essential ethical considerations within the participatory action research. Consequently, the researched groups have been supported within the post-structural recognition that, in studying any community, a researcher will inevitably affect it.

Following the interpretation of a 'postmodern' perspective on research, a dual qualitative and quantitative approach was implemented at the heart of this thesis. This includes the qualitative information gained during previous related investigations (Middlehurst, 2005) plus the pilot questionnaires designed, distributed in the Village and analysed during 2006. These investigations assisted the development of international online quantitative assessments, which have gathered 390,227 data inputs from respondents. Some of that information has been quoted in this thesis. These distinctive collections of data have supported the qualitative research, which has included digital ethnography. Reflective and reflexive awareness has been examined within analysing the outcomes and impacts of this research.

During the critical investigation that underpins this research, critical investigations have been made of the range of terms defining trans* identities. This includes inspecting qualitative and international quantitative data. The examinations have suggested inconsistent and controversial terms could have had negative impacts upon the self-worth of transvestic people.

As part of this research, there are critical examinations of heteronormative conceptions of 'phallic' power. Resulting from these investigations, there are proposals of alternative (trans) theories regarding a woman possessing maternal 'matric' power with the patriarchally moulded, erotically shaped, 'connubialic' power (Chapter 6). Furthermore, these studies have included developing hypotheses about a trans* person's emotional 'need' to cross-dress. Research has suggested that this 'need' could be referred to as a 'fétichisme', which is a notion that deconstructs

medical assumptions about the alleged sexual motivations to cross-dress. This deconstruction also encompasses the proposed metaphorical ‘Foucauldian Pendulum’. This is conceived as an internal pendulum swinging according to the trans* person’s ‘need’ to explicitly present their transgender identity from intermittently to permanently. Moreover, impacts have been discussed that derive from medical, legal and academic prejudices about hierarchies within the defined trans* identities and from societal preoccupations about defining binaries.

Aware of the alleged deficient past studies of contemporary websites significant to trans* people, this thesis includes critical investigations of discourses by trans* women expressed on the discussion forums of the ‘UK Angels’, ‘Rose’s Forum’ and ‘TVChix’ websites. Additionally, these online explorations enhance the previously incomplete analyses of a trans* person’s motivations to ‘pass’ as their preferred gender presentation as well as deconstructing the debatable restricted definition of ‘gender dysphoria’. Studies have recognised that these websites involve repeated support for expressing trans* identities in Manchester’s Gay Village, comprising references to the annual trans* supportive Sparkle celebrations in this area.

Within this research, it was recognised that trans* hierarchies and internalised transphobia were expressed on these websites. This aspect of transphobia could be another impact from the prior contentious medical, legal and academic assessments of transgenderism, particularly about transvestism. This impact may have exacerbated the limited availability of effective counselling/therapy for transvestic people.

Additionally, during these studies, there were explorations of supportive and inspirational online discourses between trans* and natal women, which might suggest mutual awareness of links between misogyny and transphobia. Furthermore, there are indications that some MTF transvestic people are becoming politically assertive within

educating mainstream organisations about all aspects of transgenderism and countering transphobic hate crimes.

Throughout this research, it has been recognised that online interactions by trans* women have inspired many to socialise in Manchester. This thesis includes analyses of transvestic and transsexual supportive organisations, which have existed in the city from 1975. There have been investigations of the weekly gatherings in the Village of the trans* supportive Northern Concord group and the weekly meetings of the descendant organisation, the Manchester Concord. This encompasses studies of possible transphobic views by the management of the various venues hosting these organisations, which have compelled them to repeatedly move to other locations in the Village. However, it has been suggested that assertive transvestic women instigated the recent venue change by Manchester Concord and that this organisation continues to explicitly assist visiting MTF and FTM trans* people.

In this thesis several chapters portray critical analyses of the intra- and inter-connections of transvestic and transsexual identities. Yet there are a number of recently published academic texts that do not recognise these links. This enhances concern that some academic explorations are incomplete in understanding the lives of trans* people. These connections include the concept, within trans* communities, of a trans* woman being regarded as 'It', which is the perceived pinnacle of youthful glamour/attractiveness. This perception is similar to some viewpoints, within gay communities, about certain young LGB people. Thus, within LGB&T groups, a trans* woman being regarded as 'It' is adhering to the concept of feminine glamour defined within patriarchally shaped societies and not the transphobic/homophobic deliberate gender misrecognition of an LGB&T person as 'it'.

Moreover, there were investigations of discourses regarding several trans* women feeling undecided about their gender identity. This uncertainty has allegedly been exacerbated by certain medical, legal and academic opinions about transsexual identities. Within this, there are concerns about the apparent uneven availability of proficient counselling/therapy for trans* women, particularly those who are transvestic. Some of the quoted gathered international quantitative data reinforces this contention.

This thesis includes critical examinations of the visual presentations of trans* women socialising in the Village. This may enhance the incomplete academic analyses of transvestism and of clothing issues. It has been alleged that academic examinations of both of these topics have been inhibited by misogynistic prejudices, which may have resultantly misled viewpoints about the connections of transgenderism and the claimed fetishistic influences of some feminine clothing.

Concepts of gender dysphoria have also been sceptically explored together with the hierarchical claims of transgender 'in-groups' and 'out-groups'. During investigations, it was proposed that gender dysphoria in some trans* women might not involve empathy with the 'Other' but a discomfort with patriarchally shaped masculine performativity. As part of this research, there were explorations of learning processes that several trans* women go through in order to conform to patriarchally defined feminine performativity. Within this, there are associations of the theories about the (trans)gender expressions of 'connubialic' power which is linked with the social 'power' of feminine glamour. This can connect with a trans* woman being regarded as the apex of feminine glamour that as been termed in the Village as being 'It'.

Some of these visual expressions could suggest aspects of self-blaming for a trans* woman's need - her fétichisme - to be overtly trans (Chapter 6), which may make her vulnerable to accepting abusive manipulation. This research includes investigations of trans* women in the Village becoming prostitutes allegedly due to transphobic discriminations by mainstream employers. Additionally, it has been claimed that some men may cross-dress due to traumatic personal experiences.

Furthermore, there were observations of the existence of transvestic women who identify as bi-gender, several of whom have become politically assertive. Moreover, there seem to have been trans* people at the annual trans* supportive Sparkle celebrations in the Village who deliberately 'gender fuck' as part of deconstructing visual gender perceptions.

Manchester Concord has overtly supported the annual trans* supportive Sparkle festivals. This thesis presents the unique investigations of these Sparkle celebrations from the first such celebration in 2005 to that in 2012. There have been no previous intensive explorations of these festivities despite them being marketed since 2007 as the world's largest annual trans* supportive celebrations. This attraction to the Sparkle festivities is still potent despite alleged incidents of transphobic hate crimes experienced during them. Examinations have also indicated that some aspects of the Sparkle celebrations are similar to the yearly Manchester Pride festivals.

Connected with resisting transphobia, there have been observations of events during the Sparkle festivities that are explicitly and co-operatively politically motivated by transvestic, transsexual and natal women. There were recognitions of non-trans* organisations at several of these celebrations that assist the opposition to transphobic harassments. This includes representatives of the national Government, including members of the Gender Identity Research and Education Society (GIRES).

There are events during the Sparkle festivals of 2010, 2011 and 2012 that indicate the overt, ethical undertakings as a participant action researcher. As part of this standpoint, this author has participated in the entertainments, presented two informative talks and created two postmodern art pieces that were sold to financially support the Sparkle events.

As part of the research, there were critical explorations of GMP online data, allegedly from September 2010 to April 2012, concerning incidents of Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) and violence in central Manchester. This was during investigations of texts that claim there are homophobic hate crimes in the Village. However, while this GMP data suggests there are criminal actions in the social spaces of the Village, there is no recognition if any of these criminal incidents are motivated by homophobia or transphobia.

There are no previous texts which have intensively examined the transphobic harassments instigated by some non-trans* people socialising in the Village. This is despite trans* women being the dominant visual signifiers of LGB&T identities in this cosmopolitan area. Consequently, these explorations of contemporary crimes against trans* women inside and outside the Village are distinctive. During this research, there are also suggestions that the presence of trans* women in the Village may assist educating non-trans* people socialising in this area to reject transphobic prejudices.

In this thesis there were critical investigations of two contemporary politically motivated trans* supportive groups known as TransForum Manchester (TransForum) and the Trans Resource and Empowerment Centre (TREC). These groups explicitly oppose transphobia and their representatives claim these groups provide safe spaces for all trans* identities. They have constructively interacted with mainstream educational, medical, security and political organisations. TransForum is mainly

attended by trans* women, whereas trans women and trans men have fashioned TREC as part of combining the needs of FTM and MTF trans* people. It was claimed that this amalgamation was encouraged by the transgender supportive undertakings of the Manchester City Council (MCC).

TransForum and TREC have monthly meetings hosted by the Lesbian and Gay Foundation (LGF), which is part of LGF aims to be LGB&T supportive. TransForum and TREC have also received assistance by the Manchester Concord. The author's role as an action researcher was further exhibited during participating in trans* positive campaigns organised by members of TransForum.

There have been investigations of the trans* positive undertakings by representatives of the MCC and the national Government. During 2009 and 2010, the MCC undertook consultations with transgender people. The MCC was praised for its pro-active transgender supportive stance including representatives overtly supporting the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance.

This thesis has presented critical examinations of trans* supportive documents created by Governmental representatives. Several trans women have objected to aspects of The *Equality Act (2010)* and apparently it is due for review according to the *Trans Community Statement of Need: Version 26 April 2011* (SON). This latter paper was distributed during Sparkle 2011 and is critical of the *Gender Recognition Act (2004)*. This document reinforces allegations within the *Trans Research Review* article that previous research into transgenderism has been incomplete, notably the absences of analysing current transvestic identities. This article assisted the creation of the *Advancing Transgender Equality: a Plan for Action* (Action Plan) document. Although this paper alleges support for all trans* identities, it does not explicitly refer to transvestic people.

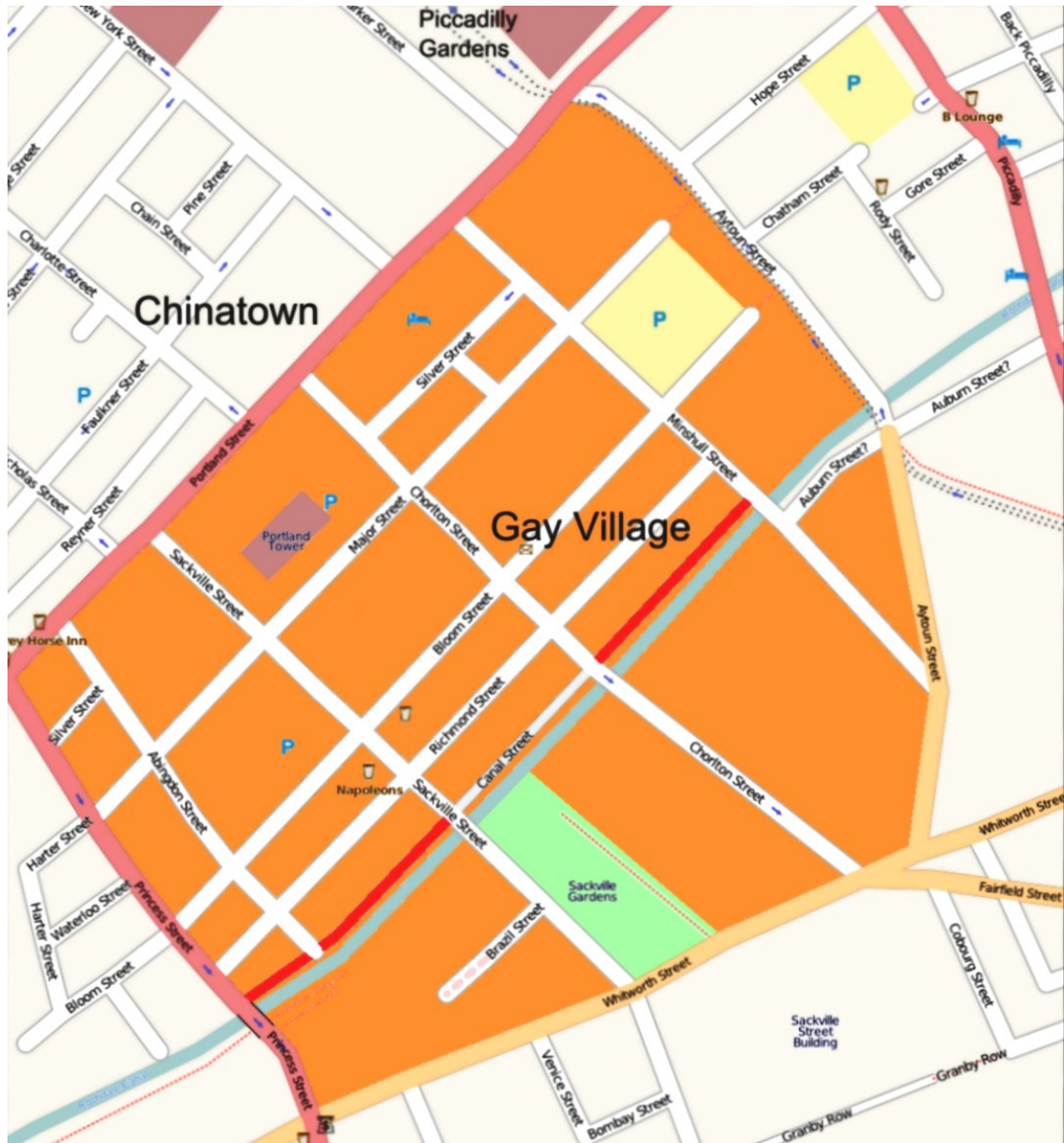
The Action Plan article reiterates contentions by the SON that transgender people could benefit from 'role models' in the mainstream. However, no role models are identified within these documents. During this research, potential transvestic role models have been identified. These roles models include Eddie Izzard, who has received numerous mainstream awards. He is an explicit cross-dresser and has experienced transphobic abuse. Izzard has recently expressed aims to be politically active in the UK, alongside aiming to assist mainstream acceptance of transgenderism. His actions indicate the significance of researching present-day transvestic identities.

The postmodern approach underpinning this thesis has indicated that contemporary transgenderism is diverse in nature. In reflecting this diversity, the investigative techniques have been varied. Goals include adding to the academic qualitative and quantitative knowledge of transgenderism, particularly cross-dressing. The post-structural examinations in this thesis are distinctive in gathering intensive data about current trans* communities in Manchester, particularly the Gay Village. Additionally, this thesis assists developing ethical participatory action research abilities in gathering knowledge concerning the actual experiences of non-academic communities. This research document also contributes to the recognition that transgender and cisgender identities are equal:

We're the same. We share the same history, the same heritage, the same lives. We're tied together beyond untying. Man or woman, it makes no difference. We're human. We couldn't escape from each other if we wanted to. That's how you do it. By remembering who and what you are. A bit of flesh and blood, afloat in a universe without end. And the only thing that's truly yours is the rest of humanity.

(Daniels, 1967)

MAP OF MANCHESTER'S THE GAY VILLAGE



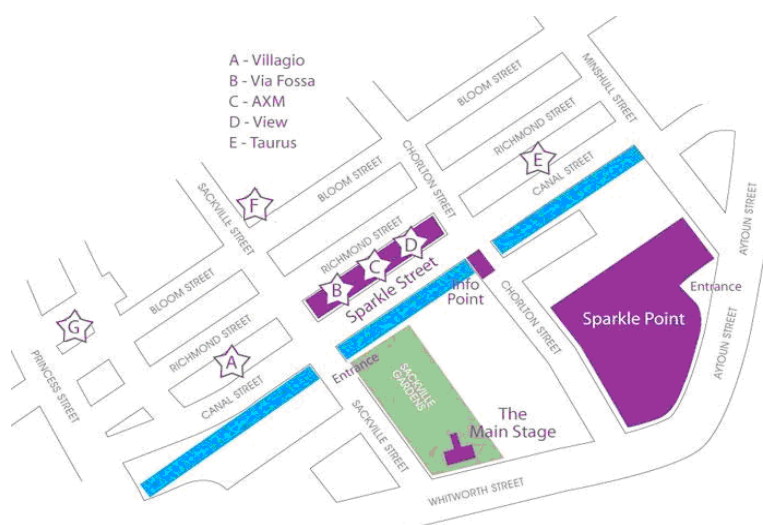
This map has been taken from Openstreetmap and Fg68at (24th May 2009) but I have altered part of this map in order to correct street names.

PILOT QUESTIONNAIRES FOR TRANS* AND NATAL WOMEN IN MANCHESTER'S GAY VILLAGE

This appendix concerns a reflexive account of the design, processing and analyses of 90 completed pilot questionnaires in the analysis of trans* and natal women socialising in Manchester's Gay Village. This investigation was undertaken from April to May 2006 as part of training in Quantitative Research Methods in order to assist my qualitative analyses of the social 'spaces' of this area. Furthermore, this appendix includes some related qualitative research previously gathered (Middlehurst, 2005).

Introduction

Below is a map of the Village from the Sparkle 2006 festivity website (23rd to 25th June 2006). On this website details the supportive celebratory events for trans* women:



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⁵⁸ This map is taken from the Sparkle 2006 website and adapted (Sparkle-Team, 2006).

Many people socialising in the Village regard this area as several pubs, restaurants and clubs on and near to Canal Street, which are mostly LGB&T supportive. According to discourses with several people socialising in the Village during 2006, it was alleged it gained this name as a result of venues in the area that popular to gay people, including venues such as the Thompson Arms pub (a star marked 'F' marks its location). Within this refuge from societal heteronormativity, trans* communities socialising in the Village developed. This pub was the primary venue for the first trans* celebratory Sparkle festival in 2005.

From 24th June 1998, the trans* support organisation Northern Concord (Concord) resided upstairs at a predominantly gay bar called the Hollywood Showbar (indicated by the star 'G' on the map). Qualitative analyses were undertaken here in 2005. Resulting from this study, I have gained familiarity with the expressions of transgenderism within this area (Middlehurst, 2005).

The interviews taken during these qualitative explorations gave indications of topics for suitable further research through quantitative analysis. During the qualitative research, Mary who is the main hostess for the Concord, talks about the organisation:

Most [trans*] people [attending the Concord] are a bit nervous at start. They need someone to help them come out. So this is a good starting point. ... Some of them keep coming if they like the friends they've made or it's a place to start. Others don't need that.

Mary – transvestite (2005)

In this extract and further informal contacts, the mutual support that trans* women give to each other at the Concord and throughout the Village was examined. Those attending Concord meetings include those who are 'out of the closet' for the first time; those who regularly come to the venue to mix with friends and relax (they

may not always choose to be cross-dressed); and those who are meeting friends, using the Concord as a convenient meeting place, prior to going onto other venues in the Village. It would seem to be a useful place for gaining data where the respondents are receptive, from varied backgrounds, in comfortable surroundings and enthusiastic about promoting transgender issues. Mary was re-interviewed in February 2006 as part of gaining advice and ideas about the designs of the questionnaires.

Here, I gathered information about friends of trans* women, which included details about natal women who actively associate with trans* women. During interviewing Mary, some discourses regarded the Concords' annual Christmas buffet that attracts many trans* women, their partners and friends. Discussions included two young natal women who set up and presented the evening's karaoke entertainment:

The girls provided that completely. It was their own home karaoke machine ... you know Donna?⁵⁹ They're Donna's two daughters. They said, 'We'd love to do it.' They didn't charge anything.

Mary – transvestite (2005)

Additionally, following other interviews and personal experience, I gained awareness of women of varied sexualities who socialise in the Village and interact with trans* women:

Like ... in Vanilla [a lesbian bar] ... if you're a tranny, you're welcome at Vanilla ... on the whole they haven't got a problem with trannies.

Paula – transvestite (2005)

I decided to link the qualitative research of transphobia within the Village to quantitative analyses. I aimed to undertake:

⁵⁹ Donna is a transsexual woman.

- A study of transgender people in the Village and their networks of support.
- A study of women socialising in the Village, exploring their motivations.

Two questionnaires were designed for each topic. Specific factors affecting such analyses were considered:

- Suitable research data that could be gathered.
- The areas of research geographically accessible.
- Familiarity with the area and the potential respondents under study.
- Access to suitable individuals who would be the subjects of my research.
- Time constraints with reference to undertaking the research (mixing my other work and social commitments).
- Weather constraints with reference to undertaking the research.
- Inexperience concerning this method of research.

Adverse weather conditions in April and May 2006 restricted the opportunities to gather questionnaire replies, especially for those focussing upon natal women. Consequently, collected and assessed were 55 replies for the questionnaire designed for trans* women and 35 replies for the questionnaire designed for natal women. Therefore, the predominant analysis will be of the former questionnaire responses whilst giving an overview of the latter.

Nonetheless, from the position that these were pilot surveys, they have been useful as learning exercises in designing/analysing future questionnaires and for further qualitative investigations of support for MTF trans* people in the Village.

Designing the Questionnaires

Aware of limited availabilities for processing the gathered quantitative data, the questionnaires were created while researching the designs and analysis of surveys. As a result, initial creation of the questionnaires included questions, which were considered to be possibly useful and then adapting them as further knowledge was gained. There was difficulty in finding suitable templates for some categories and so improvisation was required.

The design of the questionnaires was intensive.⁶⁰ Pilot qualitative interviews were conducted in order to adjust the survey formats to be effective, efficient and approachable. ‘Negative’ questions and potential ambiguity were avoided while ensuring that the respondents only needed to mark answers but critical responses were encouraged and welcomed. The appearances of the questionnaires were also reviewed to be less visually intimidating in order to enhance their approachability.

The questionnaires were also adjusted after respondents’ occasional written or verbal comments about parts that, for instance, slightly restricted their choice of responses. On other occasions, the order of response choices was adjusted, detecting that some respondents only read part way through a list and ignored a number of options that they would otherwise pick. There were a small number of respondents who were unable or unwilling to read some of the questions as they were intended. After adjusting the initial appearance of the questionnaires, some respondents were positive about its improved format, with good feedback about its redesign from those who constituted my focus group members/advisers.

⁶⁰ An example of the pilot questionnaires is in Appendix 2b.

The focus group was both helpful and knowledgeable about my aims. They were an ex-market researcher (and now an English teacher); a natal woman with a strong familiarity (over ten years) with the Village; another young natal woman who regularly socialised with trans* women in the Village and was herself conducting academic qualitative research into transgenderism; a transvestic woman; and a transsexual woman. Both trans* women regularly socialise within the Village

However, there is acknowledgement that some people would incompletely answer the questionnaires no matter how they were redesigned. Although this situation was frustrating, it was, nonetheless, educational. Once the design of the questionnaires was completed, two SPSS 'sav' files were formatted from them, ready for inputting responses.

The Questionnaires

The first part of the questionnaires, called 'Personal Details', asks: 'Q1: Age', 'Q2: Education', 'Q3: In a Relationship?' (Q4 in the questionnaire for women socialising in the Village), 'Q4: Have Children?' (Q5 for women), 'Q5: What kind of job do you do?' (Q6 for women). Then 'Q6: When did you first 'come out' as transgendered?' (trans* questionnaire only), 'Q7: Where do you live?', and 'Q8: Sexuality' (Q3 for women).

For 'Q7: Where do you live?' it was aimed to ensure respondents' anonymity and the simplicity of the question by including a map of Greater Manchester with circular 'zones' superimposed. This map was downloaded from a website showing postal areas (Moss, 2005). In this situation, analysis was made to discover how potent

was the attraction of the Village (how far were respondents prepared to travel) and a link between having a family and home location.

The 'Sexuality' question was basic in the questionnaire for women ('Straight', 'Bisexual' or 'Lesbian') but for transgender people, it was known that, in most parts of the Village, trans* women of all identities mixed with one another. Thus, the choices were broader. Amongst them, 'Sexually attracted to cross-dressers/TGs' was added, aware from interviewees that several trans* women had expressed this desire. Few previous articles have quantified this phenomenon although Ekins (1997) has qualitatively investigated this.

Several of the interviews carried out during 2005 suggest that Internet use has become highly important to many trans* women. According to Suthrell (2004), there has been little accurate data gained concerning this:

Without the Internet, I'm 100% sure I would not be going clubbing [cross-dressed] or even gone out in the first place. It was the Internet and the links it gave in the first place that allowed me to make contact with other [trans* women]. I use the 'net to keep in contact with my many TV friends around the country, it's mostly chat-rooms that I use ... but I belong to a number of TV groups which I use if I need information on a TV related subject. I also have a lot of TVs contact me for information, from make-up, to dressing, to personal problems, and I use the sites, I belong to, to try and find the answers ... [T]he Internet has now developed into a kind of underground network for TVs, meaning we can pass information to individuals and groups very fast.

Julie – transvestite (2005)

Resultantly, questions were created to explore when and how frequently trans* women respondents gained Internet usage and the types of mutual support gained. It was planned to compare these questions with when the trans* women respondents 'came out of the closet'.

Several questions were included which concerned sexually related matters (Q8, Q13, Q15, Q17), aware of prior prejudices and confusions concerning a trans*

woman's connection with cross-dressing and sexual arousal. Some researchers have connected these issues intimately (Johnson, 2003) while some deny their relation within many trans* women (Bullough and Bullough, 1993). Given the common media portrayal of women in sexual contexts (such as *The Sun* and *The Star* newspapers and many mainstream magazines including *FHM* and *Cosmopolitan*), the connection between female attire and sexual arousal may be inescapable. I have encountered many MTF trans* people who exhibit their sexual feelings and cross-dressing explicitly. However, little contemporary data has been found that quantifies this openness. Consequently, this survey aims to enhance the investigations of this situation.

Internet usage was not used in the questionnaires aimed at natal women, as the primary survey aims are to explore motivations for coming into the Village. Additionally, it was decided to limit the size of the questionnaire so as not to demotivate the respondents (their questionnaires were carried out on Canal Street).

For trans* based questions concerning Village views (Q15, Q16 and Q17) it was aimed to understand the frequency (Q15) that trans* women go to the Village and their reasons (Q16) for doing so. The suggested reasons given for Q16 were based upon discourses with trans* women during 2004/5. Many examples were expressed of trans* women actively socialising with each other; of transphobic harassments faced by trans* women, including repeated on-street violence; of secretiveness (due to fears of discrimination); of meeting potential dates while transgender (both transsexual and transvestic women); and casual attendance by very confident trans* women who are attracted to the Village merely for socialising in the venues.

Q17 (Q12 for women) was designed to elicit possible attractions to the Village and consequences of attending there. This section was the most commonly reviewed

and redressed part of the questionnaires. Initially, ten ranges of suggestions were made for views about transgender people, lesbian women, gay men, straight women and straight men. Some people were apparently confused by some questions, discouraged by many and, as more knowledge and experience was gained, it was felt that some queries were unnecessary and/or too complicated. Therefore it was decided to express five to six questions per category.

At first 5 column choices of response were given (Peterson, 2000). However, he added “Despite the widely held belief that the proper number of rating scale categories should be 7 plus or minus 2 (probably traceable to Miller, 1956), no consensus exists on the appropriate number of categories” (63/4). Part way through my pilot survey, another category was added (and also within Q14 and Q11 for women). This was ‘Neutral or No opinion’. It was uncertain about putting this in, as this could give the respondent a choice that negates decisiveness. Later, it was suspected that different people could use this column and that for ‘Don’t know’ to mean the same thing. Accordingly figures derived from these sections must be taken with a certain amount of wariness in that the format of early questions will/may have produced different responses to those given in later versions of this questionnaire. However, this section (or a version of it) may produce useful answers as in using this questionnaire repeatedly in the future.

This connects with the methods of questionnaire gathering. Venues were approached about distributing the questionnaires amongst people in their premises. Some were unconcerned but others required prior authorisation. Additionally, it was considered that women might be unreceptive to interviewers approaching them in a venue in which they had entered to relax. As a result, it was decided to approach women on Canal Street. Together with this objective, a natal female friend assisted

me in gathering the data, seeing that many of the women were wary of an unfamiliar man approaching them. Consequently, my friend would often initially (jointly) interact with them, which seemed to make the asked respondents more comfortable. It was discussed beforehand how we would talk to the respondents and if any wished further explanations my friend would refer them to me. That situation never arose.

In addition, after the first data gathering, clipboards were obtained with a large plastic covered printed-paper expressing:

OFFICAL QUESTIONNAIRE GATHERING

Moreover, small information sheets were available, which respondents could take if they wished further information. These added tactics appeared to enhance people's curiosity and helpfulness. Unfortunately, due to the cold and rainy weather in April and May 2006, it was not able to gather many responses from women during this quantitative investigation.

Results From the Pilot Questionnaires

1) Questionnaires from transgender people in the Village

This section concerns the results taken from trans* women at the Concord. Attending this venue fails to assess all trans* women that go into the Village as many who do not go to this organisation. Nonetheless, many trans* women on their first ventures in the Village apparently initially attend this venue. It has been discovered that most respondents are married or in relationships. In the table below is information about types of expressed relationships:

Descriptives

			Statistic	Std. Error
Relationship status	Mean		.5185	.06863
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	.3809	
		Upper Bound	.6562	
	5% Trimmed Mean		.5206	
	Median		1.0000	
	Variance		.254	
	Std. Deviation		.50435	
	Minimum		.00	
	Maximum		1.00	
	Range		1.00	
	Interquartile Range		1.00	
	Skewness		-.076	.325
	Kurtosis		-2.072	.639

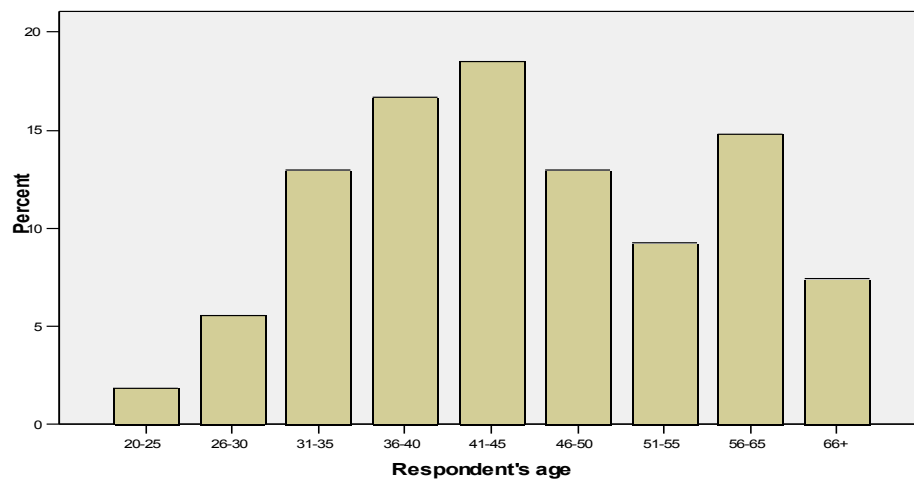
Thus, referring to this data, 51.9% of the trans* women in the survey are in a relationship. The proportion of their partners that are aware of their cross-dressing is unknown.

Respondent's age

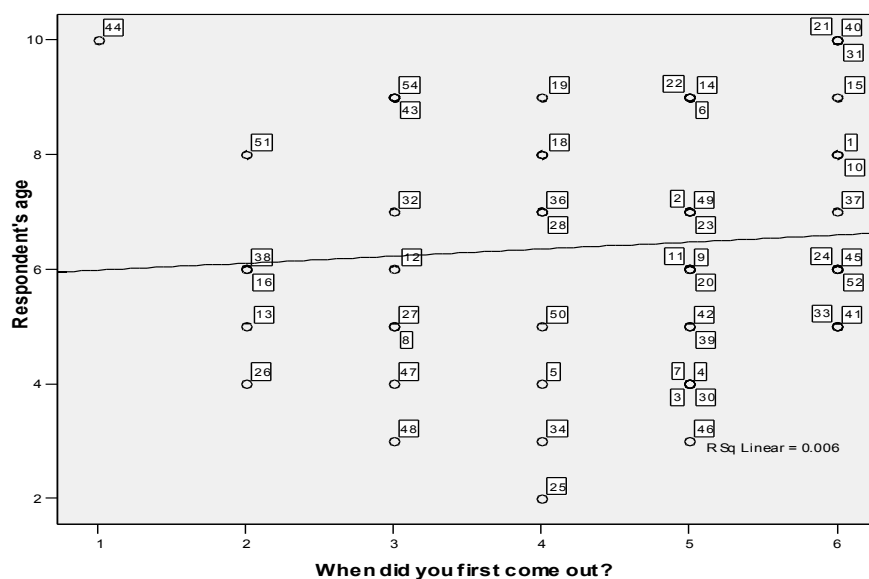
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20-25	1	1.8	1.9	1.9
	26-30	3	5.5	5.6	7.4
	31-35	7	12.7	13.0	20.4
	36-40	9	16.4	16.7	37.0
	41-45	10	18.2	18.5	55.6
	46-50	7	12.7	13.0	68.5
	51-55	5	9.1	9.3	77.8
	56-65	8	14.5	14.8	92.6
	66+	4	7.3	7.4	100.0
	Total	54	98.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.8		
Total		55	100.0		

Statistics

N	Valid	54
	Missing	1



This data suggests that, from a trans* woman's thirties, (s)he seems much more likely to attend the Concord. It was decided for future investigations to compose a graph of respondents' age and when they 'came out' so see if a link could be more clearly shown:



The graph suggests that there maybe a slight relationship between age and ‘coming out’ as transgender in public. A Linear regression and a Bivariate Correlation were conducted:

Model Summary(b)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.079(a)	.006	-.013	1.385

a Predictors: (Constant), Respondent's age

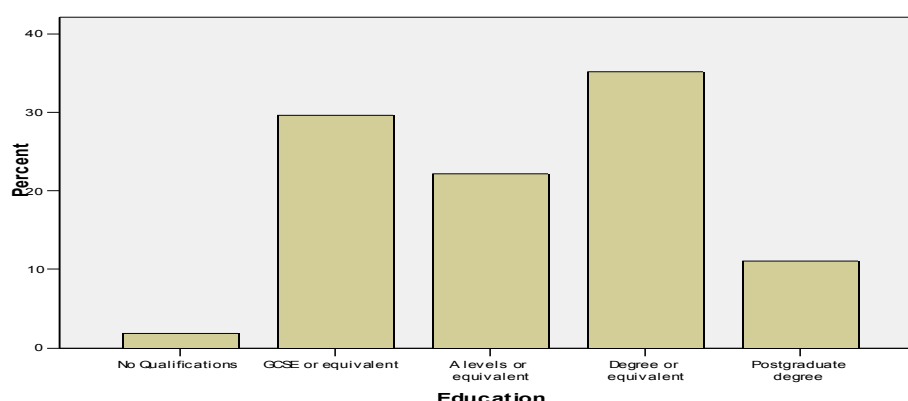
b Dependent Variable: When did you first come out?

Correlations

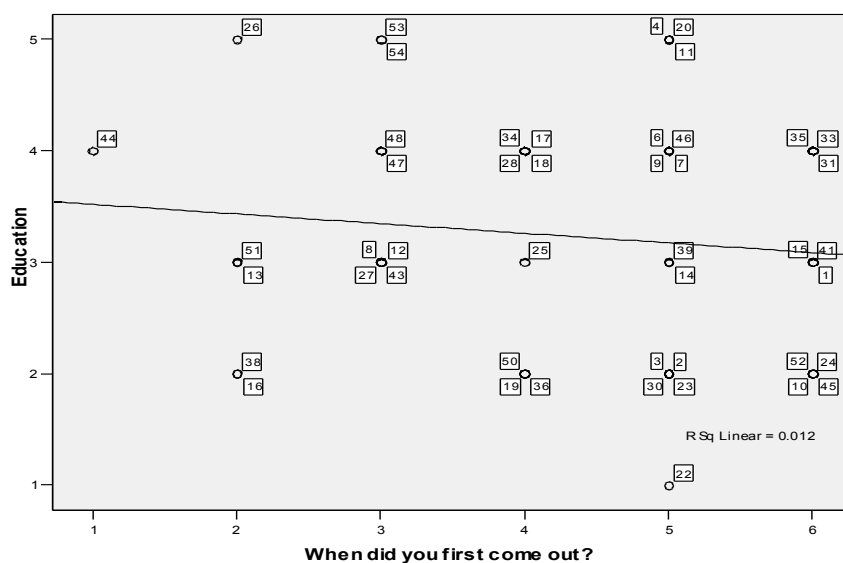
		Respondent's age	When did you first come out?
Respondent's age	Pearson Correlation	1	.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.572
	N	54	53
When did you first come out?	Pearson Correlation	.079	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.572	
	N	53	53

Peterson's R of 0.079 indicates that there is a weak link between these two variables. It is uncertain that, with a greater sample size, a clearer picture could be obtained. However, it seems that there are other factors that influence when a trans* woman chooses to 'come out'. Therefore, recalling the above interview extract with Julie, queries were effected regarding the potency of the Internet and the support of other trans* women online assisting trans* women to 'come out'. Interestingly, there appears to be no significant link between first having access to the Internet and 'coming out'. It may be that there is a link between 'coming out' and how a trans* woman accesses transgender support on the Internet (such as in Julie's case). Further research in this area may be useful.

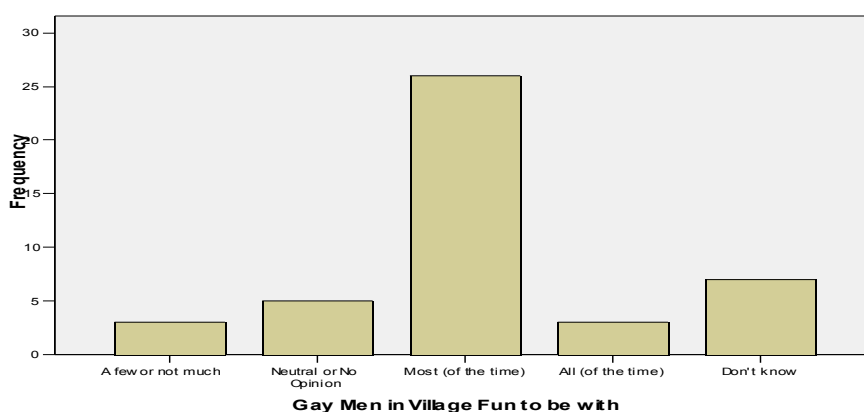
Any link between education and 'coming out' was considered:

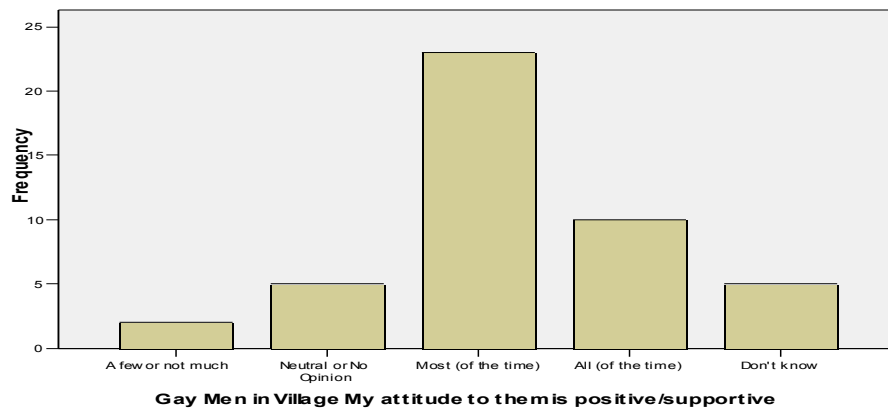


This graph above shows a notable number of the respondents had a high educational level. The respondents were randomly approached but this may suggest the composition of trans* women socialising in the Concord. There seems to be a moderate link between the two variables in that the greater the education the earlier the trans* person 'comes out' but again, without much greater sampling, this assumption should be taken with caution:



There was concern that the clientele in the Concord may be insular with not socialising in the other clubs and pubs in the Village. Thus the results could be restricted. However, the questions asked, which concerned views of other people within the Village, suggested that many respondents attend other venues. Below are examples concerning the perceptions of gay men in the area:





These three graphs above also show that a certain proportion of trans* women did not know about gay men, namely, 12.7%, 10.9% and 9.1%. The other questions concerning trans* women's views of gay men ('are gay men open-minded?' and 'are gay men sexy?') the 'Don't know' responses are 12.7% and 10.9% respectively. Several factors could affect a person's choice of answers but if we were to regard these figures as indicators of trans* women who have not regularly ventured into the Village (and so have not interacted with gay men in various venues) then in processing these five figures:

Descriptives

			Statistic	Std. Error
"Don't Know"s – gay men	Mean		11.2600	.67350
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	9.3901	
		Upper Bound	13.1299	
	5% Trimmed Mean		11.3000	
	Median		10.9000	
	Variance		2.268	
	Std. Deviation		1.50599	
	Minimum		9.10	
	Maximum		12.70	
	Range		3.60	
	Interquartile Range		2.70	
	Skewness		-.512	.913
	Kurtosis		-.612	2.000

It would seem that approximately 11.26% of the respondents at the Concord answer that they not know about gay men in the Village. The same comparisons were performed for the categories concerning lesbians (17.08%), straight women (10.90%), straight men (18.20%) and other TGs (4.72%). It could be that lesbian women are not as gregarious in the Village as gay men (and also as straight women socialising in the Village) so therefore a trans* woman would have less opportunity to meet lesbians. Straight men are allegedly rare in the Village - one natal female respondent alleged, "There are no straight men in the Village". So again, trans* women may be less likely to meet them. These figures were compared with the responses for when the MTF trans* people answering have 'come out'. Considering that this 'cross-tabulation' resulted in the generation of 26 tables, one table is presented below as an example. This is of trans* opinions about 'lesbians 'being nice/fun to be with':

When did you first come out? *
Lesbians in Village 'Fun/Nice to be with'

} Cross-tabulation

Count

		Lesbians in Village 'Fun/Nice to be with'						Total
		None or not at all	A few or not much	Neutral or No Opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know	
When did you first come out?	Very recently	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	In the last year	0	1	0	0	0	4	5
	1-2 years	1	1	1	3	1	0	7
	2-5 years	0	1	0	6	1	0	8
	5-10 years	0	1	2	4	4	3	14
	10+ years	0	1	3	3	0	1	8
Total		1	5	6	16	6	9	43

The results suggest that trans* women, who have only recently 'come out' answer, perhaps not surprisingly, 'Don't know' (a small but consistent number of respondents). However, a small number of MTF trans* respondents who have been 'out' for much longer also answer 'Don't know'. This led to processing cross-tabulations using a third variable. Thus, trans* respondents views about lesbians, gay man, straight women, straight men and other trans* women were compared with the second variable of when the trans* respondents 'came out' and then with the third variable of how often they socialised in the Village. Again this resulted in the creation of 26 tables and so just the table below is presented as an example:

‘When did you first come out?’ *
‘Lesbians in Village - Fun/Nice to be with’ *
‘How often do you go into the Village’



Cross-tabulation

Count

How often do you go into the Village?			‘Lesbians in Village – Fun/Nice to be with’						Total
			None or not at all	A few or not much	Neutral or No Opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know	
First time	When did you first come out?	In the last year						1	1
		Total						1	1
About 2 to 6 times a year	When did you first come out?	1-2 years			1	0	0	0	1
		5-10 years			1	0	3	1	5
		10+ years			1	1	0	1	3
		Total			3	1	3	2	9
Once a month	When did you first come out?	In the last year			0	0	0	1	1
		2-5 years			0	1	0	0	1
		5-10 years			1	2	1	1	5
		10+ years			1	1	0	0	2
		Total			2	4	1	2	9
Once a fortnight	When did you first come out?	In the last year	0	0			0	2	2
		1-2 years	1	0			1	0	2
		5-10 years	0	1			0	1	2
		10+ years	0	1			0	0	1
		Total	1	2			1	3	7
Once a week	When did you first come out?	In the last year		1		0	0		1
		1-2 years		1		2	0		3
		2-5 years		1		4	1		6
		5-10 years		0		1	0		1
		10+ years		0		1	0		1
		Total		3		8	1		12
Several times a week	When did you first come out?	Very recently			0	0		1	1
		1-2 years			0	1		0	1
		5-10 years			0	1		0	1
		10+ years			1	0		0	1
		Total			1	2		1	4

From this table, three trans* women who have been ‘out’ 5-10 years and one who ‘came out’ 10+ years ago, answer ‘Don’t know’. It should be noted that, at this point, several trans* respondents partly or completely failed to complete these questions asking about people that they meet in the Village. I have sometimes stood next to respondents as they completed the questionnaire. Many completely ignore parts, particularly those asking their views about other people in the Village, putting no

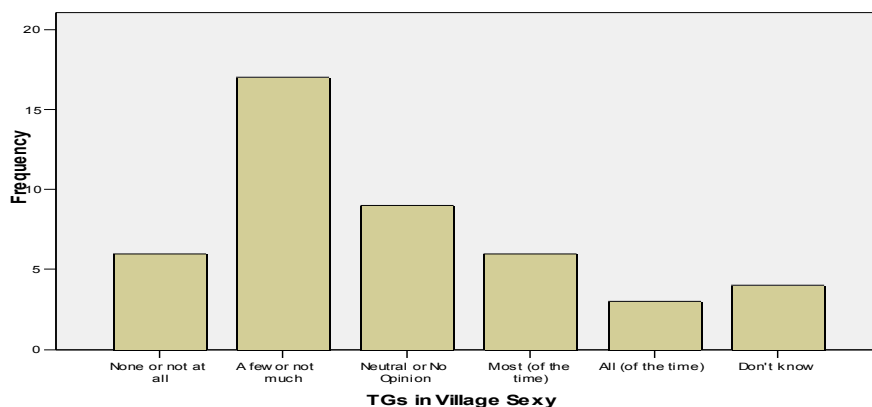
comments on these sections indicating why. They usually expressed that these parts are not relevant to them, as they have no applicable knowledge. These parts within incomplete questionnaires number between 8 and 14. If these are added to the 'Don't know' responses then, concerning the tables above for example, 'Lesbians in Village - Fun/Nice to be with', a total of 21 (9 'Don't know' responses and 12 unfilled) were not able to assess this part of the questionnaire, which then means that over a third of respondents were not knowledgeable about this area. This gives a potentially very different picture of transgender people who socialize in the 'Northern Concord'. This, however, is an incomplete observation.

As mentioned earlier, from personal observations and interviews, many trans* women go from the Concord into other clubs that cater for all people that frequent the Village. Many go to socialise in the clubs AXM and Napoleons. The latter club attracts people of a wide variety of gender identities and sexualities. Thus trans* women going there could interact with lesbians, gay men, straight women, straight men and other trans* people. From this viewpoint, a greater understanding of the perspectives of trans* women in these questionnaires and those in the Village would be worth further investigation. One theory is that these different groups are aware of each other but do not always interact. MTF trans* people will predominantly interrelate with other trans* women, just as it has been observed that many gay men in the Village interact only with other gay men. Discourses with gay men in the Village have been made who seem to be naive about transgender issues. Mary expresses an opinion about gay men and heterosexual non-cross-dressing men that seems to conform with this theory:

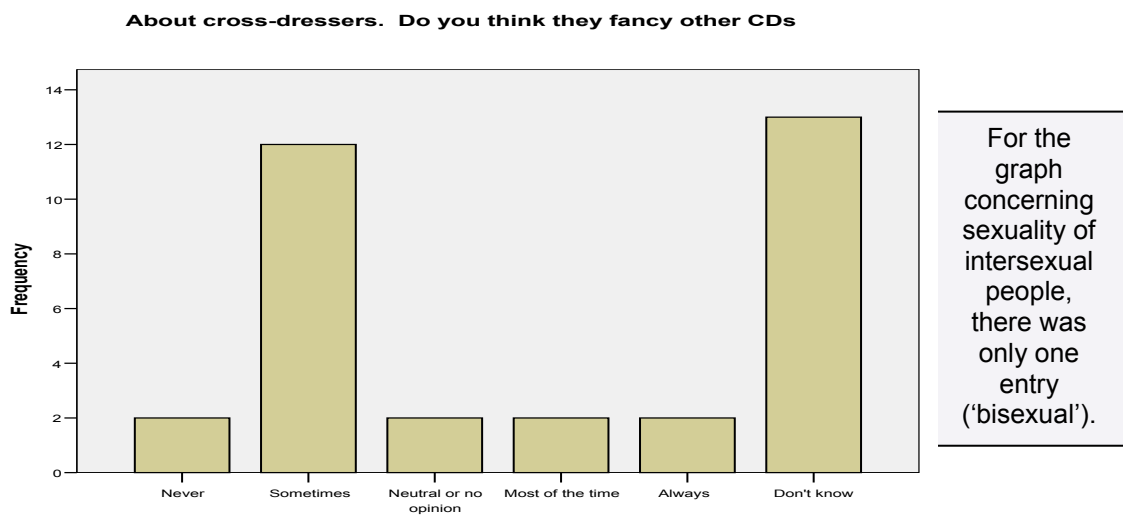
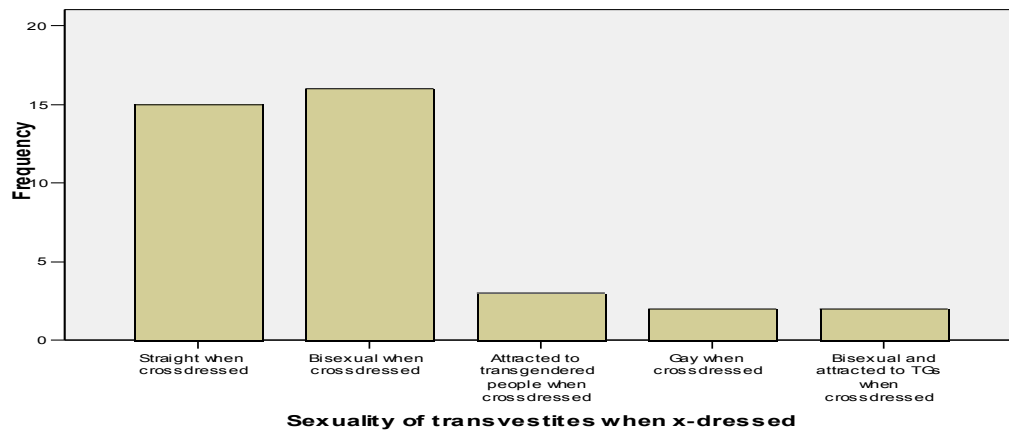
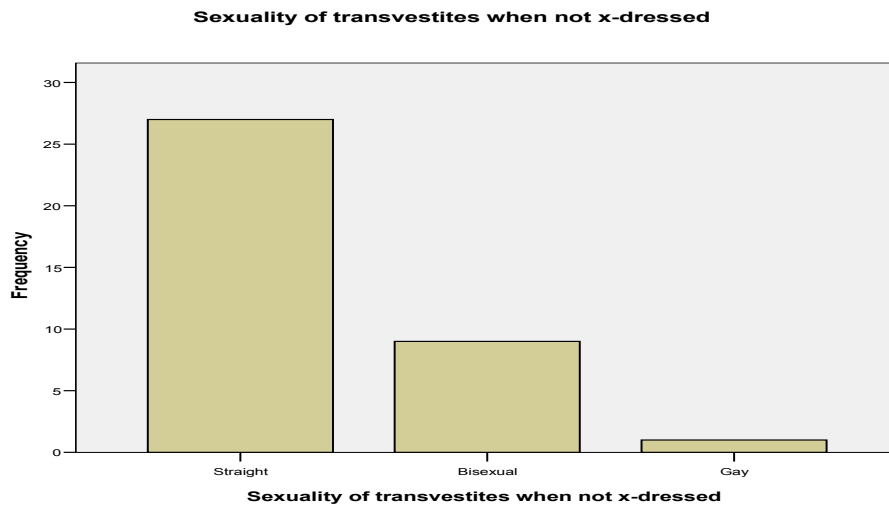
[They] just avoid us. We don't clash. The ones who don't like trannies just keep out the way ... they're not aggressive ... The hardest thing to deal with are the bigoted bloody heterosexuals. The ones that get together in a group. They want a fight. Gay people aren't like that ... I don't really like men, real men like that. I don't feel comfortable.

Mary – transvestite (2005)

If this theory is correct then many trans* women who do not go to the Concord will also answer that they do not know about other groups in the Village. Only with further interactions with more respondents could this be clearer. While the 'Don't know' responses about the views by trans* women about other MTF trans* people are small there is an interesting variation. The 'Don't know' responses are 3.6%, 5.5%, 3.6%, 7.3%, 3.6% and 3.6%. The outstanding figure of 7.3% refers to trans* women being viewed as sexy:



Attempting to uncover possible reasons, the responses to Q7: Sexuality was considered:



the last two graphs above recall previous assessments by Bulough and Bullough

(1993) in their reviews of two surveys from 1981 of American and Australian transvestites. They expressed that 89% and 72% were heterosexual, which fell to 52% and 56% when they were cross-dressed (1993: 295). In my survey, it was found that 73% of the transvestites considered themselves heterosexual, with that figure falling to 39.5% when they were cross-dressed. Other parts of the questionnaire were examined that related to sexual perceptions:

‘Sexuality’ *

‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’

} Cross-tabulation

			‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’			Total
			Never	Sometimes	Often	
Sexuality	‘Straight when cross-dressed’	Count	8	2	2	12
		% within ‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’	53.3%	22.2%	33.3%	40.0 %
	‘Bisexual when cross-dressed’	Count	4	6	3	13
		% within ‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’	26.7%	66.7%	50.0%	43.3 %
	‘Attracted to transgendered people when cross-dressed’	Count	2	1	0	3
		% within ‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’	13.3%	11.1%	.0%	10.0 %
	‘Gay when cross-dressed’	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within ‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’	6.7%	.0%	.0%	3.3%
	‘Bisexual’ and ‘attracted to TGs’ when cross-dressed ⁶¹	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within ‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’	.0%	.0%	16.7%	3.3%
		Count	15	9	6	30
Total		% within ‘What do you use the Internet for? - Searching for/Visiting erotic sites’	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0 %

There should be scepticism concerning these responses concerning erotica.

The Independent on Sunday newspaper presented a story about the common usage of

⁶¹ Here is the respondent who marked several parts within the section Q7: Sexuality. I was able to summarise hir (‘his/her’) marked categories as “bisexual” and “attracted to TGs” when cross-dressed.

Internet ‘porn’, saying “almost 40 per cent of the male population ... used pornographic websites last year” (Barnes and Goodchild, 29th May 2006:1). This suggests that the trans* respondents were either less motivated to view online pornography than many men or that they understated their use of pornography or that they presumed that the questionnaire was only asking about transgender pornography. This above table does seem to suggest that those that are bisexual when cross-dressed are more sexually motivated than cross-dressed heterosexuals when using the Internet. Their perception of others in the Village also differs:

**Sexuality of transvestites when cross-dressed *
Straight Women in Village Sexy** } **Cross-tabulation**

Count

		Straight Women in Village Sexy						Total
		None or not at all	A few or not much	Neutral or No Opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know	
Sexuality of transvestites when cross-dressed	Straight when cross-dressed	0	1	1	10	0	3	15
	Bisexual when cross-dressed	1	1	3	4	1	1	11
	Attracted to transgendered people when cross-dressed	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
	Gay when cross-dressed	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Bisexual and attracted to TGs when cross-dressed	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Total		1	2	5	19	1	4	32

**Sexuality of transvestites when cross-dressed *
TGs in Village Sexy** } **Cross-tabulation**

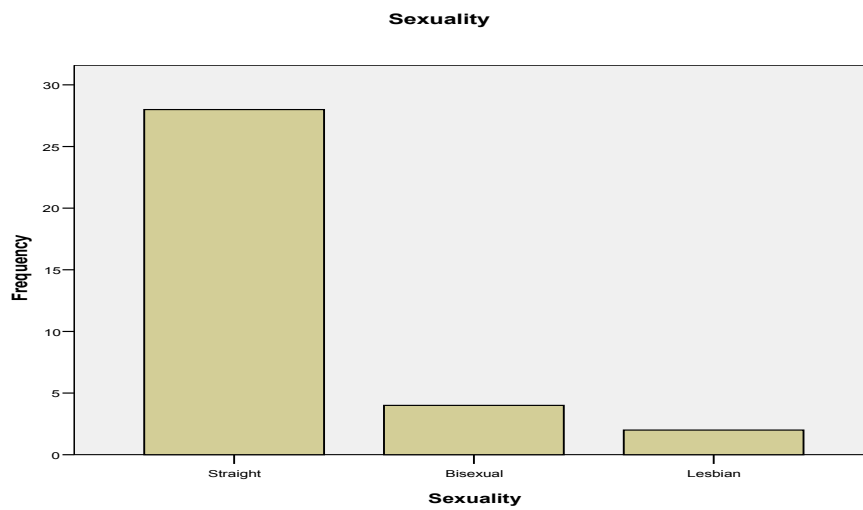
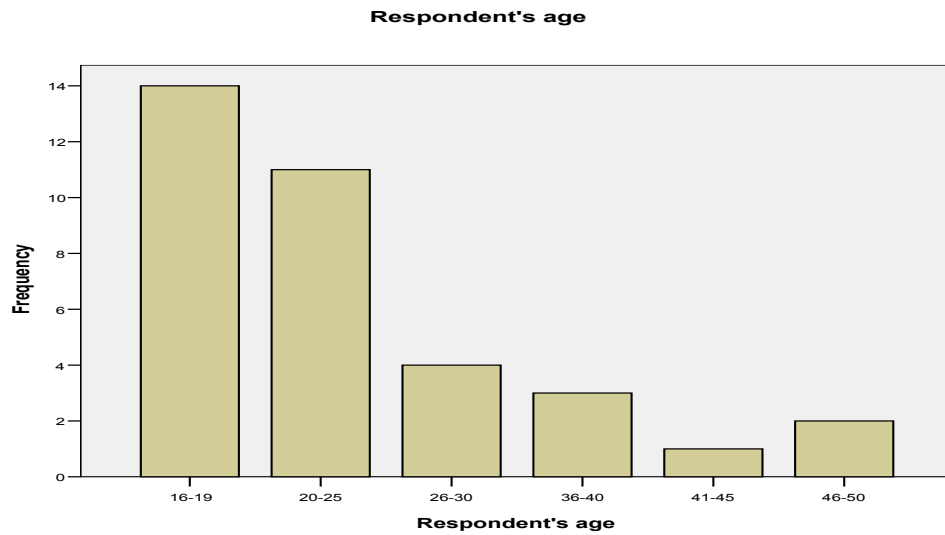
Count

		TGs in Village Sexy						Total
		None or not at all	A few or not much	Neutral or No Opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know	
Sexuality of transvestites when cross-dressed	Straight when cross-dressed	4	5	2	0	1	3	15
	Bisexual when cross-dressed	0	6	2	3	1	0	12
	Attracted to transgendered people when cross-dressed	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
	Bisexual and attracted to TGs when cross-dressed	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total		4	13	5	4	2	3	31

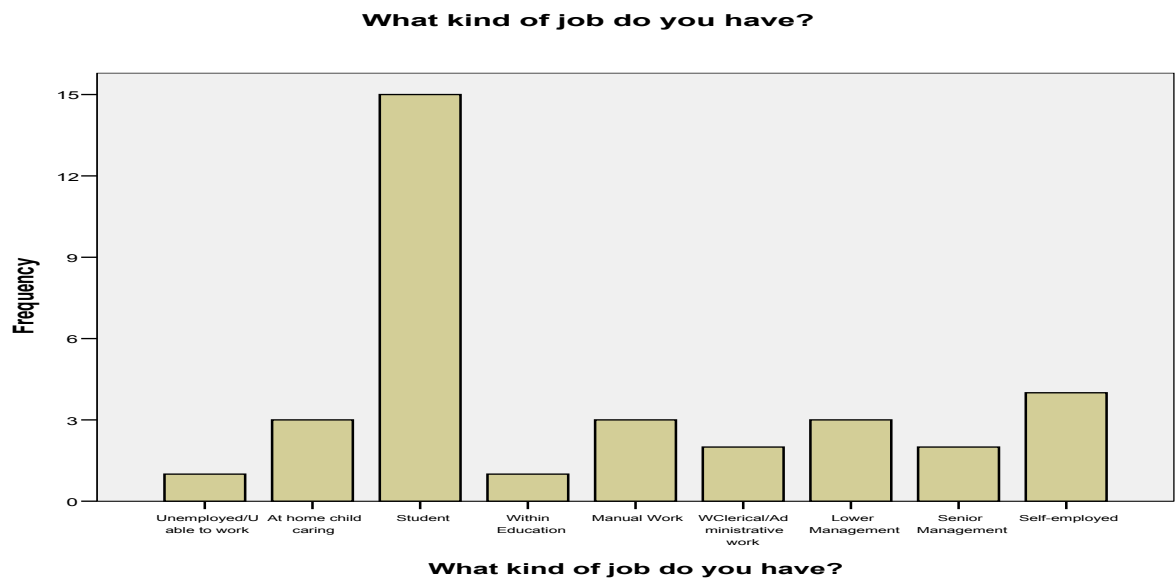
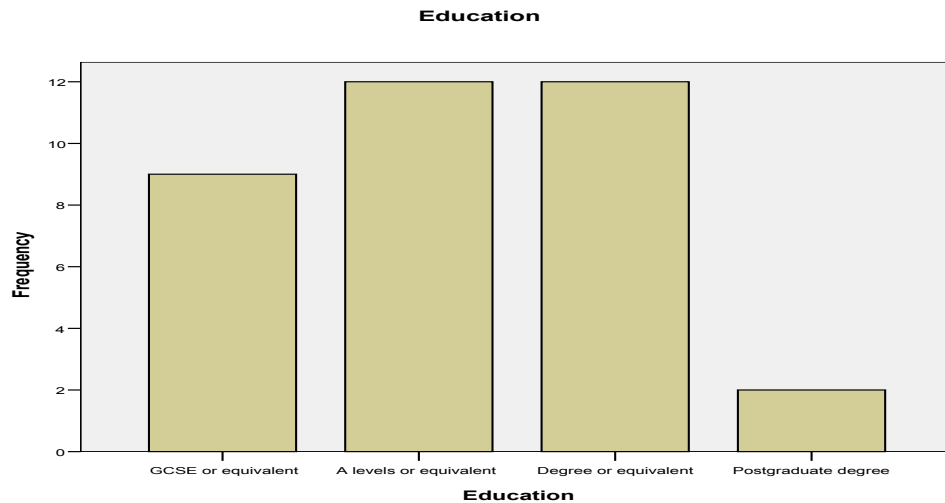
Here some heterosexual transvestic women view a number of trans* women as ‘sexy’ but they are more decisive in how they regard straight women. This perception contrasts with the gathered views from heterosexual natal female respondents in the Village.

2) - Questionnaires for Women in the Village

Considering the small number of responses from this questionnaire these figures only give suggestions and ideas as to the difficulties in this research and future directions of further investigations.

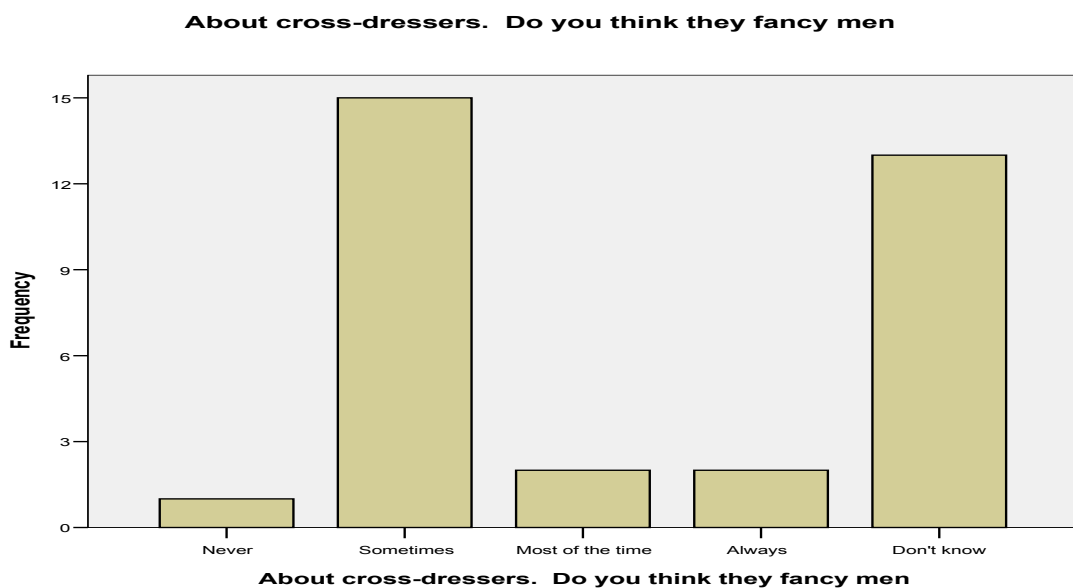
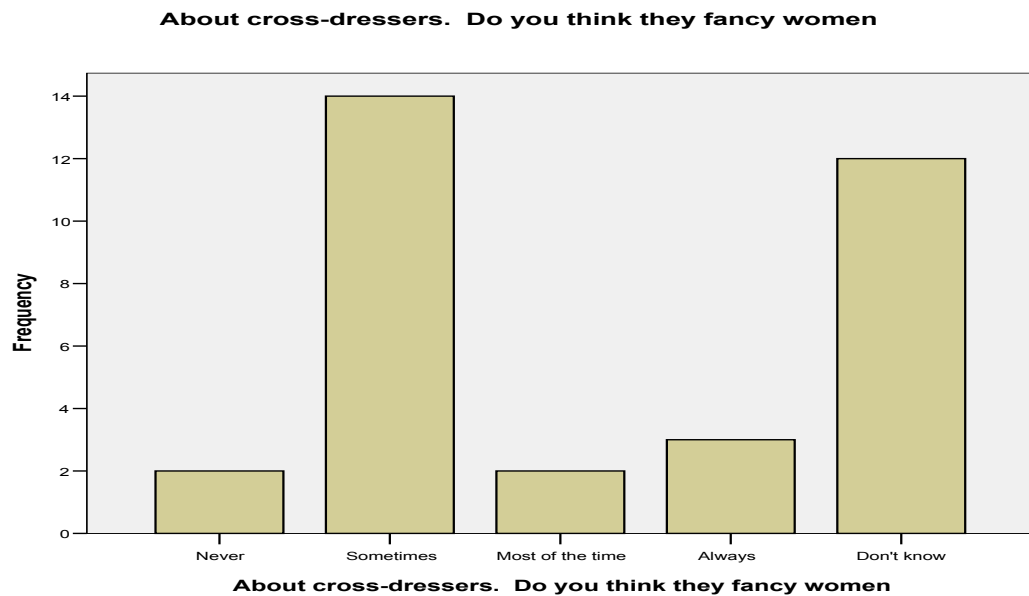


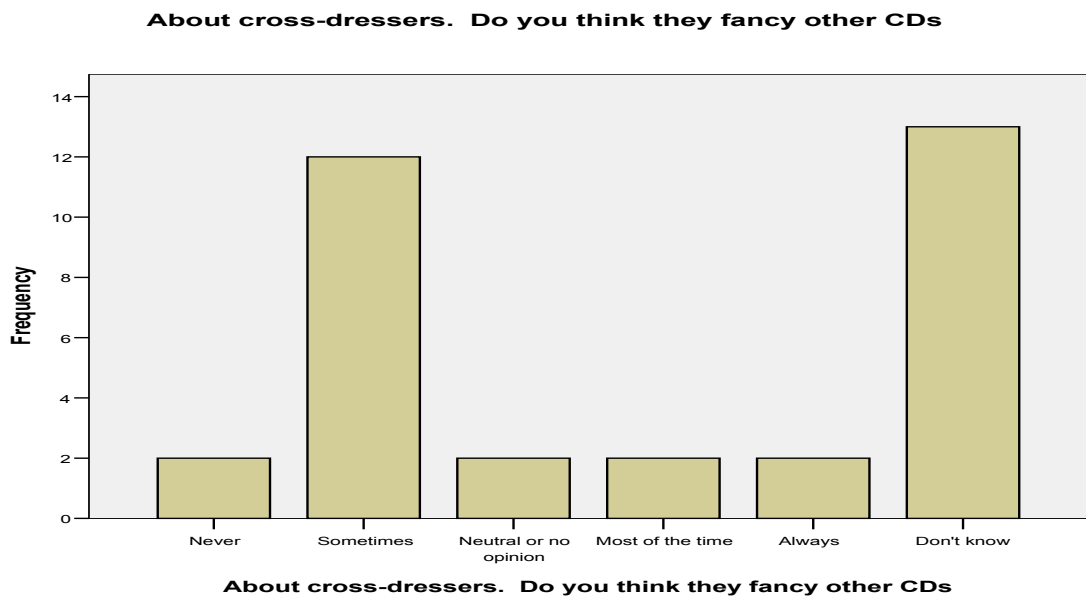
The age for the women replying is predominantly in late teens to early twenties. Most respondents are heterosexual. Education and employment were examined:



These graphs show that many of the respondents are highly educated and are students. While these women were approached randomly, there may be factors amongst those who were more willing to help in this questionnaire, which, resultantly, disables a completely random sampling.

The questionnaires were structured to ask general questions about people in the Village. However, the prominent investigations included perceptions of trans* women. One section explicitly concerns the view of ‘cross-dressers’. Several questions enquired about the sexuality of trans* women:





These graphs seem to suggest that many of the questioned women going into the Village are aware that trans* women cannot be generalised as being homosexual. Additionally, the graphs show significant women who 'don't know' which seems to reinforce the previous suggestion that different groups of people in the Village often do not interact.

I wished to assess how women in the Village view others as 'sexy'

Sexuality *
Straight Women in Village Sexy

} Cross-tabulation

Count

		Straight Women in Village Sexy					Total
		None or not at all	Neutral or no opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know	
Sexuality	Straight	4	4	6	4	8	26
	Bisexual	2	0	1	0	0	3
	Lesbian	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total		6	4	7	5	8	30

Sexuality *
TGs in Village Sexy

} Cross-tabulation

Count

		TGs in Village Sexy						Total
		None or not at all	A few or not much	Neutral or no opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know	
Sexuality	Straight	6	4	1	5	3	6	25
	Bisexual	2	0	0	0	0	2	4
	Lesbian	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		8	4	1	5	3	9	30

It would seem from these above tables that the range of responses by women is similar as to how they perceive other straight women and trans* women as 'sexy'. This contrasts with the responses from heterosexual MTF cross-dressers. Perhaps the women dispassionately observe a femininely dressed person as 'sexy'. Many of these cross-dressers seem to view feminine glamour from a male perspective even though they are cross-dressed. Many may not view 'sexiness' neutrally. This however, would require further investigations to gain more accurate information concerning this.

Conclusion

The creation of these questionnaires and their processing has been problematic. Their creation and processing has been intensive, complicated, difficult, prone to uncertainties but educational. Furthermore, the extensive data gathered has been informative. Consequently, it has been a useful exercise and one, which has had a direct and positive influence upon the research of transphobia and support for trans* women socialising in the Village.

In this appendix it has been demonstrated that the Village area is not only supportive for LGB people but it is also the host for the notable trans* support organisation Northern Concord, which provides a safe and supportive social 'space', resisting societal transphobia. The regard that the Village itself is a partial refuge from transphobic harassments is perhaps suggested by hosting the large trans* celebratory event Sparkle in 2006 and by the trans* women that travel great distances to socialise in this area.

This quantitative research has suggested that trans* identities are varied and that natal women in the Village may support trans* women. It has suggested by the investigations that Internet usage by trans* people may be an important aspect to their support online and enabling socialising in the Village and that further explorations of this matter would be informative. There may be a link between education level and overt expression of transgenderism. However, it has been suggested that Northern Concord respondents may be insular. Trans* people appear to rarely interact with LGB people. Sexualities do appear to vary amongst cross-dressers according to how they present themselves but there is wariness about this suggestion.

It has been suggested that natal women socialise in the Village, who often are young students, seem to have limited awareness of transgenderism in this area. It has been recognised that despite this area being regarded as an escape from patriarchal gender and sexuality stereotypes, they seem influence perceptions of the people socialising in this area.

It has been identified that focus groups can be beneficial in order to gain additional information regarding enhancing the research. There is awareness of complications concerning sampling strategies as well. It has also been recognised within this research that Internet usage by trans* people is becoming influential in their interactions in reality.

Several trans* women have expressed a desire to see the results of this research and were enthusiastic about assisting my research, which included, on several occasions, motivating other trans* women who were friends/acquaintances to assist the data gathering. This has been similar to women completing the questionnaires. One or two women in a group would encourage their other companions to also complete questionnaires. As a result, several questionnaires would get produced simultaneously with only limited personal interactions.

**EXAMPLE
OF THE
PILOT QUESTIONNAIRES**

Appendix
2b

In this Appendix are images of one of the pilot questionnaires utilised during April to May 2006 for the quantitative analyses of trans* and natal women socialising in Manchester's Gay Village.

Below is an example of the six page questionnaires given to MTF trans* people to complete:

Questioning Transgendered People in Manchester's 'Gay Village'

Wednesday Friday Saturday

ALL ANSWERS GIVEN IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE ARE

COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL

AND WILL ONLY BE USED IN ACADEMIC RESEARCH. ANY ENQUIRIES WILL BE WELCOMED AND ANSWERED AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE.

IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS PLEASE WRITE ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AS YOU FEEL.

Personal Details:

Q1: Age:

1	16-19	
2	20-25	
3	26-30	
4	31-35	
5	36-40	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
6	41-45	
7	46-50	
8	51-55	
9	56-65	
10	66+	

Q2: Education:

1	No qualifications	
2	GCSE or equivalent	
3	A levels or equivalent	
4	Degree or equivalent	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5	Postgraduate degree	
6		
7		

Q3: In a relationship?

1	Single	
2	In a relationship	
3	Married	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4	In multiple relationships	
5	Divorced	
6	Widowed	

Q4: Have children?

1	Yes	
2	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Q5: What kind of job do you do? (tick all that apply)

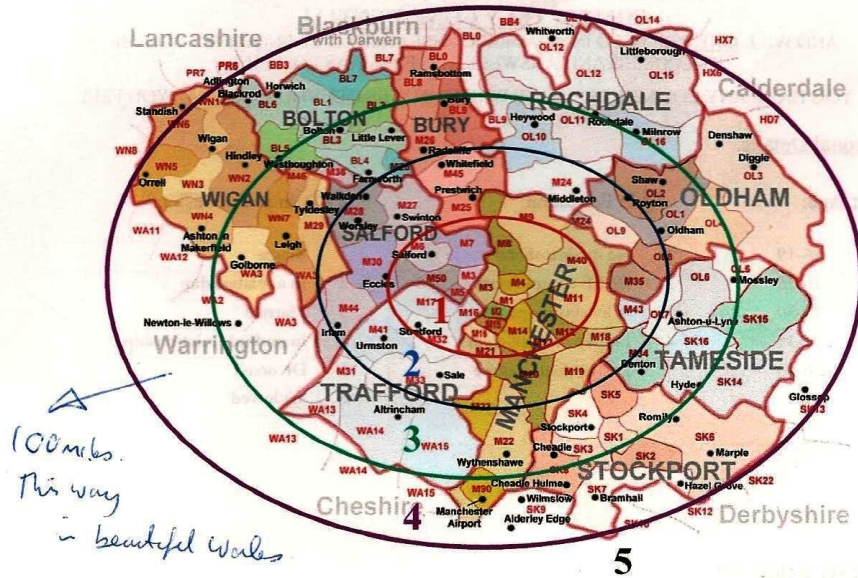
1	Unemployed/Unable to work	
2	At home child caring	
3	Student	
4	Manual work	
5	Clerical/Administrative Support	
6	Lower Management	
7	Senior Management	
8	Self-employed	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9	Other:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Q6: When did you first 'come out' as transgendered?

1	Very recently	
2	In the last year	
3	1-2 years	
4	2-5 years	
5	5-10 years	
6	10+ years	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

[Handwritten signature]

Q7: Where are you from?



1	Zone 1	
2	Zone 2	
3	Zone 3	
4	Zone 4	
5	Zone 5 – Outside Manchester	✓

Q8: Sexuality
(tick all that apply):

For TRANVESTITES/CROSS-DRESSERS:	
1	Straight when not cross-dressed <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2	Bisexual when not cross-dressed <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3	Gay when not cross-dressed <input type="checkbox"/>
4	Straight (attracted to women) when cross-dressed <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5	Bisexual when cross-dressed <input type="checkbox"/>
6	Sexually attracted to crossdressers/TGs <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
7	Gay (attracted to men) when cross-dressed <input type="checkbox"/>
For TRANSSEXUALS:	
8	Straight (attracted to men) as a transgendered woman <input type="checkbox"/>
9	Bisexual as a transgendered woman <input type="checkbox"/>
10	Sexually attracted to crossdressers/TGs <input type="checkbox"/>
11	Lesbian as a transgendered woman <input type="checkbox"/>
For INTERSEXUALS:	
12	Born intersexual <input type="checkbox"/>
13	'Self-made' intersexual <input type="checkbox"/>
14	Attracted to men <input type="checkbox"/>
15	Bisexual <input type="checkbox"/>
16	Sexually attracted to crossdressers/TGs <input type="checkbox"/>
17	Attracted to women <input type="checkbox"/>

Note:

I know these definitions can seem odd and some people may be unhappy with them. I have defined them so that I can use a computer program (SPSS) to compare the answers with others in this questionnaire. If you don't fit comfortably into any of these categories either write your own definitions or/and talk to me/us and we'll try to change things for you.

TGs =
transgendered people =
transvestites, transsexuals,
intersexuals etc.

The Internet:

Q9: Do you use the internet?

1	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Please go to Q10
2	No <input type="checkbox"/>	Please go to Q16

Q10: How often do you go on the internet for personal use?

1	Never	Please go to Q16
2	Rarely	
3	1 to 3 times a month	
4	1 to 5 times a week <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
5	1+ times a day	

Q11: When did you first have access to the internet for personal use?

1	In the last year	
2	1-2 years	
3	2-5 years	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4	5-10 years	
5	10+ years	

Q12: Each time you go on the internet for personal use how long do you spend on average?

1	Less than 1 hour	
2	1-2 hours	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3	2-5 hours	
4	5+ hours	

Q13: What do you use the internet for?
(tick all that apply):

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know
1 Chatting with people	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
2 Shopping for clothes/make-up etc			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
3 Arranging dates/meetings		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
4 Searching for transgender issues			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
5 Searching for erotic sites		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
Other:					
6					
7					

Q14: Do you use the internet to chat with transgendered friends?

1	Yes	Please go to Q15
2	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Please go to Q16

Q15: What do you talk about with transgendered friends on the internet:

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	Don't know
1 Being cross-dressed					
2 Sexual fantasies					
4 work/homelife					
5 advice on make-up, clothing etc					
6 transgender issues					
7 arrangements for get-togethers					
8 non-transgender hobbies/interests					
9 television programmes on transgender issues					
10 general television programmes					
Others:					
11					

The 'Gay Village':

Q15: How often do you go to the Gay Village?

1	First time	
2	A couple to half a dozen times a	
3	Once a month	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4	Once a fortnight	
5	Once a week	
6	Several times a week	

Q16: Why did you go to the Village?
(tick all that apply)

1	Just for a change	
2	Can only cross-dress in places like this	
3	Safer for me/my friends	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4	Like the people in the Village	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5	Like the pubs/clubs	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
6	Got transgendered friends who often go	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
7	Looking for/Meeting a date	
8	Meeting partner	
	Other reasons:	
9		
10		

Q17: For people that you meet IN the Village:

	MEETING Other cross-dressers IN the 'Village'	None Or Not at all	A few Or Not much	Neutral Or No opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know
1	They're fun/nice to be with				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
2	They can be picked out/'read' as crossdressed		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
3	They're open-minded				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
4	They're sexy			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
5	Their attitude to me/us is positive/supportive				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
6	My attitude to them is positive/supportive				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

	MEETING <u>Lesbian women</u> IN the 'Village'	None Or Not at all	A few Or Not much	Neutral Or No opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know
1	They're fun/nice to be with			✓			
2	They're open-minded		✓				
3	They're sexy		✓				
4	Their attitude to me/us is positive/supportive			✓			
5	My attitude to them is positive/supportive			✓			

	MEETING <u>Gay men</u> IN the 'Village'	None Or Not at all	A few Or Not much	Neutral Or No opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know
1	They're fun/nice to be with				✓		
2	They're open-minded				✓		
3	They're sexy		✓				
4	Their attitude to me/us is positive/supportive				✓		
5	My attitude to them is positive/supportive				✓		

	MEETING <u>Straight women</u> IN the 'Village'	None Or Not at all	A few Or Not much	Neutral Or No opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know
1	They're fun/nice to be with				✓		
2	They're open-minded				✓		
3	They're sexy				✓		
4	Their attitude to me/us is positive/supportive				✓		
5	My attitude to them is positive/supportive					✓	

	MEETING <u>Straight men</u> IN the 'Village'	None Or Not at all	A few Or Not much	Neutral Or No opinion	Most (of the time)	All (of the time)	Don't know
1	They're fun/nice to be with		✓				
2	They're open-minded		✓				
3	They're sexy		✓				
4	Their attitude to me/us is positive/supportive		✓				
5	My attitude to them is positive/supportive			✓			

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

Below is an example of the five page questionnaires given out for natal women to complete:

THE ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRES FOR TRANS* AND TRANS* FRIENDLY IDENTITIES

The quantitative experiences detailed in Appendix 2 have assisted my qualitative analysis of transgenderism. My extensive quantitative and qualitative studies abilities have enabled designing suitable international questionnaires regarding trans* people. I liaised with Katie Glover, the organiser for the Gender Society website, which seems to have a substantial international membership (Glover, 2012). Resulting from this liaison, I designed six different multiple-choice trans* themed questionnaires in November/December 2006, which were hosted on this website from 2nd January 2007 to approximately 12th December 2010. As I co-own these questionnaires and I am able to quote them within my qualitative sociological research examined in this thesis.

While my qualitative research analyses localised data, these quantitative questionnaires produce information that is international. These questionnaires concern:

- ‘Significant Others’ [49 questions]
 - Partners of trans* people.
- FTM transsexual people [80 questions]
- MTF transsexual people [84 questions]
- MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists [83 questions]
 - I gave three definitions in order to identify trans* people who did not identify as transsexual.
- FTM transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists [75 questions]
 - I gave three definitions in order to identify trans* people who did not identify as transsexual.
- ‘Trans Admirers’ [50 questions]
 - Individuals who are attracted to trans* people.

(Middlehurst, Jul. 2011)

These multiple-choice questions were designed to enable quick completion by respondents. The questions were phrased and arranged in the questionnaires to maximise productive responses. Some questions were deliberately intended to be subtle, such as those that included options that seemed to repeat certain queries. However, this was deliberate in order to check the consistency of the respondents' answers.

Shortly after they were launched on the Gender Society website, there were comments by a few trans* people who were concerned about the appropriateness of my knowledge. With courteous interactions with them, they were reassured that my design of these questionnaires was guided by personal experience and by ethical values.

The questionnaires gained 390,227 data inputs from the respondents. Some provisional data has been partially re-presented in articles on the Gender Society website, predominantly to encourage more respondents. The article featured below is partially copied from the paper that was presented to Government representatives on Sunday 10th July 2011 at Sparkle 2011. The contents of this article are gathered from the presently complete data gathering prior to processing them in more depth through the SPSS statistical analysis computer program. This article does not use the 'trans*' term so the applications of 'trans' in it derive from the abbreviation of 'transgender' and not references to gender transitioning.

The Six Transgender Identity Questionnaires

It's a strange feeling for me knowing that these online questionnaires have closed for now. They may be re-launched at a future date. Firstly, the present data will be assessed and then other areas may need to be touched upon that were not detailed in the original questionnaires. Tell us what you think! What's important to you? Please contact me.

At the moment I'm working very hard on my PhD about transgender ('trans') people in Manchester's Gay Village. Though, I feel that name is becoming less and less relevant now - more of a 'Gay friendly Village' as one interviewee said to me. I am finding that I am combining some of my PhD work with these questionnaires, which was inevitable. Whilst they are not formally linked, one does inform the other.

In previous reviews, I mentioned that the questionnaires were designed to be processed through the sophisticated program SPSS. It allows presenting further and more detailed interesting results. The time constraints of my PhD have slowed down my analysis. This may be partly remedied when I am close to a completion date for my studies.

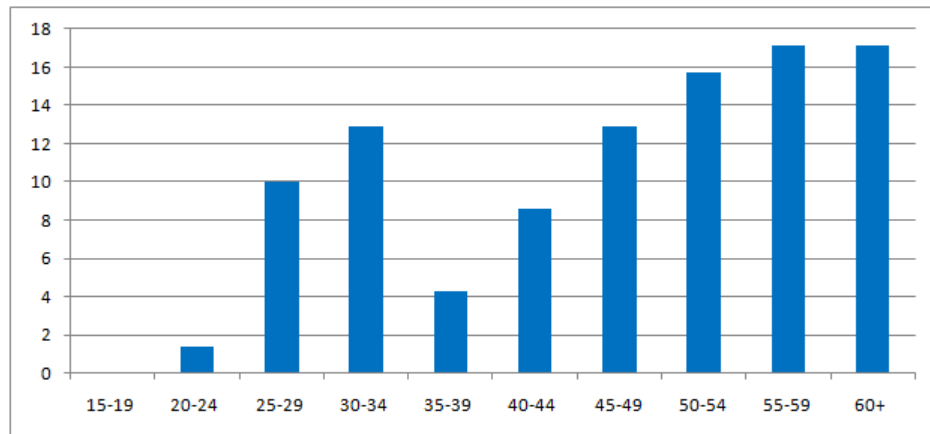
I can barely believe what's happened over the last ... eight years - I have to check in my head! Yep. Late 2003 I began my Masters in Gender Studies. There, I chose to write about trans people, simply because ... I'm trans and I've made so many special trans friends in Manchester and beyond. On msn, I regularly chat with a trans woman who lives in the US. She does lot of work in New York, researching for a writer. I got to know her after she emailed me saying she'd done one of these questionnaires and asked could she help in some way. Now, she's become a friend.

So, what am I going to write about the questionnaires here? What's due to happen with them? There are several options that are in the pipeline connected with serious support and recognition for your efforts. I cannot say in detail what they are because final decisions are yet to be made.

So let's look at some more present results from them.

Firstly, I will show some results that are a little different from my previous articles. Let's start by looking at Female To Male (FTM) trans people. Why you ask? You'd be surprised.

Age ranges:



It's interesting that seemingly in two patterns the numbers increase with age – those from 20 to 34 and those 35 to 60+. This could be a blip in the results that might not be obvious in a larger sample. However, I wonder if there maybe some significant social factor going on here affecting gender expression. Looking at the age ranges, I could guess some issues during the late 1980s, early 1990s but I can only be more certain following interviews.

As with Male-To-Female (MTF) trans people, the educational levels of FTM trans people are above average. Reviewing results of those having at least an undergraduate degree, we find:

40% of FTM trans people

34% of MTF transsexual people

41% of MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists

I should stress again that educational levels do not always indicate intellectual levels. There will certainly be an educational bias of doing this sort of data collection. Now, the first two figures differing by 6% is quite curious. Could that indicate a closer

educational range for respondents who identify as MTF transsexual people to normal variations? There is certainly some subtle factor playing here.

All this brings me onto talking about sample size and sample bias. This is a complex area of discussion. So-called medical 'experts' often give major conclusions about us resulting from extremely small sample sizes. I've read conclusions based upon results gained from studying just seven individuals. I've read PhDs with massive generalisations about us as well and they're supposed to be less biased than medical 'experts'. There are some PhD writings concerning trans issues that have been excellent but several are quite insufficient in their data gathering.

The tests can also being shaped by the types of people chosen to assess. Past medical 'experts' for instance, have gained data from psychiatric patients analysed within hospitals. No chance of gaining realistic data there then...

Some sociologists try to get more complete data by studying individuals in heterosexual transvestite clubs. Yup, this has happened. Several times. AND they were full of assumptions and judgements.

Much larger sample sizes have been gained - 1073 on one occasion. However, they were limited by not being international and only gained from 'acceptable' respondents. Assessors with their own criteria set them up. One who was notably homophobic and against any suggestion of trans sexual issues - contradicting her own written trans experiences. The other being infamous for his conclusions about trans people...

So is my data better? Well the samples sizes are large and international. (Thank you!) I should note that I've not quoted survey data from the 'significant others' questionnaire I've designed because the sample size is far too small. A shame really but as a lot of us are aware that many significant others either aren't aware of their partners' trans identities or chose not to be (or are not) actively involved. The above FTM data combined both FTM transsexual people and FTM transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists. I would have liked to have much bigger data here to use. However, a lot of FTM trans people aren't interested in any sites that have any connections with femininity which sadly meant the collective nature of these

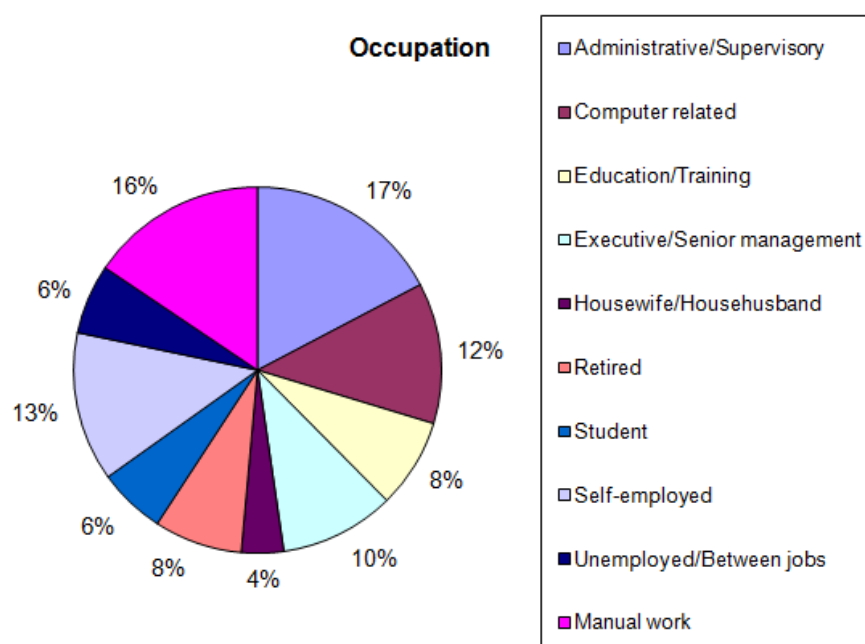
questionnaires on a site with a large MTF membership could have inhibited FTM trans participants. At some stage I'd like to discuss the data collection in texts but only in a more general way and not drawing major conclusions from such a small sample size.

Data size is largest from MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists, then MTF transsexual people and then 'Trans Admirers'.

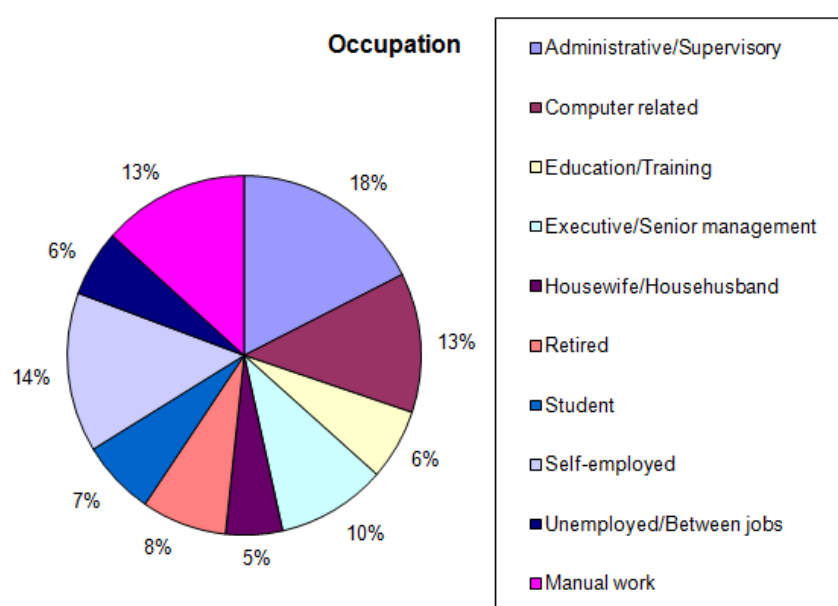
Coincidentally, I've recently met several 'Trans Admirers' just recently (met not dated!). One woman, who was in her late teens when I met her, I found she was attracted to MTF trans people. She's bisexual and now in her early 20s. I have a friend who doesn't cross-dress himself but his girlfriend admits that she fancies MTF cross-dressers. I've met FTM transsexual people who fancy some MTF trans people. I've met some women who identify as lesbian but are also attracted to trans people (some to MTF trans people; some to FTM trans people). I should add that many lesbians have an indifference to MTF trans people. Some are strongly against us, which is ironic because mainstream societal prejudice against trans people and against women comes from the same source.

That's enough of me going on about statistics and stuff! Let's deal with more actual data results!

MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists:

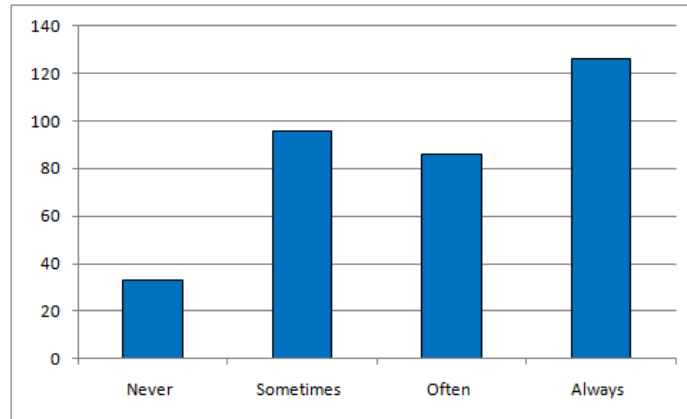


MTF transsexual people:

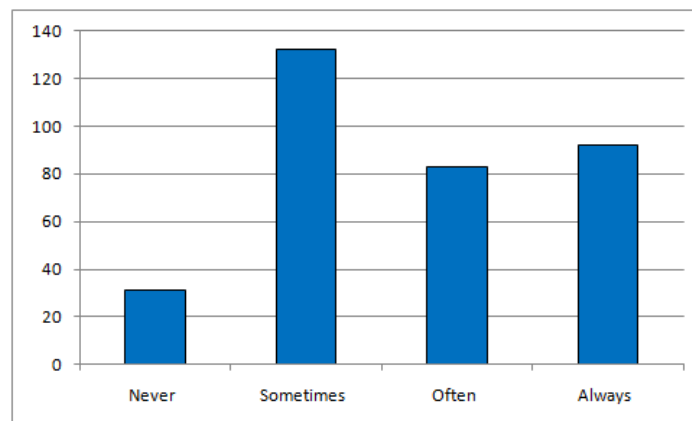


The ranges of occupations here are extremely similar. Again, this perhaps re-emphasises that, to some extent, all trans people are gender dysphoric.

Look at these tables concerning MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists. Here, I asked ‘Do you feel more relaxed cross-dressed than in male mode?’:



Now I need to stress here that I'm not suggesting for a moment that MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists will transition. Most will not. For many transitioning will never be the correct choice. Now consider this table in response to the question 'Do you feel more confident cross-dressed than in male mode?'



The response is not so definite for being relaxed. I can think of possible reasons for this variation but I would need more information coming from face to face interviews.

The first table does clearly suggest that MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists also feel gender dysphoria, some stronger than others. Perhaps it is not so strong that they wish to transition. As I have written before, my own first memory of cross-dressing is when I was four years old and cross-dressed quite a number of times before puberty. So my cross-dressing was definitely not related to sexual feelings! I strongly considered transitioning when I was 24 but I decided not to for several reasons. I do not regret my decision. Just recently, a post-

operative transsexual friend expressed to me that if I decided to transition she would support me. I still will not transition. My work for other trans people (and my environmental work as well) is far more important than me.

I did wonder if, perhaps, the two pie charts shown previously give a possible clue about many trans people's self perceptions and how they regard the various forms of transgenderism.

I'll explain specifically what I theorise may be an influence. 'Out of the closet' transsexual people often encounter significant (unfair, unwarranted) prejudice. That prejudice by many in the mainstream conventional societies denies many trans people employment (and residence etc.) security. Many trans people are too aware of this situation and it is even more pronounced in countries, like the US, where security from the benefits system or medical support to transition are unavailable or have limited availability. Many who regard themselves as transsexual do not dare to be 'out' for fear of losing that security, plus losing the financial ability to have surgeries to assist transitioning.

I would suggest then that many trans people are not (completely) 'out' and that includes many of those who define themselves as transsexual.

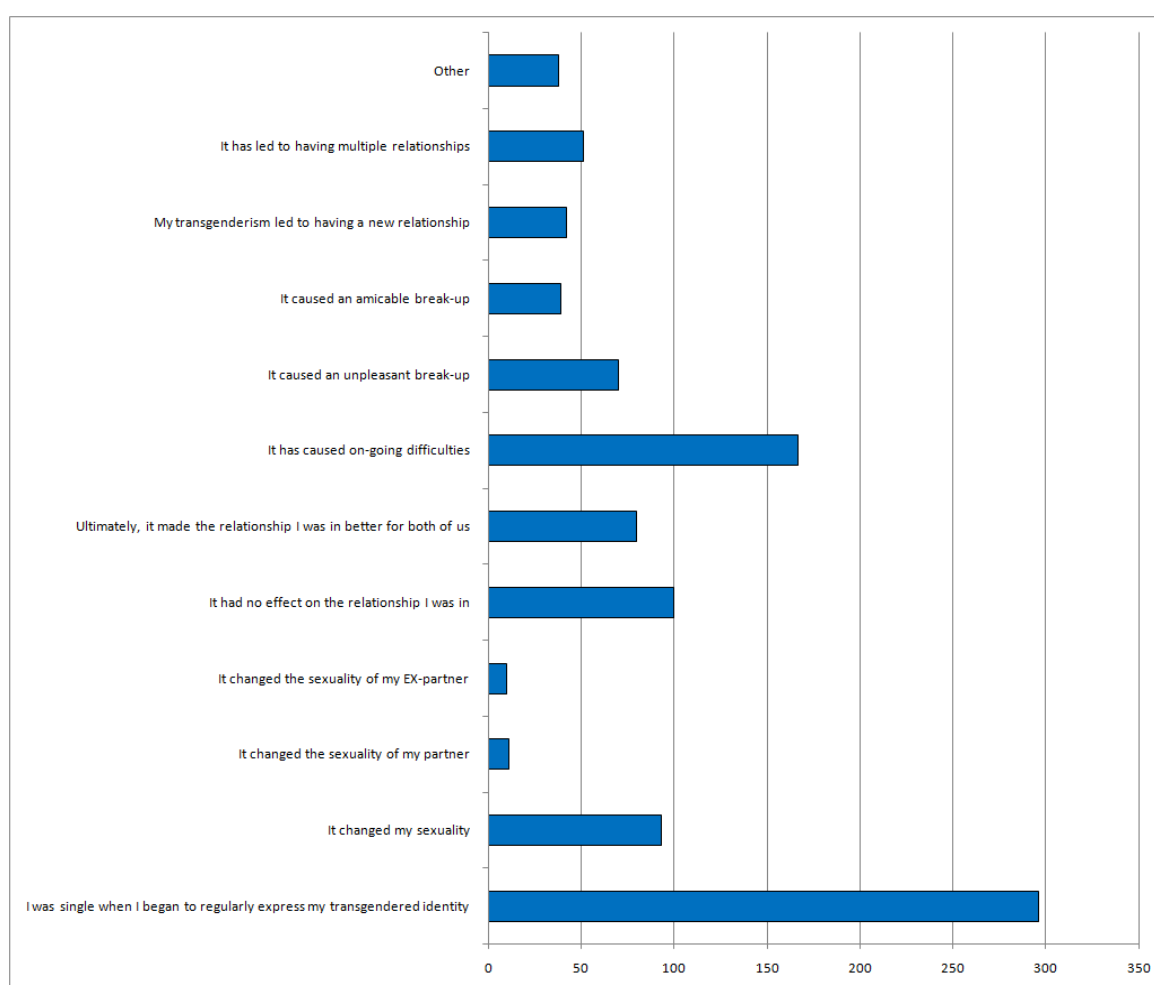
Now, this links with something I've just been reading about – definitions of transgender identity. This definitely does differ from country to country. Unfortunately, the preconceptions, held by many in the 'mainstream', is that all trans people are transvestites and all get a sexual thrill from cross-dressing. Oh, yes, and we're apparently all gay as well! Sadly, this misinformed attitude is still shown in some academic and medical writings.

Now, there's nothing wrong with someone being gay, and we know that a few trans people are known as transvestic fetishists. OK, fair enough. Unfortunately, that affects how we view the term 'transsexual'. We have come to associate 'sexual' with referring to 'sexual intercourse' rather than 'sexual identity'. There is so much uncertainty about the appropriate terms to use. Within academia the words 'sex' and 'gender' mean different things. 'Sex' is regarded as the physical identity

(female/male) whereas gender is regarded as how we act (feminine/masculine). But, then it can be strongly affected by the cultures in different countries. For instance, do Americans have a different view of ‘masculine’ behaviour than British people? How marked are their views?

OK, getting back onto more data results. I asked respondents ‘How did your transgendered identity affect a relationship?’ Below are the responses:

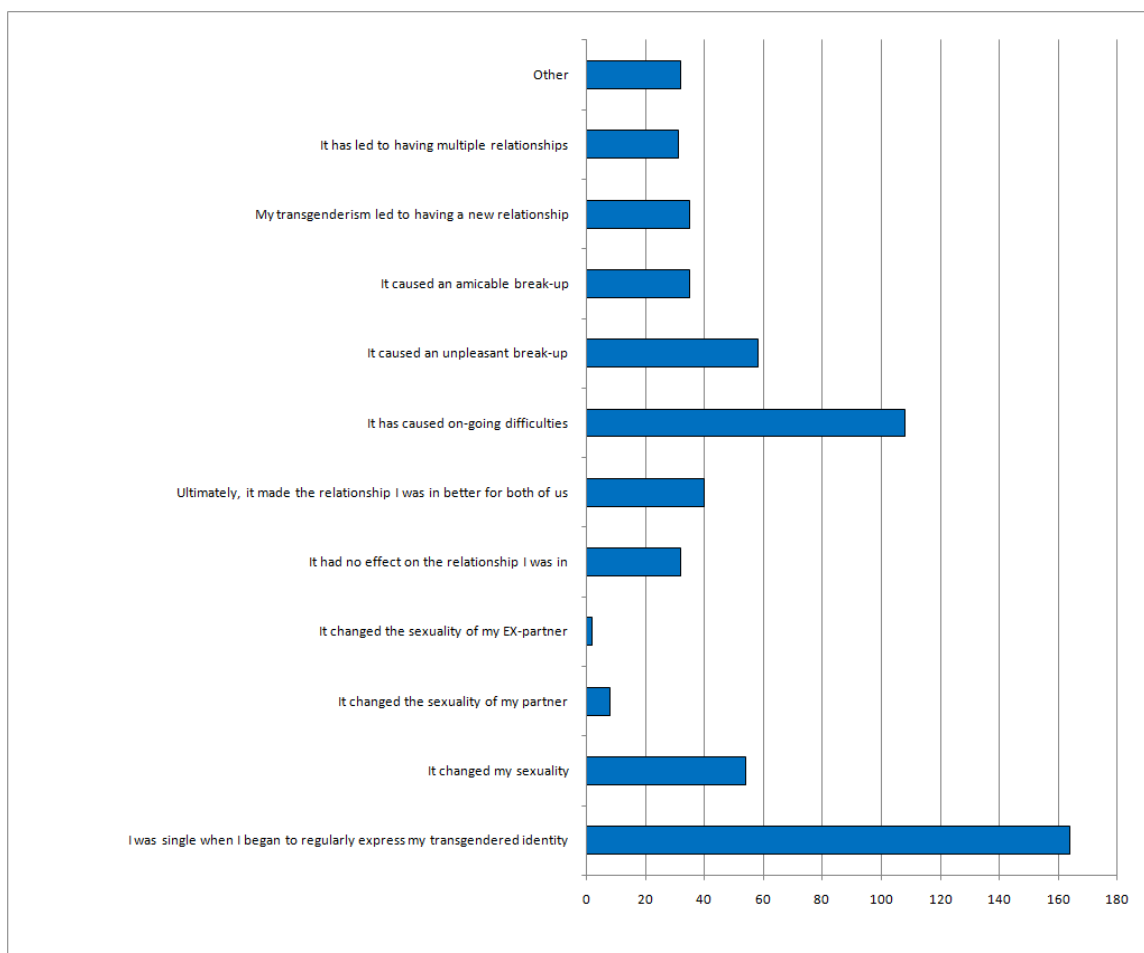
For MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists:



‘Other’ responses have been quite interesting. It was expressed that the transgender identity has been kept secret which a frequent situation I’ve come across during my PhD research. One respondent intriguingly expressed ‘lower sex drive/life’ for a reason. Being ‘widowed’ has also been mentioned as the reason for why the transgender identity surfaced. I have also come across this last situation a couple of

times before when a person cross-dressed because that was how he felt close to his beloved late wife.

For MTF transsexual people:

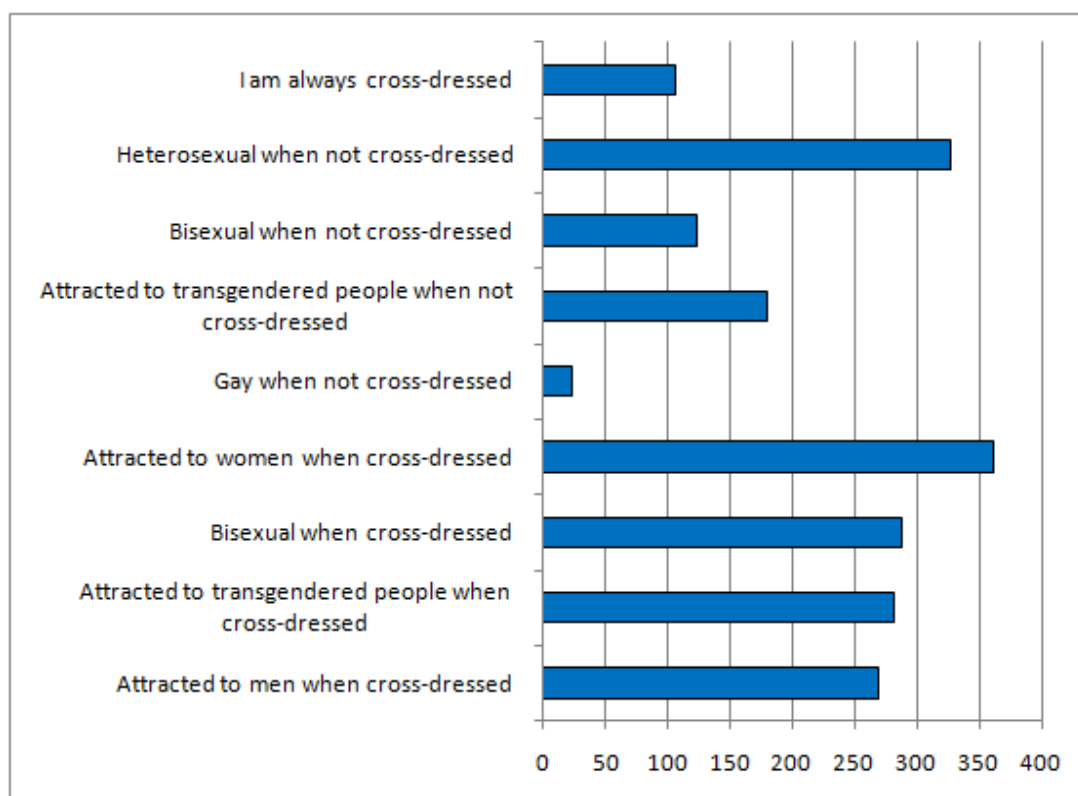


One ‘Other’ response included ‘led me to being with a Trans woman’. This I have encountered several times during my PhD work in Manchester. There is something to be said for being with someone who completely understands you and does not judge who you are, especially with the transphobic prejudices often expressed within mainstream societies.

Again these last two diagrams of relationships show strong similarities between MTF transsexual people and MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists. Not surprisingly transsexual people show a slightly lower response to whether their transgender identity had no effect on their relationship and a very slightly higher

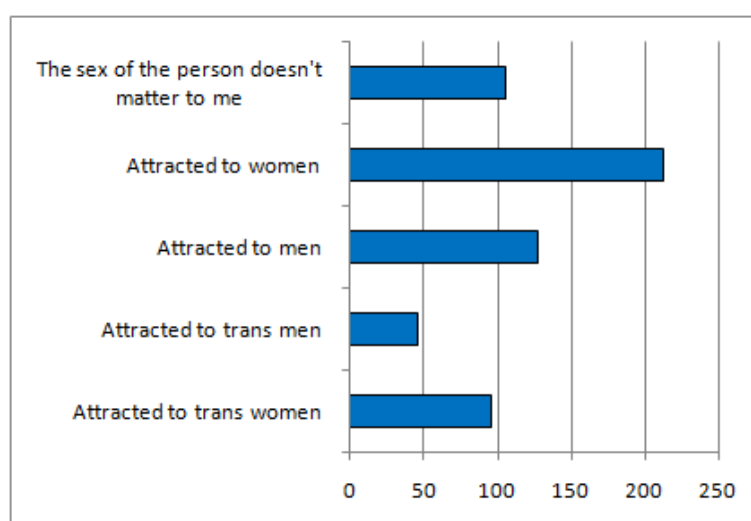
response to it causing an unpleasant breakup. However, the latter figures are within statistical variation (~4%) so we must be careful about drawing too many conclusions from such small differences.

The following data concerns sexuality for MTF trans people. For MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists:



Now, for the entries regarding sexuality when cross-dressed I suspect that many of the respondents gave multiple entries. So, someone who identifies as bisexual may also fill out the 'attracted to men' and 'attracted to women' entries as well! It is interesting that the results for attracted to women when cross-dressed are the largest column. Is this added result from respondents who are always cross-dressed?

For MTF transsexual people, the results are:



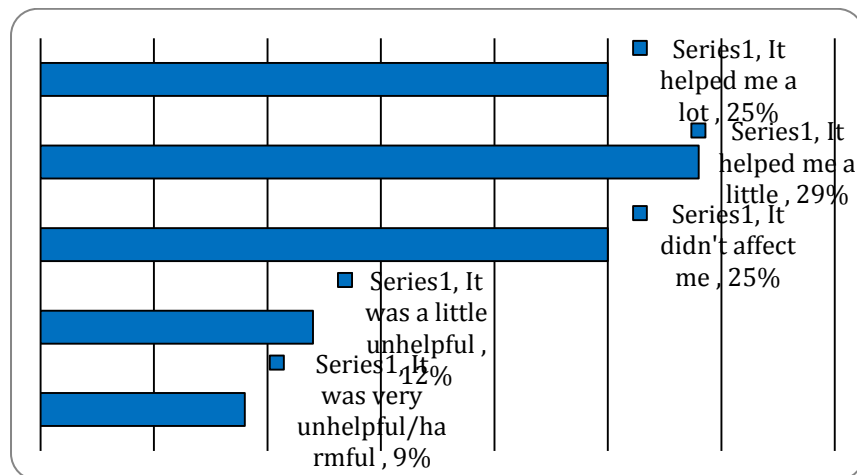
The design of this section was made with prior slightly unfortunate assumptions on my part. Being from the UK, I drew a distinction between MTF transsexual people and MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists in the variation between cross-dressed and not cross-dressed. It had not occurred to me that so many transsexual people from outside the UK (and I'm sure several in the UK as well) might have different perceptions of sexuality when they are expressing their transgenderism 'visually' and in 'male mode'. However, I designed these questionnaires to be as flexible as possible. Therefore, I may, hopefully, be able to gain some further related insights into sexuality through other data.

I have designed data gathering about sexuality within this questionnaire because I wanted to show a fuller picture of transgenderism. I want data to contradict stereotypical assumptions about trans people. The data clearly shows that most MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists are not gay (contradicting mainstream bigotries), nor are they strongly sexually driven (contradicting some so called medical and academic 'experts'). Additionally, similar data for MTF transsexual people show that just like any non-trans human being, there is a range of sexual desires and stimulations.

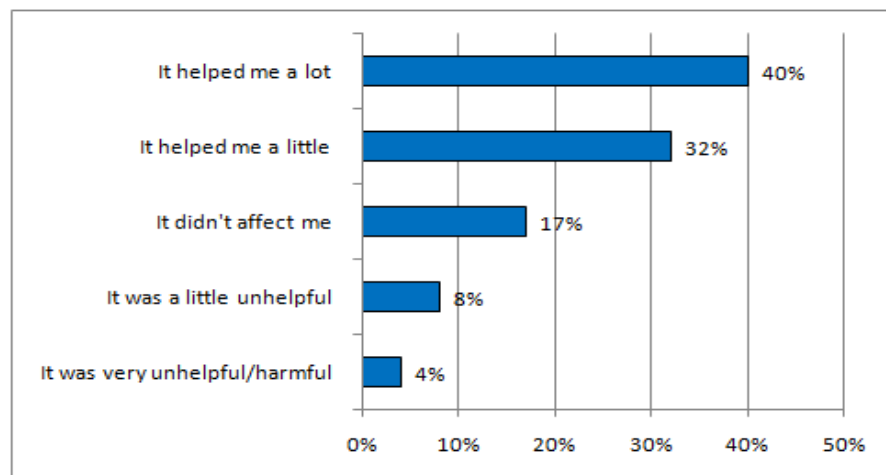
In other words, all trans people are so like 'normal' people in many ways – in most ways.

For all the similarities regarding MTF transsexual people and MTF transvestites/crossdressers/transgenderists there is a finding that shows a quite disturbing difference. The difference regards counselling/therapy.

Here are the results for MTF transvestites/cross-dressers/transgenderists regarding their effectiveness:



Below are the results for MTF transsexual people:



These results suggest that MTF transvestites/cross-dressers/transgenderists are significantly less likely to receive helpful 'expert' therapy/counselling than MTF transsexual people. This apparent lack of suitable support could suggest less

appropriate knowledge of other forms of transgenderism than transsexualism or possibly greater prejudices against other forms of transgenderism than transsexualism.

However, perhaps this form of potential transphobia is significantly over shadowed by prejudices from hegemonic heteronormativity.

Take care of yourselves and others,

Lee R J Middlehurst

keeray@hotmail.com

10 Jun. 2011

**ACADEMIC STUDIES
OF
TRANSGENDERISM**

This appendix details the discovered PhD/DPhil theses written from 1980, which analyse aspects of transgenderism. This appendix also includes the PhD analysis of gay men socialising in Manchester's Gay Village. Critical reviews have been presented in this thesis about several of these theses concerning trans* issues and the one regarding gay men socialising in the Village. Below are the lists of PhD/DPhil texts studying transgenderism detailed by the EThOS website:

Gosselin, Christopher C. (1980)

“The Characteristics of Non-Clinical Fetishists, Sadomasochists and Transvestites”,
Psychology Department, Institute of Psychiatry, University of London

King, D (1986)

“The Transvestite and the Transsexual: A Case Study of Public Categories and Private Identities”,
The University of Essex pre-October 2008

Tully, J.B. (1987)

“Accounting for Transsexualism”,
University of Brunel

Johnson, John Mark (1995)

“Beauty and Power: Identity, Cultural Transformation and Transgendering in the Southern Philippines”,
Social Anthropology, University College London

Whittle, Stephen Thomas (1995)

“Transsexuals and the Law”,
School of Law, The Manchester Metropolitan University

Dixon, Stephen Michael (1998)

“Transsexualism and identity: processes of female to male transition”
University of Durham

Bayley, Bruce Howard (2000)

“The Queer Carnival: Gender Transgressive Images in Contemporary Queer Performance and Their Relationship to Carnival and the Grotesque”,
University of Exeter

Beltran, Patricia Soley (2000)

“Transsexualism and the Heterosexual Matrix: a Critical and Empirical Study of Judith Butler’s Performative Theory of Gender”,
Science Studies Unit, University of Edinburgh

Taylor, Melanie (DPhil 2000)

“Changing Subjects: Transgender Consciousness and the 1920s”,
Department of English and Related Literature, The University of York

Johnson, Katherine (2001)

“Being Transsexual: Self, Identity and Embodied Subjectivity”,
Psychology Department, School of Social Sciences, Middlesex University

de Kerchove d’Exaerde, Caroline (2001)

“‘Dedoublement’: The Negotiation of Gender in Transvestism”,
Department of Anthropology, University of Durham

Lee, Tracey (2001)

“Female to Male Transsexuality: A Study of (Re)embodiment and Identity Transformation”,
Centre for the Study of Women and Gender, University of Warwick

Moon, L T (2002)

“The Heterosexualisation of Emotion : A Case Study in Counselling with Lesbian, Gay Male, Bisexual and Transgender Clients”,
The University of Essex pre-October 2008

Parsons, Ceri (2002)

“Sex Changes: the Social, Historical, Cultural and Discursive Construction of Transsexuality”,
Staffordshire University

Suthrell, C. (2002)

“Clothing culture: sex, gender and cross-dressing with reference to UK transvestites and the hijras of India”
University of Oxford

Turner, Lewis (2003)

“Gender Renaissance; Re-configurations of Femininity”,
University of Lancaster

Hartley, Christine Faye (2004)

“In Pursuit of Resonance – Exploring the Sexed and Gendered ‘Discord’ and ‘Dissonance’ in the Relation to the Health and Welfare ‘Needs’ of the Transgender Community”,
Department of Social Work, University of Central Lancashire

Hines, Sally (2004)

“Transgender Identities, Intimate Relationships and Practices of Care”,
School of Sociology and Social Policy, The University of Leeds

Miles, Clare Louise. (2004)

“The Association Between Oestrogen, Memory, Cognition and Mood in a Male-To-Female Transsexual Population”,
City University.

Shaw, Stephanie (2005)

“The 'Policing' of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transgender People in Lincolnshire”,
University of Lincoln

Savage, Helen (2005)

“Changing Sex? : Transsexuality and Christian Theology”,
University of Durham

Beaumont, Anne (2006)

“Betwixt and Between': Transgender Experience in Britain and Thailand”,
The University of Essex pre-October 2008

Gaffin, Jenny (2006)

“The Complex Negotiation of Human Identity in a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Interfaith Context”,
Awarding institution: University of Southampton,
Current institution: University of Winchester

O'Connor, Daniel J. (2006)

“Sex Signs: Transsexuality, Autobiography, and the Languages of Sexual Difference in the United Kingdom and United States of America 1950-2000”,
Department of History, University of Warwick

Davy, Zowie (2008)

“Transsexual Recognition: Embodiment, Bodily Aesthetics and the Medicolegal System”,
Centre for Interdisciplinary Gender Studies, University of Leeds

Kaewprasert, Oradol (2008)

“Gender Representations in Thai Queer Cinema”,
The University of Essex pre-October 2008

Santos, Ana Cristina (2008)

“Enacting Activism: The political, Legal and Social Impacts of LGBT Activism in Portugal”,
University of Leeds

McNamara, C (2009)

“The constitution of transgender masculinities through performance: a study of theatre and the everyday”,
Queen Mary, University of London

Phillips, Anna (2009)

“Sexual Behaviour of Men Who Have Sex with Men (MSM) and Transgenders in Southern India”,
Department of Infectious Disease Epidemiology, Imperial College London
(University of London)

Humberstone, Nicola (2010)

“Older People, Sexualities and Soap Operas: Representations of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Sexualities and Transgender Identity in Television Soap Operas, and Older Audiences’ Responses”,
School of Health and Social Sciences, Middlesex University

Below is the PhD text studying gay men socialising the Manchester’s Gay Village that was detailed by the EThOS website. I have analysed and quoted this text in my thesis:

Darbyshire, Kevin John (2007)

“Being Gay, Being Straight: An Anthropological Critique of Manchester's Gay Village”,
London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.

THE ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRES FOR MTF TRANS* PEOPLE

This appendix details the topics investigated regarding the internationally available online questionnaires aimed at MTF trans* respondents.

The questionnaires designed for transvestic women consist of 82 multiple-choice questions. Subjects discussed are:

- The nationality of the respondents
- Personal details
- Family/relationship issues
- Sexuality (fantasy and reality)
- Personal trans history
- Trans terminologies
- Trans awareness in the workplace
- Being ‘in the closet’ or ‘out’
 - This involved extra questions only for those ‘out of the closet’:
 - Reasons for ‘coming out’
 - Self perceptions, including ‘passing’
 - harassment and acceptance
- Counselling/therapy
- Body modification/hormones
- Internet – assessments of visits to supportive shopping sites; sexual sites; arranging meetings in reality; and politics

The questionnaires shaped for transsexual women consist of 84 multiple-choice questions. In this instance, the subjects discussed are:

- The nationality of the respondents
- Personal details
- Family/relationship issues
- Sexuality (fantasy and reality)
- Personal trans history
- Trans terminologies
- Trans awareness in the workplace
- Self perceptions, including ‘passing’
- Harassment and acceptance.
- Sex Reassignment Surgery issues
- Body modification/hormones; Facial Feminisation Surgery
- Counselling/therapy
- Internet – assessments of visits to supportive shopping sites; sexual sites; arranging meetings in reality; and politics

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Four interviewees, three trans* women and one natal woman, could not be met face to face so there were communications with them through emails. They were all emailed copies of the same paperwork given to other interviewees except that their acceptance of the interviews were by email responses rather than signed papers.

Here is an extract from an email sent to Laurie describing how I interacted with these interviewees:

Now my university ... is extremely keen on ethics/confidentiality so I have to be very thorough (which I'm actually very glad about!).

So the way that's been agreed is like this. I send you (attached): stuff about what my PhD is about, a signed letter saying I guarantee confidentiality, and a form that normally people interviewed face to face would sign to authorise the interview. Now for the latter all I need is a reply saying you've read it all and, if you're OK about it all, agreeing to answer the questions (I then pass that email to my university). The questions are also attached and you can answer them in any way you feel like.

Are you OK about this? I know it sounds a bit convoluted but it's all to be completely up front.

(7.10.2010)

Each interviewee required different presentations of the questions according to their experience. Laurie extensively knew about the Village. Rachel is very rarely 'out of the closet' and so has not been to the Village but is extremely familiar with Internet trans* interactions. Jo is a natal woman and is familiar with the Village and trans* people. Lavinia wanted to be interviewed through multiple emails rather than answering multiple questions. Consequently, these emails with her became a 'virtual interview' where Lavinia discussed various topics including reviewing aspects of her personal life. I have not reproduced these emails in this appendix. None of these

interviewees were familiar with the term 'trans*' so I have used the 'trans' term as an abbreviation for 'transgender'.

Laurie:

Can you tell me about yourself, including your trans identity?

Can you give your opinions about all types of trans people?

What do you think about the terms for trans people and, importantly, who do you think they refer to? Which terms do you prefer?

(Terms include: transsexuals, transvestites, cross-dressers, trans people, trans men, trans women, transgendered people, trannies, any others you can think of!)

What's your knowledge about Manchester's Gay Village? What are your thoughts about it? Where do you go and what do you do?

When you've been to the annual trans celebration Sparkle what are your thoughts about it? Where do you go and what do you do?

How do you feel people in the Gay Village regard trans people? How do you feel people outside the Gay Village regard trans people?

What are your thoughts about the Internet and trans people? What do you do on the Internet concerning trans issues? Does it influence or has it influenced your trans identity?

Rachel:

Can you tell me about yourself, including your trans identity?

Can you give your opinions about all types of trans people?

What do you think about the terms for trans people and, importantly, who do you think they refer to? Which terms do you prefer?

(Terms include: transsexuals, transvestites, cross-dressers, trans people, trans men, trans women, transgendered people, trannies, any others you can think of!)

What are your thoughts about the Internet and trans people?

What do you do on the Internet concerning trans issues?

Do things on the Internet influence or have influenced your trans identity?

Jo:

Can you tell me about yourself, predominantly about your interest and past/present involvement with transgenderism?

Can you give your opinions about all types of trans people?

What do you think about the terms for trans people and, importantly, who do you think they refer to? Which terms do you prefer?

(Terms include: transsexuals, transvestites, cross-dressers, trans people, trans men, trans women, transgendered people, trannies, any others you can think of!)

What's your knowledge about Manchester's Gay Village? What are your thoughts about it? Where did/do you go and what did/do you do?

When you've been to the annual celebrations like 'Pride' what are your thoughts about it regarding trans people?

How do you feel people in the Gay Village regard trans people? How do you feel people outside the Gay Village regard trans people?

What are your thoughts about the Internet and trans people? What did/do you do on the Internet concerning trans issues? Does it affect or has it affected you?

INTERVIEWEES

Below are a list of the focus group participants and the 35 interviewees. Their names have been detailed, brief descriptions about them, where they were interviewed and when they were interviewed. The names of most of the interviewees and other people mentioned as well within this thesis have been changed. Some interviewees have requested that their names were unaltered in my thesis. For example, one interviewee's name that is unchanged is 'Dee Selecta' whose dressing service company is also called 'Dee Selecta'. As a consequence of mentioning her company in my thesis, she expressed that her actual name should be expressed in the thesis although she suggested that her partner's name be changed.

Many of the interviewees could perhaps be recognised within class identities but these identities are potentially uncertain within postmodern criticisms (Edgell, 1993; Savage, 2000). Furthermore, as an action researcher, I am uncomfortable with objective class identifications and assumptions about my interviewees and their direct relevance to my investigations (Scott and Marshall, 2005; Berg, 2007; NCCPE, 2012a).

Focus Group - (13.05.09)

The focus group developed through online discourses with trans* people. All four focus group members are Caucasian, heterosexual cross-dressers who are members of Manchester Concord. Arista and Elsa have been socialising in the Village for several years. I have known Arista since around 2005, possibly during Sparkle 2005. She is in her early 60s. I have known Elsa since 2008 at Manchester Concord gatherings. She is in her late 60s. Hannah and Pamela I came to know through this focus group.

Hannah is in her mid 30s. Pamela is in her early 50s. These last two participants were recently 'out of the closet' as being more publically trans. This focus group meeting was held in the basement meeting room of the Taurus bar (Canal Street). We were all cross-dressed during the interview.

Dee and Matt - (16.06.09)

I had approached and asked Dee and Matt when they visited Manchester Concord in 2009, promoting their dressing service. Both rarely attend Concord gatherings. Dee is a Caucasian natal woman in her early 40s. Her partner, Matt, is a Caucasian transvestite in his early 40s. The interview was carried out in the kitchen of their transvestite dressing shop called 'Dee Selecta'. Matt and I were not cross-dressed during the interview.

Greta – (17.06.09)

I connected with Greta through the Manchester Concord online forum where she had expressed interest to me in assisting my research. Greta is a black cross-dresser who was 29 years old at time of the interview. Greta was training in psychology. The interview was carried out in the basement meeting room of Taurus. We were both cross-dressed in the interview.

Mick – (08.07.09)

I knew Mick by a mutual trans* friend attending Manchester Concord. Mick is a Caucasian divorced man in his 60s. He is not trans* but is well disposed to trans* people and often socialised with them in Manchester Concord and then onto other

venues in the Village. The interview was carried out in his hotel room on Canal Street. I was cross-dressed in the interview.

Chloe – (11.07.09)

On both the ‘Rose’s’ and ‘Angels’ online forums, I had asked for interviewees. Chloe, contacted me, through the ‘Angels’ website, and expressed interest. Chloe is a Caucasian trans* woman who at the time of interviewing identified as a transvestite. (I have met her on several occasions since interviewing and understand that, from around 2011, she has identified as transsexual.) We had initially interacted on the Manchester Concord online forum. The interview was conducted in the Via bar/restaurant on Canal Street, during Sparkle 2009. Her boyfriend was with her but, while he occasionally spoke, he had not signed any agreements. Hence, his views are not detailed in this thesis. Chloe and I were both cross-dressed in the interview. Since 2011, I have occasionally seen her at TransForum meetings and at Sparkle celebrations.

Joan and Josy – (18.07.09)

I have known Joan and Josy since around 2007. I had befriended Joan when she ‘came out of the closet’ at Northern Concord. I asked her at a Manchester Concord meeting in 2010 if I could interview her. Joan is a Caucasian trans woman in her late 30s. I knew of Josy during her regular attendance at Manchester Concord. She approached me, volunteering to be interviewed. Josy is a Caucasian trans woman in her mid 40s. Both women are close friends with each other. As of 2011, both still occasionally attended the Concord.

Originally, I planned to interview Joan alone. She stressed that she wished to see me in my hometown. She wanted to take a train there and I agreed to meet her in the town centre. Unexpectedly, Josy was with Joan as well. I did wish to interview Josy at an unspecified date but I did not expect her presence on this occasion. As when we met it was lunchtime, I suggested that I drive us to eat at a nearby restaurant. I then took us back to my flat for us to have drinks and to interview them. I was partly cross-dressed during the interview.

Maggie – (19.11.09)

Maggie regularly attends Manchester Concord meetings and I asked her if she could be one of my interviewees. Maggie is a Caucasian trans* woman in her 40s. However, for this interview, Maggie was casually dressed as male. Maggie wished to be interviewed at the Manchester Metropolitan University. I have known her socially in Manchester Concord since 2008. I was not cross-dressed in the interview.

Mary – (08.12.09)

I have known Mary socially since late 2001 at the Northern Concord and then at the Manchester Concord where she was the main hostess for both groups. I had interviewed Mary for my 2005 article. At Manchester Concord I asked her for a second interview for my PhD studies. Mary is a Caucasian transvestite in her mid 70s. She was widowed in 2009. She wanted to be interviewed at her home. We had lunch at her home before going into her lounge to commence the interview. We were not cross-dressed during the interview.

Carl – (10.03.10)

I had asked Carl for an interview a couple of weeks before I interviewed him. He served as a barman in the Rembrandt Bar & Hotel and was regularly present behind the bar at Manchester Concord meetings. This interview was upstairs in the pub before anyone else from the Concord had arrived and it was taken on the last night he worked there. Carl is a Caucasian man in his early 40s. He has a boyfriend who has helped Manchester Concord festivities. I was cross-dressed in the interview.

Katy – (23.03.10)

I knew Kay when she identified as transvestite, calling herself Tanya. I befriended Tanya through Leah. I have known her since 2002 at Northern Concord and at the AXM club. As Katy, I had approached her when she was at a Manchester Concord meeting and asked if I could interview her. Katy is a Caucasian trans woman. She is in her late 30s. The interview was at her home. She had a large friendly pet dog. I was partly cross-dressed for the interview. Since then I have occasionally seen her in the Village.

Alicia – (25.03.10)

I knew Alicia at Manchester Concord meetings. She approached me, offering to be interviewed. Alicia is Caucasian trans woman. She has an American boyfriend/fiancé who is a transvestite. I have known her since 2008 at the Manchester Concord. On this day, we first met for lunch at Villaggio, a restaurant on Canal Street in the Village. Then, we walked down to Via, the bar/restaurant, on the same street to take the interview. We moved to various locations during the interview as it became noisier in the bar. I was cross-dressed in the interview.

Luke - (10.04.10)

I knew Luke at the *Queer Up North* gatherings in 2009 at the Manchester University Student Union building where he gave a talk. When I met him again at TREC meetings, I asked him if I could interview him. Luke is a Caucasian trans man in his late 20s. He was interviewed in the LGF building on Princess Street (before its move onto Richmond Street) on the same day as the TREC conference that day. I was partly cross-dressed in the interview.

Peter/Petra - (19.04.10)

I first knew Petra at Northern Concord gatherings. I asked if I could interview her when we were both at a Manchester Concord gathering. Petra is a Caucasian heterosexual transvestite who is in hir early 50s. I interviewed hir, as Peter, in hir home. I have known Petra since 2002 at the Northern Concord. She is quite extrovert and strident. We were not cross-dressed during the interview.

Dan – (09.05.10)

I knew and befriended Dan at Northern Concord. When we talked at Manchester Concord I asked if I could interview him. He wanted to meet me first, socially in Manchester city centre when neither of us was cross-dressed, before inviting me to his house for the interview. Apparently I am the only person he knows from the Village who has been invited to his home. Dan is a Caucasian heterosexual transvestite in his early 30s. I interviewed him in his home. He does not adopt a female name when cross-dressed nor does he want to be referred to as ‘she’ or ‘her’. I have known Dan since 2002 at the Northern Concord. We both were not cross-dressed in the interview. I have not seen him in the Village since the interview.

Leah and Liz - (12.05.10)

I have known Leah since 2002. I was initially aware of her at the Northern Concord where she approached me volunteering to be interviewed for my 2005 article. We regularly interact during gatherings with other trans* people in various venues around the Village. At one such a gathering, which was a meal in Villaggio, I asked Leah if I could interview her. Leah is a Caucasian transvestite in her early 50s.

I have known Liz since 1991. Liz is a Caucasian natal woman who is in her early 50s. She was the person who helped me to purchase female clothing for the first time and encouraged me to 'come out of the closet'. She lived with a trans woman when living in London. As of 2011, she regularly socialises with trans* people in the Village. She accompanied me to my interview of Leah, as she and Leah are close friends. The interview became a joint interview with Leah and Liz discussing issues together. The interview was taken at the Villaggio restaurant. Both Leah and I were cross-dressed during the interview.

Larissa – (28.05.10)

Larissa is the manager for the Villaggio restaurant. We have also known each other since 2009. I came to know through her friendship with Leah and I asked her if I could interview her. Larissa is a Caucasian natal woman in her late 20s. The interview was taken at the Via bar/restaurant. I was not cross-dressed in the interview.

Jenny-Anne – (31.05.10)

I was initially aware of Jenny-Anne during late 2008 at a Manchester City Council consultation meeting at the LGBT Centre (formerly the Gay Centre) building on

Sidney Street in Manchester. I first came to chat extensively with her at Sparkle 2009. She gave some presentations at TREC and at one I asked her for an interview. Jenny-Anne is a Caucasian trans woman. She is in her mid 60s. The interview was taken at the home of Jenny-Anne and her partner in North Wales. Her partner is also a trans* woman. Part of their property is designated as a safe house for other trans* people. Jenny-Anne is a major campaigner for trans* people's rights and frequently travels to various locations to assist the education of trans* issues. I was partly cross-dressed during the interview.

Marianne – (02.06.10)

I have known Marianne since 2002, meeting her at the Northern Concord. I asked her for an interview through mobile phone text message. We had previously socially exchanged mobile numbers as our friendship developed. Marianne is a Caucasian trans woman in her early 40s. I have known her since 2002 at the Northern Concord. Since about 2005, she, very occasionally, still visits Concord meetings. On this day, we met in Manchester Concord in the Rembrandt Bar & Hotel. The interview was taken in the hotel room the Concord rented for members change in. It was occasionally noisy when people came in to change while we were conducting the interview. I was cross-dressed during the interview.

Brianna – (09.07.10)

I had approached Brianna at Sparkle 2009 and it was during emails that I had asked to interview her. Brianna is a Caucasian married transvestite who is the main organiser of the trans* celebration. The interview was taken at 'The Place' hotel in Manchester.

It was on the first day of Sparkle 2010 and several other trans* people were staying at this hotel. We were not cross-dressed in the interview.

Arista – (24.09.10)

I asked to interview Arista at a gathering in the restaurant Villaggio. Arista is a Caucasian married transgender person in her early 60s. She was one of the focus group members. We have known each other since approximately 2005. We often socialise with Leah and Liz. The interview was taken at the Villaggio restaurant during having lunch together there. We then continued talking in the Via bar/restaurant. We were both cross-dressed in the interview.

Valerie – (06.10.10)

I first knew Valerie at Manchester Concord meetings and asked her for an interview at one of them. Valerie is a Caucasian married transvestite in her early 50s. We have known each other from 2008 during Manchester Concord meetings, which she regularly attends. She is a committee member of Manchester Concord. She also frequently participates at TREC meetings. The interview was taken in the Village at the Via bar/restaurant during having lunch together there. We were both cross-dressed in the interview.

Alan – (10.10.10)

I have known Alan since 2007 through the online Manchester Goth Meet-up (MGM) group. We both attend some monthly MGM meetings in the Salisbury pub in Manchester. Alan is a Caucasian transvestite who is in his early 50s. The interview was taken in the Salisbury pub. We were both not cross-dressed during the interview.

Jo – (11.10.10)

I initially knew Jo at the Northern Concord in 2007. Mary had introduced us when Jo was asking for further information about trans* people. She was researching transgenderism for her political association with LGBT support at Manchester University where she was a psychology student. Jo is a Caucasian natal female. She is in her early 20s. I emailed her interview questions and told her she could answer them in any format she preferred.

Rachel – (11.10.10)

Rachel contacted me through the 'Roses' online forum after I had posted requests for volunteer interviewees. Rachel is a Caucasian married transvestite. She is in her mid 40s. I emailed her interview questions and told her she could answer them in any format she preferred. She lives outside Manchester.

Eleanor and Sharon – (13.10.10)

I had independently interacted with Eleanor and Sharon on the 'Angels' online forum. They both had approached me after I had asked for interviewees on both 'Angels' and 'Rose's' forum discussions. Initially, I was not aware that they knew each other. Eleanor is a Caucasian, married transvestite in her 40s. Sharon is a Caucasian trans* woman in her late 30s. Eleanor and Sharon are good friends and wanted to be interviewed together. On this day, I first met Eleanor near the 'New Union' bar. Initially, Eleanor was not cross-dressed and was going to change in a hotel room (s)he had booked at the 'New Union'. While waiting down in the main bar area, I had a phone call from Sharon who was drinking outside the Via pub/restaurant. I went to

meet her and we both sent texts to Eleanor about where we were. Sharon and I discussed her life while we waited. When she comes to Manchester, she usually meets up with Eleanor. Eleanor, cross-dressed, joined us after a few minutes. The interview was then taken at the Via bar/restaurant. The three of us mutually decided that I would interview Sharon first. However, part way through interviewing her, it became a joint interview with Eleanor. After about an hour, Sharon had to leave and so then I just interviewed Eleanor. We were all cross-dressed in the interview.

Laurie – (14.10.10)

Laurie contacted me through the ‘Roses’ online forum after I had posted requests for volunteer interviewees. Laurie is a Caucasian, divorced, trans* woman, bordering on transsexual. She is in her late 50s. I emailed her interview questions and told her she could answer them in any format she preferred. She lives outside Manchester.

Farah – (19.10.10)

Farah had approached me online after I asked for interviewee volunteers on the ‘Rose’s’ online discussion forum. Farah is a Caucasian transvestite who is in her late 50s. Initially, I made contact with her through the ‘Rose’s’ online forum. The interview was taken in the evening at her home. I was not cross-dressed in the interview.

Milo – (20.10.10)

I attended Napoleons one evening and asked Milo if I could interview him. Milo is a Caucasian man. He is in his early 30s. Milo is the manager of the Napoleons nightclub. The interview was taken upstairs in the club shortly before it was opening for the evening (The upstairs is not usually opened for about half an hour after the club opens). I was cross-dressed in the interview.

Pamela – (23.10.10)

I knew Pamela from her attendance at my focus group. I met her at Manchester Concord, where she occasionally visits, and asked if I could interview her. Pamela is a Caucasian, married transvestite in her early 50s. On this day, a Saturday, we met for lunch at a popular mainstream café in the centre of Manchester where the interview was taken. The café was very busy and noisy and, while I was able to comfortably chat with Pamela face to face, assisted by reading her face and lips, the recorder was positioned nearer to Pamela than to me due to noise issues. As a result, her voice is quite clear in the interview recordings but my voice is often hardly audible. However, this was little impediment as her answers informed me as to the nature of my questions. We were both cross-dressed during the interview. Since 2011, I have observed her regular attendance at TransForum meetings.

Lucy – (02.11.10)

Lucy regularly attends Manchester Concord gatherings and I have known her since 2009. At one of the meetings I asked if I could interview her. Lucy is a Caucasian, transvestite in her late 60s. The interview was taken in the flat she co-rents in the Village. We were both cross-dressed in the interview.

Lavinia – (24.01.11 to 15.03.11)

Lavinia contacted me on the ‘Angels’ online forum after I had posted requests for volunteer interviewees. Lavinia is a Caucasian, married transvestite in her mid 50s. She preferred to be interviewed in stages through multiple emails. She lives just outside Manchester.

Francesca – (13.12.11)

I met Francesca at the Manchester Concord. She is a Mexican, trans* woman in her late 20s/early 30s. She identifies as muxhe (pronounced ‘moosheh’), which is a Mexican gender identity regarded as in between male and female. She works at a university in Manchester. We mutually arranged to do the interview at the Via bar/restaurant. When I interviewed Francesca (s)he had decided to be in ‘male mode’. As a consequence, I was similarly dressed.

Liz - (28.09.12)

I asked Liz if I could interview her a second time as I was intrigued by some of the topics she had discussed shortly before this interview. The interview was conducted at her home. I was not cross-dressed.

INFORMATION FORMS

This appendix concerns the Information Sheets 1 and 2 (copies overleaf) given to each interviewee. The information forms were designed during extensive discussions with my thesis supervisors in early 2009. 'Information Sheet 2' is composed from discourse interactions during an online discussion forum with trans* people concerning my research conducted from 21st to 27th January 2009 (I use the 'trans' term in these documents as an abbreviation for 'transgender'). These forms were initially created 16th June 2009 but 'Information Sheet 2' was slightly adapted on 27th September 2010. Consequently, both forms were re-labelled with this second date. All interviewees (including those interviewed before the alteration) were given this slightly updated 'Information Sheet 2'.

To Whom This May Concern,

I am formally detailing for your reference the purpose of this interview. Attached is a form detailing my research objectives together with a response requesting further details from me.

This interview is a recorded discussion concerning transgendered people in Manchester's Gay Village. Quotes from the interview may be used in my PhD research and related academic research.

Confidentiality will be strongly adhered to. There shall be no intention to gather information or instigate any discussion that may ultimately harm any individuals or organisations.

Should you require further discussions/details my contact details are given below.

Lee Middlehurst
PhD Researcher
Manchester Metropolitan University

Tel: 07780 687142
Email: keeray@dsl.pipex.com

Written by Lee Middlehurst (PhD researcher at Manchester Metropolitan University) except for high lighted extract:

Many of you will know that I've been doing a PhD about trans people in the Village.

Well, I started doing it in 2005 at Leeds University but, by 2007/8, I decided to leave the university and took a year out to think about what I wanted to do. I decided to carry on with my PhD in September 2008 but, this time, at Manchester Metropolitan University with Dr Christian Klesse and Prof Stephen Whittle as my supervisors. Some of you may know of Stephen Whittle. His team was behind the legal changes for transsexual rights. He got an OBE for that. His organisation is called Press For Change.

Now, he and Christian want to support my work into trans recognition in the Village. To make my finished PhD go to assist greater understanding in various areas, way outside just academia.

Now, the thing is, I don't want my PhD to be what **I** think trans people in the Village do.

I shouldn't just write what **I** think is important about our lives in the Village. I want to write what **we** think - **you** tell **me** what you think I should write about our lives in the Village.

So ... tell me. Give me thoughts. I might not be able to include everything in my work but at least it'll be fairer than just what **I** think. ☺

Hi

Lee.

I am sure you will find lots of people willing to help with your research, but before I go into what I think about my / our lives in the village. I am interested and wanted to ask you, have you done a literature review? if so what sort of material have you found? how are you looking to build on what's already known? I support you all the way in helping to promote a positive recognition for the TG/ TV community.

☺

Yes, I have done a literature review as well as [reviewing] all sorts of other books that are kind of related to transgenderism.

The stuff I've read ... well, there are dozens and dozens of books so I won't bore you by detailing every book!! Many academic books/studies on transgenderism are American, especially any that investigate transvestism. There are some notable British exceptions such as those written by Richard Ekins, writing on his own or with his colleague, Dave King, there's one by Charlotte Suthrell and, of course, several by Stephen Whittle, one of my PhD supervisors. They have all been written extremely sympathetically and sincerely. Ekins and King are extremely knowledgeable about transgenderism and have gathered numerous studies. Whittle, of course, is transgender himself and has written so many texts about transgenderism it's bewildering.

However, I have found no academic studies written about trans issues by someone who crossdresses. There are some texts written about the Village but, strangely, I've come across none that review transgender people in the Village. Stephen Whittle has recently confirmed to me that there aren't.

So, you can see there are several deficiencies. Firstly, a rarity of texts about crossdressing in UK society; ... there seem to be no texts about how significant the Village is for transgender people. Many of those that mention trans people, unfortunately connect them with gay men, continuing the preconception that all trans people are gay men in drag.

I now know that Stephen Whittle's position as my supervisor is that he thinks there is an important gap in academic research that I'm filling. I'm also relieved that he wants my work to help people outside academia. One thing I hate is academic research that doesn't go to helping society in general (genderal?) ...

Pant pant pant. There are so many other things I could talk about but -

This has been taken from the Manchester Concord forum website

(<http://www.theconcord.org.uk/phpbb3/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=211>)

CONSENT FORMS

Copies of the Consent Forms used during the focus group gathering and the individual interviews are overleaf. Interviewees also have a copy of these forms for their reference.



CONSENT FORM

Focus group discussion on transgenderism, specifically, transvestism in the Gay Village

Name of researcher: Lee Middlehurst

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheets dated 09/05/09 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. I acknowledge the risks associated with the study and they have been explained to me.
2. I understand that my organisation's participation is voluntary and that the organisation is free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without confidentiality or legal rights being affected.
3. I, representing the management, agree to take part in the study.

☐☐☐

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of person
taking consent

Date

Signature

When completed, 1 for participant; 1 for researcher site file; 1 (original) to be kept by participant.

CONSENT FORM

Interviewing about transgenderism in the Gay Village

Name of researcher: Lee Middlehurst

Please initial box

4. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheets dated 27/09/10 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. I acknowledge the risks associated with the study and they have been explained to me.
5. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my medical care, confidentiality or legal rights being affected.
6. I agree to take part in the study.

☐☐☐

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of person
taking consent

Date

Signature

When completed, 1 for participant; 1 for researcher site file; 1 (original) to be kept by participant.

SUBJECTS DISCUSSED DURING THE INTERVIEWS

Below are the topics repeatedly discussed during the interviews. The names of the respondents who talked about them are also included:

Views and Venues of the Village

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Chloe; Mick; Jan/Josy; Greta; Maggie; Mary; Carl; Katy; Alicia; Louis; Pamela; Dan; Leah/Liz; Larissa; Marianne; Jenny-Anne; Arista; Valerie; Alan; Eleanor/Sharon; Farah; Milo; Pamela; Lucy; Luke; Jo; Lavinia; Francisca

Connections between Different Trans Identities

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Chloe; Mick; Jan/Josy; Greta; Maggie; Mary; Carl; Katy; Alicia; Louis; Dan; Leah/Liz; Larissa; Marianne; Jenny-Anne; Marianne; Arista; Valerie; Alan; Eleanor/Sharon; Farah; Milo; Pamela; Lucy; Laurie; Rachel; Jo

Northern Concord and Manchester Concord

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Chloe; Mick; Jan/Josy; Greta; Maggie; Mary; Carl; Katy; Leah/Liz; Peter-Petra; Larissa; Marianne; Arista; Valerie; Eleanor/Sharon; Farah; Pamela; Lucy; Jo; Lavinia

Trans Support - or Lack Thereof

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Jan/Josy; Greta; Maggie; Katy; Alicia; Leah/Liz; Brianna; Marianne; Jenny-Anne; Arista; Valerie; Alan; Eleanor/Sharon; Farah; Milo; Pamela; Lucy; Laurie; Rachel; Jo

The Sparkle Festivals

Discussed by –

Chloe; Jan/Josy; Greta; Milo; Luke; Dan; Leah/Liz; Larissa; Marianne; Brianna; Jenny-Anne; Arista; Valerie; Eleanor/Sharon; Lucy; Laurie; Jo; Francisca

Interview Techniques

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Jan/Josy; Greta; Maggie; Carl; Katy; Dan; Leah/Liz; Larissa; Marianne; Jenny-Anne; Arista; Valerie; Farah; Lucy

Internet Issues

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Chloe; Jan/Josy; Greta; Mary; Katy; Leah/Liz; Arista; Alan; Eleanor/Sharon; Pamela; Laurie; Rachel

Dressing Services, Shopping and Clothing Differences etc. of Trans Identities

Discussed by –

Jan/Josy; Dan; Greta; Maggie; Mary; Katy; Leah/Liz; Arista; Eleanor/Sharon; Rachel; Lavinia; Pamela; Lucy

Violence in the Village

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Mick; Jan/Josy; Alicia; Brianna; Arista; Alan; Eleanor/Sharon; Farah; Pamela

My Personal Knowledge of Transgenderism in the Village

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Chloe; Mick; Jan/Josy; Dan; Louis; Marianne; Valerie

Trans Political Issues

Discussed by –

Mary; Luke; Jenny-Anne; Marianne; Arista; Pamela; Lucy

People Attracted to Trans Women

Discussed by –

Dan; Leah/Liz; Alan; Eleanor/Sharon; Valerie

Varied Terms of Transgenderism

Discussed by –

Dee/Mark; Greta; Mary

Views about Central Manchester

Discussed by –

Pamela; Lucy; Larissa

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