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# **APPENDIX H**

## **A NETWORK EXPLANATION OF THE TRANSGENDER MOVEMENT IN RELATION TO THE HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

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### **A Network Explanation of The Transgender Movement in Relation to the Homosexual Rights Movement**

**Emilio L. Lombardi  
Department of Sociology  
University of Akron**

In this premillennial period many taken for granted "truths" have begun to be questioned by people. Traditional beliefs about one's sexual identity, orientation, and self-expression are being questioned. Individuals that may have once been labeled deviant or mentally ill are now becoming more organized and more political. Deviancy is no longer seen as a source of stigma but as a source of personal and collective identity; examples include gay and lesbian groups, and the transgender organizations (crossdressers and transsexuals). Further, elements from these lifestyles have filtered into the mainstream (Rupaul [a drag queen] has become a celebrity on MTV, and homosexual lifestyles are being accepted more). These once marginal groups are now acting in their own collective self-interest, instead of hiding in shame. Society will see more of these groups as time passes and as they become more vocal about their rights.

Unlike social movements of the pasts which encompassed large segments of the population (gender, race, and class) these movements involve a specific group with a specific agenda; the freedom to live their lives as they see fit. According to new movement theory, these movements are a result of modernization and the erosion of traditional values (Harper 1993). The displacement of traditional values has played a large part in these social movements. When traditional values no longer play an important role in social control, then behavior and beliefs once suppressed begin to flourish. Homosexuals first began to protest the inequality within society based upon their sexual orientation, and transgenderists have followed their lead and are now actively working to promote change (Frye 1994).

Network analysis is a useful tool in the study of social movements. Its utility is in its ability to explain the existence and viability of social movements by understanding how the interlinkages between individuals and groups makes social movements possible. The purpose of this study is to examine the development and existence of these groups within a network framework. The transgender movement needs to be studied not just because of the opportunity to study a social movement from the beginning, but also to further the knowledge of network analysis.

#### Network Analysis of Social Movements

Network analysis is a way to study the organization of social groups through the way individuals or smaller groups interconnect with each other. The approach enables sociologists to conceptualize structure. Social movements, if they are to survive, must be able to create a structure that will allow it to both create change and sustain itself over time. The difference between a riot and a social movement is in its structure. While a riot can crystalize people's consciousness it cannot sustain change over time unless individuals began to interact with each other for the purpose of change. Riots are uncoordinated explosions of anger and frustration, whereas movements are coordinated efforts by people holding a common interest in social change (Knocke and Wisely 1990). Network analysis will allow sociologists to examine the structure of social movements and possibly predict its course.

Each individual or group interacts with other individuals or groups, this creates a linkage between them. Individuals or groups can have many linkages varying in purpose and intensity (from instrumental to expressive, and from strong to weak). Weak ties consist of people's acquaintances, strong ties, on the other hand, consist of people's close friends and relatives (Granovetter 1982). However, the organization of strong ties and weak ties can vary structurally.

Within a low density network there are little if any interlinkages between a person's ties, the ties usually are directly connected with ourselves only. For example, a person knows three sociologists from different departments around the country and is able to gather information about possible positions, articles published, or sessions at the sociology annual meeting. However, those three sociologist may not know each other, this is a low density network. Within a high density network a large portion of a person's network is interconnected with each other. An example with the same sociologist from before, s/he may be part of a close knit group of friends in which everybody knows each other. The large number of interconnections amongst a person's social ties is conceptualized as a dense network (Hall and Wellman 1985).

Individuals within a high density network are generally more homogeneous than individuals within a low density network. Homogeneity (in reference to involvement within the movement) within a network will also influence an individual's dedication to the movement. The more people a person interacts with others who are involved in some way (or just believes in it), the more likely the person will have a strong attachment to the movement. McPherson, Popielarz and Drobnic (1992) found a direct relationship between the number of contacts a person has within a group and the length of time that person remains a member of that group. The more contacts a person has the more time a person remains with a group. The more contacts a person has within the movement the greater the involvement of that person.

Social movements are important weapons for individuals without power in society. These individuals question the current values and beliefs of society, and social movements form around these innovations. The success of a movement depends upon its ability to mobilize a broad support, and introduce their agendas to a wider audience. Social movements need weak ties in order to survive and to produce any meaningful change.

The beginning of a social movement consist of a dense organization of individuals with a purpose called a cluster. Without weak ties clusters will be unable to produce any change beyond itself. The major strength of weak ties is its ability to send and receive new information (Granovetter 1982). A social movement would grow and gather new members through weak ties. Weak ties are known for their ability to foster the spread of collective action (Knocke and Wisely 1990). Participants within the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project returned to their college campuses and use their

connections between and within campuses to foster a loosely knit cluster of anti-war movements (McAdams 1987). Further, a study of social groups that were mobilized around educational issues within a community found that the groups that were formed on the basis of weak ties were more successful than those formed on strong ties (Steinberg 1980). Steinberg concludes that weak ties are more able to diffuse information that is necessary to promote change. Weak ties provide avenues for reaching large audiences and creating the possibility to develop allies based upon single issues (Rosenthal, Fingrutd, Ethier, Karant, and McDonald 1985).

Individual's social ties are important in that they allow a social movement to grow. As mentioned earlier, weak ties allow information to be transmitted to a wider (perhaps more influential) audience. Also, strong ties to a known activist increased a person's likelihood of joining a movement (McAdam 1986). Strong ties also form the relationships within a cluster of individuals or groups that make up the center of a movement (Rosenthal, et.al. 1985). They also found that strong ties bond the relations within clusters of individuals or groups, while weak ties usually bridge clusters of individuals or groups.

Collective action involves the existence of a collective identity between members, solidarity between members and the movement, a consciousness of the necessity for change, and the events (micromobilization) that links the individual with the sociocultural elements of the movement (Gamson 1991). Gamson (1991) stated that a study of social movements must look at the above ideas as well as linking individual and collective activity. Network analysis has the ability to conceptualize structures as small as a triad to as large a structure as one wishes. Network analysis is able to conceptualize the position an individual occupies within a larger structure while at the same time evaluate the structure within which the individual exists.

Collective identity, solidarity, and consciousness all can be features of the network in which an individual resides. The density and homogeneity of a person's network can, in part, determine the extent to which a person or people have internalized the values and beliefs of a movement. These will also play a part in the viability of a social movement. Highly dense networks may be able to instill a collective identity, solidarity, and consciousness within members. The mutual interaction among members help reinforce the values and beliefs within the movement. Homogeneity within a cluster will also reinforce collective beliefs because there would be little conflict among members concerning the movement's beliefs and values. While these attributes are important in sustaining a movement it does little to get more members for the movement or to create change in society. A very dense and homogeneous network would be closed off from the rest of society and unable to create any change.

Micromobilization occurs through encounters (Gamson 1991). Encounters involve activities that either help or hinder the movement. These activities do not need to be experienced first hand but must be communicated to others. Encounters occur through people's ties, especially weak ties. As mentioned earlier, weak ties are important in diffusing information through networks. Strong ties are not as effective as weak ties in this matter because individuals connected by strong ties are not likely to know more than the other (homogeneity). The greater the number of ties a person or groups has (especially weak ties) the more information one can receive about the activities concerning the movement. The size of a network and the number of weak ties also allow movements to gather additional people for the movements. People who hear about the existence of a movement through their network and are interested are now able to become new members. Micromobilization is important in creating and sustaining collective identity, solidarity, and consciousness, but it is of little use if no one knows about it.

Size, density, and homogeneity all influence the ability of a social movement to sustain itself, grow, and to create social change. The homosexual movement is a good example of a social movement that is able to establish collective belief and values among its members and to create change in society. The transgender movement is just beginning, providing a rare opportunity to evaluate a social movement from its inception. Further, suggestions can be made in order to increase its viability and ability to create social change.

### Homosexual Movement

Prior to WWII, homosexual organizations (the few that existed) contained very few members and lacked any affect upon the larger society (Licata 1981). Homosexuals at that time were hidden away from the larger society and unable to organize within public scrutiny because of the fear of being discovered (D'Emilio 1992).

It was during WWII that homosexuals were began to be seen by others and themselves as a minority thanks to the U.S. military. The military would not allow homosexuals in the service and dismissed many from service. The active discrimination of homosexuals by the U.S. government formally labeled homosexuals as a minority group which significantly affected their lives. The stigma that was attached to these individuals forced them together with others like themselves (because the stigma prevented them from returning to their homes) creating the beginning of homosexual communities. Their greater concentration brought them into conflict with the rest of society which often led to their incarceration. Organizations were created to help these people who were arrested as well as a focus for social functions (Licata 1981).

During the 1950's homosexuals began to discuss just what it means to be a homosexual. They began to create an identity in the face of public opposition. Also, studies began to appear which showed that homosexuality was not a sign of a mental disturbance or as being immoral but within the realm of human sexuality. However, at this time institutional discrimination of homosexuals was extended with the advent of McCarthyism and the belief that homosexuals were a security risk. This led to an executive order which excluded homosexuals from government service. The result of this discrimination led to the formation of discussion groups concerning homosexuality within the major cities of the U.S.. This eventually developed into the Mattachine Foundation (MF) which enabled members to share experiences with each other, to build consensus with each other, and to expose the injustice they faced in their lives. They then began to protest the institutionalized homophobia of that time (Licata 1981).

Homosexual organizations continued to flourish throughout the 1950's. However, it was the 1960's which saw the increase in the homosexual's movement toward acceptance and equality. The civil rights movement at that time inspired homosexuals and introduced other demonstration and protest tactics to their movement (Licata 1981). Their methods were successful and they managed to stop New York City from asking job applicants whether they are homosexual. The homosexual's political power has greatly increased (especially in San Francisco). The homosexual rights movement also began to protest their treatment by law enforcement personnel. At that time a national convention of homosexuals developed the Homosexual Bill of Rights<sup>1</sup> (Licata 1981). Even with all the advancements the

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<sup>1</sup> 1. Private consensual sex acts between persons over the age of consent shall not be an offense.  
2. Solicitation for any sexual act shall not be an offense except upon the

homosexual rights movement was able to achieve the movement for the most part was ignored by the larger society.

An event occurred that forever changed the course of the movement. On June 27, 1969 in Greenwich Village the local police went to the Stonewall Inn and ejected the homosexual patrons (including drag queens and transvestites). This event so angered the local Gay community that they then began to rebel. The rebellion lasted four days and brought a new militancy to the homosexual rights movement (Licata 1981). The protests for homosexual rights became more militant and revolutionary. Homosexuals began to protest for other leftist causes like women's rights, environmentalism, and ending third world oppression. They also began to ally themselves to other radical organizations, and with liberal politicians. Also at this time a rift opened up between homosexual men and women. Lesbian organizations began to ally themselves with other women's organizations like the National Organization of Women (NOW) (Licata 1981).

It was during the 1970's that homosexuals made great gains in the fight for equal rights. Homosexuality was removed as a category of mental illness from the Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM) developed by the American Psychiatric Association. Homosexual politicians began to gain greater prominence as well as positions in government at all levels. The U.S. government also began to lift many restrictions concerning the employment of homosexuals. Also at this time an anti-homosexual counter-movement began to act in protest against the homosexuals and the gains they had achieved. However, these events also acted to increase the solidarity of homosexuals. Another event which further crystallized the solidarity within the homosexual movement was the murder of Harvey Milk. When his murderer received lenient treatment by the judicial system, the homosexual community was outraged and soon rioted (Licata 1981).

While the homosexual rights movement saw its greatest gains in the 1970's, the 1980's brought with it a backlash against homosexual rights contributed to by the conservative Reagan administration and the AIDS epidemic. The fear of AIDS accentuated society's homophobia. The current atmosphere of hatred also had an impact on homosexuals' identity. However, this atmosphere also increased the groups solidarity (Weeks 1991). As individuals come to accept their identity as a homosexual they are brought into the larger homosexual network which became an important part of their support network (sometimes their only support network due to the stigma of homosexuality). The history of the entire movement can be explained by individuals linking themselves together because of their homosexuality which ultimately created a collective consciousness. The homosexual movement can be conceived as a rapidly growing network that gains in strength over time.

### Networks of Homosexuals

The growth of the homosexual movement involves the increasing interlinkages between individuals.

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| filing of a complaint by the aggrieved                    | party, not a police officer or agent. |
| 3. A person's sexual orientation or practice shall not be | a factor in the                       |
| granting or renewal of federal security                   | clearance, visas, and the granting of |
| citizenship.  |                                       |
| 4. Service in and discharge from the armed forces and     | eligibility shall                     |
| be without reference to                                   | homosexuality.                        |
| 5. A person's sexual orientation or practice shall not    | affect his eligibility                |
| for employment with federal,                              | state, or local governments.          |

The ties within their networks eventually became to be heavily composed of other homosexuals. Their network structure grew and was able to create and sustain a collective identity amongst homosexuals, a feeling of solidarity between homosexuals, and the consciousness that society is wrong for its discrimination and prejudice. At the same time, people received knowledge of events through their ties which further increased their adherence to the movement's ideologies. The exclusion from the military, the organization of homosexual rights organizations, the Stonewall rebellion, the killing of Harvey Milk, the removal of homosexuality from the DSM, as well as conflict with conservative forces all served to mobilize homosexuals in the fight for equal rights. As word of these events spread across people's networks more and more people began to get involved in the struggle.

### Transgender Community

The transgender movement consists of transsexuals and crossdressers (transvestites) and involves changing society's view of gender. Both groups seek to present themselves as female (if genetic male) or male (if genetic female). However, there is a difference between the two in how they identify themselves. Transvestites identify themselves primarily as their genetic sex, but which to portray themselves as the opposite gender because they enjoy it, or it helps them express a segment of their personality. Transsexuals see their genetic sex as being contradictory to their gender identity (mental) and seek to remedy the situation by living their lives as their gender identity. Some transsexuals seek to physically become female (if genetic male) or male (if genetic female), while transvestites only change their physical appearance without surgery. This should be seen as a continuum because their are individuals who live as a female (if genetic male) or male (if genetic female) without surgery.

Transvestites<sup>2</sup> and transsexuals have been seen by society as suffering from a mental illness. Most studies of these individuals are oriented along those lines (Talamari 1982). Studies of transvestites and transsexuals involve explaining their existence psychologically. However, this ignores the social issues involved with these individuals. It fails to conceive of these individuals as being a minority group. They are conceived as being merely individuals with a mental illness, that their choice of dress or gender identity automatically makes them insane (Talamari 1982).

Transvestites and transsexuals have some differences in their interaction with the medical community in that transsexuals have more contact with them. Psychiatrists act as gatekeepers for those seeking to change their physiological sex to match their mental sex. This involves the psychiatrist monitoring the transsexual as they live fulltime as their mental sex. Transsexuals must be evaluated by medical personnel before they can be treated. In the case of the Cleveland clinic's program it entails: 1) Informing the patient of what the program expects of him/her and what they can expect of the clinic's professionals (costs, services, patient's role, and the expectation that the patient will show up for appointments and being honest with all members of the team). 2) the patient is evaluated to see if they fit their criteria: a) absence of psychosis. b) absence of any long standing behavior wherein the patient reports actively using and deriving pleasure from the sex organs they are now rejecting. c) An interest pattern and behavioral potential for achieving more satisfying interactions within the context of the gender role opposite the patient's biological sex. d) An explicit statement by the patient that states that he/she understands what biological sex he/she is but that it contradicts with the gender he/she has internalized psychologically (Weatherhead, Powers, Rodgers, Schumacher, Ballard, Hartwell

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<sup>2</sup> While transvestism is listed within the DSM-III-R as a disorder this paper only uses the term to describe someone who crossdresses and not in reference to anyone's mental state.

1978). Further, in 1979 the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association published Standards of Care which outlines the treatment procedures for those wishing sex reassignment surgery (SRS). Psychotherapists have a lot of power over these people under the standards of care. It specifically states that transsexuals must have the written recommendation by two psychotherapists (one of which must be a psychiatrist) before they can receive treatment. These standards not only view SRS on demand as being inadvisable but the surgeon would be guilty of professional misconduct if he/she does not receive written recommendations from a psychiatrist and one other behavioral scientist (Bullough and Bullough 1993). The Standards of Care also outlines the path and time period that a transsexual must follow for their transition.<sup>3</sup> The standards of care is still being used today to structure the treatment of transsexuals.

What happens is that transsexuals then must live in a way in which the psychiatrists define as being male or female not the transsexual. Sexuality plays a big part in this definition, i.e. male-to-female (M->F) transsexuals must be attracted to men and female to male (F->M) transsexuals must be attracted to women (Bolin 1988). What usually occurs is that transsexuals many times become hyperfeminine or hypermasculine (or more (fe)male than (fe)males generally are) just so they can receive treatment. Because of their gatekeeper role, mental health professionals have a power advantage over transsexuals, and when transsexuals become conflicted over this inequity the psychiatrist or psychologist will attribute it to the transsexuals immaturity or to a mental imbalance (Bolin 1988). Also involved is the conflict between how the transsexual wants to live and how the mental health professional expects the transsexual to live. As a result of this many transsexuals have to resort to lying in order to get the necessary permission for surgery (Bolin 1988).

Crossdressers generally do not need to interact within the medical community. However, their behavior is still labeled by that community as being mentally ill. Psychiatrists have many explanations of why people crossdress (studies usually consist totally of men) which usually involves them being treated as girls when they were young. Studies of transvestites found that most have had a stereotypical childhood and identified with male gender roles (Talamari 1982). Many transvestites were subject to severe treatment at the hand of the medical community in order to modify their behavior.

Between 30-50% of male transvestite club members report seeing a therapist, the percentages are lower within closeted crossdressers. Therapy is mostly likely to be initiated because the crossdresser's wife becomes distressed over their husband's crossdressing. Theories and studies state that these couple's have two possible paths, one in which the wife is provided support in order to help

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1. Psychiatrist must know the patient for at least three months.
  2. Live for three months in the social role as their mental sex prior to hormone therapy.
  3. Six months must pass before nongenital surgery can take place.
  4. Twelve months must pass before genital surgery can take place.

them understand their husbands, the other is that crossdressing is abnormal and that the crossdresser needs help (Bullough and Bullough 1993).

The attitude of the medical community to the transgendered community has led many in that community to decide that something must be done to change things. Many transgendered individuals are now fighting to remove transsexualism and transvestism from the Diagnostic Statistical Manual, removal or revision of the Benjamin standards of care, and to remove the power mental health professionals have over their lives. They feel that every person has the right to live their life in whatever gender role they are most comfortable in. This is one of the goals of the transgender movement. This would not be the first time that a group sought to redefine themselves outside of the medical model. As mentioned earlier, gays and lesbians were able to remove homosexuality from the DSM manuals (Kirk and Kutchins 1992). A problem arises from the transsexuals need for treatment. Some see the DSM diagnostic label as being their legitimizer, that this allows them to state to people that they do not do this as a lifestyle choice but because they actually have a problem that needs medical treatment.

Transsexuals seek to legitimize their plight, to change laws so that they can legally be considered their new sex, and to monitor the medical communities attitude and behavior to individuals seeking to change their sex. Transvestites wish to destigmatize their lifestyle in society. Both groups seek to change current ideology concerning gender roles. They believe that all people have the right to chose or display whatever gender role that they are comfortable in regardless of genetic sex. The transgender movement is very recent compared to the homosexual movement. Transvestite and transsexual organizations arose within the 1950's and 60's with the existence of Christine Jorgensen (transsexual) and Virginia Prince (Transvestite) (Bullough and Bullough 1993). However, the existence of a transgendered community that seeks reforms did not come into existence until the 1990's.

Virginia (Charles) Prince began as a publisher of transvestite periodicals (Transvestia, and Femme Mirror) which then developed into Chevalier Publications. These publications enabled other crossdressers to communicate with each other and to share information. These correspondences lead some to eventually meet in public together and form the first crossdresser's club (Bullough and Bullough 1993). This eventually developed into a sorority called Phi Pi Epsilon which stood for "full personality expression" (Bullough and Bullough 1993). This became the base for what grew to become a national organization with chapters across the country. The national organization was named the Society for the Second Self (Tri-Ess) while chapters (26 chapters within the United States at this time) are still referred to as sororities.

Other organizations and publications also formed during this time including organizations for transsexuals. For the most part these organizations allowed individuals to dress up and interact with others like themselves within a social environment. Organizations and publications at this time were not oriented towards any form of reform or social change. In fact, many organizations hid their true purpose in order to prevent its members from being stigmatized, for example, by masquerading as a theatrical group (Lynn 1994).



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

The transgender community may not seem on the surface as being actively engaged within a social or political movement. It, however, has only just begun to organize for social change. In 1992 the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc. (ICTLEP) had its first meeting to discuss issues relevant to the transgender movement. ICTLEP and IFGE have allied themselves in the fight for the rights of the transgendered. They are calling out to people to find the courage to stand up for themselves and to take action (Frederickson 1993). The movement is still very much in its infancy, however, it still can be conceptualized as a community in which some of its members have developed a political consciousness.

As mentioned earlier, transgender organizations have only just begun to be political. However, transgenderists have been involved in education and social support for many years now. Groups and publications have been in existence for many years, and these enabled transgenderists to interact within a friendly atmosphere. Further, many groups or publications also sponsor conventions or get togethers which allowed individuals to temporarily interact crossdressed within a neutral area. These conventions also allowed individuals from diverse areas to interact with each other. Information about medical care, daily living, and legal aspects are easily diffused within these three medias. Further, conventions also act as micromoblizers in that these events help to reaffirm an individual's place within the community as well as its existance.

The transgender (TG) community at this time can be compared to the post world war II homosexual community. This is a crucial time for the TG movement in that transgendered individuals are beginning to develop a common consciousness, that people are beginning to feel apart of a larger community. However, current medical and social labels make it difficult for new people to accept a transgendered identity. Homosexual rights organizations existed within a similar climate in that only a few individuals actually involved themselves within organizations. Legal and social harassment angered many homosexuals into action. Many people became involved first to educate the public and later to protest their discrimination. Many TG organizations have served as an educator of transgenderism to the public and only just begun the activist role. The next few years will mark the growing visibility of the movement.

Networks and the Transgendered

In a network sense TG organizations exist as dense clusters. Many individuals may belong to different organizations therefore different groups will have connections with each other. These interlinkages will create cohesiveness amongst the transgendered. However, problems exist that will limit the growth and interconnectedness of these networks.

A major problem remains the recruitment of new members. This involves how readily TG individuals will develop the feeling of a collective consciousness. Many transsexuals once they have received their sex reassignment surgery will no longer identify themselves as a transsexual but as their new physical sex. At this point they may not accept the movement into their lives. Many crossdressers also may not become involved in the movement as well. These individuals can crossdress secretly and feel that it is enough, that plus if they are married they may not want to do anything that will cause distress within the marriage. Married crossdressers are not likely to participate within the movement for that reason. Secretive crossdressers may not have access to the TG network that would give them information about the movement or to influence their acceptance of the movement within their lives. Perhaps homosexuals in the early part of the movement were similarly apprehensive about joining the movement at that time. Only by spreading information about the movement can additional members be acquired. Contacts with others within the movement will also bring additional members within the movement. The strategy of education and support for TG individuals is a good strategy for disseminating information and the creation of ties to the movement.

Current Status of the Homosexual and Transgender Movements

Currently both groups are somewhat at odds with each other because of the transgender movement's desire to legitimately place itself along side the homosexual rights movement. Examples include having transgender left off the names of the three marches on Washington even though these individuals attended (Frye 1994). The transgendered are now trying to get included into the Stonewall 25th anniversary event but so far without success. However, transgendered individuals will be protesting the event if they are not included in the name (changing Gay, Lesbian, to Gay, Lesbian, and Transgendered) (Frye 1994). The transgendered feel that they are equally victimized by a heterosexist society much like the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual communities.

The conflict arises out of the fact that the transgendered are: 1. highly noticeable and 2. still stigmatized by society. Some individuals within the Homosexual rights movement feel that allowing the transgendered into the movement will give the far right ammunition to use against them. That it was too radical for an organization striving for acceptance in the mainstream. Another argument comes from women who view transgenderists as mocking women. That transsexuals are not true women and that crossdressers presented a stereotypical image of women (Martin and Duberman 1993). Transgenderists now are fighting these views in order to increase their political strength. The Stonewall protest may be the start of transgenderists acting on their own behalf instead of within the fringes of the homosexual movement.

The issues that transgenderists are fighting for include removing transsexualism and transvestism from the Diagnostic Statistical Manuals (DSMs) thus removing psychiatrists from their position as gatekeepers (ICTLEP 1993). They feel that people have the right to express whatever gender identity they are most comfortable with and seek hormonal and reconstructive surgery if they wish. Also, that medical professionals cannot discriminate in the provision of sex reassignment services based on the sexual orientation, marital status, or physical appearance of the patient. The nonmedical issues include allowing individuals to legally change their name and their sex upon all licenses and identification, changing military policy in regards to homosexual and transgendered personnel, and enact a policy to protect the rights of incarcerated transgendered individuals (ICTLEP 1993). Also involved is the ability to make the transition from one gender to another without worrying about losing one's job. The major goal that these issues resolve around is the redefinition of sexuality within society. To change the view that one's gender is determined at birth and is permanently set for life to a view that allows individuals to choose for themselves what gender they wish to live as regardless of their biological form and society's beliefs. Gender will no longer be seen as a static dichotomy but as a continuum in which people can place themselves.

Homosexual rights groups within the early sixties presented a very mainstream appearance when protesting. This was to get mainstream America to accept them (Licata 1981). However, after Stonewall homosexuals began to criticize this strategy especially after some homosexuals (Mattachine Society particularly) criticized the uprising (Martin and Duberman 1993). After this the older, conservative elements within the movement were replaced by younger, more radical elements.

The Homosexual rights movement has gained some power within the establishment. Organizations promoting homosexual rights operate relatively free of harassment by people in general. Their most vocal critics are those within the far right who seek to reduce homosexual's status within society. However, homosexual rights activists are ready to fight them when and where necessary, as is the case with the anti-homosexual referendums in Oregon and Colorado. Homosexual organizations have gained some political power over the years by constant campaigning, lobbying, and making contacts within government.

The purpose of homosexual rights organizations is to create an atmosphere within society that will allow people to admit their sexual preference without fear of harassment. Also, to promote the interests of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual communities in regards to legal, health, and social issues. Issues that are primarily on the agenda now include increasing funding for AIDS education and research, allowing homosexual couples the right to marry, parental rights and the right to adopt children, military service, and employment rights. Issues on college campuses include enforcing regulations that punish hate crimes, the discriminatory practice of ROTC, and diversity training. Like transgenderists, homosexuals seek to redefine sexuality within society, that the only thing different between heterosexuals and homosexuals is who they are attracted too. That male-female unions are not the "norm" but one of many types. People should be allowed to live their lives whichever they are most comfortable with.

These are not separate movements. As mentioned earlier, both seek to redefine society's conception of gender and sexuality. Individuals may be involved within both movements in one form or another. An example being the drive to add transgender to the Stonewall 25 event name. Problems arise because some organizations for crossdressers actively exclude homosexuals (Tri-Ess and affiliates primarily) because they seek to disassociate their crossdressing from sexual orientation. Their membership contains many married crossdressers who may wish to put their wives at ease. Also, many homosexuals do not wish to have their organization or movement involved with either transsexuals or crossdressers because they are afraid that they will detract from a mainstream image. Both groups do not wish to present themselves too far from the mainstream. One group may say that even though we dress as women they are still heterosexual, the other may say that even though we are attracted to people of the same sex as ourselves we still dress and behave in ways that are consistent to our biological sex. This division could be very harmful because the conflict this can create between the groups within the homosexual and transgender movements will use up resources that can be better used in the fight for their collective rights. They have more to gain by joining forces than remain adversaries.

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