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FROM THE EDITOR...

In this issue of the *Journal of Gender Studies*, we have focused on the International Congress on Gender, Crossdressing, and Sex Issues. This Congress took place in Los Angeles at the end of February 1995. It was the first time in a decade that we have had a joint meeting among academics, health care providers, lawyers, clergy, and the diverse elements of the conscious gender communities. There were paper presentations, workshops, panels, and major addresses given by all of the above. There was truly an ecumenical flavor and spirit to this hallmark event. The program and the Congress was sponsored by the Center for Sex Research at California State University at Northridge, CA, under the direction of Drs. Vern Bullough and James Elias. Cosponsors to the Congress included the Outreach Institute, FTM Group of Northern California, IFGE, AEGIS, and REA of Pennsylvania. Many of the presentations were recorded, and we have condensed several of the more interesting ones and printed them here. In addition to the opening words of Drs. Elias and Bullough, we have included synopses from papers given by W. Bockting, J. Cromwell, M. Gilbert, and R. Gorski. We hope these will prove sufficiently of interest to the readership, and we would like some feedback from you.

1994-1995 has been a banner year for many books and videos about the conscious gender community. We have found four titles that were imperative to review in the *Journal*. These are *Gender Outlaw* by K. Bornstein, *Manual of Voice Treatment* by M. L. Andrews, *Raging Hormones* by G. Vines, and *The Apartheid of Sex* by M. Rothblatt. We also review some recent video tapes that focus on gender issues.

A new service that we offer to health care providers is to list their professional card in the *Journal*. Two insertions (for two issues) cost just \$35.

We like to hear from our readership, both your comments and reactions to any piece that we have published. We are always looking for new contributions for our next issue.

—Ari Kane, Editor and Publisher



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The Outreach Institute of Gender Studies is a not-for-profit educational corporation of the State of Maine. It serves as a resource for helping professionals, transsexuals, crossdressers, and androgynes.

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



Cover artist—A resident of Ashby, Massachusetts, Mariana Furtney Fyfe has exhibited her works regularly at the Fitchburg Art Museum. She holds a degree in Commercial Art and teaches classes in drawing and painting. An extremely versatile artist, she uses oil paint, watercolors, and mixed media to produce paintings, murals, stage sets and, most recently, illustrations for a book of poetry. The cover illustration was drawn especially for *JGS* in 1995.

A GLOSSARY FOR UNDERSTANDING GENDER DIVERSITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON GENDER, CROSSDRESSING, AND SEX ISSUES

The following articles are based on presentations given at a conference, the International Congress on Gender, Crossdressing, and Sex Issues, held in Los Angeles February 25-28, 1995. The first part is the Opening Plenary Session including opening remarks by James Elias and the keynote address by Vern Bullough. Following that are synopses of four papers given by Conference presenters M. Gilbert, W. Bocking, J. Cromwell, and R. Gorski; these were selected by your editor from the over 80 reports offered at the Conference. They were felt to be representative of the variety and quality of the Conference presentations and of interest to the spectrum of Journal readers. The complete text of most of the Conference papers will appear in the Proceedings of the International Congress in the Spring of 1996.

These presentations were prepared for publication from actual audio tapes of the sessions. In adapting them for print, some of the phrasing has been modified and some sections were shortened. As much of the speakers' content and style as possible were preserved and the integrity of their ideas maintained. Where narrative has been added, it appears in italics to differentiate it from the speaker's own words.

Presentations were synopsized by A. Kane and J. Walworth. The Journal of Gender Studies and the Outreach Institute of Gender Studies take no position regarding the content and conclusions of these presentations.



WELCOME

by J. Elias

First of all, as the current Director of the Center for Sex Research at California State University Northridge and cochair of this conference, I'd like to welcome you. The Center for Sex Research at Northridge is one of those organizations that has always maintained a low profile but has been effective in meeting its mission since its inception nearly two decades ago. The first director of the Center for Sex Research was Vern Bullough. Following Vern was Veronica Elias, Wayne Plasek, who is here, Doris Dennis, and then myself, current director. This conference is one in a whole series of accomplishments by the Center for Sex Research.

We have, whenever possible, documented our efforts, and we have in our library a series of tapes by significant contributors to the field, such as Paul Gebhardt when he was Director of the Kinsey Institute relating his early experiences with the original Kinsey studies, Bernie Zilbergild and Lonny Barback on male and female sexuality, and—another in our series of more than 20 tapes—Lon Humphries discussing his well-known research on the tearoom trade, a study that shows up now in almost every text on research methodology.

Our current symposiums over the last year have reflected current issues. For instance, Simon LeVay was out to discuss his research on homosexuality and the hypothalamus. Richard Greene talked about repressed memory. Richard Docter worked on a theory of crossgender behavior. This conference will contribute video tapes of the plenary sessions and audio tapes of the sessions to the Center for Sex Research and the many scholars and students who use our facilities. These materials, along with the library's special collection, which is known as the Bolla Collection due to the large gift from Vern and Bonnie, have been a major source of research for many scholars. In fact, we just yesterday received a significant contribution to the special collection from Ari Kane and the Outreach Institute of Gender Studies. This was a contribution of personal journals, newsletters, albums, and such which will be housed in the special collection at Northridge. This is a gift that we sincerely welcome, and we hope that others will continue to follow with gifts to our special collection.

These materials are utilized by scholars and students interested in the field of sexuality. We currently have 16 courses on sexuality ranging from sexual dysfunctions to erotic literature. These comprise a core curriculum

for those students minoring in human sexuality at Northridge. We maintain the largest number of undergraduate students in the field today. Our students are attending graduate programs throughout the country, and they will become our educators, researchers, and therapists of tomorrow. In fact, when you have someone in your session operating the slide and movie projectors, those are our students and we've recruited them to help out. This International Conference on Gender, Cross-dressing and Sex Issues hosted and sponsored by the Center for Sex Research and cosponsored by a variety of organizations—FTM Group of Northern California, International Foundation for Gender Education, Outreach Institute of Gender Studies, Renaissance Education Foundation, The Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, Tri ESS, and Aegis. We want to give our sincere thanks for the cosponsorship for this program.

It's part of the tradition of the Center to support and enhance our knowledge of sexuality. This program, this conference, a dialogue between professionals and those in the community, provides an opportunity for those who talk the talk and those who walk the walk to share their insights together. At a time when we're experiencing significant movement toward ethnic diversity in the colleges and the communities, it is also time for us to highlight the gender diversity of the cross-dressing, gender and sexual community.* It's time to break up those concepts which have long been imbedded in concrete and to show the world its own diversity in the gender community. On behalf of the Center for Sex Research and our cosponsors I want to welcome you to this conference.

James Elias is professor of sociology at California State University, Northridge, and the current director of the Center for Sex Research.



*This editor prefers the term conscious gender communities. —A.K.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

by V. Bullough

I hope that this Conference marks a significant departure point in the history of the gender community,* and I would like to speak to this issue today. I would also like to welcome you here. It's good to see so many old friends in different capacities, and I hope we carry off what we plan to do.

Let me give you a bit of history, of course, because that's what I am. Transvestism, the original term for crossdressing community was coined by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1910, and it's in a book for sale here, naturally. The importance of the book is that he described a new behavior pattern and said that it was different from homosexuality or heterosexuality per se. Havelock Ellis, a friend of Hirschfeld or a rival sometimes, picked up on Hirschfeld and said, you've got a great idea but it's lousy term. And so, he picked a term and he called the same behavior "eonism" after the Chevalier d'Eon, which was also a lousy term.

Interestingly, after this flurry of activity with two major books on it in a few years, the subject was more or less ignored. A few psychiatrists wrote on it and there were some literary studies of men and women who passed as the opposite sex but very little serious research on crossdressing. Two events brought greater attention to this in my lifetime. The first was the Christine Jorgensen's case, which burst on the world in 1952. Jorgensen was not the first to have her sex changed, but she was the first to achieve publicity, and publicity is as important as the event. Moreover, the discovery of hormones and the development of artificial ones in the late 1940s make realistic sex reassignments possible, since the hormonal component is all important. Note that in the scientific literature of the time, Jorgensen was described as a transvestite. Eventually a new term was developed—transsexualism—primarily through the efforts of Harry Benjamin, although Harry had not originally coined the term. I traced it back to Hirschfeld, and probably it goes before then, but the popularization of the term is certainly due to Harry Benjamin. The first glimmering that Jorgensen was not an isolated case came from the hundreds of letters received by the team of surgeons who operated on Jorgensen, all of them wanting to change their sex.

*This editor prefers the term conscious gender communities. —A.K.

A concurrent development took place, and I think the person most responsible for this is being honored by us in this Conference, namely the publication of *Transvestia* and the appearance of crossdressing "missionaries" through Virginia Prince. She organized the "missionfield." I speak of that as an historic event. Both events aroused interest in the research room, transsexualism because it involved physicians and surgeons, and a number of university centers were established as clinics for sexual reassignment surgery and study, while the organization of the transvestites offered for the first time a nonclinical source for research data. For a time, transsexualism dominated the literature, partly because it offered such an interesting challenge to surgeons, and gradually it became the specialty for a few, and the American who did the most in this field, Stanley Biber is being honored by us also tomorrow. Research into transvestism slowly increased, and some of the early valuable studies were done by Virginia and her colleagues. Some were done by my wife Bonnie and myself, but the researchers until fairly recently could be counted on the fingers on one hand or two hands, perhaps. Therapists also became interested, in part because their expertise was originally sought for surgical change, but also because if they were interested in family practice, they found a number of people referred to them because of marital problems on account of crossdressing. Particularly important in this respect, primarily for his efforts to educate the gender community, was Roger Peo, whom we are honoring posthumously tomorrow. In much of the research, the emphasis was on the male gender-blender, or males who went through sexual reassignment surgery, in part I guess because the males always dominated, but increasingly we've begun to pay attention to females as well.

Some of those who have pioneered in this work, such as Holly Devor, are at this Conference, but she is too young to honor so we didn't include her. Another one of the persons we do honor posthumously for his work in this field is Lou Sullivan, who with Jude Patton and Mario Martino did important organizational work in their community and helped educate many of those in this room, a work now being carried on by Dallas Denny and others. An interesting thing happened to this small minority attempting to experiment and even live in different gender lifestyles. Old traditional terms did not apply, and there turned out to be a barrage of challenging gender norms, and this is the major reason for this Conference. To emphasize this growing consciousness, I need to look at homosexuality briefly, a subject which I've also researched and a subject which many members of the gender community are somewhat leery about. But let me show a comparison here because I think it's important.

Homosexuality started as a research subject in the 1860s primarily by homosexuals themselves, but largely then the medical community moved in through Kraft-Ebbing, and the field soon came to be dominated by physicians, particularly psychiatrists, and an illness model developed. Only slowly did other behavioral science studies begin to appear. Although both Hirschfeld and Ellis did studies in this area which did not emphasize the illness approach, the breakdown about homosexuality and the challenge to the illness approach really came in the 1940s and was given emphasis by the publication of the Kinsey studies. Unfortunately, Dr. Kinsey never paid any attention to crossdressing or gender issues. The most controversial aspect of the study of the males by Kinsey was his statement that approximately 4% of adult American white males were homosexual. His estimate on women was 3%, but this figure did not raise the controversy that the males did, perhaps because it was overshadowed by the more general interest in the other aspects of female sexuality and perhaps because it seemed less threatening to the male scientific community. Still, the result of both Kinsey studies was a torrent of criticism, of claims, of counterclaims, but a major result was to make homosexuals and lesbians more assertive as individuals, and eventually as groups, as they realized that there were many more people like themselves out there—that the individual who discovered his or her own homosexuality was not the only person in the world to do so.

Though there had been earlier gay organizations in Europe, the real history of the modern gay movement began in Los Angeles shortly after the first Kinsey report, and two of the groups founded here ultimately achieved national significance, the Mattachine Society and ONE Incorporated which began to publish a national magazine called *One*. The organized movement spread fairly rapidly and by the 1960s, gay travel guides had appeared, numerous homosexual and lesbian organizations had surfaced including the Daughters of Bilitis, and researchers entered the field in great and increasing numbers.

The media also discovered homosexuality and lesbianism in part through the Kinsey reports, but with the Stonewall demonstration in the late '60s the subject really became a center of media attention. Increasingly also, many gays and lesbians began a program of individual self-identification to emphasize their ubiquity and normality, though such public identification should always be a matter of personal choice. As some homosexuals became more willing to identify themselves as a sexual minority, researchers made a rather startling discovery, which was summarized about 25 or 30 years ago in a book by Alan Bell and Martin Weinberg called *The Homosexualities*, namely that there is a tremendous variation in what one called

gay or lesbian and no one description would fit all people—that there was not just one model of homosexuality but many different kinds.

Now I think, 16 years later, that is the message of this conference—that there is not just one description of the [cross]gender community, but there are many varieties and kinds. We don't have a good term yet. Terms range from crossdresser to transvestite, to transsexual, to transgenders, to gender-blender, to she-male, to male-women, to femmiphile, and I had a list of about 20 but I thought you'd get bored by them. And so, what these people do is that they cross the gender barriers. Some are heterosexual, some are homosexual, and some are bisexual. Probably most of the ones this group are heterosexual, but it's very difficult to isolate and find one description. We try to impart this message in our book published in 1993, but it's become even clearer since then. Presenting at this conference are many from the community who do not fit any of the stereotypes that were assumed to exist as late as 10 years ago.

The similarity of the crossgender communities parallels the development of the gay and lesbian community in other ways as well. That is, the more we know about it, the more complicated the thing appears. Since the crossgender community made its first tentative effort to meet together, sort of hurriedly in places like Oregon and New York, the numbers of such national and regional meetings have escalated, and public consciousness has grown. In examining the magazine *Tapestry*, which sort of keeps a calendar of all the events, it becomes apparent that events occur almost every week of the year and sometimes several in the same week. This conference, for example, coincides with a national meeting being held in Texas, and I've been severely reprimanded for this by some Texans. But my answer is, we had to conflict with some group, and we wanted to hold it in February when it's nice in Los Angeles.

What we wanted to do in this Conference is cast as broad a net as possible in order to showcase what I think is this bewildering array of persons and lifestyles in the gender-blending community. In a sense, I hope to accomplish, and Jim with me, a much quieter version of Stonewall, though other sponsors perhaps had different agendas. More importantly, since the conference represents both professionals and those in the [cross]gender community, we also had another purpose. For those of us who are professionals, it emphasizes that we want and need the members of the gender community to help us to understand. Researchers are only beginning to realize the limitations put on human conduct by traditional attitudes toward gender. Many feminists have explored this, but I don't think we have explored it enough from a crossgender perspective. The more we explore, the more

we find, and the more varieties come out. Hopefully, the results of this conference will be an outpouring of literature and greater communication between all of us. Perhaps publishers will set up special divisions to publish books on gender-blenders as they have on gays and lesbians and on feminist studies, all of which overlap somewhat with what we do. I find that publishers have been reluctant to publish in this area because they are not sure that the books will sell. They know there is a great interest in the world at large, and all you need to do is look at the movies that have been appearing with all the gender-blending, but they are not sure about books. I'm not sure that this is a valid feeling they have, and if recent Hollywood movies and television productions are any example, I think the public has an awakening interest in finding out what many people in this room are doing.

A brave few in the community have been willing to make their other-gender personas public, and as others do so, they might find the world is not as hostile as it seems, although I don't think I would advise anybody to do it unless they were very much stronger willed than most of the people I know. This has important implications, this changing gender. For all of us, both men and women, and that's for children too, because if we can lessen the rigid gender barriers somewhat, all of us might have greater freedom. This is certainly happening in the case of American women in general, but they still have a long tradition to overcome. Change is taking place at a slower pace for males and particularly slowly for boys. The gender-blender who becomes public might be regarded as a kind of oddity, but there's a half-hearted admiration for those who do. This is most noticeable in the recent *New Yorker* profile on a Tennessee Republican from Nashville who emphasizes machismo aspects in the article; that is, he owns and flies his own plane, is a former football player, 100% male, belongs to all the male clubs, but he also enjoys dressing up as a woman and going public. Of course, he has millions of dollars so nobody pays any attention to him.

In short, I think times are changing, and we think this conference is a sign of it. We want to welcome you to the study of the changing world of gender. Hopefully by coming together we can better understand each other. As a long-time researcher in the field, those of you in the [cross]gender community represent more than subjects to me and to my wife who usually helps me, you are friends, acquaintances, and unique human beings. I hope you feel the same about us and the other researchers here and the therapists who are here. We can't work apart from each other; we need to work together, though we will strive to keep our scientific integrity, and we will often report findings that you do not like and ask questions on our questionnaires that you do not like. Why are you asking this question about sex, peo-

ple keep asking me, but after all, I am a sexologist. It's only by working together that we can arrive at answers and a better understanding of the way all of us live out there.

Vern Bullough is distinguished professor emeritus at the State University of New York. He is past director of the Center for Sex Research at California State University, Northridge, and past president of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality. He is the author of many books on important topics in sexuality and gender.



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Ari Kane, M.Ed., Gender Specialist

BEYOND APPEARANCES: CROSSDRESSING AND GENDERED RATIONALITY

by M. Gilbert

I am interested in exploring ways in which people may disagree more effectively and especially with the greater possibility of ending in agreement. This research, combined with a long-time connection with crossdressing, has led me to wonder about the relationship between the diverse ways in which men and women reason and communicate and how the transgender folks do it. I ask the questions: Can one intentionally adopt a rationality that is different from that which one might be expected to develop from birth? This will be the focus of my talk today.

In C. Gilligan's book *In a Different Voice*, she discusses the "ethics of care" and calls a woman's thinking mode to be grounded in connectivity, responsibility, and personal relationship. She believes that women are more focused on their attachments to others, their place in the web of human relationships, and their connectedness to people with whom they interact. Women's first priority is to stay involved with those people that they interact with, while men are more concerned with their place in a hierarchy of power and control. Her conclusions about women's thinking patterns as mirrored in their speaking patterns is discussed in D. Tannen's book *You Just Don't Understand*.

According to Tannen, "the language of conversation is primarily a language of rapport, a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships, while for most men, speech is basically a means to preserve independence and to negotiate and maintain status in a hierarchical social order." She further says that if there is intent to shift genders, it is important to adopt the speech patterns of the other gender, like the questioning intonation used by many women in their declarative sentence structure or the tendency by men to interrupt and dominate a conversation.

The nub of my concern is: if a person in a gender shift process adopts the speech patterns of the preferred gender role, does that also mean that they have learned and adopted the underlying rationality associated with that gender role? The substructure of thinking, examining, relating, feeling, and communicating is developed and inculcated from birth. There is a style of the position called "essentialism." These are essential characteristics men and women have that define their respective genders. In addition, there is a process of cultururation associated with this sociological essentialism.

I claim that no socialization process is wholly unigenderal. For instance, some boy children will have had some exposure to processes of feminine socialization by observing the young girls that live, play, and attend the same school. Even though the socialization process involves a specific instruction set for one sex, that same sex is also exposed to the instruction set of the other sex. To what degree can a birth-assigned male expect to enter a female socialization melee in later life? A strongly identified crossgendered individual could conceivably pick up and train in an alternate set of social practices through the media of movies and television. The advantage of using these media for a person in the gender shift process is that the learning is private and is done passively. With more gender options available later in developmental life, this subliminal training can be more visibly expressed and nurtured. There is a period of time when, for the transsexual, the roots of feminine socialization can form the basis for the flowering of a more complete female personality and rationality. The later in life a person becomes aware of their crossgender identification, the more difficult will be the absorption of the desired socialization.

Many transsexuals first identified as crossdressers and did so when they were quite young. An awareness of childhood games, conversations, and mannerisms of one sex and the differences observed in the same types of activities by the other sex may be a foundational factor in the construction of a later crossgender affinity.

The earlier a crossgender affinity or tendency to develop one, the greater is the likelihood that a crossgender rationality would assert itself. The factors that could influence this are quite diverse. They include a degree of self-recognition as a crossgender person, availability of support groups, and a positive sense of self to encompass the alternate modes of thinking, feeling, and being. In order for this process to occur, I believe that one must have acquired or learned the insight about a preferred gender role which goes beyond appearances and includes the ways in which one relates to others.

The adoption of a crossgendered role or lifestyle, permanently or temporarily, can be mimicked or seriously incorporated into the overall life of the individual. For the latter to take place, the individual must strive to incorporate the rationality of the preferred gender role as well as a style of presentation. Learning gender rationality is not a simple undertaking. Men who want to learn a feminine approach to communication and rationality should study fiction. Some fiction writers extol and amplify the nature and texture of feminine perspectives. The reason for this, I believe, is that for generations women were excluded from academic writing and women's

concerns were excluded from academic purview. Their only outlet for the expression of ideas and feelings was through fiction writings. One can learn much about being a woman from Virginia Woolf, Margaret Lawrence, or even Danielle Steele. It is important to read a wide range of fictional materials, so as to avoid stereotypes of femininity. We are taught to form judgments about some traits that have been associated with one or the other gender role. It is the circumstances that may dictate behaviors, not just the particular gender expression.

Health care providers who work in the field of gender conflict and identity disorders should consider ways of thinking associated with a gender shift choice as one of many treatment strategies. Many M-to-Fs and F-to-Ms have a sense of the gender role that they prefer. However, recommended readings about the diversity of choices within the broad categories of masculinity and femininity can foster a more in-depth attitude about their gender option and feeling.

Many M-to-F crossgender people become committed to feminism and the causes of liberation. There are some, however, who show a lack of understanding about the subtleties of the preferred gender role. It does involve an entire way of viewing the world, of relating to others, of thinking and styles of communication. As a nontranssexual person, I have often thought that the goal of my journey must be some sort of integration of a pan-gendered whole that will combine the best of both gender worlds.

M. Gilbert is a professor of philosophy at York University in Toronto, Ontario.



TRANSGENDER COMING OUT: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLINICAL MANAGEMENT OF GENDER DYSPHORIA

by W. Bockting

In existence since the 1970s, this program has seen many changes over the years in the clinical approach to gender dysphoria, transgender identity, and sexuality. Practitioners in the program have tried to be responsive to paradigm shift that has occurred.

The medicalization of gender that occurred around the turn of the century is illustrated by a quote from Magnus Hirschfeld, a pioneer in gender studies, feminists studies, and gay and lesbian studies and one of the founders of sexology. In 1910 he wrote, "We have no right to condemn people we cannot heal, whom we cannot even help, we do not have the right to judge persons because their peculiarities are strange to us, incomprehensible, even unpleasant. We would look down upon soldiers who thought less of their wounded comrades. It is almost just as cruel to punish those with scorn who are emotionally wounded, I do not say diseased, who are only victims of inheritance." Hirschfeld believed that gender, cross-dressing, and transsexuality were biologically based. His view employed a medical model that pathologized crossdressing and transsexuality in order to ask for compassion and help for transgendered people who found themselves in conflict with the law because of their expression of their transgendered feelings. At the time, medicalization served a function in moving toward greater acceptance, but we can now move beyond that view of transgender as medical diagnosis.

Therapy attempted to change people's feelings and urges to express their transgender identity, but behavioral and psychodynamic approaches failed. Then the field shifted, and the approach was to adjust the body to the mind and to the transgender feelings. The paradigm was helping males to become women and females to become men, helping people change their sex and gender expression from one sex to the other, subscribing to a very binary conception of gender. Benjamin developed a scale, the purpose of which was to identify true transsexuals, for whom reassignment would be most appropriate.

I don't think there is such a thing as a true transsexual. There is a whole spectrum of gender identities. I see my role as helping my clients

find what is most comfortable for them and express them as opposed to trying to assess whether a person is a true transsexual or a man trapped in a woman's body or a woman trapped in a man's body. We have definitely left that conceptualization of gender and transgender behind.

Feminists have commented on the medicalization of gender. Janice Raymond wrote that "rape is a masculine violation of bodily integrity. All transsexuals rape women's bodies by reducing the female form to an artifact, appropriating this body for themselves. Rape, although it is usually done by force, can also be accomplished by deception." She feels it as a violation of womanhood.

Sandy Stone responded in "The Transsexual Empire Strikes Back," a chapter in *Body Guards*. She based her critique on autobiographies of transsexuals and found that these authors reinforce a binary mode of gender identification; go from unambiguous men to unambiguous women, with no territory in between. She is not surprised that feminist theorists have been suspicious of this process. She cites Jan Morris, who says goodbye to herself in the mirror before surgery as if she were leaving her old self behind and becoming an entirely new person. Sandy Stone's own experience was that the person looking back at her from the mirror after surgery was still her.

The conceptualization of gender as either male or female, man or woman, helping males to become women and females to become men, has reinforced a lot of shame in transgender people because they felt that they never measured up to the genetic sex, to a man who was born male or a woman who was born female. Sandy Stone calls for transsexuals to speak for themselves, to come out, and to challenge this binary conception of gender and fight for a place for themselves that transcends gender dichotomy.

An article from Barbara Warren of the Gender Identity Project in New York advocates spelling transsexual with one s instead of two to indicate the affirmation of a unique transsexual identity, transcending gender dichotomy and challenging the either/or division rather than transitioning from one sex to the other. I consider transgender to be an umbrella term for a whole range, a whole spectrum of gender expressions and transgender identities.

This paradigm shift has implications for treatment. A review of the literature of assessment and evaluation for hormones and surgery reveals that much of it focuses on trying to assess whether a person is a true transsexual and how well can a person pass. Also, much of it is heterosexist, that is, people whose orientation would make them gay or lesbian after surgery

were discriminated against. Now, the approach has changed to helping people discover who they are and how they reach their maximum potential and self-actualize.

Also, we feel that hormone therapy and surgery are two separate phenomena. We are not looking at whether this person can make a total change from one to the other, but how this person can be most comfortable. We have clients who take hormones without having surgery, have surgery without taking hormones, have partial surgery, or take hormones for a while and then discontinue them. We now affirm a range of gender identities and encourage people to be creative in expressing their gender in the way they feel most comfortable.

We also address integration with family and society. Not only does this model have consequences for the individual, who can affirm their identity and don't feel they need to measure up to what is male or female, but it also has consequences interpersonally. We help people come out to family.

This paradigm shift has consequences for working with children: We do not try to change children's gender expression, but help the family to understand and affirm unique expression of that child.

This approach is very liberating. It helps clients be more honest, because they don't have to portray themselves as either/or. One client finally admitted that she only tries to pass as a woman in my office and doesn't dress up anywhere else. "Let this be the last time," I said. "I'd rather meet you as you are."

We are one of the few academic centers left. We combine clinical work with community health projects, research, and training of medical students, physicians, and others. We have done a transgender HIV/AIDS prevention program, using peer counseling, and other projects aimed at enhancing personal and community empowerment.

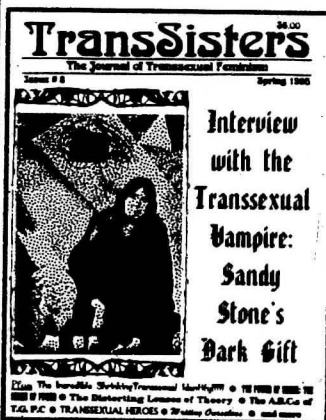
Eli Coleman, the director of program, has done cross-cultural research in Burma on cross-gender behavior, and found that there it is not stigmatized. This type of research is source of empowerment. We are also involved in research on female-to-male transsexuals who identify as gay or bisexual. This is challenging concepts of gender and sexual orientation, affirming that a wide variety of combinations between the components of sexual identity is possible. One's sex at birth (the body), one's gender identity (basic conviction of being a man or a woman), sex role issues (masculinity or femininity), and sexual orientation are all separate components. It's not so simple as we once thought. There's a beautiful variety out here.

Walter Bockting joined the Program for Human Sexuality of the Department of Family Practice and Community Health, Medical School, University of Minnesota, in 1988. He is a licensed psychologist and coordinator of transgender services for the Program.



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MAKING THE VISIBLE INVISIBLE: FEMALE GENDER DIVERSITY CROSS-CULTURALLY

by J. Cromwell

This paper focuses on female gender diversity as a phenomenon that occurs crossculturally and historically but which has been rendered largely invisible in the anthropological and historical literature. Notwithstanding a recent flurry of literature, females who have lived as or taken on the roles and statuses of males within their cultures are discounted as pretenders, masqueraders, and fake men. This paper has two purposes: first I argue that this type of nomenclature and the invisibility of female gender diversity occurs because of androcentric, biological deterministic, and lesbian-centric biases. Second, by providing examples from the existing yet scant literature, I hope that this paper will be a first step in rectifying the invisibility of female gender diversity.

Throughout this paper, when I use the terms female or females, I refer solely to biological sex—chromosomes, gonads, and genitalia. Females who have lives as men are referred to as female-bodied men. This designation refers to the fact that these individuals were born female with female genitalia, that is, they possess a body morphology of females, thus they are female-bodied. However, they have lived all or a great part of their lives as men and have been recognized as such by their families and their communities. That is, their social roles and statuses were as men; thus, the designation men.

Many of the cases I have chosen to discuss are biased in three ways: First, they are biased in that the majority of researchers tend to interpret the behaviors of those they study based on their own cultural norms. The result of this is that their data is imbued with their own social meanings rather than the meanings of the individuals they study. One way this data is imbued with social meaning is through language that psychopathologizes both individuals and societies that manifest gender diversity. Thus, much of the data contains wording such as "aberrant," "pathetic," or "peculiar" and occasionally refers to individuals as "it." In addition, the validity of individuals' claims is denied.

One consequence of this bias is that even when female-bodied men identified themselves as men, their identification was discounted or ignored such that the researcher insisted on referring to these individuals as women, she, her, and other female markers. Another consequence of this bias is that

females who live or lived as men are sometimes said to be homosexuals or lesbians. What should be kept in mind is that sexuality and gender, as well as sex, are separate entities.

Traditionally in anthropological literature, gender diversity has been interpreted as homosexuality because many individuals who changed their gender roles and/or statuses form sexual relationships with people of their same biological sex. This interpretation has resulted because Western cultures have perceived feminine males and masculine females as homosexuals. From a biological perspective, a relationship may appear to be homosexual; however, it may not be a same-gender relationship, particularly if one of the individuals does not identify with their biological sex. Specifically for Native Americans, but for many other cultural groups as well, what is most significant for a change in gender status is work activities or religious roles, rather than sexual relationships.

The second bias also involves language. This bias arises out of the Western binary categories of male and female, man and woman, which arise out of the belief that there are two and only two sexes with related genders. Western chroniclers coined the terms man-woman and half-man-woman to translate such terms as *nadli*, *winkte*, etc. into English. Later writers argue that these terms refer to a distinct gender, one separate from male and female, but continue to use the terms man-woman and men-women. They fall into another linguistic trap when they refer to female-bodied individuals: rather than reversing the usual term man-woman to woman-man, they add the modifier female. Thus in their writing, female berdaches become female men-women. Such designations are the result of androcentric and phallogocentric biases, as well as Eurocentrism in cultural constructions.

Third, the data are biased in that most of it is from the period of colonization. Therefore, much of the original language contained in them perpetuates the colonial images of people of the world. Until the last quarter century, as feminist studies have made us aware, females have been overlooked in most cultural research. Thus, since all early data came through the writing of Western male explorers, military men, or missionaries and male anthropologists, it is woefully incomplete. Because these early observers operated under the mistaken belief that what females did was unimportant, they limited their observations to males. Observers seem to have been unable to recognize a crossgender role. Indeed, no 19th century reports mention crossgendered females among the western tribes, although later ethnographers found ample evidence. Consequently a great deal of data concerning female gender diversity has been lost.

Notwithstanding the lack of data and the inherent biases of the existing literature, I believe it is a worthwhile endeavor to make female gender diversity visible. The following are crosscultural examples of female gender diversity:

- A female counterpart of the Hawaiian or Polynesian *mahu*, called *tita*. These females live as men in relationships with women. They wear male clothing, cut their hair in masculine styles, and generally are employed as men. *Tita* are not reported to be pursuing hormones and surgery to alter their physical appearance. Without further investigation it is impossible to determine what *tita*'s gender identities may be.
- A fleeting reference to females in Borneo who changed sex. Although several observers have described the behavior of males who changed sex, none have done so for females.
- A description of a woman in northwest Brazil who developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it was said, grew a penis. There is also a report of a woman in this area who became a shaman and was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers.
- In Ghana, an extroverted female, or one with homosexual tendencies, is said to have a heavy spirit (characteristic of men) and is referred to as a female man. No indication is given as to what behaviors an extroverted female might exhibit or what indicates homosexual tendencies.
- In Ethiopia, when a woman consistently acts like a man, it is believed that there is some biological mistake of God. She is likely to be blamed, insulted, and called mannish. This term is used if she acts independent, takes interest only in masculine weapons and activities, and speaks in hard, insubordinate ways. If she is physically tall, powerful, virago, manlike woman, she is called a male-female; a female with too much masculinity. Male transvestites are more often pitied than blamed, for the populace feels even more certain that this is a biological mistake of God. A woman might try to fool people and assume male prerogatives, they argue, but what male would want to surrender the privileges of being a man?

- The Siberian chukchee possessed seven gender categories, not counting the usual female and male categories: four categories for males and three for females. One individual is described as follows: “She cut her hair, donned the dress of a male, adopted the pronunciation of men, and even learned in a very short time to handle the spear and shoot with a rifle. At last, she wanted to marry and easily found a quite young girl who consented to become her wife. The transformed one provided herself with a gastrocnemius [muscle] from the leg of a reindeer fastened to a broad leather belt and used it in the way of masculine parts.” These transformed individuals were accepted by the Chukchee.
- In the Balkans, a female is described who succeeded in changing her voice, her way of speaking, her posture and manners to such a degree that it was hard to distinguish her from a male. Her tribe recognized her as a man. Her acceptance as a male within the family seems to have been so complete that some members, at least, were ignorant of her female sex. Another individual, who consistently used the male gender while talking about herself, is quoted as saying, “Most of all, I detest being female. Nature is mistaken.” Another claimed, “I was not incited by my parents’ wish but because I wanted it that way. I started to dress and behave like a boy. As far as I remember, I have always felt myself more like a male than a female.”
- A large number of native American cultures accepted gender diversity and even believed that some individuals were destined to cross or mix genders.
- In 1991, the occurrence in northwestern India of *sadhin*—females who renounce marriage and adopt the clothing of men and keep their hair close cropped—was documented. Becoming a *sadhin* has to be a girl’s own choice. Once a girl has become a *sadhin*, the decision is seen as irreversible. In one case, a *sadhin*’s father stated that from the age of six, she preferred to wear boys’ clothing and wanted her hair cut like a boy’s. He and his family had interpreted these preferences as indicative of her choice to become a *sadhin*. Even though a *sadhin* may act in characteristically male ways, despite her male dress and appearance, a *sadhin* is never classified socially as a male. Being a *sadhin* is unambiguously a female gender status. Thus a *sadhin*

is tacitly thought of as a female who is a surrogate or “as if” male. Her sex may not be in question but she can nevertheless operate socially like a man in many situations.

From these examples, it is clear that although most cultures view gender as dichotomous, gender diversity is/was openly recognized in some cultures. Furthermore, whether recognized or not, gender diversity has occurred throughout time and in nearly all societies. These societies and cultures have much to contribute to our understanding of our own concepts of gender. Specifically, their recognition that gender is not necessarily dichotomous may lead to a better comprehension of individuals within Western societies who retain the label of transsexual as part of their identity, as well as those who identify as transgenderist.

What ties all of the previous crosscultural examples together is the lack of data available, which results in female transgendered people being made invisible. What contributes to this invisibility are several factors: androcentrism, biological determinism, and homocentrism, specifically, lesbian-centered biases. Not only has androcentrism until recently resulted in females being overlooked in the anthropological data, it has obscured the motivations of those who have transcended gender boundaries. With few rare exceptions, whenever and wherever females have been found to take on male roles, their motivations are rationalized in androcentric terms. The anthropological literature generally focuses on one of several rationales: unwillingness to marry, a family’s need for a surrogate son, and pursuit of male privilege or status. There are probably grains of truth in these rationales, but none of them considers individual agency. With few exceptions, both the individual’s self-identity and their motivations for assuming male roles are lost.

What is most questionable about these rationales is their positioning within the dominant ideology, which even today results in the motivations of contemporary female-to-male transgendered people’s lives being rationalized by the same androcentric arguments. Thus, not only are contemporary transgendered people rendered invisible, so too are their historical and crosscultural counterparts. Positions invoking biological determinism also render female gender diversity invisible. Anthropologists and other social scientists resist the idea of a complete social free classification because they equate gender with biological sex. Yet in several of the examples provided above, females were accepted as males in varying degrees within their societies. Frequently, invisibility results because transgendered behaviors are subsumed under the rubric of homosexuality, or in the examples cited

above, under lesbianism. This position is also one of biological determinism in that where females transcended gender boundaries and had relationships with women, by virtue of their morphology they are viewed as lesbians, or that is, they become women. However, sexual relationships between female-bodied men and women cannot be properly termed homosexual, or even lesbian, since one of the partners involved did not have a woman's gender status.

In conclusion, although most anthropological literature treats female gender diversity as an afterthought or has completely overlooked it, females have transcended their cultures' gender systems. Given the scant data available, it is difficult to determine what the motivations may have been for particular individuals, but it is clear that such people were accepted within their societies as social males.

Jason Cromwell is a teaching assistant in cultural anthropology at the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington.



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RECENT BREAKTHROUGHS IN THE BIOLOGY OF GENDER

by R. Gorski

One recent breakthrough was the discovery of structural differences in selected brain nuclei between homosexual and heterosexual men. Another posits that an emergent baby is predisposed to become homosexual (male or female) because of a possible gene in the newborn's genetic makeup. What I'd like to do is put these breakthroughs into perspective and deal with the question of why are men (males) and women (females) different. Many new studies would indicate that they are born that way.

My bias about some of these new views of sex differences in the brains of males and females comes from 30 years of study with the process of sexual differentiation that takes place in the brain of rats. My perspective is derived from my work with rats.

In terms of sexual differentiation of the reproductive system, the one major gnomic event occurs at fertilization and will determine whether an individual will develop an ovary or a testis. All other aspects of this differentiation will depend on these two factors. Nature's blueprint, when it comes to a reproductive system, favors the female for both males and females. The brain is part of this system and hence an integral component of it.

Certain brain centers, i.e., the hypothalamus, control the pituitary gland and its secretions (hormone production). The pituitary controls the development of gonads and production of gametes. Some hormones act back on the brain and are essential for sexual behaviors. These hormones are part of the class of steroid compounds, i.e., testosterone (in males) and estrogen (in females). There are special receptors that will bind with these hormones and, through a complex process, alter some functions related to sex differences. These gonadal hormones also have the ability to permanently change the brain.

With a series of slides and also a short videotape of rat sexual behavior, Dr. Gorski presented his model of homosexuality. This research involved injecting newborn female rats with testosterone to masculinize them and castrating newborn males to feminize them. When these animals matured and became adults, he altered the activational effects of the steroids by giving these rats ovarian hormones to highlight female behaviors or

testicular hormones to bring out their male behavior. The female rat exposed to testosterone as a newborn ignores the male rat who is in proximity to it. When this female rat is placed with another female, the modified female adult mounts this female rat, as would be the situation in a "normal" male/female rat copulation behavior.

Much of the sexual behavior in rats applies to most mammals, if not all animals that reproduce bi-sexually.

I want to focus on one small brain structure which is larger in female rats. It has been called the sexually dimorphic nucleus (SDN) of the pre-optic. It is this nucleus which has changed the way neurobiologists think of the brain. I am setting the stage for us to understand human beings, by studying rat behaviors. We can do things with rats that we cannot do with people.

Here, Dr. Gorski showed a number of slides on different sections of the rat brain. He advanced the hypothesis that there is a relationship between neuron density and hormonal sensitivity. He supported this idea with data from his experiments on rats.

If testosterone masculinizes the brain, does estrogen feminize it? The answer is no. Because males and females (human) have the capacity to produce testosterone, estrogen, and progesterone, what, then, is the difference between them? The answer is found in the relative amounts of these substances produced by males and females.

To summarize our knowledge about the rat brain, hormones, and sexual behaviors: (1) The rat brain appears to be inherently female or neuter. (2) The male rat brain must be exposed to testicular hormones during the critical period of early development (first week of postnatal life) in order to obtain masculine characteristics, both in terms of brain structures and brain functions. (3) It appears that testosterone and estrogen prevent neurons from dying in a particular region of the brain.

According to Dr. Schwabb (from Amsterdam) and myself, there appear to be some differences in the human brain. An area of importance and intensive study is the hypothalamus. There are four nuclei of interest in this brain structure. These have been labeled "interstitial nuclei of the anterior hypothalamus" (INAH). INAH 2 and INAH 3 appear to be larger in men than in women.

More slides and analysis of the data were shown to corroborate this finding.

The important thing is to realize that all structural differences in the human brain must be replicated. Our brain seems to be quite variable, and there can be considerable overlap in all of these findings. INAH 1 is not a

sexually dimorphic nucleus. Currently, there is no evidence that hormones influence any of the INAH structures.

Dr. Gorski ended his talk with a summation of what sex differences there are in the cognitive abilities of human males and females. The question he raises is: Is there a measurable difference between the cognitive abilities of men and women and these brain structures found in the brain? He says we don't know at this time.

Dr. Gorski is a professor of anatomy and cell biology at UCLA and a pioneer in the field of brain research as it relates to sex differences.



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BOSTON (for Joe)

In summer, the great oaks and buckeyes form a canopy of green
over the wide avenues and brick walks.
Ivy clings to every wrought iron fence and stone wall.
And the dark river—soft with mist at dawn—
moves slowly toward the Bay.

One bright afternoon in August, we walked through Back Bay
past the swan boats on the Common
up to Copley Square where we sat by the fountain
surrounded by silver pigeons and men with bottles in brown paper bags.
Sometimes we were quiet
as old friends can be.
Sometimes we talked about easier days.
And once, you touched my arm
turned liquid blue eyes towards me
and talked about death which you were not afraid of
and dying which you were.
Later, I bought flowers
long-stemmed marigolds, yellow and orange
and you put them in a cut glass vase
and sat them next to a photograph of your trip to Kenmore
where Irish relatives had welcomed your return to their lives.

That evening, when I walked back to Cambridge
and the cacophony of Central Square
I thought of you
curled on your side in the white quilted bed where your lover had died
where you, too, were dying.
And I felt angry—at all life had asked you to bear—
and so alone, as if the river I had crossed on my way home
was miles and miles wide.



This poem pays tribute to the contributions to the gender community made by Joe O'Neill. It was written by his friend Danny Forrester about his experience in Boston. Joe O'Neill was an early pioneer and professional person who worked with the Outreach Institute in the 1970s. He was a member of the gay community and died of HIV-related complications in 1993.

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FULL CIRCLE OF WOMEN

by J. Walworth

The following is a record of one woman's impressions of the second Full Circle of Women conference, held in Essex, Massachusetts, in April 1995.

We are sprawled on the floor, cutting pictures out of magazines and gluing them onto posterboard. We talk about what our pictures represent, how we see ourselves projected into the world as women. Our images include a Maori dancer, an angel, a tiger, Hillary Clinton, the "before" picture from a weight loss ad, an older woman holding a revolver, a baby with butterfly wings, sexy women, stylish women, strong women, cartoon characters, a pen, even a man wearing silk boxer shorts. The words "The Morphing Pot" dominate our collage, our group photo of our inner selves.

It is Friday evening. Twenty-nine women have gathered at the Essex Conference Center, a mellow, safe, nurturing cocoon in which magical transformations occur almost indiscernably. They have come from New England and New York, from Michigan, Pennsylvania, Toronto, California, and Arkansas, enticed by a brochure that promised "a radically different, politically incorrect exploration of what it means to be a woman." A poetry reading is taking place upstairs. An enormous steaming hot tub waits to caress our tired bodies.

Morning reveals a gently undulating lawn with stone benches, a chattering waterfall, and woods beyond. Inside, light streams into comfortable, serene spaces that hold us as we drink coffee and eat pancakes, get to know each other, and begin the day's workshops. We are the experts who have come to teach each other and the students who have come to learn from each other. Women offered improvisational personal growth workshops, a discussion about the role models we choose for ourselves as women, a dialogue on dealing with shame and ridicule, a slide show about intersex conditions, an exercise in communication styles, a play one has written about a transsexual woman in the lesbian community.

The caring of the staff is palpable, their presence unobtrusive. At each meal, we revel in an abundance of exquisitely prepared food, gleaming with fresh vegetables and piquant with herbs. In the middle of dinner Saturday night, a woman stands up and announces, "Hey, everybody, I'm fat!" Everybody applauds. This weekend is a time of healing, of self-acceptance

made possible by the acceptance of others. Some women finish songs and poems begun years earlier and left conclusionless until now.

The most amazing thing, and yet so simple it takes us all weekend to notice it, is our silent acceptance of each other as women. The diversity of our womanhood is powerful indeed. We are transsexual women, newly to many years postop, and nontranssexual women. We are women with penises who don't want surgery, who look forward to surgery, who are just beginning to think about surgery, who can't have surgery. We are women who live as men all or part of the time. We are women with bodies that naturally express both maleness and femaleness. Intersex, preop, nonop, postop, transsexual, transgendered, generic—we are all women.

We are also diverse in other ways: racially, financially, culturally, in age, sexual orientation, health and disability, employment, and more. What, then, do we have in common as women? That is what we have come to discover. We listen to each others' stories and tell our own. We share poems we have written, music we like, a stone found in a favorite place, a teddy bear. We take risks, cry together, hug each other, laugh and splash in the hot tub. Some women do things they have never done before: reading aloud her own writing, singing her own song, leading a workshop, speaking from her heart. Some do things they have done often and well, sharing their expertise.

We are all gender educators, some of us in classrooms, workshops, and lecture halls, some through political action, others by being who we are. We talk about how we can make our stories intelligible to people who have never heard them, the vocabulary we must create to give voice to our experience, how we conceptualize the pieces of gender, sex, orientation, and expression, the resources we can access. A network of gender educators is born, and coalitions for political action are formed.

Sunday morning, women gather at the edge of the goldfish pond and sing and light candles. We listen to a young woman, a minister-in-training, a white-appearing Puerto Rican, a long-haired lesbian, a woman-identified woman proud of her fine men's clothing, a woman who grew a beard at age 17 and let it grow—we listen to her talk about being different. Another woman reads, "At the front gate, the questioners are still asking the gatekeepers how they can be so sure of the boundaries of womanhood." It is an account of the third year of protest against the policy of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival that bars transsexual women. Several of us had been there. It is told in the words of writer Minnie Bruce Pratt, sent out into the world in her book *S/he* and brought back to us by a woman who was touched by the story. It is read aloud by the transsexual woman whose

expulsion from the Festival in 1991 sparked the controversy. The offering is to be a donation to those planning this year's protest. "I don't want woman to be a fortress that has to be defended," she reads. "I want it to be a life we constantly braid together from the threads of our existence, a rope we make, a flexible weapon stronger than steel, that we use to pull down walls that imprison us at the borders."

"This weekend has been a turning point in my life," one woman says on Sunday afternoon. "I see things in a whole different way," says another. We are in awe of what has happened here and honored to have been in each others' presence. We embrace each other as women—a woman with a man's name, a woman with makeup and painted nails, a woman wearing men's clothing, a woman who lets her beard grow, a woman who works as a man, a woman whose genitalia don't fit the system, a woman in psychic hiding from her wife, a woman who loves another woman. Sometimes the possibilities for woman are overwhelming, sometimes exhilarating. Sometimes another woman's view of her gender is unsettling, sometimes enlightening. What we have in common is that we call our experience of ourselves "woman."

Janis Walworth is an active participant in the Conscious Gender Community who has advocated for transsexual inclusion in the lesbian community for several years. She created the Full Circle of Women conference in 1994 to bring transsexual and nontranssexual women together. She has been an honorary transsexual since 1993.



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BOOK REVIEWS

The Apartheid of Sex

by M. A. Rothblatt. Published by Crown Publishers, New York, 1995. Reviewed by A. Kane.

The categorization of gender based on a biocentric view of the universe has been a foundation block of a patriarchal societal order for more than six millennia. It implied that for the two sexes, males and females, there are two and only two gender forms, i.e., masculine and feminine. In her new book, *The Apartheid of Sex*, Martine Rothblatt asserts that the two-sexes-implies-two-genders notion is not only scientifically inaccurate but is damaging to individuals and legally improper. Furthermore, the use of gender categories as predictors of personality, intellect, reproductive abilities, or temperament is misleading and in many cases incorrect. Rothblatt also states that "being labeled at birth with such categorizations is the equivalent to an oppressive act which will mark a person with a stigmatized and stereotypical behavior that society expects from that individual for the rest of her/his life."

The author recalls growing up in a society which always thought in groups of two, i.e., two races, two religions, two sexes. She cites G. Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* as an important influence during her formative years. The basic premise of Allport's work is that stereotyping is a simplified way of grouping like things together. It is stereotyping that gives rise to prejudice. Doing away with elemental stereotyping will expose people to a rich diversity within a particular category. It also allows people to appreciate individual variation. This idea is what powers Rothblatt's thesis about the harm of rigid categorization of gender.

The book is organized on the basis of how religious, legal, social, and scientific institutions within a society (particularly in the USA today) affect our thinking, feeling, and talking about gender and the sexual dimorphism of our culture. In one chapter, she offers some explanation as to the origin of a "genito-stereotypic" gender form. In another chapter, she focuses on four legitimate reasons for classifying people. She even has a section entitled "The Bathroom Bugaboo," calling the reader's attention to some of the absurdities that gender categorization imposes on a simple biologic need.

Of particular interest to this reviewer is her chapter on science and sex. Using the analogy of how science develops schemata or paradigms to

explain observable phenomena and modifies or changes these to incorporate new information, she offers a new paradigm for understanding gender diversity. The old paradigm, called by her sexual dimorphism, is to be replaced with a new paradigm called sexual continuity. She points out the limitations associated with sexual dimorphism and shows how the notion of sexual continuity is much more useful for the postmodern age in which we live. The idea is creative and can be applied to many more current and potentially new situations. My only reservation is with her use of the term *sexual*. I believe it should be replaced by the term *genderal*.

Generally, I find *The Apartheid of Sex* to be well written; it shows some serious search into the new literature about gender and feminism, and into legal and scientific journals and publications. I would have liked to see a referenced bibliography in the book. I welcome her honesty and courage to share elements of her personal life and relevant aspects of her gender journey with the reader. I recommend it to all serious students and health care providers interested in postmodern studies about gender.



Gender Outlaw

by K. Bornstein. Published by Routledge, New York, 1994. Reviewed by A. Kane.

"See, my girlfriend is becoming the man of my dreams. She is becoming the man my mother always wanted me to be. Catherine has become David. Like the old button from the '60s: 'My Karma Ran Over My Dogma'. Can you imagine? I wake up one morning, a nice lesbian like me, I wake up one morning and I'm living with a man! There are some questions I didn't want to ask and I've been having to ask them: ... could I live with a man as my lover? and if I could do that, ... with a man as my lover, what was I?"

The above quote from her book *Gender Outlaw* forms what I believe is the essence of Bornstein's ideas about gender, namely, "the opposite sex is neither" and that each of us has a "hidden a-gender." Both are titles of plays that she has written about the gender conundrum. This book gives one some

pause for reflection and thought on our assumptions about gender, both from the traditional Judeo-Christian notion that two sexes implies only two genders to the postmodern view that in the final analysis, there is a spectrum of gender expression within the limits of the dimorphic nature of humans.

The author devotes a chapter to the questions one should ask if one dares to challenge the binary form of gender and its expression. For instance, in her first poser, she asks, "Why do we hang onto gender, and to our gender systems?" Her response, interestingly, came from looking at a comparison between gender dynamics and group dynamics: there is a sense of compliance within each that is set by naming of "good" and "bad" behavior, the former being laudable, while the latter is punishable. Either/or is used as a control mechanism, i.e., "Either you live up to our high standards here in the club, or your membership will be revoked." She argues that the gender system we practice in Euro-American culture in this century is in reality the ultimate boys' club or girls' club.

Bornstein uses phrases like "gender as a system of oppression" and "gender boxes for sorting classes of people" as a means for parceling out power according to one's "box." It supports her challenge to look at traditional gender forms, expressions, and presentations for what they really are.

Another chapter is devoted to more pertinent and pragmatic questions that are asked within the binary/bipolar gender schema of Western culture. Her answers become the matrix for her argument that our current fixation with a rigid biocentric (two sexes imply only two gender forms) paradigm is in need of radical reform. Some of her posers include: "Can there be equality between genders?" "Is androgyny desirable or attainable?" "How does gender relate to identity?"

Using different type fonts and selective indentation of new paragraphs throughout the book, the author alerts the reader to when material is expositional and when it is opinion, or when it comes from personal experience.

Gender Outlaw gives one some clear views about the complex nature of gender, sexual politics, and Bornstein's attitudes, both public and private, about her lifestyle. The author declares herself to be a performer and playwright with a vested interest in the phenomenon of gender. In fact, her play *Hidden: A Gender* is reprinted as a chapter in the book.

The final chapter opens with a biologic reference: "It takes seven years for the human body to regenerate itself completely, for every cell in the body dies and is replaced by a new daughter (replica) cell. Hence the present body somatics are 'different' from those of seven years earlier." The implication, for her, is that having passed the seventh year of the date of her

(sex reassignment) surgery, her body has been virtually reborn. "Now it's time to look at this idea as a milestone for all kinds of changes, including a changing perception of the 'queer notion' of gender" (i.e., that there is no such thing as gender). For her, gender is a matter of performance both on and off the stage.

Shakespeare is often quoted as the originator of the statement, "All the world's a stage and human beings are all players on that stage." To this gender outlaw, sensitive spirit, and explorer, we wish much good fortune with her continued journey in genderland.



Manual of Voice Treatment

by M. L. Andrews. Published by Singular Publishing Group, San Diego, 1995. Reviewed by A. Kane.

M *anual of Voice Treatments* is a new textbook designed to increase our knowledge about the voice and the variety of speech patterns in human males and females. Its chapter headings include: "Methods of Assessment of Individual Voice Dynamics and Speech Patterns," "Principles of Therapeutic Intervention," "Anatomic Phonatory Disorders in Infants and Children," "Adult and Geriatric Speech Disorders," "Communication and Speech After Laryngectomy and Tracheotomy," and "Voice and Psychosocial Dynamics."

Of particular interest to this reviewer is a section in the last chapter on voice and gender presentation. Here, for the first time, the topic of voice modification and strategies for changes in speech patterns of a crossgendered person are discussed.

Dr. Andrews, a professor of speech science at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana, precedes the suggested techniques for voice and speech therapy with a clear and concise discussion about the gender (not sex) terms of femininity and masculinity. These are, basically, descriptive of qualities and traits as defined by conventional gender norms of a particular society. Included with this discussion is a glossary of terms associated with conscious gender communities (CD/CG/TS/AN, etc.).

In her discussion on voice treatment for the crossgendered male, the approach is a holistic one, emphasizing the diverse cognitive and linguistic processes characteristic of both genders. She suggests that the speech therapist elicit pertinent information from the client prior to engaging in a strategy for altering speech and voice characteristics. This intake process should focus on the client's situation and goals. Some examples of the types of questions that should be asked are included in this section of the book. She even cites a case history to emphasize the complexity of issues that confront a person wanting to gender shift.

Regarding a specific program for modifying the voice and elocution dynamics, the following aspects should be considered. These include pitch characteristics, loudness, duration, phrasing, linguistic structures and vocabularies, articulation, and clinical aids to support and help develop the mechanics of voice and speech changes.

As society becomes more accepting of diversity of all kinds, it is imperative that speech and language therapists be well informed, as well as non-judgmental about individuals who come for assistance in working to change their speech and voice patterns, consistent with their preferred gender role. Dr. Andrews has met this challenge by sharing this information with clinical colleagues.

Ari Kane is Director of the Outreach Institute for Gender Studies and Editor of the Journal of Gender Studies.



Raging Hormones: Do They Rule Our Lives?

by Gail Vines. Published by University of California Press, Berkeley, CA. 1993. Reviewed by J. Walworth.

In *Raging Hormones*, Gail Vines, a British science journalist, reviews scientific research on the effects of hormones on human behavior. She does so not from what might be called a "purely" scientific perspective, but rather from the vantagepoint of the social-political context in which science itself occurs and with which it is inextricably meshed.

Vines notes that there is a strong cultural imperative, which she dates to the Enlightenment, to seek biological explanations for people's behavior. These explanations, she points out, are applied in distinctly different ways to men and women. If men are aggressive or sexual because of their testosterone levels, these impulses are accommodated by a culture that encourages men to be ambitious and competitive and to be the possessors of sexual desire. When women's hormonal states affect their emotions, desires, or behaviors, they are readily perceived as being out of balance or hormonally deranged and are often treated medically to make them less dangerous.

Vines sees the move toward biological explanations as part of the tendency in recent decades to shift responsibility for policing the body to the individual: social control has been increasingly internalized. At the same time, in a culture of consumerism, we are constantly exhorted to indulge ourselves. In fact, to make the economic system work, we must both exercise the self-discipline necessary to be productive workers and also engage in hedonistic consumption of goods. Vines maintains that the focus on this struggle to control our inner selves obscures our lack of control over public events and discourages us from taking political action.

Science, Vines contends, cannot divorce itself from its social context and deliver the pure, objective truth. Even the questions asked by scientists are predicated on cultural assumptions about reality. What is important to understand is why and how we have come to believe that science can give us answers that are beyond the reach of shared social awareness. The fact that science is embedded in culture does not mean that it cannot produce valid results; it does mean that we must view these results with an understanding of how they reflect social reality.

It is with this perspective that Vines analyzes research on hormones as they relate to sexual desire, determination of gender, PMS, biorhythms, stress, weight control, aggression, homosexuality, and menopause. While she does not reject connections between hormones and behavior, she invites us to examine alternative interpretations. For example, she traces the idea that prenatal hormonal environment determines masculinity/femininity to the discovery in the 1940s that male mammals require androgens in the womb in order to develop male genitalia. Subsequent experiments showed that females bathed in testosterone not only developed male genitalia but behaved as males. This led to speculation that prenatal hormones had an indelible effect on the brain, thereby determining behavior that could be identified as masculine or feminine throughout life. Although later research showed that environmental factors in young mammals were strong determinants of sexual behavior, the connection between brain and sexual behavior

has been firmly established in the popular literature and continues to be elaborated with the momentum of cultural wishful thinking, quite apart from current scientific findings.

Vines critiques the research on inborn hormonal abnormalities on methodological grounds and highlights the inherent bias in the assumption that some behaviors are masculine and others feminine, and also in the assumption that the categories of masculine and feminine have biological relevance. She shows how this organization of reality generates research questions and colors our interpretation of the results. Her discussion of intersex shows how tightly we cling to the concept of sexual dimorphism—even in the face of evidence that there are many more than two sexes. It is the proclivity to embrace a biological explanation for culture and to substitute biology for social effects as determinants of individual behavior that Vines focuses on as a phenomenon in need of explanation.

Vines thus makes a strong case for the influence of cultural imperatives on us as individuals (not to the exclusion of biology) and on scientific inquiry itself. She accomplishes this in a highly readable text; sophisticated scientific knowledge and vocabulary are not necessary. *Raging Hormones* is essential reading for those concerned about the ascendance of biological essentialism.

Janis Walworth is an active participant in the Conscious Gender Community who has advocated for transsexual inclusion in the lesbian community for several years. She has been an honorary transsexual since 1993.



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VIDEO REVIEWS

Man, Oh, Man and Dear Lisa

created, edited, and directed by J. Clements. Reviewed by A. Kane.*

These two videos present masculine and feminine gender issues from the perspective of a female curious about the origins and development of gender roles in Euro-America.

In the 20-minute video *Man, Oh, Man*, the focus is how a young girl perceives of man, by her interaction with her father. It then concentrates on her changing views of men as she enters adulthood.

There is a good discussion about images of men as seen by other men. These images include (1) a man's expectations of being a man, (2) man the controller, (3) men as poor communicators, and (4) issues of hypermasculinity. They are interlaced with factoids about men, like: "The average head of household (assumed to be a man) spends about six hours per day with his family." The sources for some of these statements are not cited.

The director, J. Clements, uses a structured interview technique with different men to address issues of masculinity. For instance, she asks one man, "What is your idea of a dream girl?" His response is basically an opinion, but the impression given the viewer is that it applies to all men in American society. Other issues covered with this technique include famous cowboy images of boys, warriors as heroes from Ben Hur to John Wayne to Rambo, and famous sports figures as important role models in shaping masculine images.

Throughout the film, we get some hints that men have feelings and emotions but that men are taught to hide these because they are "unmasculine." *Man, Oh, Man* closed with Clements's summation about masculinity in the USA today.

This video serves as an exploration into the diversity of masculine images and vulnerabilities of men. Some aspects seem to be disjointed and probably could have been better edited. It does not address in-depth issues about composite gender roles and the fluidity of change over time with these roles. *Man, Oh, Man* is a useful opener for some penetrating discussion about changing masculine gender roles and form in America today.

*Both of these videos are available for rent or sale from New Day Films Library, 22D Hollywood Ave., Ho-ho-kus, NJ 07423.

Dear Lisa, a 45-minute video also by J. Clements, is about a full range of social issues concerning women; femininity and feminists are discussed. Clements used a structured interview and question and answer technique to discuss growing up years, the emergence from girlhood to womanhood, and the awareness of gender role development under a patriarchal social structure. Other issues focused on include to have or not have children, being part of the conventional family form in America, division of labor with respect to household chores, child care, two-income families, etc. Here, the director has chosen a diverse group of women with different ethnic, cultural, social, and economic backgrounds to respond to her questions.

Of particular interest was the discussion that followed the question of body image. For women in this country, it is a major concern during pubescence and emerging womanhood. Many of the responses to questions about body image reflect a true spectrum of opinion about what body parts are important in feminine gender role formation. In response to the questions about what constitutes beauty images, both external and internal beauty were discussed, again illustrating diversity among women in their feelings on this topic.

There was also a good spectrum of opinion about sexual encounters both with men and with women.

Dear Lisa is a valuable contribution toward understanding some of the important issues which reflect the changing roles of women in the USA. It provides insight into the socialization process of females from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds who emerge into the Euro-American model of womanhood.

The film reflects some of the changes about feminine gender roles and about being a woman in a binary patriarchal and biocentric based culture.

Ari Kane is Director of the Outreach Institute for Gender Studies and Editor of the Journal of Gender Studies.



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The Outreach Institute of Gender Studies

Statement of Purpose

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

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

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