“We are finding our voice is so unheard that it’s being erased by these bigger voices”: Investigating relationships between trans and intersex activists in Australia, Malta and the UK

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Abstract

Much of the literature on intersex lives has focused on medical experiences, with the language of Disorders of Sex Development illustrating the pathologising narratives emerging from this work. There has been sociological work focusing on the lived experiences of intersex people outside of a medicalised focus. However, this predominantly focuses on the experiences of intersex individuals across the United States of America. There is even less sociological literature outside of American contexts considering the lives of intersex activists. Trans lived experiences, including the lives of trans activists, have been more considered within sociological literature in recent years with considerations outside of American contexts. However, considerations of trans activisms alongside intersex activisms remains an underexplored area of research. The relationships between trans and intersex activists is similarly underexplored particularly outside of American contexts. This thesis addresses these gaps in the literature with an investigation into relationships between trans and intersex activists across fieldwork sites in Australia, Malta and the United Kingdom. Activism provides the setting of the research through which to explore the negotiation of identities and language use by trans and intersex individuals. The central themes of relationships, identities, and representation are explored through this consideration of trans and intersex activist relationships. Language and discourse underpin these explorations and provide a means through which these themes can be understood.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with trans activists, intersex activists, parent activists, and LGBTI activists working in fieldwork sites in Australia, Malta and the UK. The presentation of the qualitative data from these interviews takes the form of an ethnodrama that also functions as a form of analysis demonstrating the ways these relationships were experienced by participants. This ethnodrama reveals the tensions within these relationships and explores the contestations of language and negotiation of identities across different trans and intersex groups and different contexts. A further analysis is presented side by side with the scenes of the ethnodrama to tease out the nuances within the participants' text focusing on analysing their linguistic choices. This analysis also relates these findings back to the sociological literature on trans and intersex lives.

Through a focus on the ways in which trans and intersex activists interact, and through a focus on the language they use, this thesis finds personal relationships within and across trans, intersex, and LGBTI activist groups shape trans and intersex activism. These personal relationships were fraught, and frustrations emerged relating to a lack of shared meanings ascribed to important terms. This was most acute with the contested language of identities. The contestations of identity terms, and related boundary work of who counts as trans and intersex, led to experiences of exclusion for some activists with feelings of inauthenticity in relation to identities for those experiencing exclusion. Furthermore, these fraught relationships have consequences in other spheres including access to funding; stakeholder relationships; and the development of activist work across support, visibility, legal and healthcare contexts. These discrepancies across understanding of contested terms seep into political discussion and the language of the law in relation to legal recognition of trans and intersex identities further complicating relationships. This thesis demonstrates these unequal representational relationships foster further complexities across the contestation of language, relationships and identities within and across trans and intersex activism.

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Acknowledgements

To every participant
You shared a moment with me
Your stories your instrument
Not knowing the play this would be

I hope this does justice to you
To the many truths you spoke
Each personal interview
With questions memories evoke

And to my supervisor
You taught me to write slowly
Be kinder to the reader
Don’t assume they see with me

And to family and friends
Who have been there these last years
Never asking when this ends
Just giving listening ears

Thank you

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AIS	Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome
CAH	Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia
CPA	*Civil Partnership Act 2004* (UK)
CS	Centre Stage
DSD	Disorders/Differences of Sex Development
DSL	Downstage Left
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
DSR	Downstage Right
DVD	Digital Versatile Disc
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
GIC	Gender Identity Clinic
GID	Gender Identity Disorder
GRA	*Gender Recognition Act 2004* (UK)
GRC	Gender Recognition Certificate
GIGESC	*Gender Identity Gender Expression Sex Characteristics 2015* (Malta)
HRT	Hormone Replacement Therapy
ICD	International Classification of Diseases
ID	Identity Document
ISNA	Intersex Society of North America
LGB	Lesbian, Gay, Bi
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans
LGBTI	Lesbian Gay, Bi, Trans, Intersex
LGBT/I	Lesbian Gay, Bi, Trans, and Lesbian Gay, Bi, Trans, Intersex
MRKH	Mayer-Rokitansky-Künster-Hauser syndrome
NHMRC	Australian National Health and Medical Research Council
NSW	New South Wales
RLE	Real Life Experience
SL	Stage Left
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SR	Stage Right
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom

US/USA	United States of America
USL	Upstage Left
USR	Upstage Right
VHS	Video Home System
VSC	Variations of Sex Characteristics
WPATH	World Professional Association for Transgender Health

Introduction

This extended introduction to the thesis introduces the research questions, and the research setting with a focus on the context and legislation in each research site. This introduction introduces the key sociological trans and intersex texts that inform the work of this thesis. This thesis addresses the relationships between trans and intersex activists and activisms. However, much of the sociological, medical and legal literature considering trans and intersex lives does not speak across these identities. Therefore, the introduction to the literature engaged with during the thesis is separated into trans and intersex strands to explain this literature in each context. This literature is then further separated thematically focusing on the sociological, medical and legal contexts in which this literature has emerged since the 1990s. There is a significant body of work considering trans and intersex lives prior to this but the focus of this study is on contemporary activism – the seeds of which can be found in the 1990s activism predominantly in North America and their use of the terms 'trans' and 'intersex'. This language use is a significant feature of the analysis in this research project and the literature addressing the emergence and use of such terms is important to note in order to position this language use in its contexts.

Research Question

This research project went through several iterations during the course of its undertaking which is highlighted by its shifting research questions. The original research question suggested for the project during the application process was: 'What can sociologies of sexuality and gender as well as families and relationship studies learn from a comparative analysis of transgender and intersex relationships?'. The further sub-question was: 'How do these relationships facilitate the formation, negotiation and communication of transgender and intersex identities?'. This was originally envisioned as a research project with activists in Australia, Malta and Scotland to explore these questions. However, the UK Government's Women and Equalities Committee 'Trans Equality Inquiry' of 2015[i] coupled with an early consideration of relevant literature on social movement organisations [SMOs] and human rights questions led to a shift in this research question that reflected a particular set of research interests around SMOs, social movement organising and human rights. Therefore, the research aim became: 'To analyse the social contestation of gender and sex variance, focusing on trans and intersex movements' engagements with medical and state forms of power, through a cross-national comparative analysis'. The sub-

questions and objectives were: ‘To explore in relation to the state via legal and political discourses; to explore in relation to medical, health, and psychological discourses; and to explore the ways in which intimate relationships shape these contestations’.

However, once fieldwork began it emerged that the relationship between legislative change and activism was not the most significant feature of the interviews I conducted and as a result there was a less clear justification for a cross-national comparative analysis. Furthermore, definitions of activism offered by participants were much broader than legislative change. Following fieldwork, it became clear that this focus on human rights and SMOs was not shared by my participants. After transcription and preliminary analysis it became clear that the research question needed to change to better reflect the lives and priorities of the people who took part in this research. The interviews I conducted were significantly more focused on the importance of identification and relationships, with activism providing a context to these considerations. Therefore, my research question shifted again reflecting the concerns of my participants, the content of my interviews and the broader sociological trans and intersex literature that this research speaks to. The final research question adopted was: ‘What is the relationship between trans and intersex activists and activism?’. The further sub-question returned to its original focus on identity negotiation alongside further details of the countries included as follows: ‘How do these relationships facilitate the formation, negotiation and communication of trans and intersex identities in Australia, Malta and Scotland (in a wider UK context)?’.

The Research Setting

The research was conducted across research sites in Australia, Malta and the UK focusing on cities with trans and intersex, or LGBT/I in some cases, groups and organisations. The original justification for the countries chosen was influenced by the emerging legislation recognising trans and intersex citizens within Australia (*Sex Discrimination Act 1984, Sex Discrimination Amendment (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Intersex Status*) *2013*); Malta (*Gender Identity, Gender Expression and Sex Characteristics Act 2015*) [*GIGESC*] and Scotland (*Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009*). Furthermore, Malta and Australia were the locations of two recent intersex equality consensus statements: the Malta Declaration, 2013, and the Darlington Statement, 2017. However, although my initial UK focus was Scotland, many trans and intersex groups worked across the UK as a whole so my focus moved to consider UK-wide groups alongside Scottish groups. The interviews took place only in England and Scotland, although some groups made reference to their work in all of the countries in the UK the

main focus of their activities was in these two countries in the UK. Given the reframed focus to include the UK rather than Scotland the following UK legislation are important to consider (*Equality Act 2010*, *Gender Recognition Act 2004*) [*GRA*].

Similarly to the UK, the activism in Australia occurs at a federal level, with the federal legislation mentioned a central focus, and within individual states and territories. Similarly to the UK, I did not conduct interviews in each state or territory of Australia and focused my attention on the Australian Capital Territory [ACT], New South Wales [NSW] and Victoria which were the areas of trans and intersex activism highlighted by my participants through my snowball sampling method (see Methodology for further discussion of this). It is important to note the specific states, territories and countries, although the ethnodrama of the data is presented outside of its context to preserve anonymity (see Ethnodrama for further discussion of this), in order to consider the relationship between trans and intersex activism and these changing legislative contexts.

The legislation in each state and territory is relevant to the findings and the fictionalised law that composite characters consider in the ethnodrama is an amalgamation of several real laws that explicitly recognise trans or intersex individuals in each of the fieldwork sites. This legislation provides a context through which the findings addressing the research question, about the relationships within intersex activism and trans activism and the relationships between these activists, can be considered. Therefore, these states are not viewed as specific legal case studies for consideration and comparison within this thesis, but they are instead offered as context specific regions that can provide examples of current relationships between intersex activisms and trans activisms and their associated activists. These countries are also not considered in their entirety but rather the use of snowball sampling and making connections during fieldwork led to focusing on specific regions within these countries where more trans and intersex activism took place. For instance, within Australia the focus was on the cities of Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. The UK similarly offered greater opportunities for interviews within the cities of Cambridge, Manchester, Edinburgh and Glasgow. However, the islands of Malta and Gozo are much smaller geographically than these cities and highlight that while I may have met a participant in Valletta their work extended across the island (and the inclusion of online activism in the work of many of the individuals I spoke to across research sites extends their reach beyond the borders of their localities).

Legal Contexts

The recognition of trans and intersex lives in legal contexts have been subject to a range of academic considerations (Currah et al., 2006, Greenberg, 2012, Sharpe, 2002, Scherpe, 2015, Scherpe et al., 2018, Spade, 2012, 2015, Whittle, 2002). This brief introduction to those considerations focuses on the legislative contexts in which legal sex and gender recognition is possible in Australia, Malta and the UK due to recent developments in this legislative area across all of the research sites.

Australia

Aizura's (2018) documentary and ethnographic research in Thailand and Australia with trans individuals seeking and accessing transition-related healthcare, explores the ways in which biomedical power is exerted over trans bodies and how this is experienced differently across race and class. These issues in relation to class are found in the requirements for trans children, and both parents (regardless of family situations), to go through the Family Court system in Australia to access transition-related healthcare[ii]. The Family Court has shown a reluctance to be involved in the healthcare decisions facing intersex children and their parents. While these issues do not relate directly to legal sex or gender recognition they are outlined here briefly due to their importance to several participants. Furthermore, as outlined below, access to transition-related healthcare and legal gender recognition can be intertwined.

Following the decisions in *Re: Alex,* 2004 and *Re: Jamie* in 2013, the Australian Family Court system allowed for parental decisions to be taken into consideration in relation to accessing 'stage one' puberty blockers for trans young people under 16 (*Re: Alex*), and 'stage two' hormone replacement therapy [HRT] for those over 16 and under 18 (*Re: Jamie*). This *Re: Jamie* decision allowed for puberty blockers to be prescribed without court oversight if both parents and medical professionals agreed with this healthcare option. However, following this decision the Family Court requirements for HRT access remained because those under 18 were considered legally unable to consent to 'special medical procedures' themselves. Hughes (2017) and Kelly (2016) have discussed the impact of this decision and the process that meant neither parents nor young people could consent to this healthcare access outside of Family Court approval. Furthermore, there is a significant financial burden attached to a Family Court application. Since my research interviews took place, the *Re: Kelvin* decision of 2017 allows that Family Court involvement is only required for 'stage two' requests without parental or medical

practitioner support (Raj, 2019)[iii]. Whereas the 2016 decision of *Re: Carla* allowed for parental consent without the requirement of further court oversight for the gonadectomy, and therefore sterilisation, of a 5 year old intersex child in contrast to the earlier decision of *Re: Lesley* in 2008 that concluded parents could not consent to gonadectomy, and therefore sterilisation, on behalf of a 4 year old intersex child without Family Court approval (Richards and Wisdom, 2018, Carpenter, 2018b).

Australia's trans and intersex individuals must negotiate the complexities of biomedical discourses within the legislative and state institutions they encounter. This process is further complicated by the complexities of the relationship between state legislation, which covers birth registration (and alterations to birth certificates); state borders and state institutions; federal legislation, which covers marriage legislation and anti-discrimination legislation; and federal institutions, such as the Passport Office. Fenton-Glynn summarises the legislative situation for intersex people in Australia stating that 'individuals may have their chosen identity recognised in one jurisdiction, in one document, but they may not have it equally recognised in another jurisdiction, in another document or for another purpose' (Fenton-Glynn, 2018: 253). Although Fenton-Glynn is discussing the position of intersex individuals in legislation in Australia, this could also summarise the situation for trans individuals.

Carpenter (2018b) suggests that the law 'others' intersex individuals and critiques moves to introduce X markers that he sees as serving non-binary individuals at the expense of legislative reform explicitly for intersex individuals. Australia introduced X markers for passports in 2003. These were only available for those that could provide medical evidence of intersex categorisation prior to 2011. This relationship between X and intersex has been made more complex with current guidance that still requires medical practitioners to submit evidence, such as a statement, confirming individuals are 'indeterminate sex or are intersex (non-binary)' (Australian Passport Office, 2020). The (non-binary) alongside intersex within this quotation creates further ambiguity as to both the relationship between non-binary and intersex and the application process for an X passport for those that are intersex, non-binary, both or neither. Davis' (2017) analysis of the legal situation in Australia in relation to X markers finds that the current situation constructs non-binary and intersex people in medical classifications to offer legal recognition.

Malta

The 2011 European Court of Human Rights [ECHR] case *Cassar vs Malta* (European Court of Human Rights, Application 36982/11) found in Cassar's favour[iv]. This ECHR case was a catalyst for Malta's legislative changes considering the rights of trans people to change their legally recognised gender and their rights to marry. The *Gender Identity, Gender Expression and Sex Characteristics Act* 2015 grants the right of legal recognition of gender identity, that is self-determined by the individual. This law also grants the right to bodily autonomy and physical integrity through prohibition of surgical intervention on the sex characteristics of minors without their explicit informed consent.

Malta has had less academic consideration despite the significant media coverage of this unique *GIGESC* law. This law passed relatively recently in 2015 and Wipfler has since called it 'the most expansive, groundbreaking, and comprehensive bill of its kind' in an article summarising global developments in legal gender recognition (Wipfler, 2016: 511). Carpenter has celebrated the law's 'legal protections for the bodily autonomy of infants and children' and its use of the term 'sex characteristics' (Carpenter, 2018c: 446). Similarly, Ní Mhuirthile, (2018) has praised the *GIGESC* law for providing self-determined gender recognition, and protecting intersex infants from unwanted medical interventions. While Ní Mhuirthile is reflecting on the law's provisions for intersex individuals the self-determined gender provisions also deliver for trans individuals and non-binary individuals. Furthermore, since 2017 those over 16 have been able to access ID cards and passports reflecting lived genders with an M, F, or an X, which require self-declaration to a notary public[v].

United Kingdom

There has been significantly more consideration of the gender recognition legislation in a UK context from legal scholars and sociologists. This section is intended as a brief introduction to a detailed area of scholarship that has also been subject to media considerations and ongoing government reviews and consultations[vi].

The *Gender Recognition Act 2004* [*GRA*], was constructed due to two ECHR cases (cases *Goodwin & I v. United Kingdom* (European Court of Human Rights, Application 28957/95 & 25680/94) known collectively as *Goodwin & I*[vii]. While the ECHR rulings moved away from biological framings for this ruling the subsequent law offers a complex negotiation with biomedical framings. For instance, evidence submitted to a Gender Recognition Panel

for the purpose of obtaining a Gender Recognition Certificate [GRC] must include either 'a report made by a registered medical practitioner practising in the field of gender dysphoria and a report made by another registered medical practitioner' or 'a report made by a registered psychologist practising in that field and a report made by a registered medical practitioner' (*Gender Recognition Act 2004*). This requires a trans individual to engage with biomedical framings of trans identities that covers those with gender dysphoria but it does not include trans identities outside of this framework or those individuals that find psychological and gender dysphoric based inclusion of trans identities exclusionary and pathologising. Legal gender recognition is offered to some trans individuals who are willing to engage with the biopolitical structures and those who can successfully negotiate the multiple medical practitioner requirements as well as the cost of an application.

The introduction of the *GRA* was celebrated by some legal scholars and activist accounts considering the time immediately prior to the introduction are similarly celebratory (Sharpe, 2009, Burns, 2013, 2014). More recent activist considerations have reflected the complexities in the law including those noted at the time (Burns, 2018, Lester, 2017). The *GRA*'s use of sex and gender interchangeably has been subject to criticism due to unclear definitions and boundaries (Cowan, 2005, Sharpe, 2007b, Whittle and Turner, 2007). Furthermore, this legislation's requirements of two year's evidence of lived gender including medical evidence of a gender dysphoria diagnosis has been subject to criticism (Hines, 2009, 2010b, 2013, Nirta, 2018, Sharpe, 2007a).

Hines' (2013) work on recognition focuses on the possibilities and restrictions of the UK's legal gender recognition provisions. Hines highlights that the *GRA* brought legal recognition for some trans people and notes that societal acceptance and legitimacy was a significant consequence for several participants who had been granted a GRC. Hines' research addresses those who sought legal gender recognition through the *GRA* and those who did not or were unable to alongside the related marriage and partnership considerations. Hines highlights that while the *GRA* and the *Civil Partnership Act 2004* [*CPA*] speak to each other and allow for the continuation of the legal recognition of a relationship it does not reflect the ways in which such partners may view such partnerships[viii]. Hines also considers those people who are excluded from legal gender recognition within the *GRA*, noting that for those who did not undertake a 'medically approved route to gender transition and/or did not identify as male or female, then, the GRA had detrimental effects which yielded new patterns of misrecognition and marginalisation' (Hines, 2013: 67).

The UK's current legislation currently fails to include intersex experiences in any distinctive way. The *Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009* is the only legislation across the four countries of the UK to contain the word 'intersexuality'. This is offered within a definition of 'transsexuality'. This does not include intersex individuals who are not trans or those that do not associate with the term intersex. Furthermore, this term only allows for minimal intersex legal recognition in the context of experience of a hate crime. At the time of writing the Scottish Government is consulting on the wording of a *Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Bill* to replace the *Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009*. This follows an earlier thematic consultation in 2019 to amend Scottish hate crime legislation. This Bill replaces the term 'intersexuality' in the 2009 legislation with 'Variations in Sex Characteristics' [VSC]. This new Bill also proposes to separate the categories trans and VSC. The UK Government Equalities Office launched a call for evidence on the experiences of those with VSC in 2019. See the Intersex Terminology section for more on this shifting language use.

Queer and There: Situating this Study

This section situates this study in relation to key sociological trans, intersex and non-binary texts offering a review of this existing literature. This thesis takes a poststructuralist focus on language, discourse and performativity alongside a symbolic interactionist approach to produce a form of queer sociology and poststructuralist sociology. This works builds on Hines' 'queer sociology of transgender' (2007: 183) that commits to a dual focus on discourses and empirical sociological approaches to lived experience. This approach also speaks to other scholars that have developed 'queer sociology' and 'queer social science' that similarly bring together queer theory and empirical sociology (Compton et al., 2018, Seidman, 1996, Pascoe, 2018). This poststructuralist sociology draws on Namaste's earlier development of this poststructuralist framework with her call for 'poststructuralist sociology, demanding that a poststructuralist concern with language and discourse be connected to the social world' (Namaste, 2000: 59). The ways in which this is adopted as a methodological approach is discussed further in the Queer Language section of the Methodology chapter which outlines the importance of poststructuralist theory, queer epistemologies and symbolic interactionism to this approach.

Many of the trans, intersex and non-binary texts considered in this introduction have queer theoretical underpinnings. Many of these scholars draw on the work of Butler (1990, 1993, 2004, 2006) and Foucault (1978) and utilise poststructuralist frameworks including a focus

on language and identities and categories. However, this literature review focuses on this trans and intersex work's engagement with identity formation and activism, rather than queer theory in acknowledgement of the contentious history with queer theory's portrayal of trans and intersex.

Namaste (1996, 2000) has criticised queer theory's 'erasure' of trans lives and the failure of queer theory to consider the lived experience of trans individuals and the ways in which trans activism may counter some of the knowledge claims made in relation to expectations of 'queer' definitions and understandings. Similarly, Rooke (2010) and Hines (2010a) consider queer theory's failure to consider trans lived experience. Morland (2009b) suggests that queer theory has been 'insufficient' in its consideration of intersex but suggests that queer theory can offer an interrogation of 'normalising' practices leading to the possibility of queer intersex futures. Within this introduction I concentrate on the sociological accounts that focus on the lived realities of trans and intersex individuals in the literature in an attempt to move beyond merely theoretical accounts of trans and intersex lives. This also draws attention to the importance of living lives that are not queer for some trans and intersex individuals. It is important to highlight the influence of queer theory within this review of the literature whilst acknowledging that the term 'queer' is not necessarily one that spoke to all of the participants at the centre of this study.

Intersex Terminology

Intersex is a contested term that continues to be subject to different definitions within sociological and medical contexts. This section begins with a consideration of definitions of intersex that have been suggested within sociological literature before introducing the medicalised language these definitions speak to. Activist and sociologist Davis discusses the use of intersex as a term to 'describe the state of being born with a combination of characteristics (e.g., genital, gonadal, and/or chromosomal) that are typically presumed to be exclusively male or female' (Davis, 2015: 2) which places emphasis on the cultural construction of male and female bodies that necessitates language to describe those bodies that do not follow those expectations. For Rubin, a gender studies sociologist, 'intersex is an umbrella term for the myriad characteristics of people born with sexual anatomies that various societies deem to be nonstandard' (Rubin, 2017: 1). Rubin focuses on intersex variations that are congenital but are not necessarily discovered at birth or in childhood. Rubin also highlights that these intersex variations are typically culturally and socially produced as 'other' in relation to expectations of male and female bodies. Medical anthropologist Karkazis adds to this focus on the relationship between expected bodily

characteristics and categorisation and claims that ‘the category intersex relies on the very categories of the medicalization of sex, and it is meant to cover a range of disparate diagnoses and biologically diverse individuals’ (Karkazis, 2008: 9). These sociological definitions reveal concerns of categorisation and the medicalisation of bodies within these definitions of the term ‘intersex’. These scholars are responding to the medicalised understandings of intersex that uses different language and reveals different concerns of categorisation.

Medical Linguistic Approaches to Intersex

Holmes (2009b) and Reis (2007) discuss the use of intersex as a diagnostic category and its prevalence in medical literature until 2005 although Holmes highlights that the indirect language patients heard from their own clinicians typically did not include the term. For a historical analysis of the medical use of hermaphrodite and later intersex across Europe in the nineteenth century and the USA from the seventeenth century to the 1960s see Dreger (1998), Mak (2012) and Reis (2009). For a consideration of the use of these terms in a medical context in the UK from the 1930s to 1950s see Griffiths (2018a). A 2006 ‘Consensus Statement on the Management of Intersex Disorders’ caused a linguistic shift to new terminology, that of Disorders of Sex Development [DSD], discussed further below, which has been widely adopted across the international medical community (Pasterski et al., 2010a, 2010b). However, Aaronson and Aaronson (2010), a paediatric urologist and an internal medicine specialist, offered a post-DSD definition for intersex arguing that this term should be considered a subset of DSD that relates specifically to gonadal development. This reflects approaches to intersex categorisation of an earlier age, one that Dreger termed the ‘age of gonads’ (Dreger, 1998: 139) due to the reliance on the presence of gonadal tissue to determine ‘true sex’ regardless of any other factors, characteristics, or experiences of the individual. This reflects Aaronson’s (2001) earlier work developing an intersex classification system based on gonadal histology. While the majority of the medical community has adopted the linguistic shift to DSD these examples of the use of intersex terminology highlight that categorisation of intersex and DSD remain sites of contestation both linguistically and taxonomically.

This linguistic shift to DSD language in the medical community influences the language intersex adults and children interact with when accessing healthcare. For some individuals DSD language may be the language of diagnosis whereas for others they may only hear language associated with their specific conditions. For example, research with the parents of children with Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia [CAH] reveals these parents’

communication with medical professionals typically adopts language of CAH rather than intersex or DSD (Boyse et al., 2014, Lundberg et al., 2016). This language of specific conditions is also found in Guntram's (2013) research with individuals with Mayer-Rokitansky-Künster-Hauser [MRKH] syndrome and Turner Syndrome, as well as Lundberg et al's (2018, 2019) work with layperson's understandings of atypical sex characteristics. Lundberg et al (2016) also note that the strategies and language used by parents to communicate information to their children with CAH are a significant factor in the development of a vocabulary around intersexed bodies.

The language that intersex individuals interact with while accessing healthcare highlight the power imbalances in the language and construction of meanings across intersex lives and identifications. For Haraway '[t]he language of biomedicine is never alone in the field of empowering meanings, and its power does not flow from a consensus about symbols and actions' (Haraway, 1989: 3). For Haraway the power of biomedical discourse is its reproduction, within and outside medical settings, which is useful for considering the ways in which medical language dominates intersex lives and the literature considering intersex experiences. However, the absence of 'intersex' from medical settings but prominence within activist settings, highlights the importance of language for activist work and the possibilities for (re)producing alternative language and alternative meanings.

The prevalence of DSD language and the language of specific conditions leads many individuals to adopt such language in order to engage with medical professionals while accessing healthcare or during activism. However, the pathologising use of 'disorder' in 'Disorders of Sex Development' [DSD] has been subject to criticism from activists and scholars since its introduction (Holmes, 2011, see also Davis 2011, 2014, 2015). The perception of disorder within DSD as stigmatising terminology is found in Delimata et al's (2018) analysis of online discussions between medical practitioners, patient advocates and academics on the use of DSD highlighting the medical community's awareness of the unpopularity of this terminology. Davis' (2015) research with intersex activists in the USA reveals intersex individuals and activists strategically adopt DSD language when necessary to access healthcare or engage with medical professionals in activism. However, the medical community engages significantly less with intersex language despite its usage in policy settings and activist settings. This highlights the unequal power relationships working across intersex and DSD language use. Cools et al (2016) offer a reason for the lack of engagement with intersex language in a paper written by a collective of paediatric endocrinologists, paediatric surgeons and support group representatives with their claim

that the term intersex is stigmatising. However, this paper was a response to a 2015 Council of Europe issue paper that suggested the medical management of intersex individuals across member states were human rights violations (Commissioner, 2015). This highlights one example of the complex factors in the use of intersex and DSD language across medical, policy and activist settings in which this research project has been formed. These linguistic issues exist across the research sites of Australia, Malta and the UK as well as North America where much of the previous sociological research on intersex lives has been conducted.

DSD Language

A 2005 conference in Chicago discussed the use of language such as intersex and hermaphrodite and those present, which included medical professionals across surgical, paediatric, endocrinology and urology specialisms as well as activists and representatives from support groups, produced a 'Consensus Statement' that introduced a new term: 'Disorders of Sex Development' [DSD], to replace the previous hermaphrodite and intersex language (Houk et al., 2006, Hughes et al., 2006a, 2006b, Lee et al., 2006). This 'Consensus Statement', as it is most commonly referred to, suggested criteria for the categorisation of DSDs as well as suggestions for the medical management of these newly categorised diagnostic labels (Houk et al., 2006, Hughes et al., 2006a, 2006b, Lee et al., 2006). After 2005 medical language shifted significantly to using DSD in medical literature and with patients (Pasterski et al., 2010a). However, the pathologising language with the use of 'disorder' has been criticised by activists and sociologists (Carpenter, 2018a, Ghattas, 2013, Lundberg et al., 2018, Reis, 2007).

Davis (2015, 2014) takes this criticism further and offers an analysis of those who find DSD terminology pathologising and avoid it which can have a detrimental effect on healthcare access. By contrast, those who utilise the term in healthcare settings were found to have more supportive relationships with healthcare providers and family members, particularly with parental support. Elsewhere Davis (2011) interprets the linguistic shift from intersex to DSD within the medical profession to be a direct response to US intersex activists in the 1990s successfully framing intersex as a social issue and critiquing the need for surgery. Davis also finds DSD nomenclature impossible for intersex individuals to ignore because of its introduction and utilisation by 'medical professionals, a powerful and institutionalised professional collective with legitimised control and authority over bodies' (Davis, 2014: 16). The importance of the legitimacy in relation to categorisation is

highlighted here in relation to those who have the power to name and define categories and their associated medical management in relation to this categorisation or diagnostic label.

This 2006 ‘Consensus Statement’ that shifted the linguistic context within medical discourse from hermaphrodite and intersex language to DSD language was promoted as a unifying and inclusive term and the inclusion of support group and activist representatives at the conference that developed this statement played a role in that unifying claim (Houk et al., 2006, Hughes et al., 2006a, 2006b, Lee et al., 2006). However, more than a decade on from the ‘Consensus Statement’ the language used by activists and by medical practitioners is still divergent and still a subject of debate (Davis, 2015, Lundberg et al., 2018). Furthermore, Lee et al (2016) offer an update from many of the original authors that acknowledges that DSD language has not been as enthusiastically adopted by patients, support groups or activists as by the medical profession and considers that some seek to replace ‘disorders’ with ‘differences’ while others seek completely different terminology. This 2016 update also acknowledges that ‘[t]here is still no consensual attitude regarding indications, timing, procedure and evaluation of outcome of DSD surgery’ and goes on to acknowledge the legal, human rights and activist arguments that continue to be presented against non-consensual non-emergency surgery on intersex infants (Lee et al., 2016: 176). This lack of consensus over the medical management of intersex variations and over the linguistic terminology has direct relevance for the categorisation of DSD and intersex which in turn affects experiences of legitimacy and belonging in intersex groups in all of the sites of this study. Griffiths summarises that ‘[t]here is a lack of consensus, inside and outside medicine, as to whether to use the DSD classification system, and if so, what to include and what the central features of the classification are. This is not a new phenomenon’ (Griffiths, 2018b: 131).

As Griffiths highlights the lack of consensus over DSD classification has existed since the 2006 articles were first published. Several letters to the editor upon its publication raised issue with the language, especially the use of disorder, and those who chose to specify their interest in the topic included support groups representatives (Hinkle, 2006, Leidolf, 2006, Morris, 2006, Simmonds, 2006). The use of disorder in the new terminology was also challenged by some medical professionals at the time of publication (Diamond and Beh, 2006). However, not all of the original commentators on the 2006 consensus statement were critical of the DSD terminology and some from the medical profession and activists chose to express support for this linguistic shift (Baratz, 2006, Chase, 2006a, Özbey, 2006). Dreger and Herndon (2009) activists and scholars involved with ISNA, a North

American intersex activist group that adopted DSD terminology prior to disbanding in 2008, reflect that while their own preference is for the use of intersex, DSD has a particular use in medical contexts and they express no dissatisfaction with disorder although they acknowledge that this view is not shared by all intersex activists or scholars. Feder and Karkazis (2008) consider the differing views from those activists and concerned individuals that are opposed to the use of DSD language alongside those who did not find the term intersex useful and prefer DSD concluding that this linguistic shift could improve healthcare by shifting the focus to health settings away from identity claims.

Greenberg (2012) concludes that the 'Consensus Statement' was the product of 'a productive alliance between physicians and activists. By working together, activists and medical experts formulated an approach that reflected a number of goals of the intersex activist movement' (Greenberg, 2012: 90). For Greenberg, the 'Consensus Statement' is an example of the successful relationships between medical professionals and activists and evidence of activists achieving their aims through such a relationship. However, Greenberg does not consider the power imbalances within the original conference that produced the 'Consensus Statement' which contained more medical professionals who had more experience and authority within academic conference settings. Greenberg's analysis also does not consider the power imbalances within the future utilisation of the outcomes of the 'Consensus Statement' such as the use of DSD language from medical professionals responsible for intersex healthcare throughout healthcare interactions and medical literature despite this language remaining controversial. Reis (2007) asks if adopting the term DSD gives the power of naming to the medical profession furthering medicine's control over intersex bodies through language, although offers that intersex adults may still call themselves intersex as an identity. Rubin's (2017) documentary analysis of intersex activism in the USA, Columbia and South Africa offers a similar conclusion that 'the DSD rubric constitutes a medico-scientific attempt to pin meanings and bodies down' (Rubin, 2017: 146). Here Rubin highlights the relationship between the meanings constituted in medical language and what the practical implications of that language may mean for certain bodies.

D is for

The debates over the language of disorder within DSD has led some working within and alongside medical professionals to adopt a different word within their use of the DSD acronym. For instance, Baratz et al. (2014), clinicians conducting research into DSD peer support and advocacy groups, encourage flexibility with disorder, difference, diversity and

intersex all suggested as possible langauge. Furthermore, this chapter was published in a book aimed at clinicians providing DSD healthcare and DSD researchers titled *Understanding Differences and Disorders of Sex Development (DSD)* co-edited by one of the co-authors of the 2006 Consensus Statement (Hiort and Ahmed, 2014). Some psychologists that engage with DSD nomenclature have substituted disorder in DSD for diverse (Liao and Roen, 2014, 2019, Roen, 2019). Those texts also use intersex/DSD as a way to engage with individuals using both sets of nomenclatures which is a strategy adopted by other recent publications in psychology (Roen and Pasterski, 2014, Roen 2015). This can also be interpreted as an attempt to disengage from linguistic debates. Reis (2007), a gender studies historian who has analysed the historical construction and treatment of intersex bodies in the USA, suggests the use of divergence for the first D or offers an alternative term: Variations of Sex Development.

This language of Variations of Sex Development is not dissimilar to the Variations of Sex Characteristics [VSC] which has started to be used in UK policy contexts (Monro et al., 2017)[ix]. Topp (2013) suggests that the use of intersex and DSD together alongside Differences of Sex Development or 'variation' language can offer a 'third way' in order to avoid the pathologising use of disorder and the imprecision of intersex. Although Topp's broader analysis does consider those who identify as intersex this proposed solution does not account for how those that identify with existing terms may respond to such linguistic shifts. Furthermore, a shift away from intersex, DSD or the language of specific conditions does not lead to neutral language. This language is contested because of its complex relationship with the language of identities, for instance those who identify as intersex, and the language of medical management of DSD that contains pathologising terminology and a history of non-consensual surgical interventions. The move to new language, such as VSC, unencumbered by the historical or contemporary debates around intersex and DSD can be seen not only as a move to use more neutral language but also an attempt to engage in 'linguistic futurism' (Hegarty and Lundberg, 2020). For Hegarty and Lundberg linguistic futurism encompasses 'the fantasy that – at some point in the future – language will resolve easily into a solid form of essentialism whilst moral, ethical, and political questions evaporate into thin air' (Hegarty and Lundberg, 2020: 213).

Umbrella Terms

Hegarty and Lundberg's (2020) consideration of linguistic futurism forms part of their analysis of the use of umbrella terms such as intersex and DSD, how they have emerged historically and their contextual and performative use. Intersex, DSD, and VSC are all

umbrella terms that consider a broad range of experiences and identities within their definitions. Therefore, they are subject to contestations over categorisation, inclusion and exclusion within medical considerations and activist use. For instance, Griffiths explores the inclusion and exclusion of Turner and Klinefelter's syndromes within DSD and intersex classifications (Griffiths, 2018b). Similarly, Harper's (2007) correspondence based research with intersex individuals across Europe, North America and Australia highlights the contestations with Klinefelter's Syndrome and Turner Syndrome within intersex categorisation. These debates in relation to who is included in terms are not only found in relation to umbrella terms such as intersex and DSD. For instance, hypospadias is a term that describes a variation in the location of the urethral meatus other than the tip of the penis. However, Fichtner et al's (1995) research in Germany with 'normal' men found 45% displayed urethral meatus located somewhere other than the tip of the penis which would align with a hypospadias definition. The 'Consensus Statement' categorises 'severe hypospadias' as a DSD (Hughes et al., 2006a: 150). However, severity in relation to hypospadias remains a subject of contestation within medical literature (Pons et al., 2019). Roen and Hegarty's (2018) research with medical professionals specialising in diverse sex development in the UK and Sweden found medicalised framing of discussions on hypospadias shapes parental decisions on surgery. A recent publication from ethicists and a urologist questions the ethics of early infant surgeries for hypospadias reflecting criticisms from intersex activists since the 1990s considering all non-consensual non-emergency surgeries on intersex infants (Carmack et al., 2016). This reflects an earlier contribution from ethicists and paediatricians considering infant surgeries across intersex experiences in the German context (Wiesemann et al., 2009). These contestations over categorisation can have significant influence over the bodies of intersex adults and children.

These issues are also found in considerations of who counts as intersex in support groups. Preves' research with intersex adults in North America finds 'participants who did not undergo medicalization questioned the validity of their membership in intersex groups that were so heavily focused on recovery from medical trauma' (Preves, 2003: 148). Amato's (2016) analysis of American intersex representation in visual and textual culture including autobiographical accounts finds practices of using medical diagnoses to validate membership of intersex groups. The medicalisation as a form of validation in these examples highlights a further complexity in the relationship between language and identities that traverses DSD and intersex langauge usage. Costello (2016) considers trans individuals that frame their trans identities as intersex conditions to be a form of intersex

appropriation which offers an additional consideration to the boundary work operating in intersex group membership (see also Jansen, 2016).

Intersex and Identity

For some intersex individuals and activists to claim the term 'intersex' as an identity is an act of resignification of a previously medicalised term now rarely utilised within biomedical literature since the introduction of DSD language. Morland's definition of intersex for the 'Key Concepts for a Twenty-First-Century Transgender Studies' issue of *Transgender Studies Quarterly* offers an activist definition of intersex. Morland suggests that

> 'activists have reappropriated intersex as an identity. To identify as intersex is to assert both that treatment does not work, insofar as medical interventions amplify the strangeness of one's intersex attributes, and that treatment should not be done at all, insofar as it discriminates against individuals on the basis of immutable characteristics' (Morland, 2014: 113).

Morland suggests to claim an intersex identity runs counter to claims of success in the 'medical management' of intersex that has previously claimed to erase intersex through surgical interventions. This success has been disputed by other intersex activists and sociologists (Chase, 1999, Holmes, 2008, 2009a, Kessler, 1998). Morland's activist definition of intersex is not simply an argument that surgery to erase intersex adds to the construction of intersex but questions the need for medical management of intersex variations at all. Elsewhere Morland (2005) discusses the contradiction that surgery to alter intersex genitalia to construct non-intersex genitalia creates an aesthetic ideal of how male and female bodies should look. Morland states that '[i]ntersex surgery instates male and female as monolithic and incontestable categories while simultaneously exceeding their naturalness and inevitability by its technology of sexual construction' (Morland, 2005: 338). Morland's analysis of intersex surgery finds these surgeries advance the construction of the categories 'male' and 'female' in a way which also undermines their foundations. For Morland these intersex surgeries construct 'nostalgic genitalia' that are fantasies of how male and female genitals should look or should function that have no original on which they are based (Morland, 2001a, 2005). Holmes' analysis of intersex surgeries adds to this argument that individuals may find themselves 'more intersexed following surgical intervention' (Holmes, 2008: 154). Holmes' (2008) analysis also considers that these surgeries presume a heterosexual future in their assessment of functionality rather than consideration of futures of sexual sensitivity. These considerations highlight the role of

surgery in the construction of intersex as a category and the ways in which that surgical experience is lived as intersex.

Intersex terminology has been dropped by much of the medical establishment but their role in shaping intersex bodies through infant surgery and hormonal intervention with only parental consent continues to shape intersex lives into adulthood. Furthermore, medical professionals' deliberate choices not to engage with intersex nomenclature in publications and healthcare settings, including both adulthood diagnostic care and long-term care of those subject to early interventions, continues to position intersex terminology, and therefore those who identify as intersex, as outside or 'other' to DSD healthcare. This creates a linguistic insufficiency for intersex children who may only hear DSD language from their interaction with medical professionals and as a result only hear DSD language from their parents. Davis and Murphy (2013) address the ways in which intersex surgery is constructed as a state of exception that allows for infant surgeries to be performed despite a lack of medical emergency or urgency. Similarly, Feder (2002, 2006) addresses the experiences of parents of intersex children that have felt pressured into surgery by medical professionals. This echoes Lohman and Lohman's (2018) personal narratives reflecting refusing infant surgery for their child before she could consent herself. This power imbalance does not only affect intersex children. Intersex adults can also be disempowered by the language of DSD dominating their healthcare interactions. For instance, Ansara (2016) discusses the ways in which health professionals' 'framing' in the presentation of information including language use can influence patient and medical professionals' decision making in relation to health care. These considerations highlight that intersex identification that is experienced in relation to surgery are also experienced through the language of the medical profession and its framing of medical interventions.

Kessler's (1998) sociological research finds similar debates about constructing intersex identities and language outside of medical discourse. Kessler's research includes interviews with paediatric medical professionals specialising in intersex management; interviews and correspondence with parents of intersex children; and interviews with intersex adults in the 1990s. Kessler's consideration of 'intersexual identity' highlights the ways in which 'intersexed' was at the time the term given to individuals by medical professionals but not the term they were using themselves which was more commonly 'intersexual' (Kessler, 1998: 84-85). Although Kessler does not make this link explicitly, the use of 'intersexual' that emerged in 1990s intersex activism can be seen to be a form of Foucauldian '"reverse" discourse' (Foucault, 1978: 101). For Foucault '"reverse"

discourse' in the context of homosexuality allows it to speak for itself using the same language and categories by which it had been dominated by the medical establishment (Foucault, 1978: 101). This 'reverse discourse' is found in the contemporary context with the continued use of intersex by activists.

Intersex Activism and Identity

The role of activism underpins many of the considerations of intersex identity formation outlined so far. The use of intersex as an identity term by activists is no less contested than the category of DSD in medical contexts. For instance, Feder compares the activist history of intersexuality to that of homosexuality and concludes that the adoption of intersex as an identity category by intersex individuals and intersex activists in particular could present a barrier to healthcare access for their non-surgical intersex-related 'underlying health conditions' (Feder, 2009a: 240). However, Feder's analysis considers only that the experience of infant surgical intervention could lead to a reverse discourse in claiming an intersex identity and in doing so Feder assumes that other healthcare interventions would not lead to individuals identifying as intersex. This fails to consider non-surgical early interventions, such as hormone treatments, with parental rather than personal consent, which could lead to intersex identification. This also assumes that all instances of identification with the term intersex is a counter claim to the powerful discourses and bodily interventions from the medical profession. This excludes those that identify with the term but were not subject to non-consensual surgical or hormonal treatments linking back to Preves (2003) findings with such individuals questioning their belonging in intersex groups. However, Feder's (2009a) concerns about language and healthcare access are reflected in Davis' (2015) extensive research with intersex adults, parents of intersex children and medical professionals in the USA noted above. Davis (2015) also finds intersex identification not only in counter claims to the medicalised naming of DSD bodies but also as a form of community building across peer support group and activist settings.

Spurgas (2009) offers an analysis of the North American activist group ISNA shifting from peer support to queer activism to working with clinicians focusing on the shift in language use by members from intersex to DSD. In this analysis the move to adopt DSD language is a refusal of an intersex identity associated with radical queer activism and links to trans and LGBT activism. Spurgas (2009) presents these linguistic signifiers of identity as either DSD or intersex and presents the proponents of each linguistic use as either non-queer or queer, respectively. Therefore, Spurgas fails to consider those that may use language strategically across activism and healthcare interactions as discussed by Davis (2015).

Spurgas also does not consider those that identify as intersex but do not see this as a queer identity, such as those discussed by Davis (2014). Similarly, Grabham's (2007) concept of 'intersex citizenship' allows for those that may identify as intersex outside of queer understandings of self[x]. These considerations also reflect Turner's (1999) earlier analysis of identity rhetoric on online intersex discussion forums that considers those that associate with queer understandings of intersex and those that identify as intersex without queer considerations.

Trans(gender) Terminology

This section focuses on relevant literature from trans studies and sociology relating to trans identity formation and trans activism. Similar, to the intersex literature, the focus is on contemporary literature since 1990 due to the publications of central texts in the USA in the 1990s that can be seen to be the emergence of trans studies, or transgender studies, as an interdisciplinary area of study (Bornstein, 1994, Feinberg, 1992, 1996, Stone, 1991, Stryker, 1994). These academic and activist 1990s trans texts highlight the importance of activism to this emerging discipline. Locating the emergence of trans studies with these 1990s texts emphasises the importance of trans individuals writing about themselves and their community constructing a reverse discourse to counter the medicalised history of trans individuals being written about by and for a medical profession. For a consideration of this medicalised history from the US context see Meyerowitz (2002) and Stryker (2008). For an analysis of 1950s sexologist John Money's approaches to 'hermaphroditism' and 'transsexualism' and these influences in contemporary contexts see Downing et al (2015).

Transgender as a Term

Stone's (1991) 'The *Empire* Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto' speaks back to medical and feminist constructions of 'transsexual' as a category and a term. Stone explicitly calls for the 'posttranssexual' to '*write oneself* into the discourses' (Stone, 1991: 299 italics original). While the original publication does not use the word 'transgender' this is a feature of its Afterword on its republication in 1992 which considers the 'evolving' transgender discourses of the early 1990s (Stone, 1992). Similarly, Stryker (1994) speaks back to the medical and feminist constructions of 'transsexual' calling for a reverse discourse of 'transgender rage'. Within this text Stryker critiques the pathologisation of transgender lives and the non-consensual gendering of infants. Stryker's text uses the term transgender 'as an umbrella term that refers to all identities or practices that cross over, cut across, move between, or otherwise queer socially constructed sex/gender boundaries'

(Stryker, 1994: 251). This offers a broader understanding of the range of identities considered under the umbrella transgender than the historical medicalised category of transsexual.

Medicalisation is the process of 'defining a [social] problem in medical terms, usually as an illness, or disorder, or using a medical intervention to treat it' (Conrad, 2005: 3). This results in medicine participating in the construction of bodily variations as medical conditions, whereas pathologisation constructs variations as abnormal or a deviation from a norm alongside a stigma associated with terms such as disorder. For Ansara and Hegarty 'pathologising is the construction of people's behaviour or characteristics as pathological or disordered' (Ansara and Hegarty, 2012: 142). Heinz's work focusing on transmasculine discourses discusses the ways that medicalisation and pathologisation have led to trans people navigating a 'web of pathological representations' (Heinz, 2016: 32). The pathologising discourses within trans healthcare access have been subject to academic critique including from healthcare providers (Richards et al., 2014, 2015).

The role of medical professionals in adjudicating claims to trans identities produces a medicalisation of trans identities. As Dewey (2008) notes, this medicalisation of trans lives produces the category 'normal' and consequently stigmatises those who reside, as pathologised beings, outside this 'normal' gendered experience. The prevalent role of pathologisation through diagnosis is explored extensively by Pearce (2018b) in UK trans health contexts. At the time of Stryker's publication, the American Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders [DSM] DSM-4 (1994) replaced 'transsexualism' with 'Gender Identity Disorder' [GID]. The language of this text has been critiqued within the US context by Winters (2008), while Sennott (2010) has explored different attitudes toward the language of GID. The DSM-5 (2013) replaced GID with 'Gender Dysphoria'. The International Classification of Diseases [ICD] has followed a similar linguistic trajectory with 'transsexualism' in the ICD-9 (1977), 'gender identity disorder' in the ICD-10 (1992), and 'gender incongruence' in the ICD-11 (2018). The relevance of the categorisation of these terms in the DSM and the ICD for trans health access has been explored by Drescher et al (2012). This briefly highlights that there is significant literature on the pathologisation of trans identities and the impact of pathologisation and medicalisation on trans lives. However, the language of gender dysphoria, gender incongruence and its earlier categorisations, was not a feature of my interviews (unlike the language of DSD) so this literature is not further discussed in this introduction. Furthermore, this introduction positions itself within the interdisciplinary trans studies, and

the emerging interdisciplinary intersex studies, a feature of which is trans, and intersex, individuals speaking for themselves and shaping the discourse. Therefore, I have chosen to focus on the activist-academic, and in particular sociological, literature that positions trans people as experts on themselves rather than the historical and contemporary medical discourses that frame medical professionals as experts on trans people.

The use of transgender as a broad umbrella term is also used by Bornstein (1994) who details that this includes those who live outside of the gender binary. Feinberg similarly includes identities outside of the gender binary with their use of the term 'trans' (1996, 1998), noting in 1996 this term was emerging within trans community spaces. While neither Feinberg nor Bornstein used the term 'non-binary' in these texts, the term has since come to prominence as reflected in its frequent use by my interviewees. Stryker reflecting on Feinberg's (1992) use of 'transgender' as a term suggests that this is a '"pangender" umbrella term for an imagined community… who felt compelled to answer the call to mobilization' (Stryker, 2006: 4). Here Stryker highlights the importance of activism to trans studies and the utilisation of the umbrella term 'transgender'. The use of 'imagined community' also hints at some of the potential problems of inclusion within such an umbrella term[xi]. Valentine's (2007) late 1990s ethnography in New York with a group of transgender activists and their relationships with other LGBT groups highlights the difficulties of defining a transgender community and the complexities of the category 'transgender' including experiences of inclusion within such categories.

The 'Foreword' to *The Transgender Studies Reader* reflects that trans is an identity term and one which encompasses a broad spectrum of experiences. In this 'Foreword' Whittle reflects that this trans identity can include 'anyone who does not feel comfortable in the gender role they were attributed with at birth, or who has a gender identity at odds with the labels "man" or "woman" credited to them by formal authorities' (Whittle, 2006: xi). Here Whittle highlights that these trans identities can be experienced differently to the expectations of the language and possibilities within legal or institutional gender recognition.

Sociological Approaches to Trans Identity and Activism

Some sociological approaches to research with trans individuals have focused on these issues of legal gender recognition and experiences of identity negotiation including in a UK context[xii]. Similarly to the US context this has highlighted the importance of activism to these experiences. For an analysis of trans activism in the US context see Serano (2013a,

2016), Spade (2015), Stryker (2008), Valentine (2007), and Wilchins (2017). The considerations of US trans activism most relevant to this thesis is the research of Davidson (2007) who discusses the negotiations of inclusion under the trans activist umbrella in their research with trans activists and intersex activists in the USA. Davidson secured interviews with intersex activists on the understanding they could explain the need to separate trans activism and intersex activism. The terms 'transgender' and 'trans' as collective identity terms are subject to negotiations and contestations over the boundaries of inclusion as noted in the 'Umbrella Terms' section in relation to intersex identity terms. These contestations are features of consideration within the UK sociological research discussed below. While some scholars have included intersex within an umbrella category of trans, there is a risk that this subsumes intersex experiences within an understanding of trans experiences, overlooking the ways in which these experiences are distinct.

Davy's (2011) sociological research with transgender people in the UK focuses on trans embodiment and considers the medicolegal recognition of trans and intersex individuals with a focus on UK law and the passing of the *Gender Recognition Act 2004*. Davy also offers an analysis of UK trans activism with case studies from trans groups across the UK and their literature's framing of trans embodiment considering the ways in which these groups used different discourses for different audiences. There is a clear parallel here with the work of Davis (2014, 2015) considering intersex activism's linguistic strategies. Davy's (2011) consideration of the framing strategies used by trans activist groups and community organisations highlights the ways in which some groups used intersex narratives to inform their arguments for trans health activism. This earlier work highlights some of the context for the relationship between trans and intersex activists in the UK and reveals contestations over discourses relating to identities between trans activist groups that my research project speaks back to.

Hines' (2007) research with transgender individuals in the UK who were connected with trans support, social or community groups considers transgender identity formation and practices of care within trans support groups and community groups. Hines highlights that support groups 'can be understood as a social movement' through their practices of care on an individual level and their work on visibility and education (Hines, 2007: 180). Similarly, Nownes (2019) work on trans activism in the USA, finds that trans support group involvement led to trans activism and for many of his participants support groups themselves were political groups for change. This mirrors my own activist participants, some of whose activism took the form of running support groups[xiii]. Hines (2007) also

considers participants' views on relationships between trans activism and LGB activism which this research project speaks to with interviews discussing these relationships with trans, intersex and LGBTI activists.

Monro (2005) includes research with trans people in the UK and a focus on trans politics to develop a concept of gender pluralism that creates space for new gender categories and identities. Monro also discusses 'non-binaried trans identities' (Monro, 2005: 36) in one of the earlier uses of this term. Monro also addresses tensions between LGB and T activism as well as within trans activism which makes this text a useful foundation for this thesis that considers tensions within and across trans, intersex and LGBTI activisms. However, Monro includes intersex individuals within the consideration of trans politics without a clear consideration of intersex politics or investigation of ways in which intersex experiences are distinct from trans experiences[xiv]. Monro has since critiqued her earlier use of 'gender pluralism' for its exclusion of intersex and proposes 'Sex Pluralism, which encompasses sex characteristic variance as a separate spectrum which overlaps, intertwines with and influences gender pluralism' to better account for the coexistence of trans and intersex experiences, and the ways in which these may be experienced in intertwined ways (Monro, 2019: 128).

More recently Pearce (2018b) provides a detailed account of trans health discourses and practices in a UK context. Pearce's research involved an online ethnography within trans activist and trans community spaces alongside consideration of medical practitioner discourses on trans health. Pearce's findings on trans possibilities and identities; reverse discourses through patient knowledge; and trans temporality experienced through anticipation are relevant to many of the findings in this thesis in an activist relationship rather than a healthcare context. Most recently, Vincent (2020) explores non-binary identity formation in the UK in relation to gender identity clinic [GIC], and other non-transition related healthcare, access and trans community spaces and groups exploring feelings of 'not trans enough'. These findings of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within trans community spaces for some individuals are similar to the findings presented here in trans and intersex activist relationship experiences. Vincent's (2020) research also speaks to emerging work on non-binary experiences in UK and US contexts.

Non-binary and Genderqueer Identities and Experiences

'Genderqueer' as a term emerged in US contexts as an umbrella term to describe a range of gender identities and expressions outside of binary gender experiences as discussed in

Genderqueer: Voices from Beyond the Sexual Binary (Nestle et al., 2002, see also Wilchins, 2002a, 2002b). At a similar time gender identities 'beyond the binary' emerged in Australian and UK contexts as discussed in *Unseen Genders: Beyond the Binaries* (Haynes and Mckenna, 2001, see also Ekins and King, 2001, Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2001, Tauchert, 2001)[xv]. More recently, 'non-binary' has emerged as common umbrella term covering these experiences. Vincent, a sociologist, defines 'non-binary people as those who do not identify (exclusively) as male or female' while also using non-binary as an umbrella term for identity categories including a diverse range of other gendered terms including genderqueer and agender (Vincent, 2019: 132). Vincent (2019, 2020) highlights that while this definition can situate non-binary within understandings of trans not all non-binary people identify as trans. Matsuno and Budge (2017), psychologists, adopt a definition of non-binary as follows:

> 'Non-binary is a term that defines several gender identity groups, including (but not limited to): (a) an individual whose gender identity falls between or outside male and female identities, (b) an individual who can experience being a man or woman at separate times, or (c) an individual who does not experience having a gender identity or rejects having a gender identity' (Matsuno and Budge, 2017: 116-7).

Matsuno and Budge's considerations of the identity term non-binary highlight the potential fluidity within some individuals' experiences of this gender identity. The temporal limitations of some possibilities for legal gender recognition in the countries considered in this project prevent such recognition of these identities. However, as highlighted in the Legal Contexts section this lack of recognition of non-binary identities is not limited to only the temporal expectations.

Richards et al's (2017) textbook, *Genderqueer and Non-binary Genders*, that considers specific knowledge aimed at mental health professionals and psychologists; medical professionals and surgeons; and legal scholars and sociologists highlights the continuing importance of engaging with 'genderqueer' and 'non-binary' as relevant terms in different medicalised and non-medicalised contexts. This text includes a chapter on 'Non-binary Activism', highlighting the importance of activism to understandings of non-binary lived experiences. In this article Bergman and Barker (2017) consider current non-binary activism in the UK, the USA and Canada and the importance of language, as well as legal and institutional non-binary gender recognition, to this activist work.

Davy (2018) notes the importance of activism to understanding genderqueer individuals' experiences in a UK context. Davy reflects on research undertaken with genderqueer individuals in 2006 highlighting the similarities between transsexual and genderqueer experiences of embodiments. Fiani and Han (2019) also note the importance of activism to identity formation in their online research with trans, non-binary, and gender non-conforming adults. Other recent online research with non-binary individuals has highlighted the importance of language to identity formation (Darwin, 2017, 2020, Garrison, 2018, Yeadon-Lee, 2016). This importance of language to non-binary and genderqueer identity formation is also found in Corwin's (2009) research with genderqueer individuals in California and shuster and Lamont's (2019) research on language use of non-binary people within trans groups across the USA. However, as noted by Vincent (2020) non-binary lived experiences remain underexplored in research.

Conclusion

This introduction to the thesis has discussed the formation of the research question, the research sites chosen and the legislative and contextual justification for these choices. This introduction has outlined pertinent literature for both context and to address the research question in relation to trans and intersex activist relationships. Research of trans and intersex lives continues to proliferate, particularly in biomedical discourses. The literature covered here focuses on trans and intersex identity formation particularly in activist contexts. Furthermore, the work of sociologists and related disciplines has been favoured over more medicalised approaches – yet, in a reflection of Haraway's power of biomedical discourse's reproduction, they have frequently continued to be shaped by them. The work of queer theory and poststructuralism was briefly highlighted and this is considered in more detail in the Queer Epistemologies and Queer Language sections of the Methodology chapter. The importance of language, identities and relationships are threaded throughout this introduction and those themes return in subsequent sections. Much of the analysis within the thesis speaks back to this literature highlighted in this Introduction.

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter reflects on the methodological choices that were made during the undertaking of this research project and the theoretical underpinnings that influenced them. This chapter introduces symbolic interactionist and queer epistemologies to show the theories formulating the epistemological lens through which this researched is viewed. The focus on language is central to understanding these methodological positions. This focus on language has led to the decision to employ critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b, 2003). The use of semi-structured interviews is discussed and their relevance for this project. This is followed by a consideration of recruitment and snowball sampling. The ethical sensitivities of conducting interviews, including gaining consent, attending to participant comfort and offering choice, is considered as part of a broader narrative of engaging with research ethically. Furthermore, the ethics of representation are considered with a particular focus on the tradition of ethnotheatre and the methodological decision to produce an ethnodrama of findings to present the data (Saldaña, 2005, 2011). A reflexive account of my position as an insider and an outsider as well as my embodied experience of the research process concludes this chapter.

Symbolic Interactionism

The epistemology of this project has been influenced by symbolic interactionism which considers the meanings that individuals ascribe to objects, actions, and ideas through interaction with others. This epistemological position underpins the queer methodologies, the ethnodrama, and the critical discourse analysis that, together, consider the meanings of contested terms such as ‘activist’, ‘trans’ and ‘intersex’ as well as their use by participants in relation to claims of legitimacy and hierarchies within this research project. This symbolic interactionist perspective was influenced by the work of Blumer (1969). Within Blumer’s 1969 text he laid out an understanding of symbolic interactionism with three central premises as a foundation for the symbolic interactionist perspective. The first is that humans act towards objects, institutions and ideas ‘on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them’; the second premise is that this meaning ‘arises out of, the social interaction’ individuals have with others; and the third premise is that these meanings are subject to a continual ‘interpretative process’ undertaken by the individual (Blumer, 1969:

2). Blumer's work is useful for considering the individual participants within this research project and their language use in interviews because of the nuanced discussions about language and meaning-making in different contexts that occurred. This is also relevant for considering the semi-structured interviews adopted during the project as a site of interaction subject to meaning-making and interpretive processes. Blumer is useful as a foundational text that has influenced more recent scholars using symbolic interactionism to inform their work. For instance, Williams' (2008) work on symbolic interactionism and Bryant and Charmaz's (2007) work on grounded theory acknowledge the influence of Blumer in developing their theoretical approach and method. Hewitt (1984) was also influenced by Blumer with a focus on action. Hewitt (1976) claimed that meaning is not fixed and arises as a result of behaviour toward objects, which includes 'social objects' constructed through social acts that do not necessarily have a tangible material reality.

The flexibility, and instability, of terms used by individuals is important to note in relation to a project with trans and intersex activists who have discussed the ways in which different terminologies are deliberately adopted for different contexts and audiences (see the Introduction for a more detailed discussion of this issue). In relation to gender and sexuality, scholars such as Jackson and Scott (2010) have analysed symbolic interactionism as an approach and found it useful for a focus on social relations and the everyday. Schilt's (2010) research uses symbolic interactionist methods to address the experiences of trans individuals in the workplace and offers an example of how symbolic interactionism can be useful for my research addressing the identity work that is part of the everyday lives of trans and intersex activists.

Queer Epistemologies

The methodology for this research draws on feminist and queer epistemologies and methodologies. Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002), advocates of feminist methodologies, argue that challenging power relations and centring knowledge making in women's experiences unite feminist research despite differing methodological decisions. Adapting Ramazanoğlu and Holland for a queer lens Nash suggests that queer methods have a political approach to 'epistemology and ontology that enables critical explorations of disciplined normative truths about gender, sexuality and sex' that seek to bring about social change (Nash, 2010: 131). The use of 'truths' here acknowledges the importance of poststructuralist and Focuauldian approaches within these queer methodologies and the implication that there are multiplicities of truths and understandings of the world

experienced by participants and researchers that shape any approach to research (Browne and Nash, 2010a, Foucault, 1972, 2002).

The extent to which methods are or can be queer in their outlook is a contested topic (Browne and Nash, 2010a, Compton et al., 2018, Seidman, 1996) but adopting an epistemological and ontological framework that works to challenge cis-normative and heteronormative assumptions about sex and gender is important for this research project that works with individuals that experience societal marginalisation as a result of those normative sex and gendered assumptions. However, that is not to say that all of my participants would be comfortable with a queer interpretation of their lives; many participants I worked with would not consider themselves or other trans or intersex individuals or activists inherently 'queer'. For Browne and Nash (2010b), queer research can be any research that challenges assumed meanings and related power relations but there is an expectation that lives outside of man/woman and heterosexual/homosexual binaries will be addressed. This is relevant for this research project that addressed the lives of participants who encountered rigid gender binaries across discourses and relationships but these binaries did not speak to their own identifications or associations with identity terms. Additionally, I am utilising Gorman-Murray et al's (2010) definition of queer research, which allows a 'multiplicity and fluidity' of subjects and seeks to challenge the ways in which certain sex, gender, sexual and relationship practices are normalised. I am using this alongside King and Cronin's (2010) methodology that is 'queered' in order to reveal the heteronormative presumptions within data and critique the notion of fixed and essential subjects within research. Blending these queer approaches with a queer epistemological frame and a multiplicity of understandings of sexed and gendered lives allows for an exploration of the data presented without undermining the diverse ways of being my participants discussed that may not align with language use or identities in other intersex or trans literature. This is brought out particularly in the discussion on DSD language in the Introduction in comparison to Scene 5 of the Ethnodrama and analysis chapters.

Queer Language

The importance of language and its usage particularly in relation to categories and identify formation is a focus of the research due to its significance and contestation by participants. For instance, the usage of identity terms such as 'trans', 'intersex' and 'activist' was raised by several participants in relation to themselves and others without any clear resolution as to the meaning of such contested language. The boundary conflicts of contested identity

categories and language used to describe them in relation to trans and intersex individuals has been discussed within trans and intersex studies (Bhanji, 2013, Bornstein, 1994, Halberstam, 1998b, Preves, 2003). The 'iterability' of language implied within these conversations has led me to turn to linguistic and queer theories of performativity to address these issues within the analysis (Austin, 1965, Butler, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2004, 2006, Derrida, 1973, 1988, Loxley, 2007, Sedgwick, 2003). 'Iterability' is understood here to be a feature of language suggested by Derrida (1973, 1988) that each unique instance of a term is both repeatable and alterable with each use. For Derrida this is the 'repeating, traversing and transforming repetition' that exists inherently with all language (Derrida, 1988: 53). Derrida states that ''iteration alters, something new takes place' with each use of a term and this prevents any term to become completely fixed in its meaning (Derrida, 1988: 40). This has also led to the utilisation of critical discourse analysis as a relevant method of analysis for the language used within the interviews I have conducted.

These linguistic considerations have influenced the approach that this research project has undertaken to produce knowledge from participants' discussions. For example, Austin's consideration of perlocutionary utterances which achieve certain effects or are 'doing something as opposed to just saying something' (Austin, 1965: 132) offers an important reflection that to make a linguistic choice to use a term such as 'intersex' in a particular activist context produces a particular effect in that context. Austin's lectures on language focus on the relative success or failure of these calls to action with particular attention paid to the context of the speech and the intentions of the speaker. However, Austin's claim that the issuing of any utterance is to do something and the subsequent question 'won't all utterances be performative' (Austin, 1965: 103n1) offers a useful starting point for considering the importance of language and legitimacy claims using contested terms such as 'trans', 'intersex' and 'activist'. Taken together, the iterability and performativity of language offer a framework to consider the ways in which these terms are repeatable and alterable in their performative usage that produces an effect, or understanding, in the world.

This idea of performativity can be used for the interpretation of experiences of sex, gender and bodies as found in the work of Butler (1990, 1993, 1997, 2004, 2006) and Sedgwick (1991, 2003). For Butler performativity is 'the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names' (Butler, 1993: 2). Butler suggests that a process of iterability is essential for understanding this performativity that utilises this linguistic concept as an approach to understand the embodied identity construction of

gendered lives (Butler, 1993, 1997). This performativity that, for Butler, enables embodied subjectivity, offers an important approach to critical discourse analysis that in this thesis provides a way to consider the specific language use of participants within the context of power relations, which enable such discourses to be utilised and to be understood by others.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Performative language analysis opens up space to explore the ways in which words 'do things' while, as Derrida (1988) notes, their iterable usage in discourse shapes their meanings, opening up space for contestation of those meanings. This suggests that it is important to attend to questions of power, and critical discourse analysis offers a relevant and useful method of analysis precisely because of the importance of power relations for this analytical method and the importance of considering the construction and dissemination of discourse as much as the individual words spoken. Power relations are of importance to this analysis because many of these participants discussed their power, or lack of, in relation to their identities and their language used to describe them. This attention to power relations and language is seen with the consideration of the strategic use of DSD language within healthcare settings in Scene 5. This speaks to the discussion in the Medical Linguistic Approaches to Intersex section of the Introduction that highlights the absence of intersex terminology in medical settings.

According to Foucault, discourses 'systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972: 49). He also explains that that 'discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines it and exposes it' (Foucault, 1978: 100-1). This particular focus on the power relations and the interpretation of language during conversation necessary for continuing conversation is much more in line with critical discourse analysis than traditional discourse analysis and its focus on language alone (Fairclough, 1992a, Mills, 2004, Paltridge, 2008). Therefore, this project will use a critical discourse analysis approach to account for language and power.

Locke's consideration of the relationship between discourse and power offers the suggestion that 'some discourses are more powerful than others and subscribers of non-powerful discourses are therefore marginalized and relatively disempowered' (Locke, 2004: 37). This reflection is relevant for this thesis because I consider the ways in which some trans and intersex activist texts and understandings may be marginalised within LGBT/I discourses but may be more recognised within trans or intersex discourses, which

may empower and in turn disempower other individual's language use or understandings. Some participants may be constructing a '"reverse" discourse' in order to speak for themselves (Foucault, 1978: 101). However, this is not a binary relationship between a dominant discourse and a marginalised one because processes of marginalisation can be at work within these discourses that could be considered 'reverse discourses' in relation to broader discourses on gender and sex. For instance, the parents I spoke to felt they were only permitted to speak about particular issues in specific spaces where they had been given permission to speak whereas they felt those with personal lived experience of trans and intersex identities were given more opportunities to speak in those same spaces. This is unpacked further in Scene 4 and its analysis. Adopting a critical discourse analysis for this thesis aids in the understanding of the participants' testimonies because it allows for a consideration of the language used, the experiences of power felt by participants in relation to those language choices, and the broader context of relationships between trans and intersex activists that this project addresses.

Fairclough's (2003) critical discourse analysis in particular offers a way in which to relate the analysis of texts to power relations in everyday life. The utilisation of critical discourse analysis to analyse the conversations I held with participants involved with trans and intersex activism can reveal more about how this language operates outside of these conversations to a greater extent than those offered by conversation analysis or traditional discourse analysis approaches. This is particularly relevant for a thesis addressing the relationships within and surrounding these activisms.

This critical discourse analysis that takes Foucauldian notions of power relations within discourse and adapts it to an analytical method focusing on language in contexts is also used in conjunction with intertextuality within this project. Intertextuality in this context is utilised as a tool to 'disrupt notions of stable meaning and objective interpretation' (Allen, 2011: 3). Intertextuality as a theory allows for the multiple meanings contained within language use and Fairclough's (1992b) use of intertextuality as part of critical discourse analysis in particular offers a relevant point of departure for this thesis to engage with intertextuality. For Fairclough 'intertextual chains' are central to the relationships between texts and these chains allow for the distribution and construction of discourse (Fairclough, 1992b: 288). During my interviews with participants they would refer to a variety of discourses to illustrate their points including journalistic articles, academic literature and texts produced by other trans and intersex activists. These discourses included visual media such as videos and posters some of which were on

display in interview locations. Some participants offered me copies of their own texts produced by groups they volunteer with or written by themselves, including organisational strategic plans, health literature, promotional materials, and stickers. The variety of discourses referred to and given to me directly form an important part of the props and set design for each scene of the ethnodrama constructing a mise-en-scène from the discourses surrounding the data collection. The relationships and intertextual chains between the texts referenced by my participants is an important feature of this critical discourse analysis within this thesis because of the ways in which language and the different uses of the same contested terms was such a central issue for my participants. Illuminating the tensions within the terms used, such as 'trans', 'intersex', 'activist,' or noticeably absent, such as 'DSD' or 'transsexual', requires not only a focus on the intertextuality of the texts utilising and producing such terms but also acknowledgment of the performativity of language and the ways in which these terms are constructing particular ideas and truths.

Data Collection

I contacted trans and intersex specific activist groups and organisations in each research site to seek participants and asked them to pass information on to activists and members that they thought may be interested. I also contacted LGBT and LGBTI groups that have trans specific or intersex specific campaigns or groups for them to pass on information. Several groups also promoted this call for participants via their social media, websites and mailing lists. Some participants wished to contact me to find out more information about the project, or myself as a researcher, prior to agreeing to participate or to passing my information on. In some cases, participants added me on social media or spoke to me on the phone to verify that I was who I claimed to be or seeking more information about my connection to and interest in these communities, which is not dissimilar to the requirements to join some online and in-person trans and intersex groups as discussed by my participants. This discussion is not unique to my participants and is referenced in intersex and trans literature (Amato, 2016, Catalano, 2015). See the Introduction for a more detailed discussion of this literature. These initial pre-interview conversations were essential for building trust with potential participants, which led to long richly detailed interviews. In these initial conversations potential participants wanted to know who I was and why I was interested in this research. Morgan and Taylor (2016) advised disclosing one's own identity and experiences for ethical trans-inclusive research. This informed my decision to disclose my own trans and non-intersex experiences to participants when asked. However, as will be discussed in the Researching Body section, what I revealed

about myself was not always how I believed I was read as a researcher. Some of these initial conversations included discussions on current or recent activist work in the location of the participant whereas others sent me documents to read that they sought my opinions on prior to agreeing to an interview. These early pre-interview interactions highlight that it was not only my identities and experiences as non-binary trans activist that were important to potential participants but they also wanted to know my opinions on related activism or related research projects.

I found talking to participants about the project prior to interviews was useful to build rapport and aided in snowball sampling, which was a useful avenue for recruitment. Snowball sampling has traditionally been used for recruiting 'hard-to-reach' populations (Atkinson and Flint, 2001, Sadler et al., 2010). Trans and intersex populations are sometimes considered 'hidden' or 'hard-to-reach' although a better term maybe be 'research wary' or as Ellard-Gray et al (2015) term it those with a 'mistrust of the research process' (see also Tagonist, 2009). Vincent adds to this consideration by referring to trans communities that have a 'research participation fatigue'(Vincent, 2018b: 2). This mistrust or reluctance to participate in research may be due to research that has a history of pathologising trans and intersex experiences (Ansara and Hegarty, 2012, Oosterhuis, 2000) as well as a complex relationship medicalising trans and intersex lives in current research (Hughes et al., 2006, Richards et al., 2014). These research participation related concerns led to the decision to utilise snowball sampling as a recruitment strategy. Several participants actively engaged in this snowball sampling and the trust that was built in interviews and pre-interview interactions helped this snowball sampling strategy to recruit a diverse sample of participants. One of the first questions I asked participants was 'What made you want to take part in this research?' (see Interview Themes in Appendix iv) and this initial question helped to set the direction for the interview and what we wanted out of our interaction. This initial question revealed participants had a lot of enthusiasm for the project and interest in it. This enthusiasm from participants extended into their work in recruiting other participants directly or suggesting other people for me to approach. The people they directed me to were diverse and allowed for a wider range of participants. In one particularly small location I was approached by a stranger while alone in a coffee shop who asked if I was the trans and intersex activism researcher from Glasgow and wished to express their interest in participating in the research.

I recruited in different locations across the three geographical settings and made a deliberate effort to recruit outside of the largest cities in each location. This supported my efforts to recruit a diverse sample and some of the geographical decisions were made following advice from participants. For instance, a visit to Canberra was made after discussions with participants who highlighted the activists working in that region. Furthermore, I sent research materials and information about the project (see Appendices i, ii, and iii) to organisations and groups that varied in size, structure and focus to deliberately recruit a diverse sample. This effort was then further enhanced by these enthusiastic participants that engaged in snowball sampling.

Snowball sampling introduced me to new participants through existing participants but there will be trans and intersex activists that could not be recruited through such a sampling method. Therefore, this decision to utilise snowball sampling will have shaped those that participated in the research because trans and intersex activists that do not work with others will be absent from this snowball sampling strategy. Furthermore, it is also worth noting that Martinez et al (2014) find the use of social media to recruit participants is an important strategy to challenge whether gender or sexual minorities can still be considered 'hard-to-reach' although Miner et al (2012) reflect that online methods cannot be used uncritically and may encounter high dropout rates[xvi]. For Sydor (2013) it is sometimes the sensitive nature of a research topic that can make a population hard-to-reach therefore the focus on the topic of activism rather than issues such as healthcare access makes the research less sensitive for participants and potentially less distressing for those involved than questions on healthcare might be for this population. Furthermore, the wider population of trans and intersex people, LGBTI people and their significant others, friends and families who consider themselves activists may be more likely to be less research-wary and they are more likely to be 'out' than living stealth[xvii] due to the nature of their activism. However, it is relevant to note that one person I interviewed was living stealth about their trans identity and participating in broader LGBTI activism so this is not necessarily always the case that activism involvement requires those involved to be out.

In particular, trans and intersex activists are not necessarily hard-to-reach for a researcher involved in trans and queer activism and my own position as an activist academic helped alleviate concerns when potential participants contacted me as discussed above. Snowball sampling is a useful method of recruitment even for those within a community because it encourages participants to suggest their activist colleagues, acquaintances, friends,

partners and others involved in their trans and intersex activist groups, which is particularly important for a research project addressing the relationships between and within trans and intersex activism. In some cases participants would indicate to me that they knew I had interviewed their former partner or their friends and during the course of recruitment some partners or friends indicated that they wished to be interviewed together, although this was only done at the request of participants because not every participant that knows another necessarily wishes a joint interview. Some participants that were currently working with other participants shared particularly delicate views on the actions of those they worked with which would not have been shared had they been interviewed together. It is also important to note from an ethical perspective that some participants were not concerned about trans or intersex activist participants they knew being able to work out their identity but they were concerned if some of the larger LGBT and LGBTI organisations they were critical of were able to work out their identities adding a further dimension to anonymising the data.

Interviews

I interviewed 36 participants (13 in Australia, 10 in Malta and 13 in the UK) that responded to a call for participants that had an 'involvement with trans activism or intersex activism'. See the Invitation to Interview document in Appendix i for more information. 31 of these participants were interviewed in person with 5 conducted via telephone or Skype due to participant availability and convenience. See the Characters section in the Ethnodrama chapter for a consideration of participant demographics, although this is not detailed to further preserve anonymity. Interviews have been chosen as the primary method for data collection because as Seidman highlights '[a]t the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience' (Seidman, 1998: 3). Similarly for Denzin, 'the interview is an active text, a site where meaning is created and performed' (Denzin, 2003:80). This is important for research into activism that engages with the ways 'trans' and 'intersex' are perceived and interpreted by non-trans and non-intersex people and the ways in which trans and intersex activism exist in hierarchies of legitimacy.

Several scholars have highlighted the ways in which interviews are useful to a symbolic interactionist research project (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2014, Miller and Glassner, 1997, Silverman, 1993). In Miller and Glassner's (1997) symbolic interactionist work it is the interview as interaction that leads to shared understandings of meanings and truths between researcher and participants and as such it is the semi-structured interview that

acts as an entrance to a participant's social world. That is not to say that there is not a reliance on the interpretive acts of the researcher in order to access such meanings and in a non-positivistic context the extent to which others' truths can truly be known is limited by the researcher's own subjectivity and biases. According to Silverman symbolic interactionists adopting a semi-structured interview method give an 'insight into people's experiences' (Silverman, 1993: 91). It is important to note that this insight will be limited by the questions asked, those not asked, and the ways in which the research questions have influenced the interviews. For Mann semi-structured interviews allow for 'negotiation, discussion and expansion of the interviewee's responses' (Mann, 2016: 91) which provides for a richer picture of participants' experiences but as Bechhofer and Paterson note 'interviews are bounded in the sense that not everything the respondent might wish to discuss will be of interest to the researcher' (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000: 68-69). This is also reflected in Brinkmann's (2013) view that research interviews are conversations with a particular research purpose but sometimes during in-depth conversations lasting many hours participants may feel at ease enough to forget this is a research project so I was conscious to remind them of this before and after the interview with a discussion on consent to the research.

Bahn and Weatherill highlight that 'researchers need to establish trust and rapport with participants as well as empathy and understanding' (Bahn and Weatherill, 2012: 21). This is particularly salient if data may be of a sensitive nature and a face-to-face interview setting allows for that trust and rapport to develop using verbal and visual cues as well as allowing for breaks in the interviews if necessary. This was also possible with video call interviews, although visual cues were not available for the interview conducted via the telephone. However, I was conscious that some participants would not have participated if multiple options for ways to participate had not been offered. Kazmer and Xie suggest that giving participants a choice, such as to be interviewed in person, online or as part of a group with others they know, may 'increase retention and rapport' (Kazmer and Xie, 2008: 273). Activism can be a particularly intensive and personal experience so while I was not necessarily asking particularly sensitive questions[xviii] my participants sometimes covered sensitive topics in relation to how they got involved in activism or the kind of work they were involved in. Therefore, establishing trust and rapport were essential to ensuring participants felt comfortable and able to stop the interview if necessary.

The interviews took between one hour and four hours with interviews that contained more than one participant typically taking longer. Interviews that were conducted with more

than one person were organised at the participants' requests and these multiple person interviews included interviews with friends and with partners that were involved in activism together. Gomm (2008) warns that interviews with more than one person raise additional issues of confidentiality and participant welfare but the individuals I interviewed together were much more likely to know issues that the other person would prefer not to discuss or which could be potentially sensitive. I relied upon participants to suggest multiple person interviews because I did not wish to presume that participants that worked together would wish to be interviewed together. This meant for those multiple person interviews I was less concerned that participants might restrict their conversation because they were interviewed with someone they knew. Additionally, I was careful not to tell participants who else I had interviewed, or make it possible to guess based on specific information about locations I had been to, so that the knowledge of who else I had spoken to did not make participants less willing to share thoughts with me which often included reflections on others in the community. This does not mean that my participants that knew each other were unaware of each other's participation though and some participants informed me that they knew I had spoken to their friend, partner or ex-partner. It is common in snowball sampling for participants to know people that they have suggested participate but they do not necessarily know whether that person is interviewed or not and not all suggested participants will be interested or consider themselves to fit the participant criteria (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

Coding

The interview data was coded using NVivo. Braun and Clarke's (2006) article on thematic analysis was a useful article for its suggestions on coding as well as its discussion of the ways thematic analysis and discourse analysis can overlap when discourse analysis is approached in a thematic way. In particular, Braun and Clarke's description of deductive and inductive coding was useful for considering the ends of that scale of coding strategies and for considering how my coding may fit into that. Starks and Brown Trinidad (2007) discuss the coding phase of discourse analysis that identifies themes through language use and my own focus on participants' language use was central to my analysis including the thematic coding choices I made. This method of coding differs from a more grounded theory approach to coding that solely relies on themes emerging from the data as discussed by Auerbach and Silverstein (2003), Charmaz, (2006) and Bryant and Charmaz (2007).

This approach allowed for deductive codes that were based on the research question and the interview schedule alongside inductive codes that were based on themes within the

data. These inductive codes could be formed of specific language used by participants or they could be more refined language identifying nuances within the deductive codes. The deductive codes were typically broader descriptive codes similar to the kinds of coding Saldaña (2015) describes as holistic coding or 'lumping', whereas the inductive codes from the data were typically much finer resembling Saldaña's 'splitting' coding method. NVivo was used for coding to allow for the coded data to be more portable into different software such as Microsoft Word than coding done by hand. The deductive codes were differentiated from inductive codes within the NVivo software so that if I was unsure of the purpose or meaning of a code I could easily separate the deductive from the inductive codes to help retrace my coding steps.

Ethics

Ethic approval from the University of Glasgow College of Social Science Ethics Committee was granted on 31st August 2016 for the project [Application Number: 400160007]. Additionally, ethical approval was granted from the University of Malta University Research Ethics Committee, the only University in Malta, in order to conduct research in Malta on 27th February 2017. On 1st August 2016 the Australian National Health and Medical Research Council [NHMRC] confirmed that it would be reasonable for me to undertake the proposed research without further approval from an Australian institution or ethics body so no additional ethical approval was sought there.

I find Seymour's (2001) work on online methods and 'giving voice' to be particularly useful for my own thinking about constructing ethical research. For Seymour ''giving a voice' means more than providing the researched with an opportunity to speak: it involves creating the appropriate means and communication context for the research participants' (Seymour, 2001: 159). This reflection on creating the appropriate context was important to me throughout the process of recruitment and interviews. I asked participants for suggestions of meeting locations which allowed them to suggest environments in which they felt comfortable and were accessible to them without them needing to disclose any requirements of a space to me in advance. I also specifically asked participants to consent to the interview being recorded to check they were comfortable with this and this allowed me to focus more on having a conversation with them than taking notes throughout. This also gave participants control over the relative privacy of a space and some participants were comfortable in coffee shops and public spaces whereas others preferred to be in private rooms in or near their work or homes. One participant was interviewed in their home because it was the only environment that was accessible to them. Corbin and Morse

(2003) discuss that research located in the home may result in unintended disclosures whereas Madge and O'Connor's (2002) research found benefits for participants in this home environment because they may feel more comfortable. There is no reason to think that the interview in the participant's home was different to any of the interviews I conducted in other locations because ensuring that participants were comfortable and able to participate, or able to cease the interview if necessary, was something I had to be considerate of throughout all interviews. Furthermore, Morgan and Taylor advocate participant choice and 'agency in where, when and how they provide you with information' allowing for differences in where participants feel comfortable and they suggest that there is also a need for flexibility in the moment in case there is a need to pause or stop the interview or skip over some interview questions (Morgan and Taylor, 2016: 12).

Participants were given copies of the plain language statement to read over before the interview and to take away with them. Participants that had been contacted by me prior to the interview had an opportunity to read these in advance but the nature of snowball sampling means that some participants would contact me so not all had this opportunity. Participants signed a consent form the contents of which were discussed prior to the interview starting and after the interview had finished to ensure participants could offer informed consent knowing what information they were consenting to sharing. The interviews I conducted were often long and in-depth and ending by reflecting on consent was a useful way to remind participants that this was part of a research project that they could remove themselves from at any point and they could get in touch with me if they wanted to discuss any of the issues further. I asked participants to contact me by phone or email if they wished to remove their consent but I added that if they contacted me after around June 2019 it may be too late to remove them from the thesis but I could remove them from any future publications. Participants were also given a choice about how they wished to be referred to in the thesis in relation to their pronouns but also for those that wished to be anonymous if there was a particular name they would like as a pseudonym although they were advised that using a pseudonym they used online or for activist work could potentially identify them. One participant reflected that they had previously used the same name for more than one research project and a friend had identified them in the work which also highlights the need for careful work to be done in anonymising participants particularly those that may frequently receive research requests as trans and intersex community groups may (Vincent, 2018b). The construction of composite

characters for the ethnodrama removes these risks of identification of individual participants.

The decision to create composite characters for the ethnodrama was influenced by the desire to preserve participant anonymity. I was conscious of the fact that many of my participants would know each other and that they were often expressing dissatisfaction with other trans and intersex activists that they worked with and would continue to work with long after the interview had ended and I had left the field. Many of these participants would be likely to read the final thesis and may seek themselves and others they know out within the findings. Therefore, I was conscious that while strategies used to anonymise data, such as the removal of names, locations and personal details, may anonymise these participants to those not familiar with the community it would not be sufficient to hide their identities from those that work with them in their activist groups. The decision to create an ethnodrama was also influenced by the time that has elapsed since the original interviews. The first interviews took place in October 2016 in countries that now all have different political settings in 2020. I was conscious that these shifting political contexts, with an increased media scrutiny on trans people in particular, might have shaped the interviews differently if they were to take place today. Therefore, setting the ethnodrama in 2016/2017 highlights that this research project is representative of a moment in time that has shifted.

The ethics of representing participants and speaking on behalf of other people are not considerations that are unique to this thesis (Alcoff, 1991). Several scholars have turned to fictionalised accounts to address these ethical challenges of representing others (Markham, 2012, Pickering and Kara, 2017, Rhodes and Brown, 2005, Watson, 2011). I initially struggled with how to represent my participants and I was conscious of the fact that they were all real people who continued to work in this area despite the conflicts they discussed with me. The risk of participants searching for themselves within the thesis and realising some of the community tensions discussed included themselves could potentially cause friction amongst these groups of activists that have continued to work together long after my initial interviews. In order to manage these concerns about these potential difficulties of representation I turned to ethnodrama as a mode of representation. This fictionalised form of presenting the findings allows for an analysis of the data without any risk to anonymity or causing harm to participants' ongoing relationships with each other.

Ethnodrama

Saldaña, contrasts ethnodrama with ethnotheatre, explaining that, ethnotheatre is ‘a live performance event of research participants’ experiences and/or the researcher’s interpretations of data’, whereas ethnodrama is ‘the written script, [which] consists of dramatized, significant selections of narrative collected through interviews, participant observation field notes, journal entries, and/or print and media artifacts’ (Saldaña, 2005:1). This thesis contains a piece of ethnodrama. There is a sociological tradition of ‘storytelling’ which scholars such as Plummer (1995) have used to address individual and community identity formation. However, this differs from Saldaña’s (2005) ‘dramatizing the data’ which deliberately constructs a narrative out of interview transcripts in order to explore multiple participants perspectives on the same issues.

In constructing the ethnodrama playscript I was inspired by reading other ethnodramas (Ackroyd and O'toole, 2010, Berbary, 2011, 2012, Saldaña, 2005, 2008b) and by reading examples of documentary and verbatim theatre (Littlewood and Theatre Workshop, 2000, Mcgrath, 1993). Verbatim theatre uses the spoken words of real people to construct theatre and has historically given voice to marginalised people and allowed for competing perspectives to emerge through the narrative (Duggan, 2013, Hammond and Steward, 2012, Long, 2015, Paget, 1987, Wake, 2013, Wilkinson and Anderson, 2007). The broader related tradition of documentary theatre utilises a range of sources including ‘government statements, speeches, interviews, statements by well-known personalities, newspaper and broadcast reports, photos’ (Weiss, 1971:41) to construct theatre (Forsyth and Megson, 2009a, 2009b, Paget, 2009). The influence of verbatim theatre and documentary theatre on ethnodrama has been explored by Bottoms (2006), Goldstein et al (2014), Heddon (2007), and Shah and Greer (2018). However, Mienczakowski (2001) discusses how ethnodramatic research differs from these theatrical traditions focusing on the potential for analysis and the presentation of research findings. Reading examples of plays written in these styles helped with my construction of an ethnodrama. I also benefitted from reading articles by ethnodramatists that specifically discussed how they turned their data into ethnodramas (Gibson, 2011, Mienczakowski, 1995, Mienczakowski and Morgan, 2001, Robinson, 2010, Saldaña, 2003).

The possibilities of ethnodrama include preserving anonymity through utilising composite characters to voice the words of multiple participants. Saldaña claims that ‘the composite character is a fictional creation that nevertheless represents and speaks the collective realities of its original sources’ (Saldaña, 2011:17). These fictional characters that

represent my participants are placed in a fictionalised setting for the play that allows these characters to interact with each other and thus highlight the relationships between trans and intersex activists. The setting of the play is fictionalised, and most of these participants did not interact with each other during individual interviews. As previously noted, in some cases two participants who knew each other were interviewed together. The interactions between other activists in this sphere and the related community tensions were a significant feature of discussions with all participants. The interactions between composite characters within the ethnodrama allow me to explore and portray visually these relationships that were discussed by participants. This ethnodrama allows for me to demonstrate the relationships between the individuals I interviewed in order to address the research question considering the relationships between trans and intersex activists.

The ethnodrama consists of six small scenes with ten composite characters representing my participants and one narrator. These six scenes address key themes relating to language, identities and representation as well as exploring relationships in order to answer the research question on the relationship between trans and intersex activists and activisms. All of the characters in the ethnodrama are responding to a fictitious law that offers an opportunity to explore the tensions my participants expressed and experienced in relation to language, identities, recognition and representation in relation to legislation[xix]. The ethnodrama is set in a non-specific location in order to take participants discussions from all research sites to construct the drama. This also helps to preserve anonymity in the construction of the ethnodrama. Therefore, composite characters discuss issues that were faced by participants across different fieldwork sites. However, the ethnodrama is set in a time period of 2016/2017 due to the majority of interviews taking place between those years. The first interviews took place in October 2016 during LGBTI History Month in Australia and the final interview was on March 31st 2018, International Trans Day of Visibility, during Scotland's first Trans Pride. The lines spoken by the characters in the ethnodrama are taken directly from the words spoken by my participants, with the exception of the character The Narrator. See the Ethnodrama chapter for a consideration of this Brechtian narration approach as well as a more detailed analysis of the construction of the ethnodrama including the presentation of the data and the creative decisions that were taken.

Ethnodrama is not only a way of presenting the data. For Snyder-Young 'creating theatre from a data set becomes, in and of itself, a process of data analysis' (Snyder-Young, 2010: 890). The ethnodrama script which contains detailed considerations in relation to props, set

design and staging goes beyond presentation of the data. This ethnodrama is itself a form of data analysis. The decisions that were taken to create an ethnodrama relied on drawing out themes from coded transcripts and constructing a narrative and a setting that would allow different perspectives on these issues to emerge which is a form of data analysis. The additional analysis presented alongside the play script allows for a more detailed exploration of the text of the play and further analysis of these findings.

At the time of writing the ethnodrama remains unperformed. Saldaña (2006) and Snyder-Young (2010) critique ethnodramas that are not performed. I am aware that a performance of this ethnodrama with actors and an audience of interested individuals and participants would improve the play text. This play was written was an imagined audience in mind and I hope to stage it for such an audience at a less fraught time for the theatre industry[xx]. Audience interaction and feedback is also likely to further improve the text. Furthermore, the physicality of moving around the stage is likely to improve the stage directions and add to the overall theatrical experience. The ways in which theatre can be used to embody the data and analysis could be further explored with a performance of the ethnodrama.

The use of fictionalised settings to embody the research was an inspiration I drew from Inckle's (2005, 2010a, 2010b) use of ethnographic fiction. Inckle discusses that their work showcases the rich data gleaned from participants in fictionalised settings to represent these participants in ways that allow for emotional connections from readers. Inckle (2010a) also considers the way in which their own non-normative queer, disabled and gendered embodiment influences research practice. This allows for research that writes with bodies, including the body of the researcher as well as the bodies of participants. These considerations tie into considerations of the ethnodrama to embody participants' relationships and the ways in which bodies (of participants, characters, and the researcher) matter to the research.

The Researching Body

For Bain and Nash (2006) the body of a researcher is neither fixed nor stable but rather made visible through its tensions, contestations and ambiguities that arise from experiencing research which includes research experienced as insiders and outsiders. This section will explore my own experiences as an embodied researcher who at various points during fieldwork felt both accepted as an insider, felt viewed as an outsider and a variety of experiences that cannot easily be positioned in relation to an insider/outsider binary. As a non-binary trans activist researching trans activism and intersex activism I thought there

was a clear way in which I was an insider and a way in which I was an outsider. This was made more complex by my research taking place over research sites in three different countries and in two of those I am a geographical outsider, whereas in one I am an insider. However, as I interviewed participants and they shared their stories and their lives with me I discovered that our relationships and our rapport and my recruitment - even the questions I was able or had to ask – were shaped not so much by my feelings as an insider or an outsider but by the ways I thought I was perceived by participants. This was the ways in which my outsider or insider status, and my researching body, had been read.

Davis, an intersex activist researching intersex activism, reflects that their own intersex experience finds them 'personally connected to the intersex community and advocacy movement whether [they] choose to be or not' (Davis, 2015: 14). I found my own connectedness to trans and intersex activism was not so dependent on my own choice but on the ways in which I perceived this connection was read by participants. Davis also writes that they 'unintentionally altered [their] appearance throughout data collection to match how [they] *believed* [they] would be perceived by those [they were] studying' (Davis, 2015: 6 emphasis in the original) and highlights that other researchers may 'self-police their gender presentation' (Davis, 2015: 6). I was aware that these ideas about gender presentation might be true for me prior to starting fieldwork. I am a person with a transmasculine appearance that I choose to enhance with clothing such as binders, but when I walked the hot streets of Melbourne for hours at a time moving from location to location to meet participants I was not always able to bind. Whether I was binding that day or not changed the way I thought I might be read which I felt changed the ways in which I might be accepted as a member of a community. This also means I risked being misgendered by participants or those working in the often public locations in which I conducted interviews. My personal relationship with my transmasculine body became a part of my research as I interacted with participants. This is further removed from my personal relationship with my own body as they interpreted my transmasculine self and as I then read their reading of me.

In thinking about the body in research I found Ellingson (2006, 2017) useful for reflecting on embodiment in relation to research and the ways research is a physical experience – it is something researchers do with their bodies. My bodily experience of research was not only an experience of transmasculine reading and misreading but it also involved a confrontation with a disabled body that does not always neatly fit into invisible/visible binary categorisations. While I may choose to invisibilise my disability it becomes

potentially readable when I have to pause interviews or deselect particular interview locations chosen by participants as a result of their accessibility or distance from the closest public transport. This is further complicated by my disabled body becoming a barrier to my transmasculine presentation at various points during fieldwork that coincided with health condition flare-ups. These reflections on the bodily experience of researching also link to my epistemological position as a queer researcher with a queer body that resists strict binary categorisations within essentialist biological categories whilst also acknowledging the 'strategic use of essentialism' (Spivak, 2009: 5) and the potential gains to be made from strategic use of categorisation from an activist perspective. These reflections on the ways in which my transmasculine presentation is complicated by the complexities of accessibility, which itself can be fluid and contextual, also related to the symbolic interactionism that weaved through the research interviews that were conducted. The choices that I could make about how to present myself to participants were dependent on my fluctuating disabled body and this relationship fed into my reading of their reading of me.

This is of course a simplification and insider status is not simply about geographical spaces of familiarity or essentialist categories. Trans activist groups and intersex activist groups are not homogenous. The multiplicity of voices and identities within such groups would prevent anyone singular individual from fully inhabiting such an insider status and leads me to question if that would be possible in any group. Gorman-Murray et al. warn against 'romanticis[ing] insider status' (Gorman-Murray et al., 2010: 105) and that the 'the concept of 'insider' fixes subjectivities within essentialised attributes' (Gorman-Murray et al., 2010: 100). Furthermore, Dahl reflects that queer researchers 'are neither fully at home nor fully outside of any community we aim to study' (Dahl, 2010: 154) and I found this important for my own personal political reflections in relation to my experiences of activist settings prior to starting this research. Hughes (2018) discusses the benefits of not being out, especially to participants that he heard expressing transphobic views, but considers that there are benefits to being out as a queer scholar such as a connection to a queer research community. It was not until I read Pearce's (2020) reflections on conducting research within a marginalised community of which one is a part that I realised I had failed to connect to a network or community of scholars undertaking this kind of work. Furthermore, I had failed to form networks with other researchers with non-normative bodies. These reflections highlight the complexities of being 'out', as disabled and trans, during the research and as a researcher. This relates to

the ways in which I was perceived as a ‘researcher’ complicating these other identities and positions inside and outside communities, discussed further below.

Reflexive sociology requires an accountability of the influences that the situated researcher has over the research as it is conducted. Acknowledgement of potential bias is not the same as reflecting over the responsibilities of the researcher to account for the influence and multiple power relations at play during researcher and participant interactions. A number of scholars have highlighted the ways in which reflexivity alone is not enough (Koboyashi, 2003, Gorman-Murray et al., 2010, Nash, 2010, Taylor, 2010). For instance Taylor warns that ‘insertion of identity ('lesbian', 'working class') may risk replacing critique of the resources required to tell (legitimate) stories, tending towards 'self-promotion' rather than signalling responsibility and accountability’ (Taylor, 2010: 73). Furthermore, for Koboyashi (2003) reflexivity can lead to research that focuses on differences between participants and researchers both throughout their research relationship and in relation to the positions from which they speak which can only be countered as part of larger activist agenda. However, more than these reflections on the self of the researcher inside a community I found myself much more focused on how I believed participants were interpreting me.

This is relevant to Finlay’s consideration of social constructionist researchers who ‘notice how both participants and researchers are engaged in an exercise of ‘‘presenting’ themselves to each other – and to the wider community which is to receive the research’ (Finlay, 2002: 223). This idea of presenting identities to each other was relevant during my interviews and in particular how the reading of those identities was at play during the course of our conversations. This is to some extent reflected in Merriam et al’s (2001) work on participants believing or not believing ways in which researchers who consider themselves insiders are considered insiders by their participants. They refer to fieldwork amongst black women in which the participants felt a shared understanding of gender and race but when it came to class they did not believe the researchers had a shared working class experience.

Within my research I found there was a way that participants would speak to me that implied they saw me as an activist that was like them in some way. Repeatedly I heard “well you’ll know what this is like”, “you’ll get this”, or “we” used to include me as an activist like them. I felt that some participants read me as a trans man, others read me as non-binary and others were less obviously specific in their reading of me[xxi]. For example,

one participant was talking about trans activists in the group and in the middle of this much broader consideration of this activist involvement said “One, and you are one of these three examples in fact, is female to male.” Another participant, while discussing the ways language was sometimes used strategically by intersex activists depending on the context said “this thing about different language is common to every population. I think trans people you know there’s wars about how you call yourselves.” The language in these examples is fairly unambiguous in illustrating the ways I felt that I had been read as a trans person. I often felt that I was read as ‘like us’: sometimes I picked this up at the time and other times as I was listening to recorded interviews a while later. This did not happen in every interview and if participants asked me about my identity I told them. I was upfront about being trans and not being intersex if it came up during the interviews and as part of recruitment. Furthermore, my involvement in activism is highlighted in the Invitation to Interview document I sent out (see Appendix i). I was influenced by McQueen and Knussen’s (2002) reflection that disclosure can be useful for making some participants feel comfortable whereas others can find it irrelevant or inappropriate so I let participants’ own curiosity guide which information I disclosed. These reflections speak back to the reflective work of Meadow (2013) on experiences of participants and Meadow ‘studying each other’. Meadow’s research on the construction of the trans child as a category involved interviews with the parents of trans children and activists on behalf of trans children as well as medical professionals. Meadow interprets this experience of being read to have influenced whether participants introduced Meadow to their own children. I cannot know if my own experience of being read influenced the snowball sampling work many participants initiated for me. While this experience of being read as ‘like us’ or not is important it does not mean I am like my participants in all ways. For instance, I may be trans but I will never know transmisogyny. I will never see the intersection of racism and transphobia as experienced my participants of colour. As I reflect on this experience now, I think about how the rapport I built up as an interviewer was based on those readings by participants and not necessarily on my presentation or how I felt in that space.

I was not always read as a person with a connection to the communities under discussion. For some participants my status as a researcher during the interview was more significant than any shared identity. For example, some parent participants discussed their difficulties working with other activists and trans activists in particular and said “It’s annoying and irritating and we bitch about it between ourselves, and to you because you’re a researcher”. My role of researcher is also an identity I negotiate and one that participants read onto me. However, unlike being trans and being disabled, the identity of researcher, and its

associated power relations with links to academic institutions, is not an identity that can be invisibilised or misinterpreted during a research interview. Although, moving away from data collection, there are ways in which a complex identity as a trans and disabled researcher can be negotiated and read in other spaces such as academic conferences or LGBT/I events in which I was invited to discuss my research.

This interpretation of me as connected to the community meant rapport came easily, and my interviews were often long and personal, but this also meant the kinds of questions I asked were sometimes taken as strange. If I asked for clarity about exactly what a participant meant by a term, because I wanted to know how they were using it in this context, or if I asked for more information about a topic that they believed I should already be familiar with I was met with "but you know that." I was asked one point "do you want to know what the term means?" as if we had already agreed a shared understanding that I was now calling into question. This highlights the ways in which my researcher identity can construct me as an outsider during interviews in which I felt that I had been read as an insider. This speaks back to Dahl's (2010) reflections on being neither completely inside nor outside a community during research. My experience as an insider and outsider researcher and as an activist academic depends on my participants accepting, reading and interpreting me as such. This comes with the additional problem that this is my interpretation of their interpretation of me.

Much of the consideration in this section refers to the bodily experiences while on fieldwork, such as the difficulties of binding in a country's heat I was unused to or the complexities of finding an accessible location without necessarily outing myself as disabled. However, the researching body does not only exist during fieldwork. My experience of this research project was shaped by periods of absence due to flares of a long-term health condition. The significant period of time between collecting the data and submission of the thesis illustrates this. This highlights the ways in which sometimes my body could not facilitate my continued work on the research. Analysis of data and writing up are processes that involve the body. Furthermore, a significant amount of the final version of the written thesis was produced whilst 'shielding' during a global pandemic. The experience of being named 'vulnerable' by the state despite not seeing myself as such highlighted my own connections to the medicolegal language considerations highlighted by my participants in different contexts. The ways in which my non-normative body, as a disabled non-binary trans person, functions shapes my relationship with the world and the

ways in which I undertook this research project. A reflection on myself as a researcher cannot be separated from my disabled trans non-binary body.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the choices that were made in relation to data collection and data analysis as well as the theoretical perspective that influenced these decisions. An explanation has been provided for these choices that considers the positions of the researcher and participants as well as the ways they interact throughout the interview process and after. The possibilities of recruitment and developing rapport as an insider and an outsider were discussed as well as a more reflective consideration of the experience of being read as inside and outside these communities.. Creating an ethical context in order for the research to take place was central to being able to recruit and interview a diverse range of participants across the three settings. This ethical context creation continued to influence the decisions I made in relation to creating composite characters for a fictionalised ethnodrama. The importance of language emerged throughout the data collection and influenced the focus on critical discourse analysis for the analytical consideration of this data.

Ethnodrama

Introduction

This section of the thesis presents an original ethnodrama constructed from the text of interviews with participants. This ethnodrama, entitled *As Is*, consists of six short scenes with ten composite characters representing my 36 participants, plus a fully fictional character called The Narrator. The text of the play (in blue) is presented on the left side of a double page with a more in-depth analysis of this presentation of findings provided on the right side of the double page (in black). The characters in the ethnodrama are responding to a fictitious law in order to explore the tensions my participants experienced in relation to language, identities, recognition and representation. Furthermore, this play as a physical manifestation of the data analysis allows for the relationships between participants to be explored through the relationships between characters and the ways they interact on stage through the text of the play and related stage directions.

Legislation and Location

This fictionalised legislation, the Acquired Sex and Intersex Status [ASIS] Bill, is an amalgamation of several laws that currently exist in all of the fieldwork locations that explicitly recognise trans or intersex people including the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (New South Wales); *Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act 1997* (Australian Capital Territory); the *Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act 1995* (New South Wales); the *Discrimination Act 1991* (Australian Capital Territory); *Equal Opportunity Act 2010* (Victoria); *Parentage Act 2004* (Australian Capital Territory); the *Sex Discrimination Amendment (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Intersex Status) 2013* (Australia) of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Australia); the *Gender Identity, Gender Expression and Sex Characteristics Act 2015* (Malta); the *Gender Recognition Act 2004* (United Kingdom); the *Equality Act 2010* (United Kingdom); and the *Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009* (Scotland). The composite characters' frustrations with the text of the ASIS Bill are the real frustrations my participants shared in relation to these existing laws as well as proposed legislation that did not pass into law. The ethnodrama is not set in any one specific location in order to take participants' discussions from all research sites to construct the drama. However, the subsequent analysis of each page of ethnodrama script provides specific geographical and legislative context for lines of the play that refer to situations unique to certain fieldwork sites.

Data

The characters' lines in the ethnodrama have been constructed from the text of the interviews with the participants that make up the composite characters. However, some text has been added in order to create the play. For instance, references to popculture, such as songs and books, and puns following the lines of another character have been added to animate these characters in a more theatrical way. Furthermore, the names of each group and organisation in the play are pseudonyms that evoke the real names of the groups and organisations with references to ongoing issues or similar names while preserving anonymity.

The lines spoken by The Narrator do not originate from interviews with participants. The Narrator represents the audience, which is signified at the beginning of the play when The Narrator sits amongst them. The Narrator asks questions that allow for the explanation of key terms and ideas used by the other characters. The use of narration and The Narrator's relationship to the audience is a significant feature of epic theatre in a Brechtian tradition which inspired this inclusion as well as moments in which the audience is reminded of the construction of the drama (Brecht, 2014, Brooker, 1994, Luckhurst, 2006). The Narrator offers the composite characters an opportunity to explain themselves or their history, which they would not typically express to a pre-existing member of their group or community. This also speaks to the reflection in the Methods chapter on asking questions that were assumed to be obvious and the ways this constructed me as a 'researcher-outsider'. I decided to keep The Narrator's role obvious by naming them The Narrator rather than to introduce a more realistic character that could potentially create further tension amongst characters if they were to have a name or gender or age revealing similarities with some characters but not others. I was inspired by Peters who used a narrator role in an ethnodrama to remind the audience of the construction of the play (Peters, 2016). This Brechtian inclusion was particularly important to me when considering the purpose of the play which is to tell the story of my data but not necessarily to entertain so the Brechtian style of theatre to encourage social change is particularly relevant for this ethnodrama (Brecht, 2014).

The use of ethnodrama allows for the representation of things left unsaid. For instance, comments unheard by other characters, or not responded to, create a dramatic tension highlighting these relationships on stage in ways that a prose narrative could not. The representation of trans and intersex relationships within this ethnodrama allows for an

account and exploration of the absences and tensions within these relationships. The ethnodrama allows for composite characters to interact with each other to represent these relationships and embody some of the tensions between trans and intersex activists without exposing individual participants to potential harm, or damage to already fraught relationships, through the exposure of these conflicts. The dialogue between characters allows for different perspectives to be demonstrated and this highlights the negotiations of language and identities within the real participants' contexts, as discussed by Saldaña (2008a). Saldaña notes that it is rare for more than two characters to interact with each other in ethnodramas but that some ethnodramatists make use of 'choral exchange' in which characters can speak concurrently, in unison or overlapping, 'to highlight the diversity of possible perspectives about an issue' (Saldaña, 2011: 109). Adapting this approach into set design, I developed a set design that allowed the characters to be separate and interact in dyads while also moving between these dyads and be represented as part of a larger whole; this further highlights the relationships and communication, or lack of, between different groups and organisations that I interviewed.

Set Design

Each scene comprises 2-3 characters interacting in a small set that occupies a part of the stage. All the characters remain on stage at all times, unless otherwise specified in stage directions, but only when the spotlight is on them does each scene run. Despite this shared space the characters do not interact with others on stage unless a spotlight is on them. See fig. 1 for a picture of the locations of each character. The props in the scenes reflect the contents of groups' offices and meeting locations for those that had such spaces.

Scene 1 is downstage right [DSR]. The props for Scene 1 include a desk and two chairs with two characters (Sandy and Kate) sitting on them. There is a large cardboard square cut out through which the characters are able to look at the audience. The top of this square contains the word 'laptop'. Other props include two piles of an assortment of trans books and policy documents that are holding up a plaster cast of an arm painted in the colours of the trans flag. A large trans flag is also visible. These props can be projected in an image over the scene to make the set easier to transport. There is also a table with a kettle and two mugs.

Scene 2 is downstage left [DSL] (Stephen) and upstage right [USR] (Jack) and there are oversize landline phones, tables and cardboard laptops similar to those in Scene 1 in both spaces. Both sets have chairs that the characters start the scene already siting on. The set

DSL is adorned with books and documents relating to transmasculine history. An image of this can be projected if required. The set USR has an intersex flag and books and documents relating to intersex experiences which also could be projected as an image. The volume of material in both of these sets is not as large as the amount in DSR signalling that these are newer groups than the group in Scene 1 and have less storage space. While Scene 1 is set in an office, Jack and Stephen could be in less formal spaces. Jack and Stephen speak their lines into the oversize landline phones in their hands.

Scene 3 is DSR (Kate and Sandy) and DSL (Stephen). All characters look into the laptop cut outs in order to speak their dialogue. Sets remain as above. The Narrator is introduced at the end of this scene and speaks their lines from their seat in the audience.

Scene 4 is upstage left [USL] in the office of Lavender with The Narrator, Iain, Dean and Katrina. Similarly to DSR this space contains an assortment of books, posters and DVDs. These all relate to LGBTI life but gay documents dominate the space as well several rainbow flags. This space is much more full and messier than the other sets. This image could be projected. A ‘Silence = Death’ poster; a toaster with the face of Ellen DeGeneres on; paper cut outs of people shapes; and a stack of paper and scissors should be prominent amongst the cluttered assortment of LGBTI related items. There is a worn-out sofa that Iain starts the scene sitting on. The Narrator joins him on the sofa and there is an empty single chair Katrina sits on when she enters the scene. Dean starts this scene sitting on a chair at a desk just out of the spotlight.

Scene 5 is centre stage [CS] with two armchairs and a coffee table with a small number of documents and leaflets on relating to intersex experiences. Georgiann starts the scene on the armchair on the right of the stage and The Narrator takes the other armchair. For Scene 5 Dean from Scene 4 moves to CS. Here he picks up a cardboard box with a cutout for his face and a flap with the word ‘TV’ written on. He wears this throughout this scene and sits on the floor. There is an audio player as a prop to play the ‘interviewer’ questions which can be pre-recorded. Georgiann will lift up the flap so Dean’s face can be seen when she turns the TV on.

Scene 6 has a smaller spotlight and no fixed location or set on the stage. See the stage directions in Scene 6 for where the characters are on the stage when speaking. Scene 6 includes Leslie, Bo and The Narrator. Leslie and Bo sit or lie on the floor between sets prior to their scene starting.

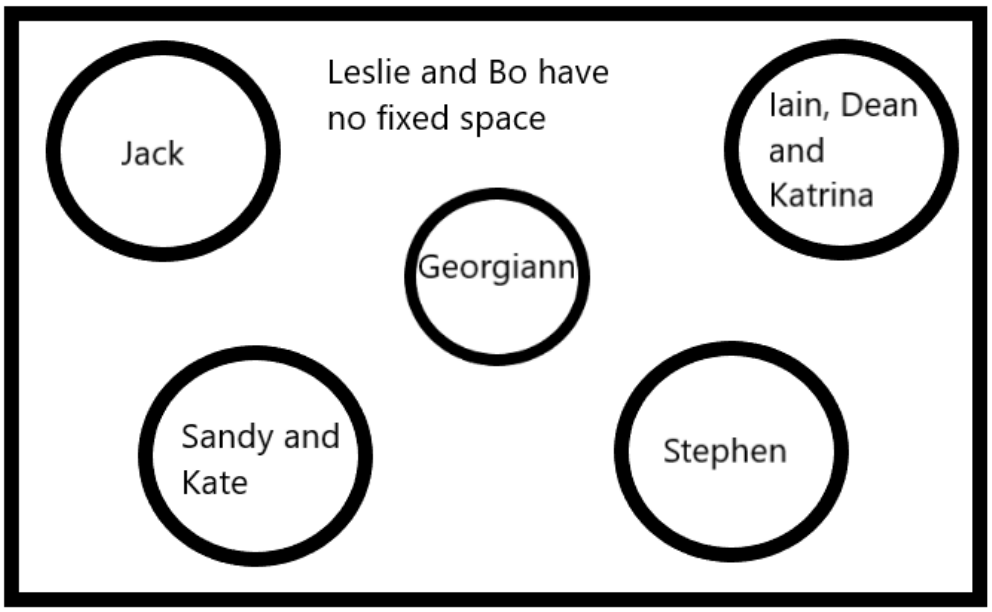

Figure 1: Staging Outline

Characters

KATE, 40+ trans woman representing the six trans women participants
SANDY, 60+ trans person representing the 10 participants over 50
STEPHEN, 30+ trans man representing the five trans men participants
JACK, 30+ intersex man representing the three intersex men participants
IAIN, 18 year old trans man representing the nine participants under the age of 30
DEAN, 50+ cisgender gay man representing the six cisgender LGB participants
KATRINA, 30+ cisgender parent of a trans child representing the four parent participants
GEORGIANN, 30+ intersex woman representing the two intersex women participants
LESLIE, 30+ non-binary trans person representing the eight non-binary trans participants
BO, 30+ non-binary intersex person representing the three non-binary intersex participants
NARRATOR, a person with a connection to the trans and intersex community but limited experience representing the audience.

In some cases the composite characters are made up from participants represented in more than one character (for instance older and younger activists). In such cases where a participants' text contributed to the lines of the older or younger activist their text would not feature in the lines corresponding to the other composite character to ensure some

voices were not overrepresented. The names of the characters are taken from prominent scholars and activists in the field of trans studies and intersex studies as long as these names were not shared by the real participants to preserve anonymity. However, these character names taken from Kate Bornstein, Sandy Stone, Stephen Whittle, Jack Halberstam, Iain Morland, Dean Spade, Katrina Roen / Karkazis, Georgiann Davis, Leslie Feinberg, and Bo Laurent are presented as first names only to ensure distance from these scholars and activists.

Scenes 1, 2 and 3 are grouped together because their characters overlap. These scenes introduce the characters of Kate and Sandy, two older trans people from the trans rights group Real Health Experience that has historically focused on trans healthcare; Stephen from BoisIIMen, a trans masculine and trans men's group; and Jack from InterAction, an intersex rights group. During data collection 10 participants chose to be interviewed at the same time as another person of their choosing. The dynamics between Kate and Sandy show the close relationships of some of these activists that came out in the joint interviews. These characters have received early access to the draft ASIS Bill to be considered by the government, which aims to provide trans and intersex recognition in law. Scenes 1, 2, and 3 address relationships, temporality, the language of the legislation, healthcare access, and identification with legal recognition.

Scene 4 introduces the character Iain, a young trans man from the under 25s trans youth group Genderation; Katrina, a cisgender Mum of a trans child from the group Mum and Dadvocates for parents of trans and intersex children and young people; and Dean an older cisgender gay man from the LGBTI organisation Lavender which was formerly an LGB organisation. Scene 4 explores the relationship between LGBTI groups and these youth and parent groups including ways in which these relationships may be complicated by funding. This scene addresses power relations that move through these relationships with long-standing well-established organisations.

Scene 5 introduces the character Georgiann, an intersex woman from the group Orchids, XOXO. This scene considers the importance of intersex language and the ways in which that language is used strategically in different contexts by intersex activists through their relationships with LGBTI activists and medical professionals. This analysis offers consideration of the contested terms within these relationships including intersex and DSD. This scene also includes Dean, from Lavender, in a carboard box television in order to explore intersex activists' perspectives on LGBT organisations 'adding the I' and

perspectives on those organisations' representational and visibility work considering intersex individual's issues.

Scene 6 introduces the character Leslie, a non-binary trans person, and Bo, a non-binary intersex person, both from the group Specific Detriment #33. This scene explores non-binary participants experiences of exclusion from trans groups, intersex groups and LGBT/I groups. This scene explores the ways in which those experiences of exclusion exacerbate feeling of 'not trans enough' and 'inauthentically intersex' amongst those participants.

Scene 1

(The spotlight comes up DSR on KATE and SANDY. They sit with their chairs pressed together at the desk in the office of Real Health Experience. There is a large cardboard square cut out attached to the front of this desk through which the characters look at the audience. The top of this square contains the word 'laptop'. The office is the permanent home of this organisation, which is currently focused on trans health activism, but has at various times focused more on equality legislation, running support services, and raising awareness of trans issues. This broad activist history is reflected in the props with posters and flags from previous campaigns and ongoing work. There is an overstuffed bookcase in one corner full of books; policy documents; VHS tapes and DVDs of films loosely considered trans representation; and miscellaneous campaigning materials including a large arm-shaped plaster cast painted in the colours of the trans flag which has been placed precariously over a pile of posters on top of the bookcase. SANDY and KATE sit awaiting news of the draft legislation due to be released later today. They have both attended several LGBTI parliamentary group discussions on the expected contents of the draft bill and they have been lobbying individual parliamentarians directly for issues they wish to see covered in the legislation. However, at this present moment its contents remain unknown. It is this uncertainty that creates a sense of anticipation in Real Health Experience's small cramped office amongst these two volunteers who are aware that they represent a diverse heterogenous group of trans people seeking legal recognition (and attempting to access healthcare within the confines of that legal recognition). (KATE taps the desk and mutters 'refresh').

SANDY

I don't think that actually summons the emails you know?

KATE

You know Susan the nice civil servant at the Equalities Office? She said she'd send it by midday, but it should be going out to everyone on the LGBTI parliamentary group mailing list by 5pm. I just want to get started.

SANDY

It's only 12.04, Kate. I'm making a tea while we wait.

Real Health Experience take their name from the concept Real Life Experience [RLE], which is the requirement of a minimum of 12 months living in the preferred gender role in order to access genital surgery according to the World Professional Association for Transgender Health's [WPATH] *Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender-Nonconforming People* guidelines (Bockting, 2008, Coleman et al., 2012). The RLE requirement shapes access to healthcare for trans individuals in all research sites of this project. For Pearce, the continued use of RLE as a form of gatekeeping healthcare defines 'trans possibility' and presumes 'trans people *can* and *should* maintain a consistent (ideally cis-passing) gender identity and gendered appearance' (Pearce, 2018b: 200). Real Health Experience's name reflects these experiences of gatekeeping within healthcare access experienced by trans individuals in all the research sites which influenced activism in these locations. The replacement of the word life with the word health highlights that these requirements do not necessarily reflect real life as it is lived but reflect the expectations healthcare professionals have of real life which can include an individual's occupation and its suitability to passing as cisgender (Barrett, 2007). The wordplay in the name to accommodate health experiences highlights that this group acknowledges a more diverse range of trans and non-binary gendered lives than the medical literature acknowledges. Sandy and Kate's trans activist group now focuses on issues outside of healthcare but their name reflects the importance of healthcare activism to the work that they have been involved in for many years.

The large arm shaped plaster cast painted in the colours of the trans flag is a reference to 'trans broken arm syndrome' (Payton, 2015, Knutson et al., 2016). For Pearce, trans broken arm syndrome associates all trans health concerns in relation to transition and can dangerously limit access to healthcare for other issues for trans individuals, particularly in relation to mental health (Pearce, 2018b).

Kate and Sandy have both attended LGBTI parliamentary group meetings, a version of which exist in all the research sites. They have also lobbied individual parliamentarians in order to bring this bill to their attention. These political relationships Kate and Sandy have forged lead to their early access to the draft bill from the "nice civil servant" with whom they have developed a relationship. This referenced relationship that has led to earlier access to the draft legislation highlights relationships that some groups were able to have with individuals in government departments. However, for other activists engaged in trans and intersex activism these relationships were not as well developed.

KATE

You're making two teas yeah Sandy?

SANDY

Apparently. *(SANDY goes over to the pre-filled kettle, turns it on and sets up mugs while KATE continues to click refresh on the email. SANDY talks to themself/ the audience waiting for the kettle to boil*) Here we can observe two lesser spotted ageing trans activists in their natural habit: waiting. From waiting for healthcare to waiting for the kettle to boil the older trans activists have spent their lives waiting. (*singing*) 'So tired, tired of waiting'[xxii]. Waiting for the right psych; waiting for hormones and waiting for changes; waiting for the right form, the one with the stamp. We are forever on Trans Time. It feels like time we don't have. Now we are waiting for a copy of the draft Bill the government is releasing today. The LGBTI parliamentary group has been discussing it for years and the government has been promising significant changes to recognising trans people as the gender they live as. There's even talk of recognising intersex people too. It's hopefully going to offer a simpler, easier way for us to change our documents without needing to out ourselves to every utilities supplier, every bank, every phone company. All that Special Section D stuff that makes some of us, me, feel like a spy[xxiii].

KATE

What are you mumbling about back there? *(KATE does not take her eyes from the cardboard cutout 'screen')* Oh! It's here! *(SANDY takes the two teas to the desk seat, gives a tea to KATE then sits at the other chair)* ASIS.

SANDY

As is?

KATE

Acquired Sex and Intersex Status Bill. ASIS.

Sandy discusses “Trans Time” that they liken to a life spent waiting and “time [they] don’t have”. For Amin trans lives are ‘constituted by yet exceed normative temporalities’ (Amin, 2014: 219). Freeman (2007, 2010) writes of chrononormativity to explain normative experiences of time such as the construction of a life course narrative (birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, reproduction and death) as normal. Freeman highlights the ways normative temporality is experienced in the body. Sandy’s “Trans Time” draws attention to the ways in which trans people can experience time in particular ways located in the body and in experiences of anticipation.

The importance of anticipation to trans temporality is central to an understanding of Sandy’s reflection on waiting for healthcare and interactions with institutions for gender recognition. This reflects experiences of waiting for transition healthcare discussed in trans literature (Donati-Bourne et al., 2017, Israeli-Nevo, 2017, Pitts-Taylor, 2020). For Pearce the anticipation within understandings of trans temporality is defined by an uncertain future and a continuous-present (Pearce, 2018b). Similarly, for Malatino this is an ‘interregnum’ – a ‘nowness that shuttles transversally between different imaginaries of pasts and future’ creating a moment of possibility (Malatino, 2019: 644). This nowness is reflected in Sandy’s “spent their lives waiting” whereas the reference to waiting for the “right psych[ologist]” highlights this uncertain future. The realisation that a person has seen the wrong healthcare professional occurs after the event but the anticipation of seeing such a professional is experienced through uncertainty.

Halberstam suggests that ‘queer adolescence can extend far beyond one’s twenties’ (Halberstam, 2005: 174). Halberstam refers to queer subculture participation and its temporal expectations but this can be likened to Bailey (2012) and Ansara’s (2015) discussions of trans experiences of a ‘second puberty’ upon taking hormone replacement therapy [HRT]. Horak refers to ‘hormone time’ that links to Sandy’s “waiting for hormones, waiting for changes” (Horak, 2014: 579). Horak’s hormone time begins with HRT and follows a linear trajectory of the bodily “changes” to which Sandy refers[xxiv]. However, for Simpkins trans temporalities are non-linear and are experienced as an open-ended ‘past-present-future’ (Simpkins, 2017: 139). This non-linear experience of simultaneous past, present and future comes closer to reflecting Sandy’s experience of “waiting”. The reference to RLE in the name of the organisation also reflects this past-present-future of trans temporality. RLE relies upon already living a life in transition in order to access transition healthcare. This reflects Carter’s (2013) ‘transitional temporality’ that suggests a folding of time accounting for anticipation and continuity.

SANDY

I wish they would recognise us ‘as is’. No hoops to jump through - just a simple acceptance that we are the genders we say we are. Should we print it?

KATE

No. We can read it on the screen here *(points)* – there’s just us coming in today.

SANDY

Oh but we could write on it by hand and in twenty years’ time the activists of tomorrow could look at the framed first draft. Trans people having a say about legislation that affects them. It can go next to that big flag we had made for Trans Pride. *(SANDY peers into the mess and points to the trans flag)*

KATE

The First Trans Law. They can gaze at it and wonder who the people with the bad handwriting were, probably not imagining two people over 45 with cups of tea.

SANDY

The third. Not the first. You’re as bad as the kids and the media. It’s crossing bridges we’ve already crossed.

KATE

(*together but mocking)* “It’s crossing bridges we’ve already crossed”. You hate when someone pops up with a first that isn’t true. Almost as much as you love correcting me!

SANDY

There is a huge risk of our stories being lost. They won’t be recorded by the mainstream.

The “right psych[ologist]” and “hoops to jump through” refer to experiences of gatekeeping within trans healthcare (Ashley, 2019, Lane, 2018, Richards et al., 2015). The “right” refers to a psychologist working with a gender clinic that can provide the required diagnosis of gender dysphoria for access and refers to the importance of community experiences with the “right” healthcare professionals. The importance of trans community shared knowledge in relation to healthcare access is documented by Califia (2003), Hines (2007), and Pearce (2018b). References to gatekeeping within healthcare introduce the legislation to highlight the ways in which legal gender recognition is framed by medicalised understandings. Legal gender recognition in Australia and the UK require evidence from medical professionals.

Kate imagines activists of the future expressing surprise that those editing the draft ASIS Bill were “two trans people over 45”. This reflects the views of my older participants that felt they were unusual in their age. Despite the variety in age amongst my participants there was an ‘imagined activist’ that was presumed to be younger than themselves. This reflects Valentine’s (2007) imagined community of trans activists that are expected to be younger than these participants’ ages suggest. Toze (2020) writes of the invisibility of older trans men in society and trans community spaces. This also reflects the broader invisibility of older trans people and limited research on their healthcare, social, and institutional needs (Bailey, 2012, See also Persson, 2009, Siverskog, 2014, Toze, 2019, Witten, 2009, 2014, 2015).

The relationship between Kate and Sandy is representative of the participants interviewed together that were partners or friends that worked together. These pairs would finish each other’s sentences and talk over each other due to their familiarity with the stories they were telling and each other. This is shown with Kate and Sandy’s teasing throughout the scene and Kate’s mimicking of Sandy’s “It’s crossing bridges we’ve already crossed”. This implies this is a line she has heard several times before. The activists I interviewed mentioned each other and this crossed geographic boundaries. Kate and Sandy highlight the personal relationships that shaped relationships between trans and intersex activists. Some activists were friends, ex-friends, lovers, and ex-lovers. These findings are not unique to this research. Valentine’s (2007) ethnography with trans activists in late 1990s New York City finds a ‘community’ of friendships; Dreger’s (2018) reflections on ISNA focuses on her own former friendships; and Tillman considers friendships between gay men and allies, LGBTQ ally relationships, and friendship as method (Tillmann, 2015, Tillmann-Healy, 2001)[xxv].

KATE

I've met about seven people that were all the first trans person to run for office. You're celebrating our history, which I obviously I appreciate, because you're a relic.

SANDY

I am your favourite trans elder. I'm the Ghost of Trans Rights Past[xxvi].

KATE

Well maybe in your day legislation could neatly fit in a frame but this one is 64 pages[xxvii].

SANDY

64?! *(SANDY sings to themself 'Will you still read me? Will you still need me? On page 64' to the tune of When I'm 64)*[xxviii].

KATE

There's a whole schedule at the end about pensions.

SANDY

Thrilling. Does that mean that they've actually considered some of us may live stealth and want to retire with our peers?

KATE

I doubt it. It'll be twenty pages of fear of fraud as if someone's going to jump through all the hoops we have to go to pretending to be trans to get their pension five years early[xxix]. It'd take longer than five years to get an appointment at a gender clinic these days[xxx].

Kate discusses that they have met several people claiming to be “the first trans person to run for office” as an example of “bridges … already crossed”. This reflection on this phenomenon of repeated naming of ‘the first trans person to do X’ has the effect of erasing trans history. While Kate is discussing trans individuals running for political office, this phenomenon is also found in trans studies literature considering pregnancy and trans masculine people. For instance, Toze (2018) discusses the UK media’s announcement of the first pregnant man in 2012 and again 2017. This is similar to the media coverage of Thomas Beatie’s pregnancy in 2008 that suggested he was the first pregnant man (Currah, 2008, Halberstam, 2010). However, there have been media and academic considerations of trans masculine pregnancy since the 1980s (Califia-Rice, 2000, see also Lothstein, 1988, More, 1998, Pearce and White, 2019). Therefore, these trans lives have been subject to the same erasure noted by Kate’s commentary. The focus on “the first trans person” in Kate’s account and media coverage constructs trans as an unusual identity. Lester summarises this stating ‘[e]very achievement of the past is cancelled out by the need to label the next achievement “the first,” making the framing of transness the framing of something exotic, different (Lester, 2017: 146). This sensationalist framing noted by Lester is also found in media coverage of trans lives (Humphrey, 2016, see also Oram, 2007, Raun, 2010, Serano, 2013b). These issues reflect the context in which trans and intersex activism can use mainstream media for visibility and awareness but this risks sensationalist reporting and historical erasure.

Sandy describes themselves as a “trans elder” - an identity that is important to them. This also links to “time [they] don’t have” and Kate’s later discussion of the life expectancy of trans women. These reflections taken together refer back to trans and queer studies literatures’ discussions of the absence of trans and LGBT elders (Brown, 2009, see also Serano, 2016, Toze, 2020). However, Kate Bornstein discusses being a trans elder in an interview with Roche (2019). Sandy’s status as a trans elder refers to their age in chronological years and trans years but these need not necessarily be aligned as discussed by Pearce (2018a). Sandy sees themselves as a trans community elder. This role is similar to trans support group members ‘giving something back’ as discussed by Hines (Hines, 2007: 165). There are power relationships working through Sandy naming themself Kate’s “favourite trans elder” although Sandy may be the only one given the literature’s noted absences. The power relationships within claiming the status of a “trans elder” also emerge in Scene 3 and Sandy’s use of their memories of previous failed gender recognition legislation to warn of the risks of opposing the wording of the bill.

SANDY

Imagine being afraid of retiring trans people. We're lucky if we live that long.

KATE

It's 42 you know?

SANDY

The meaning of life, the universe and everything[xxxi]?

KATE

The average age life expectancy of trans women. On a global scale.

SANDY

42! Things could be much worse, at least we have draft legislation to edit and change.

KATE

Legislation that needs amendments. Read this. *(KATE points at the screen and puts on a more formal voice to read this quotation from the bill aloud)* "a minimum of two years lived in the acquired gender". Every interaction you get wait two years. See your doctor: wait two years. See a gender clinic: wait two years. Seek out surgery: wait two years. Now here's gender recognition asking us to… [*together*] Wait two years!

SANDY

[*together*] Wait two years! Never get that time back do we. I thought we were getting a simple process just a declaration not a doctors thing or anything like that. This isn't everything we want: self-affirmation, changes for minors, no forced divorce.

Kate and Sandy's "wait two years!" refers to the requirements of the ASIS Bill that a trans applicant must have "a minimum of two years lived in the acquired gender", which is a feature of the UK's *GRA.* While this is not a feature of Maltese or Australian legislation, several participants highlighted that, even in contexts without temporal requirements, gathering evidence from medical professionals and institutions was a process that took time. For Kate, this waiting for recognition is a feature of trans life similar to Sandy's reflections on "spen[ding] their lives waiting" and experiencing the world through "Trans Time". Kate's list of institutional, legislative and medical requirements to "wait two years" for access or recognition highlights that many of these processes are viewed as stages, such as RLE, and these two years for each requirement cannot be experienced concurrently. Grabham (2010) and Nirta (2018) discuss these experiences of time in suspension through the *GRA*'s requirements as examples of the power relations between trans subjects, the state and society that permeate individuals' experiences of temporality which Nirta refers to as 'not-yet limbo' (Nirta, 2018: 66).

The failure of the ASIS Bill to provide the "simple process" of "self-affirmation", without "a doctors thing", that Sandy seeks highlights the failure to centre the individual's self-knowledge in the legislation on which the ASIS Bill is based. Participants in this research sought legislative change that allowed them to be the authority in relation to their own gender identities. However, current legislation in Australia and UK have requirements for medical professionals to provide evidence supporting an application for legal gender recognition. These requirements privilege medical knowledge about trans lives at the expense of trans individuals' own knowledge of their gender identities. These considerations highlight a problem of authenticity. Those unable to provide evidence are unable to access legal gender recognition. The law constructs those without proof as inauthentic in the knowability of their gender.

These problems with authenticity in the legislation highlight the ways in which accessing legal recognition will be easier for some trans people than others. This is found in the requirements for evidence of gender dysphoria in the UK context and requirements for evidence of "appropriate clinical treatment" across the states and territories in an Australian context. The evidential requirements risk creating hierarchies of recognition related to healthcare experiences. This links to analyses of authenticity and medicalisation of trans identities in the UK's *Gender Recognition Act 2004* from sociological (Hines, 2009, 2010b, 2013); legal (Sharpe, 2007a, 2007b); and critical theory (Nirta, 2018) perspectives (see Introduction for further consideration).

KATE

No but wives and husbands get a veto. They get a veto. There's a veto in here.

SANDY

This must be a mistake. How does that work?

KATE

If you're already married or in a civil partnership, your partner has to sign a piece of paper, a statutory declaration, that says they permit the marriage to continue and you to be reissued a birth certificate. If they do not they are assumed to veto that by default.

SANDY

What?! I feel let down by the government, the people that we have been working with.

KATE

That's the most passive aggressive way to say 'I want a divorce', because it's 'I want a divorce but I'm not even going to serve you papers'. Just hold your rights hostage.

SANDY

That's a challenge we have got to take to the LGBTI advisory committee. And it's absolutely crucial to find people, members of parliament, who will actually be on side.

KATE

I actually think we write an amendment to remove the spousal veto.

SANDY

We might have to pick our battles. Let's see if Stephen's got a copy. We all need to be an absolutely united voice on the things we want. *(SANDY picks up the phone)* Engaged

Kate and Sandy are angry at the introduction a of a "spousal veto" in the ASIS Bill. These character lines are taken from participants' discussions regarding the changes to legal gender recognition in England and Wales as a result of the *Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013.* This marriage legislation adapted the process for applying for legal gender recognition, a gender recognition certificate [GRC], in England and Wales originally introduced within the *GRA 2004* across the UK. The new process, as detailed by Kate, requires married applicants, or those in a civil partnership, to provide a statutory declaration from their partner confirming the partner's consent to the continuation of the marriage or partnership. This "spousal veto" upsets the participants represented by Kate and Sandy because it assumes marriages and partnerships will not continue after an application for legal gender recognition has been made. Furthermore, this "veto" upsets and angers these participants because it allows for a partner of a trans person to "hold [their partner's] rights hostage". This further adds to the complex power relations revealed by those that are required to submit evidence for applications including from medical professionals and partners. These issues speak to Renz's (2015, 2020) legal analysis of these intertwined legislations that suggests spousal requirements construct trans people as potentially deceptive towards assumed cisgender spouses creating further problems of (in)authenticity as discussed on the previous pages.

The "spousal veto", or "spousal consent" in the language of the legislation, is a feature of some of the fieldwork sites in the UK[xxxii]. At the time of the interviews the "forced divorce" mentioned by Sandy on the previous page was a feature of legal gender recognition in some states and territories across Australia[xxxiii]. The federal marriage legislation, *Marriage Amendment (Definition and Religious Freedoms) Act 2017,* led to legislation in the remaining states and territories to remove the "forced divorce" for legal gender recognition[xxxiv]. The considerations from this marriage legislation are relevant to an understanding of trans and intersex activist relationships and these activists' engagements with legal gender recognition reforms. These legislative reforms do not exist in isolation. The fictitious ASIS Bill and the characters' engagement with the formation of this legislation is an example of the much more complex multifaceted legislative and political constraints through which these participants' activism exists.

Sandy's response to the sections of the legislation they dislike is to focus on relationships they have fostered. This includes supportive "members of parliament" and relationships with other trans and intersex activists to present a "united voice". Sandy's focus on parliamentarians, the government, and the LGBTI advisory group highlights

their focus on passing the legislation. For these participants, the ASIS Bill is imperfect but can be amended. Later scenes allow for a more nuanced consideration of the participants who preferred the passing of an imperfect bill to no bill at all which is contrasted with the views of the participants who felt some legislative changes would do more damage.

Sandy's concern in presenting a "united voice" is framed in relation to presenting a clear response to the legislation and "picking [their] battles" in order to ensure the legislation passes with the "things *we* want". However, the reference to a united voice foreshadows the disunity to be revealed in later scenes and provides a form of dramatic irony because these characters appear to be unaware of the lack of united response to the ASIS Bill. The use of "we" in this quotation could be seen to be the "we" of Kate and Sandy or the "we" of the trans and intersex groups on the stage. If this is the latter "we" then it will become apparent that not all of the characters want the same changes to the legislation.

The characters of Kate and Sandy represent the older participants and the trans women participants. They also represent those activists that were 'elders' who had fostered relationships with politicians and other groups in related areas in order to secure funding and space. However, later scenes will reveal that they are unable to access the same funding or space as Lavender, the LGBTI group. Real Health Experience is a broad trans group but it does not include intersex activists and considerations of the legislative changes for intersex individuals is absent from this scene. Scene 1 with Kate and Sandy of Real Health Experience addresses the issues of waiting, temporality, healthcare access, legislation in contexts, and the relationships between activists that shared experiences, history and friendship.

Scene 2

STEPHEN, who runs BoisIIMen, is DSL on the phone with JACK, from InterAction, who is USR, trying to find some common ground with the law. They are each sat in spaces with oversize phones, tables and cardboard laptops. STEPHEN is in a space adorned with transmasculine history, and JACK is in a space adorned with intersex history.

STEPHEN

Getting the I out from under the T is important for everybody. We support you in that, Jack. It's this not wanting an identity bit I'm struggling with. Talk me through it.

JACK

(*sighing*) Intersex is not a gender identity, Stephen. It assumes we all need and want new birth certificates as if that is the beginning and the end of our representation. Offering a third sex marker in ID documents is an attempt to 'fix' intersex bodies in language. It's the same idea that lies behind surgery to 'fix' intersex bodies.

STEPHEN

But we have members that are intersex and trans acknowledging that identity is important to them. Not to mention that they then struggle to access trans healthcare because they don't fit a gender dysphoria narrative. Now we would like that gender dysphoria requirement removed in this recognition legislation but as it currently stands our members that are intersex and trans would need this 'intersex status' route. How do you feel about keeping it as an option but not a requirement?

Stephen a trans man from BoisIIMen and Jack from InterAction explore their different issues with the legislation and their lack of understanding of each other's positions. The name BoisIIMen is wordplay containing references to the band BoyzIIMen, and the use of the term 'bois' in butch, lesbian and trans masculine communities for a group name that is similar to groups that use terms FtM and F2M for female to male[xxxv]. The group name InterAction is a play on 'inter' of intersex, action, and interaction.

Stephen suggests that Jack and himself are in agreement over "Getting the I out from under the T". In a legal context this refers to the *Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009* that includes 'intersexuality' within a definition of 'transgender identity' for the purposes of hate crime considerations for that law[xxxvi]. This legislative definition is part of a wider phenomenon of including intersex within umbrella definitions of trans that has been critiqued in trans and intersex studies literature (Currah et al., 2006, Davidson, 2007). The use of any umbrella category that includes trans and intersex together risks ignoring the differences between trans and intersex experiences. Furthermore, the use of 'trans' as the overarching umbrella term subsumes intersex experiences within an understanding of trans experiences, which ignores those intersex individuals that do not have a trans identity, and it ignores the distinct experiences of those who are intersex and trans. Scherpe summarises this from a legal perspective as 'an 'I' is not a 'T'' (Scherpe, 2018: 203). Furthermore, this idea of the "I under the T" that Stephen and Jack discuss has ramifications for the hierarchies that participants saw in relation to LGBTI groups with intersex issues considered to be the area of least action. This tension is mirrored in Garland and Travis's (2018) work with intersex activists.

Stephen and Jack agree about the need for greater clarity and distinction within definitions of trans and intersex but they struggle with positions in relation to identities and the law. Jack is explicit in stating that "intersex is not a gender identity" but the wording of the ASIS Bill constructs it as one. However, Ghattas (2018) notes that some intersex people do have intersex gender identities. For Jack this move is fraught with dangers to "fix" intersex bodies in language, law, and gender identities that he believes directly leads to justification for 'normalising' surgery. Jack's concerns about "fix[ing]" intersex in language through the law links back to Karkazis (2008) ethnographic research with intersex adults, parents of intersex children, and clinicians that considers the relationship between medicalised language use to "fix" intersex individuals and normalising surgeries on intersex bodies. For Morland intersex surgery is a 'signatory fix', a form of writing and signification (Morland, 2005: 335).

JACK

But how do you think that will work in practice? If we have intersex as an option on birth certificates all we're doing is giving surgeons another argument for infant surgery you know? (*puts on a more formal voice to impersonate a surgeon*) "Let us operate today or we'll have to register your child as intersex." This doesn't cover our issues. This law does nothing to stop non-consensual surgeries. 'Intersex status' in legislation doesn't help us if it doesn't protect us. If it doesn't protect our bodies from interventions that we didn't ask for.

STEPHEN

But that isn't what the law does. It offers us legal recognition of gender and sex, hopefully more genders and sexes than we currently can be recognised as. You'd need a different law for that.

JACK

That's another problem for us. According to this law, we can have recognition as intersex people as long as intersex is presented as another gender identity. We have gender identities in addition to our experience as intersex people. I am an intersex man. I'm a man. I want the option to be recognised as a man. Some of us may want to be seen as intersex men but I don't want to be recognised as only intersex – it isn't a gender and it doesn't come at the expense of my recognition as a man.

STEPHEN

I do understand that. I really do. I want to be recognised as a man and if I choose to live stealth then my trans history shouldn't be available for anyone to know. But I want that recognition as a man. I want that recognition regardless of whether I've had surgery or hormones or any other kind of intervention. I want that recognition on my terms with my words. How do we use this legislation to achieve that for trans people and intersex people because this looks like the only law that we're getting any time soon?

Jack is concerned that offering "intersex as an option on birth certificates" will lead to justifications from surgeons for surgeries on intersex infants in order to avoid "register[ing] [a] child as intersex". This reflects the findings of Garland and Travis (2018) who note that amongst international intersex activists there were concerns that the 2013 German legislation[xxxvii] that allowed for birth certificate registration as neither male nor female would lead to an increase in infant surgeries. They also found activists favoured leaving the sex blank on birth certificates, which is possible in Malta[xxxviii].

Jack's surgeon impersonation implies that the ASIS Bill could lead to increased 'normalising' surgeries. For Jack this law "does nothing to stop non-consensual surgeries" and therefore does not address the issues of infant surgery that he is concerned about in relation to intersex individuals. This concern relating to pressure from medical professionals placed upon parents to seek their consent for surgery on intersex infants is reflected in Davis and Murphy's (2013) work. Their research with medical professionals, intersex individuals and the parents of intersex children found medical professionals frame infant surgeries as urgent and necessary to parents despite the lack of medical emergency in most cases (Davis and Murphy, 2013, see also Ansara, 2016, Feder, 2002, 2006, Davis, 2015, Davis and Evans, 2018, Karkazis, 2008).

For Jack, as an intersex activist, this law "does nothing" whereas for Stephen, as a trans activist, the legislative protection for intersex infants Jack seeks is not "what the law does" and offers that Jack "would need a different law for that". This interaction reveals a tension at the heart of trans and intersex relationships in all fieldwork sites because trans activists and intersex activists seek different outcomes from legislation, but these different issues are rarely reflected in legislative reform[xxxix]. The dismissal from Stephen that Jack "would need a different law" reveals further tension with the hierarchies of inclusion that have emerged in the ASIS Bill. Stephen's recommendation is to push for a separate law rather than work to improve this law that attempts to combine trans and intersex recognition. This provides foreshadowing for Scene 3 in which Stephen seeks to change the ASIS Bill and is dismissed by Kate and Sandy who fear losing the law.

Stephen says he seeks "recognition on my terms with my words", revealing the importance of identity terms and highlighting that language is not neutral. This shows the importance of the linguistic choices made by law makers, and how they impact on how individuals see themselves and their gender in the law.

JACK

I mean really we want to remove all these classifications and these evidence requirements. We want to acknowledge the diversity of our sex characteristics regardless of our gender identities. But we can start by looking at this ridiculous definition of intersex status: *(puts on a dismissive voice*) "neither wholly female nor wholly male; a combination of female and male; or neither female or male". Not one of those definitions relates to me. The intersex definition isn't fit for purpose if intersex people can't find themselves in that definition. It's as useless as disorders of sex development, which I'm glad to see absent from this draft. I think ideally we need to be ensuring the bodily integrity and physical autonomy of people regardless of sex characteristics. We also need a way to offer recognition to those of us that don't associate with the term intersex. I don't think we're after the same things *(slams phone down as lights go down on USR [JACK] and come back up on DSR [KATE and SANDY]).*

The language of identification is important for Jack and Stephen to see themselves in the law. Jack highlights the importance of the language of the law because "not one of those definitions relates to [him]". He is particularly critical of the definition of "intersex status" because "intersex people can't find themselves in that definition". For Jack, the language of the law fails to offer recognition to intersex people that define themselves as he does. This legal definition of intersex status Jack quotes from is taken directly from the physiological considerations within the federal Australian *Sex Discrimination Amendment (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Intersex Status) 2013* of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* in relation to the protections within this anti-discrimination law. For Yoosuf this law gives 'specific protections for intersex persons irrespective of how they wish to identify' (Yoosuf, 2015: 52). However, this does not account for those that seek recognition that do not identify with the terms used.

Jack's concerns about the language of the law extends to those that do not "associate with the term intersex" and Jack adds that he is pleased that there is no mention of DSD language. The issues of identification with intersex and strategic usage of DSD language is explored further in Scene 5. Participants highlighted the importance of language across different intersex identity terms, legal recognition and healthcare access. There is a relationship between the language of medicalised understandings of intersex, such as DSD, and surgical interventions. This offers an explanation for Jack's satisfaction with the absence of DSD in the law offering recognition to intersex individuals. This reflects Carpenter's (2018b) consideration of relationships between intersex recognition in law and policy in Australia and the continued medicalisation of intersex bodies and surgical interventions (see also Carpenter, 2018a, Dunne, 2018, Greenberg, 1999, 2006, 2012).

Scene 2 reveals the tension between trans and intersex organisations, who were seeking different aims from the law and who are disappointed in the draft legislation in ways the other does not understand. Jack and Stephen highlight the difficult relationships some trans and intersex activist participants had with each other. These characters are physically separated on opposite sides of the stage, and speaking through phones, further representing their struggle to understand each other's issues. However, Jack and Stephen explain that they both seek "recognition as a man" which the ASIS Bill can provide and they do not wish for their recognition as men to be dependent on recognition as intersex men or trans men. This relationship between authenticity and identities has been explored in relation to trans and intersex healthcare access by Davis et al (2016). This is also found in considerations of authenticity in Scene 1.

Scene 3

STEPHEN

Sorry I was on the phone to InterAction.

KATE

How's Jack?

STEPHEN

He slammed the phone down. Sometimes when I talk to him I worry I sound like Dean. Like Lavender comes along and they do the simplest bits and they get the money for that. Then we have do the hard bits and we don't get the money for that. It's weird being on one side of that around trans and being seen on the other side of that around intersex.

SANDY

It doesn't help that Jack is hard to work with at times. There is common ground. Birth certificates that reflect who everyone is. And it makes sense where we can work together, so government does not have to do it twice. But it's difficult to get things done with Jack.

KATE

Jack maybe feels side-lined by trans activism. But there is a lot of cross-over. People with intersex conditions might want to transition and the way this bill is it will cause problems.

STEPHEN

As a trans and an intersex group I have a professional obligation, if nothing else, to be talking about these issues. I don't think either trans or intersex issues are gonna progress very much if our groups don't work out a way of finding common ground. Where we can at times work together, but if not at least not working in ways that undermine the other.

Scene 3 begins with Sandy and Kate from Real Health Experience and Stephen from BoisIIMen considering their fraught relationship with Jack from InterAction. Scene 3 considers the medical requirements for legal recognition in the draft ASIS Bill and ways this could cause potential problems for intersex and trans applicants for legal recognition. Therefore, engagement with intersex activists, or an intersex character in this scene, is a deliberate noticeable absence that the start of the scene frames. The characters speak through cut-out laptop screens as if on a video call or email. This highlights that these characters communicate with each other but there is a distance between them across the stage to signify the complexities within their relationships.

Sandy and Kate do not speak to Jack directly in the play and they only receive information about his concerns from Stephen. However, they all discuss their "difficult" relationship with Jack offering a reason for his absence from this scene. This has been included to show some of the complexities in the relationships between activists from different groups. While members of groups were often familiar with one another, they did not always speak directly, or their words were communicated through intermediaries as seen here. This reflects the complex personal relationships in activism which is also seen in Dreger's (2018) reflections on ISNA. However, Sandy is also concerned about increasing the work of "government" highlighting other relationships within this sphere.

Jack and Stephen ended their phone call because it became clear to them both that they were not interested in discussing the same problems. However, there are sections of the legislation discussed in Scene 3 that would also have implications for intersex individuals and the way their identities and bodies are medicalised in the ASIS Bill. The complex relationships between trans and intersex groups in relation to medicalisation and identities is explored in Costello's (2016, 2019) research in virtual worlds.

Stephen reflects on his relationship with InterAction and the ways it mirrors his relationship with Lavender, the LGBTI organisation. This reflects the trans activist participants that were frustrated by the lack of engagement with trans activism from LGBT or LGBTI organisations. However, some of these participants acknowledged that their own activism did not feature intersex work or significant engagement with intersex activists despite intersex members of their predominantly trans groups. This reflects the unequal relationships that several participants discussed in relation to trans, intersex and LGBTI relationships. Stephen mentions in Scene 2 that BoisIIMen has members that are intersex and trans and refers to this as a "trans and intersex group" in this scene.

SANDY

Most trans people are prepared to go along with whatever intersex people want. If it's also something trans people want. The identity issue within the legislation affects both.

STEPHEN

Jack isn't comfortable with the bill framing intersex as a gender identity.

KATE

Do we think this should be two bills?

STEPHEN

If we split it up there's a danger a second bill never materialises. We'll be accused of bringing intersex with us only when it's useful. It's the same issues we all had with Lavender over equal marriage. Whenever something is 'T' or 'I' it just is not a priority; it never ever was. It is "you do all the trans and intersex stuff. We'll do all the other stuff".

SANDY

If we are too critical we risk losing the bill entirely. It still has to pass both houses[xl]. Civil servants and MPs will want ways of putting a wedge between us. We have been immensely successful over the last 17 years. Anything that could undermine us would be something certain politicians would go for.

KATE

We have a fair bit of influence in the Commons. If we wait it might not go through.

STEPHEN

There's plenty to be critical of. Have you seen the law has requirements for surgical sterilisation? The solution to the problem about ID and recognition is not for me to have a hysterectomy; it's for me to change the law.

Kate asks if the bill should be split into two to address the trans and intersex issues independently. However, Stephen warns that this could lead to "a second bill [that] never materialises". Here, Stephen addresses the issues that some participants felt they had to work with the legislation that was available. Several participants had reflections on similar situations from their own contexts. For instance, one Australian participant reflected 'basically all of the LGB bits of the proposal reform went through'. This succinctly summarises issues several participants raised in relation to trans or intersex legislative reform. Participants highlighted issues that they felt were important that were removed from broader LGBTI legislation, or campaigns for legislative reform, on the grounds that a separate bill, or future campaigns, would be drafted. The future legislation did not emerge and future campaigning work focused on other priorities. This scene is intended to illustrate a central tension of LGBTI movements, and trans and intersex activism, - the tension between making sufficiently few recommendations that the bill will pass and making so many that it will not. There is a related tension between an incremental approach to law reform or treating a single piece of legislation as an opportunity to support all groups under the LGBTI umbrella. Spade's (2007) analysis of US trans activism suggests this tension does not need to be either/or.

This is similar to legislative reform in relation to same sex marriage. Stephen addresses this directly in relation to intersex recognition in the ASIS Bill and the risks of "bringing intersex with us only when it's useful" having similarities to Lavender's behaviour with marriage reform. Same-sex marriage legislation was an active or recent area of campaigning in all the research sites during the course of fieldwork with legislation legalising same sex marriage passed in the UK (covering England and Wales) in 2013, in Scotland in 2014, and in Australia and Malta in 2017[xli]. Several participants suggested that as trans and intersex activists they were expected to campaign for this marriage legislation but this support for legislative change was not reciprocated for legislation predominantly affecting trans and intersex individuals. This reveals an additional tension amongst these groups. These expectations to support marriage campaigns are examples of expecting support for a bill from a group of individuals that may not benefit from the legislation. This links directly to the analysis of the "spousal veto" in Scene 1. The *Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013* in the UK made the rights of some trans people harder to access. This LGBTI example links to the implication on this page that trans groups will be expecting the same support from intersex groups even if intersex status is removed from the bill and "a second bill never materialises".

KATE

If you look at the earlier section in requirements for an application they have a vague "appropriate clinical treatment". Do you think we can ask for that to be replicated throughout to replace "sex affirmation procedure"?

STEPHEN

That could be an easy change. I wasn't sure what "appropriate clinical treatment" means. It's that medical side. Is it saying you have to take hormones; you have to take surgery? If we remove the clinical then 'appropriate treatment' could be a social transition.

SANDY

I'm not sure. "Appropriate clinical treatment" fits in with the other requirements. We don't want to face accusations that it's too easy to apply.

STEPHEN

It should be easy to apply!

KATE

The report we submitted was a magnificent achievement. When this was first talked about they reproduced everything we'd given them. They just agreed with us. Then government kicked it into the long grass. Now ASIS is missing a lot of what we want.

SANDY

Part of our credibility is the consistency Kate and I have brought. The progress in the last two years, is thanks to the previous 15. We are very credible at a government level. We have built a reputation. If we stray too far from the wording here, we might not get the legislation at all. The Upper House is tight. It's going to come down to two or three. I don't want to pull the trans elder card here but we have been at this stage before. Remember last time? We sat in parliament and listened to some very vile comments from opposition members.

Scene 3 addresses some of the medicalised requirements in the ASIS Bill including “sex affirmation procedure” and “appropriate clinical treatment” mentioned by Kate. This “sex affirmation procedure” that includes surgery to “correct or eliminate ambiguities relating to the sex” affecting intersex individuals and surgery to “‘alter … a person’s reproductive organs” which could affect trans and intersex individuals is a feature of the Australian state of New South Wales *Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act 1995*. Stephen seeks to remove such medical requirements to access legal recognition. This reflects the concerns of participants in fieldwork locations in which accessing hormones and surgeries were requirements for legal recognition or made the process easier. This also links to Stephen’s criticism on the previous page that the bill “has requirements for surgical sterilisation”. These character quotations relate to participants’ concerns that many of the members of their groups were unable to apply for legal recognition with their bodies as they are or were feeling pressure to access surgery they might not otherwise access in order to achieve legal recognition of their gender. Whittle’s (2002) analysis of the then legal position of trans people in the UK suggests sterilisation tied to legal recognition is a form of medico-legal control over trans bodies.

Sandy worries that removing such requirements may lead to “accusations it’s too easy to apply”. For Stephen “it should be easy to apply” which highlights the differences of opinion participants had in relation to medical requirements tied to gender recognition. Similarly to the authenticity and evidential requirements in Scene 1, and identification with definitions in Scene 2, Scene 3 shows us some trans and intersex individuals will get the recognition they seek whereas others will face a choice between recognition and the bodily interventions and related healthcare that they can or want to access.

The tension between these characters is not only focused on the issues of medical requirements. The different relationships these characters have with members of parliament, civil servants and government departments underpin the tensions within this scene. Sandy highlights RHE’s “credibility” and “reputation” with government highlighting the political access RHE have managed to achieve over 17 years. Sandy uses their political experience to add weight to their concern that the legislation will not pass. Sandy uses their “trans elder card” to highlight their experience in trans community roles and activism in an attempt to minimise dissent from supporting the bill. Sandy’s language here highlights the power relationships within the relationships between some participants.

STEPHEN

Some of the most vile things were spoken in that Assembly.

SANDY

An imperfect bill is better than no bill.

STEPHEN

Is it? Maybe no bill is better than this bill. There are better laws in other countries.

.SANDY

Look we need to work together. We need to put aside any conflicts and you also please need to agree that we are leading on this so we present a united front.

STEPHEN

This one doesn't even consider non-binary people. Has anyone heard from Leslie or Bo?

(Lights go down DSR and DSL. NARRATOR gets up from the seat and house lights rise)

NARRATOR

Do you guys know what's happening here? This law do you know what that's about? I'm a bit confused so I've been messaging this trans youth activist Iain *(points out IAIN on the stage)* and a few others to see what's going on. Iain's invited me to help set up some campaigning materials so I'm going to go say hi. I've been thinking about getting involved in LGBTI activism, for a while but it's hard to know where you belong. I'm wanting to do more trans and intersex work. That seems where the real work to be done is now. And it's well important to me. I think what the trans community is going through just now, I think is very much what I think the lesbian and gay community went through in the late eighties, early nineties. Then I think the intersex community is probably the next battle ground. I just want to help.

In this final page of Scene 3 Stephen uses the word “vile” to describe comments in previous parliamentary debates on legal gender recognition. This repeats Sandy’s use of the word “vile” to describe previously debated legislative reform that did not pass. This interaction highlights the length of time these characters, and some of the participants they represent, have known each other and campaigned for legislative reform relating to legal gender recognition. The repetition of the emotive word “vile” is also used in this scene to show the legislative reform and the parliamentary processes involved do not exist in isolation. Several participants raised concerns that parliamentary debates, public discourse and media coverage of reform of legislation relating to legal gender recognition could provide hostile responses and potentially put trans and intersex people at risk. One participant described their thoughts on this as “we don’t want equality at any cost”. Parents of trans and intersex children were also concerned about the attention their own children might face as a result of such hostile discourse. This was a particular area for concern in relation to ‘Safe Schools’ in Australia. The Safe Schools Coalition was a federally funded scheme to combat LGBTI bullying in schools that was subject to significant backlash and lobbying by those opposed to it. It was defunded in 2016 and states and territories were able to introduce their own scheme[xlii]. These concerns in relation to hostility aimed at trans people are found in Hines (2019) research addressing the language of anti-trans feminism with targeted hostility toward trans women on social media and Gupta’s (2019) exploration of the UK press utilising pronoun misuse as a strategy for the reproduction of transphobia (see also McKinnon, 2018).

The tension between an “imperfect bill” and “no bill” echo the earlier tensions in relation to approaches to legislative reform in this scene. These lines also hint at these wider contexts in which legislation emerges potentially increasing hostility toward those whose rights are debated in parliament. This scene ends with Sandy asking Stephen to “work together”, put conflicts aside and let Real Health Experience lead on the work related to the draft legislation including lobbying for any amendments. They again call for a “united front” echoing their calls for a “united voice” in Scene 1. This language highlights the power relationships within the relationships between some of the characters. These relationships were made more complex by the power associated with working with government departments and other related groups and organisations. The scarcity of funding added to this complexity because income could come from government sources or be a product of a relationship with a larger organisation.

Several participants discussed the hierarchies and power relationships that emerged

when groups worked together. Sandy and Kate agree with Stephen in relation to some of his criticisms of the ASIS Bill but Sandy is concerned that his opposition could prevent the bill from passing. It is clear from the language these characters use with one another and their emerging frustrations throughout this scene that Stephen's relationship with Kate and Sandy is not as close or as forgiving as Kate and Sandy's relationship with each other. This reflects the participants that discussed their fluctuating relationships with other activists working in the same spaces.

Additionally, Stephen highlights that this ASIS Bill does not consider non-binary people. This allows for the characters Bo and Leslie to be introduced. This suggests these characters in Scene 3 are aware of the characters Leslie and Bo but they do not engage with them directly, or expect to be contacted by them. This issue links back to Beauchamp's (2013) critique of trans advocacy groups in the USA that promote trans legal recognition in ways that privilege normative and stealth trans bodies at the expense of non-normative bodies. The characters Leslie and Bo appear in Scene 6.

At the end of this scene The Narrator stands up from their seat in the front row of the audience to make this speech and join the subsequent three scenes to ask questions allowing for more explanation for the audience. The Narrator's lines are not from participants' data although some lines from this longer speech about the development of a lesbian and gay community, a trans community, and an intersex community did come from participants to give more context to The Narrator's character. The Narrator states that this is "important to [them]" suggesting that they have a connection to trans or intersex individuals in some way.

Scene 4

(NARRATOR walks to USL as the lights come up on IAIN and DEAN) The office of Lavender. Similarly to Scene 1 this space contains an assortment of books, posters and DVDs relating to LGBTI life. However, this space is much messier than Scene 1 and additional props include a toaster with the face of Ellen DeGeneres on as well as paper cut outs of people shapes, a stack of paper and scissors. (IAIN plays with his phone waiting for someone, IAIN periodically checks his phone during the scene and can add commentary about people confirming their attendance tonight. DEAN wearing headphones is off to the side just out of the spotlight tidying/dancing but may just be moving things around. There is a chair and a desk just out of the spotlight that DEAN can sit on when not in the spotlight. IAIN is sitting on a worn out sofa. There is an empty chair. KATRINA is offstage)

IAIN

Hi it's Narrator yeah? You messaged our social media page. I'm Iain I run Genderation, the under 25 trans group. *(IAIN picks up a flyer from the mess and passes it to NARRATOR who takes it and sits on the other chair)* I'm the one you were messaging.

NARRATOR

(*looks at flyer)* Cool. Yeah I'm really looking to get involved in more trans and intersex activism. (*looks up)* How did you get to be this activist running this group?

IAIN

For me being an activist starts with caring. Something happens and I might need to do something about this or this community I'm in might want to do something about this. You know that you could be the one helping that person or helping change something.

NARRATOR

Cool. I want to be a part of trans and intersex activism. Moving away from LGBT stuff so it's weird to be at a gay men's group. Why do we come here for Genderation's stuff?

Iain utilises social media and a phone to organise a physical meeting representing the participants that discussed utilising social media tools in order to aid activism but did not consider this use of social media to be unique or for their activism to be exclusively online. This differs from Nownes' (2019) work with US trans activism and the work by Still (2008) in international, although predominantly North American, intersex activism that find the internet essential for trans and intersex activism respectively. Whittle's (1998) reflections on trans activism and community building in the 1990s highlights the important of the internet in UK and US contexts. Shapiro's (2004) work on international trans activism finds the internet was used as a low-cost tool for information dissemination as well as a space for collective identity development. Shapiro's reflection on the internet as a tool reflects my participants' online work for those that did engage in this which was often highlighted in relation to its cost and their own limited funds.

Iain runs an under 25 trans youth group reflecting the trans youth groups that participants mentioned, and some were involved in, in all fieldwork locations[xliii]. The name Genderation is a play on generation and gender. For Iain there is an underlying supportive role to his activism. This reflects the importance of support groups and work supporting others to the participants I spoke to. For some support explicitly was activism itself and for others it was an essential part of their work but not necessarily activism. This directly relates to Katz and Bender's (1976a, 1976b) definitions of self-help, or support, groups[xliv]. For Iain this support underpins his activist work and provides an example of the ways support can link to the theoretical definitions of activism. This idea that participating in or running a support group is a part of being an activist is also found in Garland and Travis's (2018) activist definition to recruit intersex activist participants.

There is a suggestion of community responsibility and representing others within these lines with the words "this community I'm in might want to do something" implying that the community or certain members within a community may be affected. Iain implies that part of his activism is helping someone within a community they belong to tackle a problem that does not directly affect them on an individual level. Iain's reflection on his activist role makes a clear connection to community representative roles many participants had. This response to The Narrator's questions highlights the relationship between support, "helping that person", and "helping change", advocacy and activism, and how those activities may inform the community representation work on an individual and group level when engaging with institutions and others.

IAIN

Oh it's not just a gay men's group. It used to be just gay men but it's for all of us now. They added the letters a few years ago I think. It was before Genderation existed. It's become a more gender diverse space in the last few years. Historically it's been an LGB space. Dean's about somewhere and he's been Lavender forever. Probably since my age.

NARRATOR

Oh so did Lavender adding the letters help Genderation?

IAIN

Yeah so our funding comes from Lavender. It's not a lot but it covers campaigning materials, resources, and snacks for meetings. Oh and this beautiful space *(stands, stretches arms out and spins round taking in the mess, flopping back on the sofa)*. We also work with other groups through Lavender. So the gendered school uniform campaign (*points at a poster*) was us, LGBTI Unders, Mum and Dadvocates, the teacher's union, and the schools' network but all the money side was figured out by Lavender and they set up the original meetings. It's useful to work together for access and money we just wouldn't get otherwise. Other organisations will get funding for LGBTI things, but really what they're doing is LGB work. Organisations will claim the funding that is meant for the whole community and subsequently the trans community will miss out. This way Lavender gets the money and we help to spend it.

NARRATOR

I've seen these posters all over bus stops and train stations. I'd not seen a trans campaign somewhere like that before. Is it all that easy? Big money and making a difference?

IAIN

Errm honestly no. Like you have trans young people working on resources for young trans people but then needing the final approval of this cis man who is *not* a young person. So it can be awkward.

Iain's use of "all of us" and "adding the letters" makes reference to the groups and organisations participants discussed that changed from being 'gay men' or 'gay and lesbian' to LGBT or LGBTI groups and organisations. This idea of "adding the letters", sometimes specifically discussed as "adding the T" or "adding the I", was discussed by several participants. Some of these participants highlighted the benefits of these groups and organisations "adding these letters". Iain directly addresses these benefits such as the availability of funding; making resources; spaces to meet; and the ability to make connections with other groups to work with on shared issues. The school uniform campaign is an example of an issue that brought together Iain's trans youth group and other stakeholders that Iain might have struggled to connect with without Lavender's backing. This speaks to Van Der Ross and Motman's (2015) research on 'adding the t' to LGB in Belgium and Norway that finds these relationships were of mutual benefit.

However, "adding the letters" did not necessarily mean a shifting demographic or a level of understanding. This was further complicated by the groups' and organisations' membership, and where present staff, that were perceived to be made up of gay men and lesbians that were neither trans nor intersex and had historically been part of a predominantly sexuality focused group or organisation. These issues raised by my participants speak to Enriquez's (2016) research with trans activists in Canada who discusses similar tensions. Many of these strained relationships were made additionally fraught by the way that external funding for trans and intersex work was perceived by some participants. Some felt that money trans and intersex groups could have accessed themselves instead went to larger formerly LGB organisations who did not fully reflect the needs of trans and intersex members and thus as Iain states "the trans community will miss out". This is explored in relation to intersex activism funding in Scene 5.

These tensions in relation to the allocation of funding and resources can lead to fraught relationships with LGBTI organisations. Specifically, Iain discusses these organisations acting as budget holders and approving trans, and presumably intersex work, or spending which Iain finds "awkward". Seeking approval from a larger group, or an organisation's paid staff member, for resources that were produced by and for community volunteers not necessarily represented amongst the membership or staff highlights the practical implications of this tension within these relationships. Iain also reflects on the age difference between those in his group and the budget holders of the organisation responsible for the group's funding hinting at generational differences.

(DEAN picks up some papers and books strewn across the floor and carries them into the spotlight. DEAN takes off his headphones and we hear Calum Scott's 'Dancing on my Own' until he presses pause on the audio device)

IAIN

Alright Dean, have you met Narrator? Narrator is new to Genderation and come to help. We're getting the cut-out figures and snacks for tonight. Narrator was just asking me why we store our stuff here. Do you want to explain?

DEAN

(DEAN sits on the arm of the sofa) Yeah we've offered storage space, and meeting space to Genderation, LGBTI Unders, Mum and Dadvocates and anyone who's asked since we became LGBTI inclusive just over three years ago. And we managed to get funding for specific campaigns from the government and some funding bodies. So we did a schools' one with all those groups. We have a sexual health one we're working on just now with some other groups. We've got a good relationship with the current government and we've had some funding for one thing or another for nearly twenty years so it's good to be able to work on things that groups like Genderation wouldn't get the money for. People think it is all this exciting stuff (*points at the posters and wistfully looks at the campaign resources all around*) and really it is filling in funding applications, meeting with people. Doing quite boring stuff. But we've been running various support groups for years and years for specific groups within what we now call the LGBTI community.

NARRATOR

Sounds like your work is changing. What is all this stuff? Is it all Genderation's? *(picks up an old AIDS activism poster reading 'Silence = Death' and looks with confusion)*

IAIN

Yeah did anyone clean this space out before they offered it to us? There's a toaster back there with Ellen DeGeneres's face on it that looks older than I am[xlv].

Dean enters following Iain's description of Dean's role as a budgetary gatekeeper for Iain's group's work providing dramatic tension. However, headphones mean he has not heard this comment and this issue is not discussed by the characters reflecting the situation for participants. The snippet of music heard when Dean removes his headphones is "I'm right over here/ Why can't you see me" from Calum Scott's cover of Robyn's *Dancing on my Own* to situate the play in 2016/2017[xlvi]. This lyric is chosen to reflect the other characters on stage that do not interact with each other and act as if they cannot hear or see the other scenes. This highlights that there are other characters on stage that the audience can see at all times reminding them of the construction of the play, as in a Brechtian tradition. This also illustrates that these characters have different interpretations of these relationships which drives the action creating dramatic tension.

Iain, Dean and The Narrator's discussion of the gendered school uniform campaign and storage space also allows for the introduction of the groups LGBTI Unders and Mum and Dadvocates. LGBTI Unders is a reference to groups for LGBTI young people under the age of 18 and thus unable to access 'the scene', a commercial LGBT space comprising of bars and clubs. However, the accessibility of scene spaces to diverse groups of LGBT people has been subject to scrutiny with Bakshi and Browne (2013) and Formby (2017) finding them places of exclusion and marginalisation. LGBT groups for young people were mentioned by participants as a source of community outside of this 'scene' in all the research sites. The construction of community through LGBT groups for young people in the UK is explored by Devlin (2015). While Davis and Wakefield (2018) have explored intersex youth groups and the relationship between community building and intersex identity formation within a US context. The composite character Katrina from Mum and Dadvocates is introduced on the following page.

Dean's reflections on Lavender and funding highlights that these participants discussed the relative ease that larger, longer-standing groups and organisations had in applying for funding compared to smaller trans and intersex groups. Dean's response also highlights the relationship between diverse LGBTI, trans, and intersex groups. Dean's line 'what we now call the LGBTI community' reveals generational differences between these characters and the unspoken history of Dean's own activism from the 1980s and the 1990s. This is also highlighted with The Narrator looking at but not commenting on the 'Silence = Death' poster (Finkelstein et al., 1987) and Dean's wistful look at the assorted materials reflecting lesbian and gay activism and AIDS activism from earlier decades.

DEAN

Haha that toaster. Oh you make feel old. We left some old resources in case you wanted to repurpose anything. We should have had a clean out really. This was a bit of a dumping ground for the Lav *(DEAN looks around wistfully again).*

NARRATOR

Oh, I've heard of the Lav! Is that connected to Lavender some way?

DEAN

Ha! Yes, the Lav and Lavender are the same thing. It's from the early days. Some homophobes started to call us the Lav in a derogatory way. Some tabloid started it. Us using it was a way of reclaiming these terms people were trying to use to hurt us.

(A doorbell noise plays)

KATRINA *(offstage)*

Hellooo!

DEAN

Oh that'll be Katrina. She said she'd be coming by to the space. Here take the key (*offers the key to Iain*) Whoever's last lock up and leave it on my desk. I need to do some media stuff for the law. Don't suppose you want to be on the telly about the new bill at 9pm?

IAIN

(IAIN stands to take the keys and remains standing to find the cut-out people shapes in the surrounding mess) Thanks Dean. And no thanks to the TV work. We're having a Genderation meeting tonight and who knows when we'll be done.

(DEAN walks over to the desk not in the spotlight and takes a seat)
(NARRATOR stands to help IAIN. Once NARRATOR and IAIN have picked up paper and people shapes they both sit on the sofa to cut them out leaving the single chair free for KATRINA. They cut shapes out throughout the rest of this scene)

The toaster in this scene illustrates the ways in which popular culture and artefacts can be coded as queer but these can be dependent on a temporal and geographical context that may not be understood over twenty years later. Furthermore, the decorated toaster could have been used as a prop for a 'Come out with Ellen' party held by Lavender similar to parties that were held across the USA and elsewhere in the world (Herman, 2005, Walker, 2010).

The artefacts and props highlighted here show the contrast between the AIDS focused activism of the 1980s and the visibility focused activism of the 1990s. This visually showcases the different focuses of LGBTI activism during Dean's time at Lavender but also suggests a circularity because throughout the scenes there are references to both healthcare activism as well as coming out and visibility activism. For instance, there are references to trans activists focusing on transition healthcare access; intersex activists focusing on non-consensual infant surgeries; and references to visibility and coming out work across a range of new and old media throughout the play. Some of the interviews I conducted took place in groups' spaces that were decorated with posters from recent activist work, which is reflected in the props within Scene 1, whereas the props in this scene allow for Dean to reflect on the changes he has experienced within gay and lesbian and LGBTI activism over several decades. The suggestion that the organisation was nicknamed The Lav as a shorthand for lavatory[xlvii] and this nickname was deliberately adopted by Lavender to reclaim a word used against them as a slur is a reference to the disputed reclamation of the term queer to 'negate the term's power to wound' (Epstein, 1994 :195). These references help to create a context for the history of lesbian and gay and LGBTI activism that provides the backdrop for the fictional Lavender organisation.

The organisation Mum and Dadvocates is represented by the character Katrina because my participants discussed that parent spaces were dominated by mothers which reflects the research that has been conducted with parents of trans children and young people (Birnkrant and Przeworski, 2017, Hill and Menvielle, 2009; Meadow, 2018); the parents of intersex children and young people (Feder, 2006, Lundberg et al., 2016, 2018); as well as the related research with parents that advocate on behalf of their children's healthcare needs typically with the mothers of disabled children (Ryan and Cole, 2009, Todd and Jones, 2003, Traustadottir, 1991). Thus, while Mum and Dadvocates is a play on Mums and Dads and advocates, all 'Mum and Dadvocate' participants were mums, which reflects the wider trend in this form of activism.

NARRATOR

Do you often get asked to go on the TV?

IAIN

Yeah Dean will ask me to go on the TV a bit. About trans youth stuff usually but sometimes general trans stuff. I don't always want to but my face is already out there and it's better than some cis person doing it.

(Katrina walks into the spotlight)

IAIN

Not that cis people can't. I don't think that only a person of a group can speak on behalf of a group. I think I've met enough people who are cis who do some great work and are activists on behalf of our community. As long as cis people send the right message I am fine with it. I prefer it to having a trans man saying on television saying that you are only trans if you take hormones you know.

KATRINA

Hi Iain. Hi Iain's friend.

IAIN

Hi Katrina. This is Narrator who is looking to get involved in more trans and intersex activism. Katrina runs Mum and Dadvocates – a group for parents of trans and intersex kids and young people.

NARRATOR

Hiya.

(KATRINA sits in the empty chair)

Visibility and media work, including participating in television, radio and newspaper interviews was raised by a number of participants. However, some participants had difficulty finding people that were comfortable appearing in these public spaces as 'out' trans or intersex people. This meant at times they would find themselves in Dean's situation in Scene 5 when he will go on TV to discuss changes to a law that he will not be affected by. By contrast, Iain highlights the participants that felt a sense of responsibility to undertake visibility work of this kind because they had agreed before and were already seen to be 'out' in the media. Iain also highlights a situation where he would prefer to engage in this work himself than risk someone else speak on behalf of a community that they were not a member of. Iain initially dismisses cis people engaging in visibility and awareness raising work but then reflects that there are cis activists within his activist community whose work he appreciates. Cis is used here as a shortened version of cisgender, which some such as Edelman (2009) have used to mean non-transgender. However, Ansara and Hegarty caution against the construction of a cisgender/ transgender binary that can unintentionally exclude intersex people, amongst others, that may experience cisgenderism, which they consider to be the 'the ideology that delegitimises people's own designations of their genders and bodies' (Ansara and Hegarty, 2014: 260).

Iain suggests that he would prefer a cis person with the "right message" than a medicalised view of being trans from another trans man. Iain highlights that trans people are not a homogenous group and not all trans people would agree with him or the ideas he might express in the media. Iain would prefer a particular message, which he considers to be the "right" one, was portrayed in the media by a cis person than a person with a shared identification or trans history to his own shared a different message about who counts as trans. This links back to the ideas of being 'trans enough' (Catalano, 2015). Iain's consideration that it is not only identification with a community that relates to representation of that community adds to the nuances of this specific activism. These ideas are further complicated by the use of "trans person" and "cis person", and by other characters "intersex person", as categories. Those included or excluded from such categories is complex and subject to 'border politics' of those included in categories such as trans, intersex, trans woman, trans man, non-binary and genderqueer (Bornstein, 1994, Bhanji, 2013, Halberstam, 1998b, Preves, 2003). Katrina enters the scene between Iain's line "better than some cis person doing it" and "not that cis people can't" creating dramatic tension and further highlighting some of the conflicts between these characters and the groups and individuals that they represent.

KATRINA

We're called Mum and Dadvocates but of the parent advocates, 99% are mums. Even in the support group, separate from any advocacy work we do, it's probably 80% mums. Ah *(pointing at the people shapes)* great minds. I'm here to cut out some of those figures out too. Get them ready for tonight.

IAIN

Oh have you been on social media all afternoon to get a group together too?

KATRINA

No it just happens that our monthly meeting is tonight but rather than the usual support group I thought we'd discuss ways to get under eighteens included in the legislation. I thought these would be good for people to write something from their kid's wish list on. Dear Santa, we want puberty with peers, stealth at school, lego. To show our kids want the same things any other kids want. We want the same thing any parent wants. We just want our kids to be kids, so we fight this, we do this, so our kids can be kids and not have to worry. I'm just being a Mum really. We're all just mums, but hell hath no fury like a pissed off mother.

NARRATOR

So you run a support group?

Katrina is the only character that enters the stage with all other characters already present. This represents the participants who were parents of trans or intersex children, and were not trans or intersex themselves, feeling unwelcome in certain trans and intersex activist spaces in which they felt there was a hierarchy of membership. Bornstein (1994) and Hines (2007) discuss trans hierarchies experienced through accessing transition-related healthcare which Catalano (2015) further explores as being 'trans enough'. These experiences of hierarchies, acceptance and legitimacy are not the same as the hierarchies discussed by my parent participants but provide a context for others within trans and intersex activist spaces that may experience provisional inclusion. These parent participants expressed needing to learn the rules of engagement and the language for interacting with spaces dominated by trans and intersex activists.

Katrina suggests the children of parents in the support group have "wish lists" including being stealth at school. This refers to some participants' children that were specifically outed as trans at school. In some situations, this was teachers informing parents, and other children, or other parents sharing this information without the child's consent. In other cases, this was due to a refusal to allow those children access to the appropriate gendered facilities relating to their gender expression. The concept of stealth is typically discussed in relation to trans individuals passing as not trans or concealing a trans history (Girshick, 2008, Namaste, 2000). For Edelman (2009) stealth is not a static category and can be experienced differently depending on contexts including the safety of an environment and the understanding of a trans history that a person may disclose. This is particularly relevant for considering the implications of disclosure for children that may not encounter familiarities with trans or intersex embodiment from their peers.

Katrina's discussion of the parent group's desire for their children to "just be kids" and her own experience of "just being a Mum" represents that these participants' activism was closely associated with their role as mothers. This also links to support and advocacy groups being "99%" and "80% Mums". This speaks back to the findings of Broad et al's (2008) 'activist parents' of LGBT children and Meadow's (2018) research with parents of trans children in the USA. My parent participants described their work as filling the "Mum" role. There is a gendered dimension to this consideration but it may also reflect that their connections to trans and intersex communities came from parenting a trans or intersex child. The parent participant I interviewed that also happened to be intersex did refer to themselves as an intersex activist which suggests another dimension to the activist identity category and its adoption by some parents but not others[xlviii].

KATRINA

We do direct support and indirect support. Our aim is that we support parents, families and young people. We do that directly providing support. We refer people into our parents' group so it's a space that only has parents. We get referrals from professionals, and other groups. We directly support parents; we get information; we run monthly catch ups; and we're looking at doing workshops. As soon as our funding turns up (*looks at Dean*) we will be able to run more workshops. Then the indirect support is training, awareness, talks, resources and advocacy. We battle for everybody's kids, not just our kids, because we know that we can battle. We usually try to keep the support groups we run, online and offline ones, separate from the more advocacy activist group, where we discuss these legislation changes. Some of our parents are scared and our families need those support groups right now more than they need this law that may not even pass.

NARRATOR

So what is this legislation?

IAIN

Oh right so I can't change my birth certificate. I'm still female legally. But this law gives us a recognition certificate. It is something that when it's tabled, and the process is there, I can get a certificate that I can be recognised as male. I'm very masculine presenting, people identify me as male, but my birth certificate says female. Some of my documentation says male: my passport (*opens wallet showing*) ID card, student card.

KATRINA

It's a long process with the law. It takes an enormous amount of time for small changes.

IAIN

So me, Dean and Katrina are all in the LGBTI parliamentary group where everyone is touched by the LGBTI laws. With some others like BoisIIMen. I don't really have much of a relationship with Stephen. He hasn't wanted to engage much. In this group together we discuss policies, the right way forward and what is important to include in law.

Katrina's discussion of support represents the parent participants that focused on relationships between support groups and activism. This is reflected in support group literature such as Ryan and Cole (2009) who find links between support group involvement and activist involvement and describe a continuum of advocacy and activism. Chesney and Chesler (1993) also find support groups can be a catalyst for activism, and similarly Davidson (2009) specifically discusses intersex advocacy groups that began as support groups. Nownes' (2019) work on trans activism in the USA finds trans support group involvement led to trans activism and many support groups were also political groups for change. Chase's (1998) reflection on the emergence of intersex activism in North America finds a similar trajectory of intersex support group involvement leading to activism.

Katrina is clear that support groups are separate from activist groups. This reflects the participants who were concerned about losing members in need of support. Although membership may crossover, this separation allows for the supportive work amongst peers to continue without the potential interruptions and disagreements that may arise in an activist group. Katrina reflects that "our families need those support groups right now more than they need this law" which suggests that the importance of peer support and opportunities to discuss individual issues with other families in similar situations was a significant factor in providing those groups rather than the advocating for change work. This is reflected in the support group literature (see Cola and Crocetti (2011) on intersex support groups; Garrett and Kirkman (2009) on Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome support groups; and Hines (2007) on practices of care within trans support groups).

This is Scene 4's first mention of the ASIS Bill. Iain highlights how the law's recognition could sit alongside other institutions' recognition of his gender including the Passport Office, the Identity Card Unit[xlix] and his University or College. Iain states that he sits on the LGBTI parliamentary group mentioned in previous scenes alongside Dean and Katrina. However, Iain reveals that he does not have "much of a relationship" with Stephen of BoisIIMen. This reflects the younger participants that discussed difficult or absent relationships with trans activist groups with much older members or organisers. Iain summaries that the parliamentary group is for those "touched by the LGBTI laws". This "touched" reveals that the legislative changes this group discusses can have real world consequences for its members. "Touched" also has emotional and embodied connotations linked to the senses relating to the ways this law reform can have consequences for group members' bodies and the way they move through society.

KATRINA

Despite all that work so our kids won't be left out, this bill has it that you can't legally change your gender until you're 18. So that kid just is left to wait till they are 18. There's already so much waiting. That is really horrible. I don't want that. I want my kid to get hormones. I want my kid to be able to have puberty with their friends. I don't want my kid sitting on their hands for six years on blockers until they are 17 or 16 because a court says that's when you can go through puberty. You can submit a parental request for your child's birth certificate to state intersex but that isn't what we asked for.

IAIN

We're gutted we've spent so much time meeting politicians from all parties, explaining our issues and it's one more thing where we're told to wait until we're older. We know ourselves. We'll be asking any under 18s to just write their name on these. We can send them to politicians. Show there's too many of us to ignore. We want politicians to know they can't leave us out. The needs of under 18s are completely missing from this legislation. Like our members that are college students they can start college under 18, but they can't change their documents. If you're under 18 and this affects you fill one out. (*passes shapes to Narrator*)

NARRATOR

Thanks. (*passes them out to audience*)

KATRINA

You can do a law reform wish list for Santa too. They aren't just for kids *(passes shapes)*

NARRATOR

Thanks. (*passes them out to audience*). What's on your wish list?

KATRINA

My law reform wish list for Santa. Dear Santa, I would like to see the removal of any

The lack of possibilities for legal recognition of under 18s in this draft bill is a significant concern for Katrina and Iain. The lack of provision for gender recognition, and where desired recognition of intersex status, is an issue for the parents in Katrina's group and those under 18 in Iain's group. The requirement for birth registration, and for this information to include sex, must occur within the first 6 months after birth in all of the fieldwork sites except Malta which allows the registration to be postponed but must occur before the person is 18 years old. However, the ability to change this information for those considered minors[i] requires parental statements or parental applications in the states and territories where this is possible[ii]. This means access to legal recognition for those under 18 is only available with supportive parents.

Iain expresses frustration that the lack of legal recognition of under 18s is an example in which young people are denied rights or access to, in this instance document changes, that they would not be denied if they were considered to be adults. Iain asserts "we know ourselves" because their lack of inclusion within this legislation implies that those under the age of 18 do not know their gender or would be unable to consent to changes to gender markers on identity documents. This links back to assumptions about authenticity in Scene 1 but in this scene assumed inauthenticity is linked to age. Visibility and recognition are central to Iain's response to the absence of under 18s in the legislation. Iain expresses concern about the relationship between legal gender recognition and accessing higher and further education. For those under 18 applications to universities and colleges could be submitted with documents with incorrect gender markers leaving those young people forced to choose between waiting to access education, applying in an incorrect gender, or 'outing' themselves to institutions.

Iain and Katrina reveal the importance of the experience of "waiting" for trans young people which links back to the experience of trans temporality in Scene 1. In Scene 1 this temporality is linked to the anticipation of waiting, whereas the experiences of trans young people and the views of their parents presents this waiting as an absence: "sitting on their hands". These "years [spent] on blockers" provides a very different example of trans adolescence extensions than the extension of queer adolescence discussed by Halberstam (2005). This waiting within these trans experiences reflected on by my participants in relation to themselves or their children highlight that this is tied to external judgements about when a person knows themselves and their gender. This is shown with "because a court says" which is contrasted with "we know ourselves".

and all court input on trans treatment and the ability for a trans child to experience puberty without having the need for blockers first. Puberty with peers is vital. It's not just removing court process and going through a blocker period to make sure our kids are sure. Like Iain said our kids know themselves. But that's my wish list. Intersex parents in the group have different wish lists. They want more protections for children. They don't want surgical and drug related treatments to be administered without any oversight. It's different for them. It's this need for this correction that doctors are enforcing through terminology which makes some parents believe it is necessary. Ones who refuse, doctors make them out to be a bad mom. It's really the adults that create the problem, not the children, in every aspect of this. So there's a conflict there at a legislative level and political level. The law is a really blunt instrument and it's really hard to build in finesse and, and these sorts of considerations.

NARRATOR

Accessing healthcare through the court? Is that necessary?

IAIN

If you want hormones under 18 you need approval of the Family Court, even if both your parents are willing to sign off on it.

KATRINA

So with hormones there is seen to be no therapeutic benefit. It's seen to be a choice. And it's seen as irreversible and causes infertility. That's all crap. It's therapeutic. If you support and affirm these kids gender, you can save their life. And it's reversible and they'll still be fertile[lii]. But legislative reform is going absolutely nowhere. ASIS is not going to happen in the near future. So Mum and Dadvocates are working with a law firm that is like, (*impersonates lawyer*) "we can change this. We are going to do a test case, and get this changed." This law firm they will refer to people and talk in ways that I wouldn't. These guys use very brutal language, very legal language. I know that other activists, like RHE, would find that very challenging, very difficult to accept, because for them it's very important that people use the correct language and use the right terms. So we keep quiet and we let the lawyers do what they do. It is compromising, but I need my kid not to have to go to court. So if I have to play nice with lawyers, I don't care.

Katrina's wishes for law reform to remove court oversight into trans young people's access to transition healthcare relates to the process in Australia (see Introduction)[liii]. However, as Katrina discusses, court oversight could aid parents of intersex children that felt pressured by medical professionals. This speaks to the research of Feder (2002, 2006) and Roen and Hegarty (2018) on parental pressure from surgeons.

The "puberty with peers" connects gender recognition legislation to healthcare access. Parent participants of trans children worried their children would be negatively affected by accessing puberty later than their peers. These concerns speak to trans temporality. Ansara (2015) considers trans adults' experiences of 'second puberty', but these parent participants did not want their children enduring puberty twice. Trans temporality literature considers trans adults in relation to waiting, anticipation and continual 'nowness' (Malatino, 2019, Pearce, 2018b). This waiting and the possibilities of puberty, or its delay, relating to trans children offer different examples of trans temporality.

Childhood temporality relates to different concerns for intersex children. Adult intersex participants reflected on infant surgery with comments such as "have some time" and "hang on a minute, there's no hurry". These quotations reveal a desire *for* waiting and more time with decisions on surgical interventions. Postponing decisions are also reflected in this quotation from the parent of an intersex baby: "when he's older if he decides then he has our full blessing". Ideas of giving time underpins these examples of intersex childhood temporality. These quotations speak to literature on intersex temporality. Meoded-Danon (2018) considers intersex experiences of time non-linear and multidirectional because of the urgency associated with intersex births and memories of early surgeries. For Morland (2001a, 2005) intersex surgeries construct 'nostalgic genitals' highlighting the chrononormative disruptions of intersex surgeries that can shape life courses. Garland and Travis (2020), drawing on *GIGESC*, suggest 'deferability' as a strategy to counter medicine's use of temporality to promote surgery.

Katrina discusses working with lawyers to challenge court requirements. These lawyers use "brutal language" and "legal language". Katrina considers RHE from Scene 1 would be opposed to those that do not use "correct language" or "the right terms". This quotation reveals that the language considered "correct" by a group does not necessarily correspond to the language of current law or the language used in the offices of lawyers when discussing trans people. This reveals other relationships fostered by some activists and the language sacrifices made to do so (see also, Scene 5).

NARRATOR

Do you guys work with other trans and intersex activist groups?

IAIN

So RHE is more a broader organisation that deals with all trans people, but their trans spaces are often dominated by trans women and often the older community. Whereas we are by trans youth for trans youth - those who are 25 and under. Having an organisation that speaks to the need of trans youth, I think is very important because even intergenerationally, the ways in which trans people use terms and language to describe themselves and the people in their community has changed, and as has the needs of the community. Sometimes it's nice to just have a bit more community. We don't really work with intersex groups. Even within Genderation when we've had intersex members it's hard finding intersex young people who want to be involved in activism that are comfortable being out as intersex even just within the Genderation group. I do a lot more with Lavender like trans activism in LGBT spaces but I need to explain the terms a little. If I use words like cis, I might explain them in an LGBT space.

KATRINA

Some of the intersex community do not want to be part of the acronym. Those groups they like to be separate to us, to parent groups. We do get some support from the trans community as long as we are careful to stay within our scope. We have to talk about the kids and the kids only. Don't speak for your kids, just speak about their experience. We kind of got the message, we didn't have the language. We didn't know what terms. We picked up fairly quickly that we couldn't just say transgender. We picked up that there is friction with the non-binary people versus the trans people. We learned to be inclusive in our language. But we've had trans people who want in on the group and we've had to say we respect your experience, we respect your desire to want to help and give advice, but parents are not always in a space where they can be respectful of you. We have more links and allegiances with other trans youth groups, and Lavender, the established mainstream (*looks to make sure Dean isn't nearby*) LGB little bit T organisation.

NARRATOR

Oh I have to run to meet another group. Thanks for having me here.

Iain reflects on the changing language within different trans groups as well as the intergenerational differences between the language and needs of trans youth compared to the language and needs of an older demographic of trans people. These linguistic differences explain his lack of relationship with some of the other trans groups. This reflects the relationships my participants discussed. Those that were involved with or ran trans or intersex youth groups discussed a mutual reluctance when it came to working with trans and intersex groups that were not aimed solely at young people. This is also noticeable with the other characters failing to mention Iain or Genderation. However, some of those youth groups did have relationships with parent and family groups especially for events designed to bring young people together despite a broad age range at such events. Some of these relationships were also shaped by other youth groups co-existing in similar spaces, such as LGBT or LGBTI youth groups that often had a significant cohort of trans young people in their membership. However, it was discussed the numbers of intersex young people in LGBTI youth groups was very low. This crossover for trans youth led to working relationships with LGBT groups. This was often further shaped by organisations such as Lavender that facilitated LGBTI and trans youth groups with possibilities for funding and collaboration.

Iain reflects that his trans activism within LGBT spaces sometimes required more linguistic explanatory work than the linguistic work required in trans spaces. This linguistic work is also seen in Katrina's acknowledgment that she "didn't have the language" and had to learn the most inclusive terms. This was further shaped by "friction" between some terminologies and some groups. This friction is a feature of many of the relationships illustrated in these scenes and discussed by my participants. Some of this linguistic friction is a consequence of contested identity terms as explored in earlier and later scenes. However, some of this friction also comes from 'speaking for' or being seen to 'speak for' others. The complexities of representation and giving voice to identities an individual may not share is further explored with Dean in Scene 5.

Katrina's comments on an earlier page that her parents' group is solely for parents. On this page Katrina explains that access is restricted if trans people attempt to join because the parents in the group may not use inclusive or respectful language toward or about trans individuals. The use of trans exclusive and intersex exclusive spaces is reflected across other scenes and this parent exclusive space is comparable to those decisions on exclusivity. This issue of trans and intersex exclusive spaces and how this exclusivity is managed is explored by Preves (2003) and shuster (2019). Whereas other groups, such

as Georgiann from Orchids, XOXO, work with parents as explored in Scene 5. Scene 6 offers reflections on the use of trans exclusive and intersex exclusive spaces for non-binary individuals that may not associate with the terms trans and intersex or feel welcome in those groups. These issues are also reflected in Vincent's (2020) exploration of 'trans enough' experiences.

These 'trans enough' explorations are also seen in the accepted nomenclature and narratives in this scene constructing a form of transnormativity. For example, Iain expresses concern that a trans man, someone with a shared identification to his own, could go on television and say "you are only trans if you take hormones". Iain's preference is for a different, less medicalised, view of trans to be presented and he is less concerned about the identity of the speaker of such a narrative. This relates to other participants who discussed experiences of trans and intersex inauthenticity in group relations that were often associated with their lack of access to transition-related healthcare or early surgical interventions on intersex bodies respectively. This speaks to Johnson's analysis of documentaries on trans men which discusses transnormativity that produces a 'trans enough hierarchy' linked to medical interventions that extends to interactions with others and institutions (Johnson, 2016: 468). This also speaks to Nicolazzo's research with trans students in an American college discusses the ways trans*normativity affected the lives of the black non-binary participants experiences of not feeling accepted as 'enough' across their identities (Nicolazzo, 2016:1183). These issues in relation to non-binary, trans and intersex experiences are further explored in Scene 6.

Scene 4 introduces trans youth groups and groups for parents of trans and intersex children and young people. Scene 4 also introduces Lavender, the broader LGBTI organisation, referenced in previous scenes. This scene allows for an exploration of the relationship between LGBTI groups and these youth and parent groups including ways in which these relationships may be complicated by funding. This scene also addresses some of the power relationships that move through these experiences of sharing funding and working with long-standing well-established organisations. For instance, Iain's views on the "awkwardness" of Dean's role as a budgetary gatekeeper as an older cisgender man offering "final approval" over resources made by and for trans young people.

This scene also considers the role of support groups and support work to the activism within trans and intersex spaces and the related identity formation within support group activity. The role of visibility and awareness-raising also ties into to this activism work that is not necessarily tied to legal recognition work. The importance of peer support, and the importance of exclusive spaces, including the importance of parent exclusive spaces to the parents' group, ties into these considerations of support and activism. However, the boundary work of identity categories can problematise who 'counts' as a peer.

Scene 4 introduces different views on the draft ASIS Bill. This draft bill has left under 18s entirely absent from its consideration and as such direct consideration of the text of the bill is absent from the conversation between Iain and Katrina. Iain's focus is on visibility and recognition in an attempt to access this under 18 inclusion in the law. Whereas, Katrina does not believe that this law reform will bring about the changes she wants to see to the requirements for court oversight for under 18 access to transition-related healthcare. However, Katrina acknowledges that within a group that includes the parents of trans children and the parents of intersex children the opinions on court oversight in relation to healthcare access differs considerably. Finding this law unsatisfactory in relation to its consideration of children and healthcare are also central concerns of Jack from InterAction in Scene 2.

Katrina's thoughts that this legislative reform is unlikely "to happen in the near future" is not dissimilar to the concerns from RHE and BoisIIMen in Scenes 1 and 3 considering the barriers to passing the law. RHE and BoisIIMen focus on ways to aid the passing of the law including relationships with politicians. Whereas in this scene Katrina focuses on relationships with lawyers and law firms in order to attempt a test case to challenge the current legal practice she disagrees with. This highlights some of the other relationships activists within these settings were able to build. RHE can build on several years of working with politicians in relations to legislative reform whereas Katrina is building new relationships. In contrast, Iain is not necessarily building his own relationships but relies on the contacts of Lavender to help his activist work. This reflects the participants in trans youth groups that found these working relationships with LGBT and LGBTI groups and organisations. However, these participants did often also sit on the LGBTI parliamentary groups with the other trans and intersex specific groups represented within other scenes. While these groups may all work together in the context

of an LGBTI parliamentary group those working relationships did not necessarily continue outside of that framework.

This scene has revealed ways in which childhood experiences of trans temporality and intersex temporality complicate understandings of temporality in the trans and intersex temporalities literature that predominantly consider the temporality of adults. For example, there is a desire for linearity and chrononormativity within Katrina's "puberty with peers" on her wish list. This contrast with Sandy's "Trans Time" that speaks to the presentation of trans temporality as non-linear within Simpkin's (2017) and Carter's (2013) research. The role of hormones are central in these understandings of childhood trans temporality whereas the role of surgery, and a resistance to surgery, are central to understandings of childhood intersex temporality.

Morland frames intersex as subject to a 'disjointed temporality' (2009a: 191) considering the 'temporal reach of the surgeon's touch' (2009b: 300). These reflections reveal the role of surgery in the considerations of intersex temporality as it is experienced by intersex adults and children. Elsewhere, Morland presents intersex surgery as constructing a 'nostalgic genitalia' (2001a) that are the product of 'fantasies about how genitals ought to be' (2005a: 313). On the level of the individual this is experienced as a nostalgia for a pre-intersex period that never existed and a nostalgia for genitalia that are a simulacrum without origin. These considerations tie into Griffiths discussions of the 'perfect penis' in surgical alterations to hypospadias, known medically as 'hypospadias repair', claiming that 'the imagined future penis—normalised to be perfect—is more important, more real, more finished, than the actual genitals of the infant being considered for surgery' (Griffiths, 2020: 158). Together these considerations on the imagined pasts and imagined futures for intersex bodies subject to surgery highlight the temporality constructed throughout these experiences. Much of the literature on intersex temporality has focuses these considerations on intersex adults' memories of early surgical intervention as highlighted by Meoded-Danon (2018). However, this scene and its additional analysis has addressed the desire for more time before considering surgery for intersex children. The possibilities of 'deferability', suggested by Garland and Travis (2020), for surgical intervention on the bodies of intersex children introduce a different kind of waiting and temporality to these considerations of intersex temporality. These different considerations of childhood intersex temporality in this scene offer different possible futures for intersex adults than

those currently considered within intersex temporalities literature, such as Morland (2001a, 2005, 2009a, 2009b), Meoded-Danon (2018) and Griffiths (2020).

This scene predominantly addresses the relationships of, and between, trans youth groups and groups for the parents of trans and intersex young people. Within these groups and across this activism there is a constructed shadow of the trans and intersex child. To some extent this shadow also filters through to the work of trans, intersex and LGBTI groups that are not exclusively for young people or parents. This is also seen in recent media coverage constructing the trans child (Lester, 2017, Pang et al, 2020). While this research did not speak to under 18s themselves the power relationships negotiated by them and about them are a significant feature of this activism and the considerations within this thesis. For an ethnodrama considering the experiences of a young trans child and his experiences within school settings see Sweet and Carlson (2018). Whereas, the previously mentioned research of Meadow (2018) considers the activism of parents alongside transition-related healthcare options and the ways these form understandings of the trans child.

Scene 5

GEORGIANN, who runs the Orchids, XOXO group, is in her home where her activism takes place. She sits at an armchair with documents on a coffee table, Narrator will take the other chair. DEAN sits with a cardboard box over his head stating 'TV'. (doorbell)

NARRATOR

Hi, Are you Georgiann of Orchids, XOXO? I'm Narrator. I sent you a message.

GEORGIANN

Take a seat. I've put some group literature on the table. You've picked a good time to get involved. We're responding to a draft bill the government released that. Well I don't know. I'm not sure one half of the bill knows what the other is doing. Want a cuppa?

NARRATOR

Yes please. Yeah I've been hearing about this bill. Is it not what you were hoping for?

GEORGIANN

I don't know if the bill is exactly what anyone had in mind but with all those different groups, all those different ideas. It's different terminology for different groups. What works for one doesn't work for another. They can't please us all. Milk? Sugar?

NARRATOR

Yes please *(picks up the documents on the coffee table with DSD, Intersex and VSC on).* So these documents use terms like DSD, VSC, what do they mean? Is that the same as intersex? And then these ones say CAH, AIS, are they shorthand for intersex too?

GEORGIANN

(brings over two cups of tea) We produce our documents with as many different terms as possible. So language is highly, highly difficult within the intersex community. So take intersex. I like intersex, for me personally, intersex gives me an identity, it gives me a label. But a lot of people don't like to be called intersex. Some people like to be called

Georgiann runs the group Orchids, XOXO. Orchids, XOXO take their name from the orchid plant which is associated with Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome [AIS] and often features on AIS groups' logos. Preves (2003) suggests this association is because the Latin root of the term, orche, means testis, and with many individuals with AIS defining as women Preves sees this as a celebration of their intersex bodies. Furthermore, orchidectomy and orchiectomy are the terms for removing internal testes, which many individuals with AIS may choose to undergo or be subjected to without consent (Callahan, 2009). The XOXO in the group name is a reference to XO chromosomes associated with Turner syndrome and mixed gonadal dysgenesis (Harper, 2007). Several groups for specific conditions include references to chromosomes in their names[liv]. This fictional group name retains similarities to real group names with these references to orchids and chromosomes while preserving anonymity for participants. Georgiann works in her home unlike the characters in previous scenes. This highlights the differences between Georgiann's group and those that have access to their own or shared spaces.

Georgiann informs Narrator that her group's literature uses "as many different terms as possible" because "language is highly, highly difficult within the intersex community". Several study participants discussed different individuals and groups using different terms and that the terms are contested by others. This language use is "difficult" because these different terms are preferred by some individuals and vehemently disliked by others. For Georgiann the term "intersex gives [her] an identity, it gives [her] a label" and this highlights that the language of intersex was important to several participants' personal identification. This importance of identifying as intersex for some individuals has been explored by scholar activists Holmes (2002, 2008, 2009) and Morland (2005, 2014) with consideration of their own identification. However, Georgiann is aware that "a lot of people don't like to be called intersex". Feder and Karkazis (2008) explore those who resist the term intersex because of its associations with identities and activist connotations (See also Cools et al., 2016, Feder, 2009b, Reis, 2007, Topp, 2013).

In order to make their communications relevant to many different individuals participants discussed producing literature utilising several different terms including the umbrella terms of intersex, DSD and VSC as well as terms for specific conditions (see Introduction for more on these terms). These participant considerations of the competing language usage within intersex groups and by individuals is also found in Davis' research with US support groups and activists (Davis, 2011, 2014, 2015, see also Davidson, 2009, Feder, 2009a, Johnson et al., 2017).

by their own condition. So the documents here with AIS[lv], CAH[lvi] Turner on. Those are all conditions. Some people they don't mind variations, that's Variations of Sex Characteristics, VSC. Certainly we prefer that to DSD: Disorders of Sexual Development. DSD is certainly something I've never ever ever known anyone like because we're not disordered; that is so stigmatising so that is very very damaging.

NARRATOR

So if you don't like DSD and that disordered language why is it on this leaflet?

GEORGIANN

Doctors don't like the word intersex. Doctors hate it, hate it, hate it, hate it, they're very DSD, it's very medicalised. But we have to work with a medical establishment. We have to because you know they're absolutely key and core in this. What I try to do in terms of linking the medical system in, is say Differences of Sex Development, but be very clear about not wanting the disorders.

NARRATOR

So for you that first D is for differences?

GEORGIANN

Yes but not just for me. So even some of the medical profession now are using differences of sex development as they have tried to scramble and change the first D because it offended so many people with the word disorder, which personally I found great offence.

NARRATOR

And the word intersex you say some people don't like?

Georgiann explains that some individuals prefer the language of their specific conditions. These terms are framed in medicalised language but they do not have the pathologising connotations of DSD language and disorder. For some individuals this may be the only terms they interact with and neither intersex nor DSD will be familiar to them. This is reflected in literature relating to parents of children with CAH and communication with medical professionals (Boyse et al, 2014, Lundberg et al, 2016).

Georgiann critiques the use of DSD language and informs Narrator she has "never ever ever known anyone like [DSD] because [intersex people are] not disordered, that is so stigmatising". The problems with the pathologising language of disorder in DSD language were highlighted by several participants. Georgiann's repetition of "never ever ever" further emphasises her own and others' dislike of this term. For Georgiann the use of disorder is "stigmatising" reflecting broader issues with medical experiences leading to stigma, secrecy and shame explored by Preves' (1999, 2003) research with intersex adults in North America. Chase's reflections on North American intersex advocacy aims suggests that 'intersexuality is primarily a problem of stigma and trauma' (Chase, 2003: 240). Georgiann highlights the stigmatising consequences of associations with the term disorder in DSD language. The perception of disorder as stigmatising within the DSD nomenclature is found in Delimata et al's (2018) analysis of online discussions between medical practitioners, patient advocates and academics on the use of DSD (See also Bauer et al., 2020, Davidson, 2009, Davis, 2015, Holmes, 2011, Topp, 2013).

Georgiann explains how she negotiates her refusal to use disordered language with forming relationships with medical professionals that "don't like the word intersex" and are "very DSD" with their language use. The repetition of "hate it" to emphasise medical professionals' dislike of intersex language echoes Georgiann's earlier repetitions to emphasise dislike of DSD language. For Georgiann her group "has to work with a medical establishment" and several participants discussed finding ways to communicate with medical professionals. One solution to this language problem is the strategic use of DSD but in Georgiann's use it stands for "Differences of Sex Development". Davis claims 'strategically employing DSD nomenclature results in higher-quality medical care' and advocates for variations of DSD (Davis, 2015: 147). As Georgiann highlights this "change [to] the first D" is also adopted by some medical professionals in acknowledgement of the "offence" associated with this language (see Introduction). Different meanings of the "first D" in DSD is an example of how the same terms can be used or understood differently. This exemplifies the iterability of DSD across contexts.

GEORGIANN

The intersex community, it's very divided, there are different groups of intersex people; some don't like the term intersex, especially parents in Mums and Dadvocates and the condition specific groups run by parents, and some groups of intersex people don't really get along too well, mainly because each variation is so different. There are different needs. It's a very small minority that actually talk about intersex to be honest, a very small minority. My main concern is people on the ground, I support a lot of adults and they've had a really difficult time, with families and children it's really hard, and actually they look at this I activism, this ending IGM stuff, and it doesn't have any relevance to them. It's a million miles from their family experience. They find that very alienating and difficult.

NARRATOR

So how come intersex is the term those of us like me who don't know much hear about?

GEORGIANN

Intersex is this wide political term, but I think now we're moving towards intersex/ variations of sex characteristics. It's more inclusive. Then like we've done here *(points at leaflet saying intersex with other terms)* underneath we list the range of conditions. Then people that aren't familiar with the wider, political terms, will understand where they fit. They can see that this is terminology that is being used that actually includes you. There's no point using terms only a very small group are familiar with. Or like here we *(points at leaflet saying AIS with more info below)* say the condition and then say this is part of a family of what can be known as intersex or differences of sex characteristics or variations, so people feel included. I just don't think there's one term. There are all these new words and terminologies all coming up each day. We have almost a huge range of terminology now to include a really wide range of voices. We are not one voice for a particular variation, or one voice for intersex, we are many voices.

NARRATOR

So how do you feel about intersex this political term is the term in the law?

Some individuals experience stigma associated with the term intersex highlighting the ways in which this language is complex (see Introduction). In this scene Georgiann further explores the dislike of the term intersex and introduces complexities with different variations and the role of parents. As an adult Georgiann claims an intersex identity for herself whereas for some young people the language they interact with will come via parents who will have their own relationships with this language. Stigmatising language in these contexts can come from labels from others such as parents or medical professionals rather than identities claimed for oneself.

Further reflecting on language use Georgiann tells Narrator that the "intersex community, it's very divided" with these divisions illustrated with language use. Georgiann is concerned that the language of "I activism, this ending IGM stuff" has no "relevance" to many of those she supports. IGM stands for Intersex Genital Mutilation, which for Bauer et al is (2020) is shorthand human rights violations. This IGM activism frames medical interventions as violence and torture (Chase, 2006b, Crocetti et al., 2020). For the adults with intersex variations and the parents of children with these variations that Georgiann works with this language is "alienating" and a "million miles from their family experience" making their engagement with this activism limited.

Georgiann uses intersex as a "wide political" term in conjunction with terms for conditions that some people will be more familiar with. The use of umbrella terms such as intersex, VSC or DSD alongside conditions was a strategy discussed by several participants. Participants were worried only using intersex would exclude those less familiar with this term or that did not associate themselves with the term. For Georgiann using multiple terms allows people "to understand where they fit" and "feel included" even if intersex is not a term they use. The need for these strategies highlights that the language of intersex can include a broad range of diverse experiences. This reflects Hegarty and Lundberg's (2020) exploration of the use of umbrella terms intersex and DSD. However, this diversity under these umbrella terms leads to contestation of inclusion. Georgiann discuses that there is not only "one term" hinting at the potential problems with the contestation of who counts in language. Several participants discussed the complications of inclusion. Some participants focused examples of the difficulties of inclusion with discussions of those that they did not consider to be intersex (See also Dreger and Herndon, 2009, Preves, 2003). Georgiann adds that there are "new words". New terminologies may not have the complicated history of intersex and DSD but may still be subject to contestations in relation to inclusion and exclusion.

GEORGIANN

I don't know, just because I think the word intersex frightens a lot of people. So I think the word intersex into legal documentation, I don't know. We always said we would like to see it in there, but we don't want to alienate people. We have to be very careful really, who we're talking to and what language we can use. Keep doors open. Oh there's meant to be a section on the ASIS Bill on the telly tonight so we'll see how that goes. I'll just turn it on at the set. *(She flips up the cardboard panel over Dean's face that reads TV)* Oh Dean. *(she sighs)* I'm sure his face is here every time I turn this channel on.

NARRATOR

It's Dean! I met him earlier.

(DEAN presses play on the recording) INTERVIEWER

You're watching Happy TV the LGBTI channel and we have Dean from Lavender in the studio with us to talk about the bill the government announced today for trans rights.

GEORGIANN

It's trans AND intersex and you've asked the LGB *(pause)* T *(pause)* I organisation representative that is neither trans nor intersex and fairly recently added T and I. Much like yourselves Happy TV.

DEAN

Yes that's right. Well trans and intersex. Lavender has been fighting for recognition for trans and intersex people for years. We're really crucial and central to a lot of LGBTI legislative change. We've been cooking up laws for a long time. We're really pleased that the government is finally paying attention to us and this country can catch up to the great legislation that has already passed elsewhere.

GEORGIANN

Cooking up isn't the term I'd use. Years is it? Feels like last week Lavender was a gay

The term ‘intersex’ is the term in the ASIS Bill and many of the laws that it is based on. However, Georgian explains the mixed feelings she has about bringing “the word intersex into legal documentation”. The difficulties of inserting the word intersex that is an umbrella term subject to different uses and interpretations was discussed by several participants. Some participants were also concerned that intersex is a loaded term that can as Georgiann states “frighten” some people. A number of participants praised the Maltese *GIGESC* legislation for avoiding this term and focusing on the language of sex characteristics without the use of terms such as intersex, DSD or VSC. Georgiann discusses the risks of “alienat[ing] people” with certain terminology and offers that she is careful with the “language [she] can use”. The “can” in this quotation suggests the possibilities of language and only some terms are able to be used or understood in certain contexts or by specific individuals. For instance, intersex language may not lead to productive communication with medical professionals.

Georgiann expresses frustration that the LGBTI TV channel interview a representative from Lavender, the broad LGBTI organisation, rather than a specific trans or intersex group to discuss the ASIS Bill. Georgiann is annoyed that the representative chosen is “neither trans nor intersex”. Several participants were dismayed at media coverage on trans and intersex issues that focused on LGB activists unaffected by the issue. Several participants highlighted this was noticeable following success but these LGB activists were less visible for other activities. Dean does not hear Georgiann but he defends his prominence in the media in anticipation of criticism. Dean informs the interviewer Lavender has been “crucial and central to a lot of LGBTI legislative change” which includes “fighting for recognition for trans and intersex people for years”. Dean compares Lavender’s focus on trans and intersex legislative change to the government’s inactivity. Dean does not compare Lavender to trans or intersex groups that are working in this area. This absence was noticeable in some participants’ discussions.

Dean has not considered and appears unaware of the criticism of the Bill from trans and intersex groups. Georgiann’s wariness about the word intersex and Jack’s disappointment in Scene 2 are considerations absent from Dean’s celebration. Dean is presenting the Bill to the media to encourage supporters to convince parliamentarians to pass it and this context would explain the lack of critique of the Bill’s contents. However, the participants that Dean’s text is drawn from were not engaged in this activity at the time they were speaking. Therefore, this does not explain the lack of consideration of the potential problems in using contested terms in the legislation.

organisation. They added I and oh look their bank account just increased[lvii].

INTERVIEWER

It sounds like this will be an important piece of legislation for LGBT

GEORGIANN

(interrupting together) LGBTI!

DEAN

(interrupting together) LGBTI!

INTERVIEWER

rights. The next equal marriage you might say. What can our viewers do to support your work in changing this law?

DEAN

That's right we had the campaign for marriage equality. That took over the country. It was a very intense national discussion. Now this law affects a small number of people who nonetheless need to have these procedures and these documents. The law presented by government is quite a strong law. We have probably one of, if not the best law on the planet. We got the best practices around and then put them all in one piece of legislation. So definitely the law is top notch and the best. So now we all need to convince parliamentarians that it is a law we need. It is a law that upholds and pushes the rights of trans persons and intersex persons quite to the fore in this country, even globally.

GEORGIANN

(GEORGIANN appears shocked to hear DEAN call the law 'the best' and becomes visibly angry as DEAN's praising of the law continues) That is enough of that!
(Georgiann pushes the cardboard back over Dean's face as a 'Thwack!' noise plays)

In Scene 3 Stephen refers to previous challenges with Lavender about same sex marriage representing the participants that expressed participation in this predominantly LGB activism was expected of them despite this support not necessarily being reciprocated. Several trans and intersex participants referred to this example of unequal relationships between LGB and trans and intersex activists. However, the LGB participants that referred to marriage campaigns did not make those same observations. These unequal relationships and expected participations are similarly unacknowledged by Dean. For Dean, the marriage equality campaign "took over the country" but the specific support from trans and intersex activists is not mentioned. This absence from LGB participants in contrast to the several trans and intersex participants that referenced this work highlight the extent to which this unequal relationship is experienced differently by these participants. This is reflected in Spade's (2004) analysis of US 'LGBfakeT' activism. However, as we see in Stephen's reflection in Scene 3 some participants that expressed frustration with unequal partnerships with LGB groups found themselves "one side of that around trans and being seen on the other side of that around intersex".

Many of the participants represented by the composite character Dean were from Malta whose *GIGESC* law does not contain the terms transgender or intersex[lviii]. However, in media and public discussion the law was referred to as the transgender and intersex law. This was also reflected in Maltese participants' discussions. Maltese LGB participants celebrated their own organisations' roles in constructing the law. However, there was no consideration of the complexities of using contested terms such as trans and intersex in discussion of legal gender recognition. This issue is further complicated in Malta where English and Maltese are the official languages. Maltese had no recognised terms for transgender or intersex prior to discussions to introduce the *GIGESC*. Several Maltese participants discussed their involvement in creating new words 'transgeneru' and 'intersess'[lix] in Maltese but recognised conversation code-switching to use the English terms 'transgender' and 'intersex' typically took place. However, some participants were concerned that introducing new terms or favouring the English terms could exclude individuals that only spoke Maltese. This is a potential problem in spaces in which the Maltese language dominates such as less formal settings and on state television. Camilleri (1996) discusses the use of code-switching between English and Maltese in classrooms in Malta and finds Maltese is associated with Maltese identification and less formal use whereas English is associated with formal education and class status. These findings have resonance for considering the further complexity of using the terms transgender and intersex in Malta's bilingual society.

DEAN

Ow!

NARRATOR

Can I ask about Lavender adding the I? What happened then?

GEORGIANN

So they added I. Then they started saying LGBTI this, LGBTI that, LGBTI research, but you look at it and it wasn't I research at all. They were adding I on, and they weren't doing. It wasn't about I. The I became invisiblised by saying oh this is LGBTI. It's not. If you want to do I work, do I work, but don't pretend. Don't just lob on the I.

NARRATOR

Would you want Lavender to take off the I?

GEORGIANN

I was added on without Lavender being properly prepared and it caused a lot of pain, a lot of problems. There was quite a lot of language that was totally wrong, totally, totally wrong. But as a consequence they have done a lot of work over the years and given a lot of support to intersex activism and getting a voice and that's been really great. But I still think, wouldn't it be better for them just to say we're really strong allies. So now Lavender's done it other groups are talking of adding I on. I think a lot of people add I and they have no idea what they're talking about, I'm really sorry, but you know if they knew what they were talking about they wouldn't produce endless rubbish.

NARRATOR

Are you worried about these other groups adding the I?

GEORGIANN

We've had organisations who have spoken on behalf of us without speaking to us and

Georgiann explores the phenomena of “adding I on” previously discussed in Scene 4 with “adding the letters [T and I]”. Georgiann represents the participants who felt that a group or organisation ‘adding the I’ was not always indicative of engaging with or understanding intersex issues. For Georgiann “adding I” without addressing intersex within broader LGBTI work leads to intersex being invisibilised. Greenberg (2005) advocates forming coalitions between LGBT and intersex activists for legal activism (see also Ozar, 2006). However, Greenberg’s later work on the construction of intersex in the law and the related activism in this area offers that many LGBT groups ‘adding the I’ was ‘in name only’ causing friction with intersex activists (Greenberg, 2012: 97).

Intersex participants were sceptical about LGBT groups ‘adding I’ reflecting the North American group Intersex Initiative’s concerns on tokenism (Koyama, 2003). For these participants intersex is made invisible through the addition of an I on the end of LGBT. Intersex issues are marginalised by more recognisable LGB and LGBT campaigns and groups. This is exacerbated by the funding opportunities presented differently by LGBT and LGBTI groups and trans and intersex groups. The distribution of external funding caused friction between less well-funded or unfunded groups that were exclusively trans or intersex and the larger formerly LGB organisations that received more funding. Georgiann represents intersex participants’ views on “adding I” and funding agreements which can be contrasted with the views on “adding the letters” in Scene 4. This invisibilisation through ‘adding I’ leads to frustration from intersex activists that felt they had to work harder to have intersex voices heard.

For Georgiann, these larger LGBT groups becoming LGBTI groups without having a familiarity with intersex issues or “being properly prepared” leads to a problem of language. Lavender is accused of using “language that was totally wrong, totally, totally wrong”. The repetition of emotive language in this quotation highlights the upset caused and the potential damage to relationships with using the “wrong language”. Several participants discussed examples of LGBTI groups perpetuating shame and stigma with incorrect language use in publications on intersex issues. For example, participants mentioned that intersex voices were anonymised, but medical professionals’ names and titles were used in publications. This gives a legitimacy to the medical profession, and their language use which often includes DSD nomenclature, in discussing intersex issues. This creates secrecy around intersex identities which perpetuates the shame historically associated with intersex lives. Furthermore, medical professionals were not sought to discuss LGBT issues in those organisations’ publications.

have claimed funds and money that didn't belong to them. We are finding our voice is so unheard that it's being erased by these bigger voices. Voices that aren't qualified to speak on behalf of us. Groups that don't have intersex people involved. And it's really sad because we have a lot to say. We will work with anyone, as long as they're not speaking on our behalf. And as long as they're not trying to claim things, just to tick a box, speak to us, tick the box that they've spoken to us and then run ahead with it, "oh yeah we've been in collaboration with them for years, give me the money so we can further our organisation and drain it from the intersex cause".

(phone noise plays)

NARRATOR

(looking directly at the audience) Was that one of you? That's so rude. *(looks at own phone)* Oh no sorry that was me. Sorry Georgiann, I've got to go. I'm meeting these activists Bo and Leslie. Thanks for talking to me.

Georgiann feels that “bigger voices” dominate making it harder for her own group’s voice to be heard. Participants that discussed these issues worried about whose voices were dominating discussions on intersex issues. These participants feared LGBT organisations that had added the I were being consulted on intersex issues without doing representational work to include diverse intersex voices or in some cases any intersex individuals. For Georgiann these LGBTI organisations and groups are not “qualified” to discuss intersex issues. This reflects discussions with intersex participants that suggested this “qualification” could come from the involvement of intersex individuals but in such examples there were no intersex individuals involved in the group or the work being done.

This issue of those who are viewed to be acceptable to speak on behalf of others within intersex contexts links back to the considerations of cisgender people speaking on trans issues raised by Iain in Scene 4. Both of these examples speak back to this concept of a ‘specific activist’ drawn from Foucault’s (1980) ‘specific intellectual’ and Gramsci’s (1989) ‘organic intellectual’ in an activist context to highlight the important of the lived experience and personal contexts in this activism. However, the ways in which the voice of the specific activist is heard differs across different contexts. For instance, Iain prefers a cis person with the “right message” to a trans person with a message he does not support. In that scene, as in this one, the importance of language dominates these considerations suggesting that the identities of whose voice is heard is not the only factor to consider. There are also competing and accepted nomenclature and narratives that can matter more than the identity of those offering them.

This scene considers the importance of language and the ways in which in which that language is used strategically in different contexts by intersex activists through their relationships with LGBTI activists and medical professionals. This analysis offers consideration of the contested terms within these relationships including intersex and DSD. These considerations introduce the strategic language use in different contexts with different audiences. These communications are also subject to negotiations in relation to the meanings of terms and this scene and its analysis have shown the iterability of this language in use. Furthermore, this language is the language of identities for many of those concerned. There are significant emotional connections to these terms which adds a further dimension of consideration for the contestations and divisions with this language.

The relationships between LGB activists and intersex activists are introduced in this chapter. There is a focus on the phenomenon of ‘adding the I’ and the consequences of such an action in order to explore this relationship. This scene shows the LGB activist’s celebration of the law and their own involvement in its construction which is contrasted with an intersex activist’s concern about the language of the law and the LGB activist’s participation in such work. This relationship as it is presented on stage with one character representing media work on television and the other character the informed audience highlights the unequal partnership between LGBTI groups and intersex groups. This reveals a physical representation of the analysis of the representation of voices within these relationships including those that felt they were being spoken for in such examples. These characters do not speak directly to one another further emphasising their fraught relationship. The importance of language to these fraught relationships between LGBTI groups and intersex groups is also emphasised within this analysis.

Scene 6

Georgiann continues to work in her home as the spotlight goes down CS. Leslie and Bo, of Specific Detriment #33, are under a much smaller spotlight weaving in and around the five other sets, peering into each one as they pass. They look at phones reading the draft ASIS Bill on the government's website as Narrator approaches them. They meet Narrrator CS near Orchid, XOXO's set. All walking stage directions are for the group.

NARRATOR

Hi are you Leslie and Bo of Specific Detriment #33 the non-binary group?

BO

Hi I'm Bo. I'm intersex and non-binary, important to distinguish the two even though I happen to be both.

LESLIE

Hi I'm Leslie, I'm non-binary, so I use they as a pronoun, and use genderqueer, non-binary you know, it depends on where I am.

NARRATOR

You use they as a pronoun?

(Group walks over to stage right as they talk)

Specific Detriment #33 are a group of non-binary individuals including those that are trans and intersex. Specific Detriment #33 have no set on the stage. They walk with The Narrator in between the sets and peer inside these spaces at moments in which their commentary reflects issues other groups raised. The ‘specific detriment’ refers to a 2015 UK Ministry of Justice [MOJ] response to a petition calling for binary and non-binary self-definition of gender. This response revealed the MOJ would not consider non-binary recognition because of the low numbers of individuals and the MOJ claimed they were unaware of any ‘specific detriment’ such individuals might face. This wording inspired social media posts and research relating to the ‘specific detriment’ faced by non-binary people as noted by Barker et al (2018) and Bergman and Barker (2017). The ‘#33’ refers to the 33 unique gender terms in the 2016 Australian Sex Survey that were subject to speculation on non-binary genders in media coverage (Whyte et al., 2018).

Bo introduces themself stating that they are “intersex and non-binary” and it is “important to distinguish the two”. This reveals the importance of acknowledging these intersex and non-binary identities as distinct identities to the participants represented by Bo. For these non-binary intersex participants, their experiences accessing intersex groups and spaces were shaped by these coexisting identities. These non-binary intersex participants experienced exclusion attempting to access intersex only spaces and groups which they associated with their non-binary identities. These issues speak to Costello’s (2016, 2019) research on membership of online trans, non-binary and intersex groups exploring tensions between trans and intersex individuals adopting identity frameworks.

Not all the participants Leslie represents identified themselves as trans and non-binary. Some of these participants explicitly categorised themselves as trans whereas others were less explicit about claiming that identity category in conjunction with a non-binary identity. The complexities of identifying as trans and relationships with trans groups experienced by these participants is explored on subsequent pages. Leslie “use[s] genderqueer, non-binary” and this “depends on where [they are]”. Participants using different terms across contexts suggests some terms will not necessarily be understood or accepted within all LGBTI or trans groups. Some participants felt that terms such as genderqueer or non-binary would be more accepted in spaces that were explicitly non-binary in focus or trans exclusive spaces. Decisions about identity terms applied to oneself in the presence of other trans or queer people reflects the tensions across relationships and groups for these participants. This reflects the findings of shuster and Lamont (2019) on language use of non-binary people within trans groups in the USA.

LESLIE

I have been using they for the past ten years, not yesterday, not last year: ten years. There are people who have known me more than ten years in the activist world and still refuse to use they. Those are the basics. I would expect people who know me and have known me for years to use the pronoun I want to use, and that shows kind of where non-binary people are.

NARRATOR

How did your specific non-binary group Specific Detriment #33 come about?

LESLIE

Setting up Specific Detriment #33 that's how I met Bo, just saying, hey there isn't a group that exists, let's create one. Just saying there was a lack of groups. There wasn't a group that I felt I could attend.

BO

So, I was invited to a group of intersex activists and I basically got yelled out of it, because I got up and said, "hey I'm non-binary, I'm proud and openly intersex, and I'm an activist in my local community".

NARRATOR

So were the groups not for non-binary people?

LESLIE

(walking over and peering into Real Health Experience's set DSR) I wanted to find where my space was within the trans community, and that was hard because it almost felt like you had to identify as trans, and I think at that time I was going through, 'are you trans enough', so it was a bit hard. I find that people very quickly judge what they see and just because I am someone who does not want to change my body I am not trans enough and when I do meet some people I need to come out.

Leslie discusses other LGBTI activists' refusal to use they as a pronoun for them. Leslie's focus on other activists that they have known for years highlights that this is viewed as a deliberate "refusal" rather than a mistake or a misunderstanding. These participants discussed the difficulties with some languages. For instance, the non-binary Maltese participants and those within the UK and Australia for whom English was not their first or only language expressed understanding that many languages are gendered across descriptors for people and adopting a neutral language is not always possible. However, the participants that expressed dissatisfaction at pronoun misuse felt it was part of a broader refusal to accept their non-binary identities. This echoes Barbee and Schrock's (2019) research on non-binary individuals' pronoun experiences in the USA.

Bo offers their experience of being "yelled out of" an intersex activist group due to sharing their identity as a non-binary intersex person. The non-binary intersex participants that felt excluded from intersex spaces highlight the contested nature of these identity categories. These participants expressed that they were viewed by other intersex activists to be not intersex enough or not authentically intersex to participate in exclusively intersex groups. For these participants their experiences as non-binary people were viewed by others to be contrary to their experiences as intersex people.

Leslie discusses similar feelings of exclusion in trans spaces to those shared by Bo in intersex spaces. Leslie uses the term "trans enough" which was a concept discussed by several non-binary participants that shared their complex association with identifying as trans. Leslie questions if they associate themselves with an assumed group requirement to "identify as trans". These quotations reveal the complexities associated with joining trans groups faced by those that do not feel they identify as trans as well as the related questions about being "trans enough". For some non-binary participants these identifications with "trans enough" were related to their own feelings of trans inauthenticity as non-binary people. These tensions are reflected in Darwin's (2020) online research with non-binary people in America who do not identify as trans. However, for other participants their experiences of feeling "not trans enough" emerged out of tensions with binary trans people within trans groups that they felt denied their trans identification. This is shown with Leslie's reflection on "judge[ment]s" leading to feeling required to come out as trans. These tensions reflect Vincent's (2020) UK research on non-binary people's experiences of 'trans enough' in trans groups and medical settings. While the research of shushter in American trans groups finds non-binary and binary trans people to be 'othering each other' (shuster, 2019: 313).

BO

(walking over to peer into InterAction's set USR) A big aspect of intersex activism is if you identify as a man or a woman, the right to identify as a man or a woman without being othered by a third gender marker. That's a big thing InterAction pushes. Jack feels non-binary identities compromise that sort of politics. But you have to also take into account non-binary intersex people, you can't pretend they don't exist and that their politics aren't relevant to the rest of intersex politics. That's been a point of contention that I have picked fights over.

NARRATOR

What's a third gender marker?

BO

(walking from Interaction's set USR to Orchids, XOXO's set CS peering into both) So where I am all government paperwork, all government forms have to have a third option, an X marker. The third option is an umbrella for anyone who chooses to identify by that option. So it can stand in for intersex. It can stand in for non-binary. I think there's value in having third gender markers, to protect the autonomy of intersex children and to protect non-binary identities as a legal entity.

NARRATOR

So this this X marker can mean non-binary and it can mean intersex?

BO

(walking from Orchids, XOXO's set CS back towards InterAction's set USR) I don't think intersex people should be forced to identify themselves intersex. I understand how a third gender marker might make some people thing that that's the case, but if you're talking about protecting intersex bodily autonomy if you only have male and female as options on a birth certificate, to me that's the impetus to drive medical normalisation.

Bo shares their thoughts on X markers which were also referred to as third gender and third sex markers by some participants[lx]. Jack's suggestion in Scene 2 that "third sex markers" went against his organisation's wishes is contrasted here with Bo's consideration of "third gender markers". The study participants who were intersex and not non-binary framed X markers as issues that other groups expected them to have opinions on but that did not hold relevance for their members. However, the non-binary intersex people I spoke to focused on the importance of identifying as non-binary and intersex to their understanding of themselves and their desire for broader intersex groups to include their interests too. This is highlighted with Bo's desire for intersex groups to "take into account non-binary intersex people" acknowledging that their gender identity and the marker they seek on documents differs to those sought by intersex men and women in those groups.

Bo makes reference to "government forms [requiring] an X marker" which is a reference to the Australian federal government's requirements although different states and territories have different birth certificate options. For the non-binary intersex participants Bo represents the possibilities of X markers provided potential legal recognition of their sex and their gender. This differs to the findings of Garland and Travis (2018) with intersex activists in multiple countries that found support for non-binary trans people wishing to use X markers but their participants did not think intersex people would adopt X markers. Dunne (2019) considers the German legislative possibilities for non-binary and intersex recognition finding failings for non-binary and intersex people but does not consider non-binary intersex individuals.

Bo highlights a flexibility and a risk with the X marker's ability to "stand in" for intersex or non-binary. The ability for the X marker to contain multiple meanings speaks back to the same issues of contestations of terms in earlier scenes. For the participants Bo represents the availability of X markers offers a possibility of legal recognition regardless of the terms individuals use. However, this is not a letter or a term that any participants explicitly identified with and the X is subject to different interpretations by institutions. For instance, the Australian Government's (2013) guidelines on the recording of sex and gender data define X as 'Indeterminate/Intersex/Unspecified'. There is a risk with the introduction of non-specific markers on documents that these may out or other individuals if these identification documents are required for daily use. This issue is highlighted in Herpolsheimer's (2017) analysis of options for non-binary and intersex recognition in American legislation.

That's the, *(puts on a more formal voice to impersonate a surgeon)* "this person isn't quite male enough to mark them down as male, so let's make them male", and to me that's what strips the autonomy out of it.

LESLIE

(walking to stage left) In this ASIS Bill there's no non-binary option that would allow people to just self-identify and provide an option to identify as non-binary or other.

NARRATOR

Is that what you were wanting to see in the law?

LESLIE

(walking DSL to BoisIIMen's set and peering inside) Yeah non-binary recognition equal recognition in law is just like the big piece I've been working on for a couple of years here and there. It won't be the thing that changes everything but it's something that's a bit clearer.

BO

I hope we will get non-binary recognition. Around the world, non-binary and intersex people are becoming more visible. It's not going to go away, other legislation is going to come through in the future. After the legal work, there is the cultural work and that's the huge thing.

NARRATOR

Do you work with other groups on this?

Specific Detriment #33 and Narrator walk to InterAction's set and Bo mimics a surgeon offering an element of dramatic irony by mirroring Jack's earlier surgeon impression. For Bo, requirements to mark a birth certificate male or female "drive medical normalisation". Whereas in Scene 2, Jack suggests that the risk of othering a child with an I or an X marker on a birth certificate would similarly drive medical interventions and early infant surgeries. This conflict highlights the tension between different interpretations regarding the potential or ongoing introduction of X markers in all three fieldwork states by different participants. The risks highlighted by Jack are reflected in the analysis by legal scholars on the introduction of X markers (Garland and Travis, 2018, Scherpe and Garland, 2019). While both characters have the same aim to reduce non-consensual surgeries on intersex infants they interpret the relationship of X markers to these continuing surgeries differently reflecting their own preferences.

Several non-binary participants expressed that their opinions on X markers and non-binary legal recognition were absent from the work of trans and intersex groups. This absence is also reflected in many of the current legal recognition options on which the text of the ASIS Bill is based. While X markers are available in some fieldwork sites the legal recognition of non-binary individuals remains unavailable in legislative definitions although these are subject to interpretation. While the Maltese *GIGESC* law allows for non-binary recognition to some extent non-binary Maltese participants did not feel this was accepted in Maltese society or within LGBTI activist groups. This absence from the law and from other groups' work is reflected in the relationship Leslie and Bo have with other characters on stage and their smaller spotlight.

Non-binary recognition in law was important to the non-binary participants represented by these characters. However, as Leslie notes it will not "change everything" and does not exist in isolation of "cultural work" as suggested by Bo. These non-binary participants were disappointed by the absence of legal recognition for non-binary people across most of the fieldwork sites. Several participants discussed their own activism to challenge this lack of legal recognition. However, as Leslie's "here and there" suggests these participants were more focused on other work, such as visibility of non-binary experiences including within trans, intersex and LGBTI groups. This partly speaks to Bennett's (2014) analysis of the Australian legal context for potential non-binary recognition leading to social visibility. However, as noted Maltese non-binary participants felt unable to be out as non-binary despite the possibilities for recognition in the law due to the lack of social recognition across Malta and LGBTI groups.

BO

(walking to CS) I found that with some intersex activists because I identify as trans non-binary and openly intersex, that that can be a contentious issue for them. They think that I compromise intersex politics as a result of that. I consider myself sort of a bridge between trans and intersex activism because I represent that cross-section it means I have a voice in sort of both politics.

LESLIE

Being a non-binary person has been not the easiest relationship. So even though groups are calling themselves LGBTIQ, and I'm sure they will continue adding letters, it doesn't mean that they are doing work to address all, or becoming inclusive of all, in an equal way. It's been really challenging and these are the activists, people who are familiar with non-binary and gender identity, not the general population. Some people are fine but others just refuse to acknowledge our existence really.

NARRATOR

(walking USL to Lavender's set) Those LGBTI groups like Lavender? Do you work with them?

LESLIE

(peering in Lavender's set) The focus of Lavender even though it's been about many things, the dominant focus has been marriage equality, and because it was the only organisation for so long it tackles many other issues. So it isn't marriage equality only; still it dominated and it still does. It still does. In my opinion, there is nothing radical about marriage, so when you put marriage at the centre of your discussions then you exclude many others: many of our experiences, many of our gendered experiences, many of the gender and sexual identities that there are out there.

BO

Marriage equality is not just a gay issue, you have to give non-binary and intersex

Bo discusses their experience attempting to find a space in trans and in intersex activism. Their identity as trans, non-binary and intersex creates complex relationships with other intersex activists but gives them a unique perspective and position. Bo considers their position "between trans and intersex activism" allowing them to "represent that cross-section" of individuals that are trans and intersex whose absence was referenced in Scene 2. However, their reflection that they "have a voice in sort of both politics" is not reflected in their discussion of their lack of acceptance in intersex communities. Finding a voice and representing themselves and others like them was an issue of importance to participants but for non-binary intersex participants their voice was not heard by other intersex activists. These participants found they had to represent themselves because their opinions were not emerging from the work of intersex organisations or groups.

Leslie also focuses on absence and a failure of representation. Leslie's criticism of "adding letters" echoes Georgiann's earlier criticism of "adding I" in Scene 5. In this page of Scene 6 Leslie represents the non-binary participants that felt LGBTI groups and organisations were not working to include their non-binary members, where such relationships existed, and not seeking to engage non-binary people in their work. For non-binary participants that were involved with LGBTI groups and organisations they highlighted the concerns in Leslie's quotations that such groups were not "becoming inclusive of all in an equal way". These considerations of inequalities within the letters in LGBTI groups are also found in the consideration of "I under the T" and hierarchies in Scene 2. The issues raised in these quotations highlight that the inclusion of non-binary individuals was viewed to be inadequate leading these participants to seek out representation in their own groups due to their lack of representation in larger groups despite ongoing changes to group names. The use of "in an equal way" in this quotation highlights that these issues of representation within LGBTI groups was experienced differently by those with different identities. Participants felt that not all of these letters were given equal consideration. These issues of unequal representation within the letters were highlighted by a number of trans and intersex participants, not just non-binary participants, with one trans participant referring to this phenomena as "48 font G, 24 font L, 8 font BT". This issue highlighted by my participants is found in Spade's (2004) analysis of 'LGBfakeT' activism in the USA.

people opportunities to marry. In terms of marriage equality activism I have been very, very involved for as long as I can remember. I have done rallies. I have done letter writing. I have done blog ranting. I've done absolutely everything I can to contribute to marriage equality. Getting into trans and intersex activism was an extension of that rather than the other way around. I didn't get everything that I wanted out of that - we still have legislation which is unclear at present. I've heard both arguments, from people who ought to know, as to whether I could say I am an intersex and non-binary person do not put male or female on my marriage certificate, whether that would be possible, but it's a work in progress. Although we didn't get everything I think that helped to seed the idea that non-binary and intersex people are out there, in the minds of politicians. I think that's helped with getting to the point now where we have consultations on ASIS.

LESLIE

(walking across to see Dean in Orchids, XOXO's set) It doesn't help that the movement is understood to be an organisation, Lavender, and one person, Dean. All of us who have been involved, are nowhere. Dean is not trans. Dean is not intersex. Dean is cisgender so all the other voices, all the other experiences are lost there. Even when Lavender started working on trans issues, it was only Dean out there. For many years Dean was the only person who would go out on TV and he got a real. It was tough. It was really tough. I didn't feel comfortable going on TV. I admire Dean for that because he was the only person out there, which means he was the person getting everything – people attacking him. But Lavender seems to have got to a stage where it feels because it is an LGBTI inclusive organisation, the individuals within that organisation know their shit about trans and non-binary issues and can get quite complacent about what they actually know.

BO

Adding the T seems to have gone well. Adding the I has gone a lot less smoothly. Lavender seems to have done it and then learnt about it afterwards. I'm a fan of adding the I as long as people understand what the I represents and how they'll have to change.

LESLIE

There's a really difficult problem of not being able to be a representative, but also having to represent something.

Leslie and Bo are united by their exclusion from intersex groups, trans groups and LGBTI groups but they do not necessarily agree on all issues which is highlighted with the discussion of marriage equality activism. Leslie and Bo differ from Sandy and Kate from Scene 1 who finish each other's sentences and share a knowledge, a friendship and a perspective on trans issues as well as a shared activist history. Leslie feels excluded by the focus on marriage equality that dominates the work of the LGBTI activist organisation Lavender. For Leslie this excludes "many of the gender and sexual identities" that Lavender attempts to represent. However, Bo has a very different view on marriage equality activism.

Bo's comments on their involvement in marriage equality activism reflects those participants that were involved in this work that they viewed as form of trans or intersex activism. In some cases this initial LGBTI marriage equality work served as a catalyst to more focused trans and intersex activism. For these participants their involvement sought to give "non-binary and intersex people opportunities to marry" as stated by Bo. However, as Bo goes on to discuss these opportunities are not necessarily in the wording of the law[lxi]. These complexities within the language of the law and different relationships between marriage equality and legal gender recognition are explored in Scene 1 with Sandy and Kate. Furthermore, several participants highlighted that the broader LGBTI groups focusing on marriage equality activism did not work on the unique issues facing non-binary, trans and intersex individuals' opportunities to marry in each of the fieldwork sites. This situation highlights a further complexity to trans and intersex participants' relationships with LGBTI groups when considered alongside Stephen's comments in Scene 3 discussing the expectations from Lavender that trans and intersex individuals and groups would participate in marriage equality activism.

Bo finds the legislation to be "unclear" in relation to their own ability to access marriage. However, they present the involvement of intersex, trans and non-binary people in marriage equality activism as a form of awareness-raising. These comments represent the participants that considered their involvement in broader LGBTI activism as non-binary, trans and/or intersex people to be a form of raising awareness of their issues to these LGBTI groups and to broader audiences including the media and politicians. Bo suggests that the consultation on ASIS, representing the various government consultations and considerations of legislative reform in all the fieldwork sites, is a consequence of the visibility of the trans, non-binary and intersex individuals involved in broad LGBTI campaigns most notably for marriage equality.

Leslie presents a different view to Bo on the visibility of non-binary and trans involvement in broader LGBTI campaigns and groups further highlighting different opinions held by these participants. For Leslie, those external to LGBTI activism, such as the politicians mentioned by Bo and the media mentioned in earlier scenes, associate this activism with one organisation and one individual. This leads Leslie to describe the many other individuals that participate in this activism as “nowhere” and “lost”. Leslie focuses on the identity of Dean as a cisgender man who is not intersex which for them leads to a lack of representation of trans and intersex voices in the media[lxii]. Several participants expressed frustration at the lack of representation of trans and intersex activism in the media and the dominance of LGB groups and organisations in this field. However, as Leslie’s character highlights media visibility can be “tough” with “attacking” from the media and audiences a reality leading several participants to discuss not being “comfortable” with media visibility. This issue is also discussed by Iain in Scene 4.

Bo addresses the difficulties of “adding the T” and “adding the I” with a focus on “understanding” of the letters and that including a more diverse demographic in membership may require “change” in focus or activities. Similarly to Georgiann in Scene 5, this character reflects the participants that discussed the initial stages of groups “adding the letters” or considering trans or intersex inclusion. Leslie introduces the views from participants that considered groups and organisations that added the letters less recently suggesting these groups had become “complacent”. When this quotation is considered alongside the discussion of hierarchies on the previous page and the criticism of tokenism in Scene 5 this presents a complex picture of ongoing relationships between trans and intersex activists and the LGBT and LGBTI groups that work in the same environment. Furthermore, there is a temporal element to these considerations. Several participants expected the understanding of trans and intersex issues within these LGBTI groups to improve over time. These participants also anticipated that membership representation would diversify with the inclusion of more trans, non-binary and intersex individuals but those that discussed groups and organisations that had added the letters several years ago were disappointed not to see this representation.

Scene 6 introduces the characters Leslie and Bo representing the non-binary participants in this research. This scene and extended analysis considers the ways in which these participants negotiate their identities including utilising terms such as intersex, non-

binary, and trans and the ways these identities may be experienced in combination. Furthermore, this analysis discusses ways in which these identities were experienced by these participants as inauthentic or 'not enough'. This experience is complicated by their experience with overlapping identity categories such as non-binary and trans; non-binary and intersex; and non-binary, trans and intersex. This analysis focuses on ways those experiences of inauthenticity or 'not enough' affect relationships with intersex, trans, LGBT and LGBTI groups. The discussion highlights experiences of exclusion and complex relationships with and within those groups. Experiences of exclusion and examples of unheard voices are explored in relation to X markers and misused pronouns which offer examples of moments in which these participants felt ignored, excluded or misrepresented by these groups.

These experiences of inauthenticity within group relationships also speak back to notions of transnormativity (Johnson, 2016, Nicolazzo, 2016). The expectations of transition-related healthcare within trans groups are noted by Leslie. For Leslie they believe they experience exclusion from trans groups as 'not trans enough' "because [they are] someone who does not want to change [their] body". Experiences of exclusion in intersex groups related to intersexnormativity in relation to surgical intervention, particularly early surgical intervention, were also noted by some participants. This speaks to Preves (2003) reflections on intersex group membership for those not subject to surgical intervention. However, in this scene Bo reveals another facet of intersexnormativity. Bo discusses that some intersex activists interpreted their identity as "contentious" and it was seen to "compromise intersex politics", which Bo directly linked to "because [they] identify as trans non-binary and openly intersex". Within this quotation there is an intersexnormativity that is not linked to surgical experiences but instead linked to non-binary gender identification. The implication in the non-binary intersex participants experiences of exclusion within intersex spaces is that it is due to their identification across gender and sex identities that are perceived to be contradictory identities and to compromise the intersex exclusive activist work. This issue was also reflected in the binary intersex participants who discussed disappointment that they were expected to have opinions on X markers and non-binary legal recognition, which they presented as issues that did not have any relevance for their membership.

The language of the law is also explored as site of exclusion for instance in legal recognition legislation and marriage legislation despite participation in related activism. However, involvement in this activism was discussed in relation to opportunities for

visibility within trans, intersex and LGBTI groups as well as wider visibility in society. These opportunities for visibility are also discussed in connection with forms of inclusion. Inclusion within LGBTI groups and representation was explored through consideration of “adding the letters” T and I and membership of LGBTI groups. The ways in which LGBTI groups are perceived as dominated by or exclusively for cisgender non-intersex members and the ways in which the identities of prominent group members influences this perception was also explored in relation to this discussion of representation.

Conclusion

Introduction

This concluding chapter offers a summary of this thesis, reflecting on its central findings and its analysis. This chapter considers the contribution to knowledge that this thesis offers in relation to trans studies and intersex studies and its contribution to methodological considerations of ethical representation. Furthermore, this chapter seeks to highlight the thematic issues of relationships, representation, authenticity, and temporality that emerge in different ways in different scenes of the ethnodrama and are more widely threaded throughout the considerations of language and identities within the thesis. It finishes with a brief discussion of limitations and directions for future research.

Thesis Summary

This thesis has sought to answer the question ‘What is the relationship between trans and intersex activists and activism?’. In addressing this research question this thesis has also considered the question ‘How do these relationships facilitate the formation, negotiation and communication of trans and intersex identities in Australia, Malta and Scotland (in a wider UK context)?’. In exploring the relationships within and between trans and intersex activism across fieldwork sites in these locations this thesis has focused on the contestations of language used by participants to explore these relationships and the negotiation of these identities. This thesis has presented this analysis as an ethnodrama to illustrate these relationships and the contestations within them while prioritising the anonymity of these participants and the ongoing relationships participants had with each other.

The introduction outlined this research question and the research context, highlighting some of the most recent legislative changes within each research location. This legislative context provided a framework through which to view the fictionalised ASIS Bill and the characters’ engagement with it in the ethnodrama. This introductory chapter also offered engagement with relevant literature to explore the research questions relating to relationships between trans and intersex activists and the negotiations and contestations of identities, most notably as experienced through language, drawing out the somewhat different sets of debates relating to trans identities, activism and language politics and intersex identities, activism and language politics; the structure of this chapter further

reflected the bifurcated nature of this debate – the distinct nature of trans and intersex scholarship is reflected in the play where the relations between these two groups are often fraught and power-laden.

This thesis contributes to many of the reflections in the literature outlined within the introduction and the ways in which the analysis of the data speaks back to this literature is highlighted throughout the ethnodrama's analysis. For example, this thesis speaks to the ways in which the literature and the activism in relation to trans and intersex lives have different aims and foci relating to healthcare access and legal recognition in particular. However, both the literature and the activism are shaped by medicolegal discourses and forms of power. This thesis highlights the ways in which even when this literature and activism is experienced as distinct it is subject to blurred meanings placed upon language use. This is highlighted as the "I under the T" in legal definitions of trans; in considerations within trans literature that have included intersex within trans experiences; and in intersex activist experiences within trans activist groups and working with trans activists. Furthermore, this thesis directly contributes to developing notions of intersexnormativity drawing on related concepts of transnormativity (Johnson, 2016, Nicolazzo, 2016), explored further in the Authenticity section of this chapter. While this thesis is an original contribution to knowledge it also forms part of an emerging literature within the fields of trans studies and intersex studies that are forming a reverse discourse, constructing literature that frame trans and intersex individuals as the experts on their lives rather than medical professionals.

The methodology chapter outlined the choices that were made in relation to data collection and data analysis, framed by the theoretical perspectives that influenced these decisions. This chapter engaged with symbolic interactionism and queer methodologies as the central epistemologies that underpin the methodological decisions that were made. The relationship between queer methodologies and queer linguistic considerations were drawn out most notably in relation to performativity within this chapter. The importance of performativity of language was further highlighted alongside explanations for utilising critical discourse analysis in order to focus the analysis within this thesis as an analysis of the *language and interactions* of participants. This methodological chapter also discussed the ethical choices that were made during this project and the ways in which the ethics of representation led to the construction of an ethnodrama to present and analyse the data. The presentation and analysis of the data in an ethnodrama constitutes an original contribution to research both through its contribution to current debates about research

ethics, presentation and representation; and through development of the emerging tradition of using theatre, drama and playwriting to communicate findings (see Berbary, 2011, Mienczakowski, 2001, Saldaña 2003, 2008b, 2011) to deliberately present the 'findings' in the style of a 'side-by-side' play text and analysis. This presentation allows the reader to engage with both the text and its analysis concurrently.

Furthermore, the methodology chapter engaged in a reflexive process considering my bodily experience in undertaking the research, including data collection and writing. This reflection drew on methodological literature relating to insiders and outsiders and considered my interpretation of the ways in which participants were making meanings out of me as they 'read' me as an insider or an outsider during data collection. While there is an emerging body of literature of the body in data collection (Inckle, 2010a, Ellingson 2006, 2017), in this thesis I have sought to contribute to this literature by pushing its bounds to retain the presence of the researcher's body in analysis and writing.

This thesis as a whole has explored the personal relationships between trans and intersex activists and the ways in which these personal relationships shape their activism. The 10 composite characters within the ethnodrama all have different relationships with each other. These different relationships are shown during the ethnodrama with some characters talking to each other; some talking about each other; and with an absence of some characters within other characters' discussions despite them mentioning the same meetings or campaigns. These characters all co-exist on stage at the same time, highlighting that these activists all operate within similar spheres, for instance sitting on the same LGBTI parliamentary groups or responding to the same draft bill consultation. The use of lighting to reveal one scene while the other characters remain on stage allows for these ongoing relationships to be central to the imagined audience's experience even when such relationships are not under discussion by characters. In Scene 6 the use of a smaller spotlight for the two characters without their own unique set on the stage highlights these characters' positions in relation to the other characters on stage reflecting how the participants those characters represent felt in these activist spaces and the experiences of exclusion this scene discusses. Furthermore, this allows these characters to roam between the other sets at particular moments when their commentary speaks to discussions within earlier scenes. This highlights that despite their discussions of exclusion from those spaces, many of these participants' discussions raised similar concerns to the concerns raised by the participants who ran groups which excluded these participants represented in Scene 6. This commentary crossing into multiple scenes is a feature of all of the scenes of the

ethnodrama and this conclusion will further draw out some of the thematic issues that cut across all of the scenes and analysis presented. The following section draws out the key substantive findings of the thesis and highlights their thematic presentation across the ethnodrama and analysis. These findings are grouped thematically into language, relationships, representation, authenticity, and temporality.

Language

The contested nature of language and its use by trans and intersex activists is not so much a theme as the thread that ties this thesis together. However, this section briefly draws out the theme of the language of identification across the analysis of this thesis because of its importance to participants and its salience in answering the research questions. The language of identification is highly contested and deeply personal within the reflections of the participants in this research. How a person identified themself and was identified by others was both deeply personal and deeply political. These self-selected identifications and other-selected identifications were not uncontested. These contestations are not necessarily well understood between trans and intersex activists nor by LGBT and LGBTI activists. These discrepancies across understanding of contested terms are also found in the political discussion and language of the law in relation to legal recognition of trans and intersex identities. Furthermore, these discrepancies are also framed by the power of medicalised language and medical naming. This can also influence the language of external stakeholders, such as politicians, with even less familiarity with the contestations attached to these identity terms. This is made further complex by attempts to present a ‘united voice’ by some activist in order to work with external stakeholders such as to pass legislation as referred to in Scene 1 or to take a ‘test case’ against the law as referred to in Scene 4. Presenting a ‘united voice’ for some felt like being spoken over, spoken for and misrepresented for others. This attempt to present a united voice to those external to trans and intersex activism was experienced as a marginalisation of some voices that bled into personal relationships across and within trans and intersex activist groups. Therefore, notable frustrations emerge across relationships relating directly to the iterability of the language of identities.

This iterability, that is the repeatability and alterability of language across uses, of the language of identity terms is explored in Scene 5 through discussion of intersex identification. This scene and its analysis reveals that intersex has different meanings for different groups and individuals, and relatedly, some individuals deliberately adopt

different terms. This scene and its analysis also highlight that these terms exist within a web of competing discourses, particularly medical discourses, that contribute to this iterability of language and meaning making. Furthermore, this also relates to the power relations working through who is using a term and in what contexts. These contestations of identity terms, and the iterability of this language in use, influenced relationships as highlighted across the ethnodrama between activists and their associated groups. By analysing these scenes in terms of iterability, the lack of shared meaning for these important identity terms became visible and the ways in which this lack of shared meaning produced tensions (but also opened up spaces for contestation) became a central theme of the play. These linguistic complexities also fed into the related boundary work tied to these identity terms. That boundary work specifically related to considerations of who counts as trans and intersex and who feels included in the terms trans and intersex. For some participants this was experienced as exclusion from groups that related to feelings of inauthenticity in relation to identities for those experiencing exclusion (see Authenticity section below for further discussion).

These contestations on the meanings of these identity terms that fed into the boundary work of who counts as trans and intersex do not exist in isolation. As highlighted by the fictitious consultation on the draft ASIS Bill in the ethnodrama, the language of the law and biomedical discourses shape possibilities for identification. The terms one ascribes to oneself matter to individuals and the misuse, misunderstanding or misrecognition of these terms can damage already strained relationships. The fact that ‘trans’ and ‘intersex’ and ‘non-binary’ are used differently can cause significant frustrations. Individuals mean different things with the same words. This creates complexities when these terms are adopted for legislation in relation to the legal recognition of trans and intersex identities.

Relationships

Relationships are a central feature of the research question that this thesis seeks to answer. Relationships are often the subject under discussion in much of the analysis of this ethnodrama. Much like the consideration of language, the importance of relationships is a central thread that weaves through the analysis within this thesis. However, this section of the conclusion reflects on the thematic relationships that emerge within the ethnodrama and its scenes. These thematic relationships under discussion here are personal relationships, unequal relationships, and absent relationships.

Personal relationships are reflected in Scene 1 with Sandy and Kate of Real Health Experience, who represent the partners or friends that worked together who chose to be interviewed together. While Sandy and Kate represent the interactions of those personal relationships I witnessed within interviews, several participants who were interviewed alone made reference to their personal relationships with others they knew I had interviewed or those they expected me to interview. Some of these personal relationships were difficult relationships. For example, in Scene 2 Jack of InterAction and Stephen of BoisIIMen, on their diagonally opposite sides of the stage, represent the fraught relationships between some activists within this activist sphere. This fraught relationship is further demonstrated in Scene 3. Jack, who is absent from this scene, is presented as the difficult party who is 'hard to work with' by the other characters: Sandy, Kate, and Stephen. This scene highlights the competing narratives that were discussed by participants when discussing enacting this inclusion. For instance, in this scene Sandy states that they will support 'whatever intersex people want. If it's also something trans people want'. This caveat to supporting intersex people's demands, in the context of the legislative reform, highlights some of the competing issues and challenges in enacting inclusion of intersex concerns for some of these trans groups.

This issue is also reflected in Scene 6's discussion of LGB groups and organisations 'adding the letters' T and/or I and realisations that those organisations and groups will have to change their activities to include trans and intersex people in their work. These tensions, particularly in relation to ways intersex can be subsumed under understanding of trans as noted in the literature, are made more complex by the personal relationships expressed by participants. As discussed with the scenes of the ethnodrama, these personal relationships were often fraught and considerable friction across relationships was highlighted by participants in all fieldwork sites. Using an ethnodrama, and composite characters, that constructs a high level of anonymity, allows for a discussion of these tensions in relationships that is made possible through the protections of the format of the ethnodrama.

These fraught relationships bled into the expectations associated with certain groups. The length of time activists had been in activism alongside historical relationships also shaped these considerations. For instance, the relationships in Scenes 1 and 3 reflect a history of trans activism, whereas the relationships in Scene 4 highlight a history of LGB activism that now engages with trans and intersex young people and parents forging new relationships with each other. These historical relationships and associations seeped into new relationships with groups and organisations 'adding the letters': 'adding the I' and/or

'adding the T'. These issues are highlighted with other characters' representations of Dean and Lavender in Scenes 3, 5 and 6. However, these representations of relationships are contrasted with Dean, the character representing the LGB participants that were neither trans nor intersex, and his presentation of the role and work of Lavender in Scenes 4 and 5. This further highlights that these relationships, that could also be representational relationships, also affected how these groups were by seen by themselves and others.

These unequal relationships were experienced differently across groups and this often related to the power relations moving through particular associations. For instance, funding was highlighted as a significant cause of friction and unequal relationships between groups. In Scene 3 Stephen reflects that Lavender receives funding for work Stephen considers easier. Stephen adds that neither trans nor intersex issues were a priority for Lavender with these issues often left to the solely trans or intersex groups with significantly less funding, if any. However, Stephen adds that his unequal relationship with Jack, of InterAction, mirrors his unequal relationship with Dean, of Lavender, but with his relationship with Jack it is Stephen who has more power in relation to external stakeholders and funding. As Stephen puts it, he is "on one side of that around trans and being seen on the other side of that around intersex". As this quotation highlights much of these fraught relationships are made even more complex by the ways in which they are perceived to be representing others, or perceived to be failing to represent others.

Unequal relationships are also shown with Dean of Lavender and Georgiann of Orchids, XOXO in Scene 5. Dean is on the television, being interviewed on the LGBTI TV channel, after coming from Lavender's office, which is large enough to offer space to multiple other groups. This television appearance is watched by Georgiann who does her activism from her armchair in her living room. In this scene Georgiann becomes '*visibly angry [at] DEAN's praising of the law'* which publicly represents the law through his celebration of it as 'a law that upholds and pushes the rights of trans persons and intersex persons quite to the fore'. However, Dean has not acknowledged the potential pitfalls of introducing the word 'intersex' into the law, which is a significant concern for Georgiann, or the other considerations on the way in which the law conceptualises recognition of intersex bodies as noted by Jack. Dean has significantly more power over the way the law is viewed and discussed in the media while on television than Georgiann does as the informed audience of this television show.

Relationships with external stakeholders also feed into the theme of unequal relationships, which further highlight the inequalities and power relationships across different activist groups. For example, in Scene 3 Kate of RHE discusses RHE's 'influence in the Commons' and Sandy also of RHE highlights that they are 'very credible at a government level'. RHE's recognition by government also influences the relationships these activists have with other groups and their attempts to encourage 'present[ing] a united front' to those external stakeholders. If a united front across groups is presented then disagreements and tensions between those groups are subsumed under the presentation of this united front, which is most likely to be representing the voices of the largest organisations. This highlights the participants who reflected on the ways in which their relationships between activists and other groups might be perceived by external stakeholders also influenced those relationships themselves.

Absent relationships are highlighted across the ethnodrama. These are reflected most notably with the characters of Iain, of Genderation, and Katrina, of Mum and Dadvocates, and their lack of relationship with many of the other characters. For instance, Iain 'doesn't have much of relationship' with Stephen, of BoisIIMen, and Iain reflects on the linguistic differences between groups aimed at older and younger trans individuals. Genderation's existence as an organisation by and for trans young people position their group as 'outside' the relationship between RHE and BoisIIMen, which are run by much older activists but presented as for all trans people and trans men respectively. This reflects the participants who presented their organisations as being for 'all' trans people but this was contrasted with the views of younger participants who saw those groups as being for older trans people and did not feel they included the young people in their youth focused groups. These absent relationships are also found with the other characters (except Katrina and Dean of Mum and Dadvocates and Lavender) similarly failing to mention or engage with Iain or Genderation. Similarly, Katrina is only mentioned by Georgiann and this reference is to "Mums and Dadvocates" rather than Katrina as an individual. It is also a slight mispronunciation of the group name, which is Mum and Dadvocates, highlighting a complexity to that relationship and a mislabelling of the group. These absent relationships are also seen in the ways in which some characters are spoken *about* but not spoken *to* by other characters. This is seen repeatedly with characters talking about Dean but only Iain speaks to Dean directly highlighting the particularly fraught relationships with LGB activists participants referenced. This reflects the discussions of participants who focussed on tensions with LGB activists, including those that 'added the letters', and their unequal

representation of all the letters under their group names.

Representation

The phenomenon of ‘adding the letters’, which was also referred to as ‘adding the T’ or ‘adding the I’, was a significant area of concern and complexity for several participants. For instance, some participants focused on the addition of a T or an I to a group’s or organisation’s name did not necessarily lead to a change of work, focus or membership of that group or organisation. Others highlighted that this addition also did not necessarily lead to an understanding of the T or the I or the issues faced by those individuals. This relates to the additional complexity that there was a lack of shared meanings or accepted definition of who counts as trans or intersex and therefore who is being included with the addition of the letters. Furthermore, power relations weave throughout these considerations of ‘adding the letters’. This was mostly acutely felt in relation to funding, which was a significant source of tension. This is summarised succinctly in Scene 5 with Georgiann, of Orchids, XOXO, commenting that Lavender ‘added I and oh look their bank account just increased’.

However, for some activists the ‘adding of the letters’ to a well-established formerly LGB organisation led to access to funding; resources; stakeholder connections; and possibilities for developing their group or activism. For example, one participant reflected that it was ‘really nice because X is very much the 800-pound gorilla of LGBT activism … and they are now in our corner’. This highlights the power some larger formerly LGB organisations had and the benefits adding letters could bring. However, the benefits of ‘adding the letters’ was only highlighted by some trans activists. ‘Adding the I’ was not discussed with reflections on positive benefits by participants. The benefits of ‘adding the letters’ are shown in Scene 4 with Iain of the trans youth group Genderation and Katrina of the group for parents of trans and intersex children and young people, Mum and Dadvocates. Iain frames this funding issue as ‘Lavender gets the money and we help to spend it’. However, access to funding is not without tension as shown in Scene 4 with Katrina’s pointed look at Dean when mentioning waiting for their ‘funding [to] turn up’. This example of the group Lavender, ‘adding the letters’ also highlights that for trans youth and parent groups this action facilitated their relationship with each other. For example, these characters highlight their shared work on the funded project addressing gendered school uniforms.

This addition of a T or an I did also not necessarily improve already fraught relationships between these newly LGBT/I groups and the specific trans or intersex groups already

working in similar activist spheres. There was a significant concern from some participants that adding a T or an I led to other stakeholders assuming representational work was taking place without that work necessarily being done. This included trans and intersex participants who were involved in these groups and organisations providing internal critiques. There was a further concern that adding the T or the I to a well-established long-standing LGB or LGBT group invisibilised the T or the I. This is brought out in Scene 5 with the character Georgiann representing participants who were intersex activists who felt the invisibilisation of the I through the addition to LGBT made their work harder, especially the visibility work. This also links back to the representational deficit concerns raised by some participants that related to trans or intersex individuals not being included or consulted in relation to the specific trans or intersex work emerging from these newly LGBT and LGBTI groups.

This representational work also linked to the work of identities. There were complex issues raised in relation to the role of non-trans and non-intersex activists working within trans and intersex activist spaces. However, this concern relating to the identity of those 'speaking for' was complicated by ideas of competing narratives and nomenclature. In some instances, the engagement with the 'right' language or the 'right' narratives was presented as more important than the specific identity of the individual relaying the narrative or using the language. However, what constitutes the 'right' language is contested. This is illustrated in Scene 4 where Iain, a young trans man who runs Genderation, an under 25 trans youth group, discusses who will 'speak for' and about trans inclusion in the ASIS Bill, and trans issues more broadly. He states that he would rather go on TV himself, even if he did not want to, because this outcome was 'better than some cis person' engaging in this visibility work, which is later played out through Dean of Lavender speaking, as a representative of an LGBTI organisation, but who is nonetheless a cisgender person speaking about trans and intersex lives. However, at that moment in the scene Katrina, who is the parent of a trans child and runs Mum and Dadvocates, a parent activist group for the parents of trans and intersex children and young people, enters the action. This entrance causes Iain to reconsider his claim and he acknowledges that he knew cisgender people who were 'activists on behalf of' trans people that were doing great work. Iain further reflects on his thoughts on this relationship between identities and representation and reveals that he prefers for a 'right' narrative to be portrayed in the media by a cisgender person than for a person with a shared identification or trans history to his own to present an 'incorrect' narrative. This reflects the issues of competing

narratives and nomenclature and the ways in which they were also experienced in relation to the identification of those ‘speaking for’.

These issues of representation are also drawn out through the figure of Georgiann, of Orchids, XOXO, in Scene 5. Georgiann discusses who she believes is ‘qualified to speak on behalf of’ intersex activists. Within this consideration Georgiann is critical of group members, or group organisers, who speak on behalf of intersex people without having ‘intersex people involved’ in their group. Similar to Iain’s thoughts in Scene 4, Georgiann is less focused on the identity of the speaker than on the identities of those involved in a group making representational claims. Thus for Georgiann, ‘adding an I’ to LGBT can be felt to be making a claim to represent intersex voices without necessarily including intersex people (or their advocates) and, relatedly, a claim to represent issues that explicitly affect intersex individuals.

These representational inconsistencies, and related membership inconsistencies, are also brought out in Scene 6 and the discussion from Leslie, who is trans and non-binary. Leslie reflects on those groups that were ‘adding the letters’ but not ‘doing work to address all, or becoming inclusive of all, in an equal way’. This quotation highlights issues of representational inclusion and hierarchies within that representational work. This issue of representational hierarchies speaks to Jack’s criticisms in Scene 2 of the ‘I under the T’. In this consideration of hierarchies, intersex is presented by participants as the area of least engagement and least activity within LGBT groups that had added the I as well as formerly trans focused groups that had moved to be trans and intersex. This issue is also highlighted with the fact that intersex activists have less of a voice within the drama. For instance, they are deliberately absent from scenes 1 and 3 despite the discussion on the medicalisation within the draft bill which affects trans and intersex bodies, in order to render visible forms of invisibility. While some of Jack’s discussion with Stephen from Scene 2 is relayed by Stephen in Scene 3 the use of Stephen as an intermediary to present these ideas rather than engagement with Jack himself highlights the ways in which some activists discussed feeling that they were spoken over or spoken for, These hierarchies of representation also speak to the issues raised by the participants who discussed their experiences of hierarchies of inclusion within groups and within the boundaries of identity categories. These issues relate to the thematic findings of authenticity.

Authenticity

The construction of authenticity in relation to trans and intersex lives in the legislation that concerns legal recognition of these identities requires engagement with biomedical forms of power through evidential requirements attached to legal recognition. This is currently the case across the fieldwork sites in the UK and Australia but is not the case in Malta. These evidential requirements include statements of support or specific diagnoses from medical professionals. Requirements of this kind privilege medical knowledge, and crucially for this analysis medical *language*, about trans and intersex lives at the expense of trans and intersex individuals' own knowledge of and language for their identities. Scene 1 explores how the possibilities of legal recognition positions medical practitioners as experts in relation to trans and intersex lives and bodies. This mirrors the prominence of medical practitioners as experts present in current and proposed Australian and UK legislation. This leads to contestations over the authenticity of trans and intersex experiences for those least able to access trans and intersex related healthcare or whose narratives and identifications are least represented in these settings. These processes construct those unable or unwilling to engage with those biomedical forms of power as inauthentic in their identities. Self-knowledge is absent from this legal recognition and the processes it allows for. This absence constructs trans and intersex individuals as inauthentic in the knowability of their sex and gender identities.

This construction of authenticity that is confined by the expertise of medical professionals' seeps into trans and intersex relationships. Those least able to access transition-related healthcare, or those least subject to early intervention on their intersex bodies, face significant exclusion from trans and intersex groups. This exclusion from legal recognition and trans and intersex groups leads to feelings of 'not trans enough' and 'inauthentically intersex'. These experiences of concurrent forms of exclusion in groups and the law had a significant impact on those participants that were often also least represented in trans and intersex groups, and in legislative discussion.

Scene 6 explores this double exclusion through a focus on the experiences of non-binary participants, Leslie and Bo of Specific Detriment #33, who struggled in this scene to reconcile their own relationship with their bodies and their gendered and sexed identities with expectations of trans and intersex bodies and experiences within trans and intersex activist groups. The non-fit was often articulated to me in interviews through the language of 'not enough' and 'inauthentic'. In some cases, this led to participants' explicit exclusion from groups and in other cases this led to participants feeling that their unique experiences

were not valued by these groups. As Bo states in this scene, they felt "yelled out of groups" for being a non-binary *and* intersex person seeking involvement in intersex activist groups. Many of these intersex groups were focused on the harms and long-term effects of early medical interventions to align intersex bodies with a sex regardless of the, then unknown, gender identity of individuals. Bo discusses how some intersex activists in the groups they encountered presented the view that 'non-binary identities compromise' the kind of intersex activism that seeks recognition for intersex individuals as intersex men and intersex women. This view excludes intersex people whose gender identity is not binary, whether it is in correlation or contrast with their surgically sexed body. This makes clear the ways in which inclusion in intersex support and activist groups is conditional, and such groups not only fail to account for non-binary intersex people, but are actively threatened by them. This issue was seen in discussions of binary intersex participants who expressed frustration that they were expected to have opinions on X markers and non-binary lived experience, which they did not believe had any relevance for their membership. A significant factor here is the view held by a number of intersex participants that the media would often misrepresent intersex and non-binary as one and the same. This was highlighted as a problem by binary-identified intersex participants and those participants who were non-binary and intersex, who discussed that these identities were distinct.

This sense of exclusion for failing to articulate the 'right' values or identity was not limited to intersex participants and in Scene 6 the non-binary trans character, Leslie, reflects on their experiences of feeling 'not trans enough' in trans groups. Leslie self-identified as non-binary but did not desire to 'change their body'; although they did not seek to access transition-related healthcare, they nonetheless sought recognition and inclusion for their gender identity within trans groups and legislative reform. Their experience of trans groups, however, was one of receiving judgement from others that left them feeling that they were perceived to be inauthentically trans because they did not desire to change their body. These experiences also spoke to Leslie's internal feelings of 'not trans enough'. These findings highlight these co-existing experiences of 'not trans enough' and not the 'right' sort of trans identity linking back to the 'right' trans narrative and nomenclature.

These reflections on feeling 'not trans enough' and 'inauthentically intersex' open up space to explore the ways in which trans and intersex inauthenticity are constructed through group relations: it is significant that these groups were often associated with transition-related healthcare or early surgical interventions on intersex bodies. Their origins

exemplify a transnormativity (Johnson, 2016, Nicolazzo, 2016) or an intersexnormativity that render individuals who do not conform unwelcome.

Preves (2003) also finds issues of intersex authenticity relating to surgical experience in group membership in North America. However, when viewed alongside transnormativity, as is present in this analysis, it becomes clear that these forms of exclusion can be read as intersexnormativity, and that intersexnormativity is a concept we need to build. This thesis is a contribution to that work. This concept of intersexnormativity creates space to explore the ways in which 'right' forms of intersex identity are constructed in relation to 'wrong' ones. It is significant that within this frame if one is intersex then one cannot also be non-binary. These non-binary intersex participants' experiences of intersex inauthenticity and intersexnormativity related to their non-binary identities being perceived to be in contrast to, rather than connected to or independent of, their intersex identities. When read in conjunction with non-binary participants' reports of feeling excluded from trans activist organisations for being 'not trans enough', this analysis shows how individuals who express non-binary gender identities become multiply excluded from activist spaces. Trans participants reported feeling their identities and issues were marginal to LGB organisations and intersex activists felt marginal to LGB/T organisations, and thus when non-binary intersex people can find no place within those organisations ostensibly for them, their voices are entirely lost.

This discussion of the 'right' ways of being and doing intersex and trans in the context of activism brings us back to the question of authenticity and the possibilities of legal recognition. Those that experience feelings of exclusion in trans and intersex groups, and related feelings of inauthenticity in their trans and intersex identities, are further excluded from legislative possibilities of recognition and campaigns for legislative change.

Temporality

Time and temporality run through this play and ran through the interviews. A recently emergent concept in the field is that of 'trans temporality' (Amin, 2014, Carter, 2013, Malatino, 2019, Pearce, 2018b). This refers to the ways in which trans individuals exceed chrononormative expectations of bodies and life courses. Older trans participants in this study articulated encountering this form of temporality relating to their trans identities that had been profoundly shaped by waiting and anticipation.

In Scene 1 Kate and Sandy represent trans adults' perceptions of time and their experiences of trans temporality. These experiences are centred around waiting and anticipation. By contrast, the temporality of young trans people and young intersex people was experienced differently. Trans temporalities literature constructs trans time as non-linear, however this has an implicit adult/post-pubescent bias built into it. When we focus on trans children, time is constructed, by parents and medics, as profoundly linear, as a progression towards and through puberty. The parent participants advocated for their children to experience 'puberty with peers', rather than 'wait on their hands' with puberty blockers, as discussed by Katrina of Mum and Dadvocates in the ethnodrama. Thus while waiting runs as a central theme through both adult trans temporalities and youth trans temporalities, this waiting is radically linear for pre-pubescent trans people in contrast to the 'folding' of time in an 'eternal present' as reported in research into trans time that focuses exclusively on adults.

The constructed future for the trans child within understandings of trans childhood temporalities is presented by these participants. As Katrina's lines reveal 'If you support and affirm these kids' gender, you can save their life'. This too links to Scene 1's discussion of the global 'life expectancy of trans women' and being 'lucky to live that long' in order to retire. Both adult and child understandings of trans temporality construct uncertain futures in addition to constructing the possibilities of any futures. Despite the linearity in some parent presentations of trans childhood temporality there is an implication that the chrononormative experiences of these trans children will not lead to the same trans adult lives lived by current trans adults. This is exemplified with discussions on HRT and puberty with parent participants seeking for their trans children to experience puberty, just once, at the same time as their peers. Whereas 'waiting for hormones and waiting for changes' is a feature of Sandy, the trans elder's life, which speaks to Horak's (2014) 'hormone time' and Bailey (2012) and Ansara's (2015) discussion of a 'second puberty'. The trans child has no need for a second puberty if they receive 'puberty with peers'. Therefore, the trans temporality of current understandings of trans adults will be significantly different for the potential futures of these trans children. Further future considerations of those that engage in social transition or access transition-related healthcare prior to puberty may produce new understandings of what the chrononormativity of the former trans child may look like across the life course.

These relationships between adults and children in relation to temporality are also found in considerations of intersex temporality. Morland's (2001a, 2005, 2009a, 2009b) and

Griffith's (2020) presentations of intersex temporality as experienced through surgery highlight the constructions of 'nostalgic genitalia' (Morland, 2001, 365) and the 'imagined future penis' (Griffiths, 2020: 158) through these surgeries and their temporal effects on the body over the life course. These considerations on the imagined pasts and imagined futures of intersex bodies that are subject to surgery show how intersex temporality is tied to surgical experience and the control surgeons have over bodies. It also shows how intersex temporality – particularly when understandings of that temporality remains limited to relations with surgery – is past and future oriented but attends very little to the present. Thus, intersex temporalities contrast strongly with adult trans temporalities, which can entail a loss of linear time, through a scholarly attention to the past/future of bodies at the expense of the present.

For other scholars' intersex temporality is found in its non-linearity. For instance, Meoded-Danon (2018) considers intersex experiences of time non-linear in relation to memories of early surgeries, also focusing on the surgical relationship with intersex bodies. Whereas Grabham (2012) presents the role of intersex bodies' hormone receptors leading to non-linear experiences of the body in relation to time. However, as found in Lee et al's (2016) guidelines from medical professionals many of the biomedical arguments presented for hormonal and surgical interventions relate to constructing chrononormative linear life courses for intersex bodies.

This highlights the competing narratives of non-linear and linear experiences of intersex adults' bodies as presented differently by intersex adults and medical professionals. These narratives of intersex temporality in relation to intersex adults' bodies feed into considerations of the intersex child in relation to attempting to prevent early interventions on intersex infants. Jack's surgeon impersonation in Scene 2 demonstrates an insistence to 'operate today or we'll have to register your child as intersex'. Reflecting the urgency associated with surgeons' promotions of surgical options after the birth of an intersex infant as discussed by Davis and Murphy (2013). This leads to Garland and Travis (2020) to call for 'deferability' for intersex children that would allow intersex bodies time to develop without the influence of early surgical and hormonal interventions. This speaks to the considerations of participants who were parents of intersex children and their desire for more time to make decisions and that of intersex adult participants who similarly sought for those parents facing surgical decisions for their children to 'have more time'. This more time is explicitly granted in the Maltese *GIGESC* law offering different possible futures for Malta's intersex children and young people. The possibilities of intersex futures for those

children are based on these parents being granted ‘more time’ to think, reflect and choose. It offers time for the child to grow and know themselves in order to participate in these considerations of their bodies. Considerations of intersex temporality that currently relate to early surgical and hormonal interventions may differ as they take into account different intersex childhoods.

This section has highlighted the ways in which this thesis has answered the research question on the relationship between trans and intersex activists and activism. This section has highlighted the importance of the contestation of language to address this research question. Furthermore, this section has highlighted the contribution this thesis makes to understandings of trans and intersex temporality by focusing on the temporal experiences of trans and intersex children. Most notably, this thesis develops the concept of intersexnormativity drawing on literature attending to transnormativity. This recognition of intersexnormativity has opened up space to show how non-binary intersex people come to experience exclusion from intersex activist spaces. Exploration of these experiences of exclusion, and related inauthenticity of identities, has shown the importance of relationships to the contestation and negotiation of these identities.

Limitations and Future Directions

This research project only had ethical approval to talk to people aged 18 and above. However, trans and intersex children and young people were central to several participants’ discussion on their activism and their activist relationships and the needs of trans and intersex children were discussed in relation to personal relationships by the parents of trans and intersex children. This thesis has engaged with youth trans and intersex issues, but was not able to directly include their voices. It is essential that future research in this area actively includes youth voices so they can describe their own realities instead of being subject to (yet another) form of ‘speaking for’. Research into trans and intersex children and young people is an area that is emerging across healthcare (Forcier et al, 2020) and sociological (Meadows, 2018) fields. As this research continues to develop, future engagement with trans and intersex young people themselves in relation to the activism that considers them could offer new insights into the negotiation of identities and relationships in this area. Furthermore, such future engagements could provide an important opportunity for young people to speak for themselves in research encouraging such opportunities across other spaces including activism.

This research is also limited by its geographical encounters. The majority of research interviews took place in urban areas. Due to time and financial constraints, coupled with the constraints of the researcher's disabled body, it was not possible to engage with activist relationships in rural and remote areas across the research locations. Furthermore, I did not recruit outside of mainland Australia or the UK, although I did recruit on Malta's island of Gozo, so island voices are missing for the most part. Future research in this area should consider the experiences of activist relationships in island, rural and remote locations. Recent engagement with LGBTI individuals in rural and remote Australia has predominantly considered healthcare access including mental health service provision (Nic Giolla Easpaig and Fox, 2017, Nic Giolla Easpaig et al, 2018, Bowman et al 2020). However, explicit engagement with trans and intersex individuals in rural and remote contexts across Australia remains limited (see Aizura, 2018, Jones et al, 2016, Pitts et al, 2009).

Furthermore, I failed to recruit any indigenous Australians (Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders) during my recruitment in Australia. The absence of indigenous Australians from the trans, intersex, and LGBTI groups that chose to participate was a feature of some discussions with Australian participants on those involved with their groups. Future research in the Australian context would benefit from a more diverse sample. This is significant not only from the perspective of ensuring effective representation of a population but because of the language and conceptual framing opportunities afforded by meaningful engagement with indigenous Australians. Among Aboriginal Australians the terms 'sistergirls' and 'brotherboys' are used to correlate broadly to the category 'trans' used by non-indigenous Australians, however they are not entirely coterminous. Meaningful engagement with Aboriginal Australians and the conceptual framings within these communities can further explore the negotiation of identities across language and relationships in the Australian context (see Kerry 2014, 2017).

There are future directions I would like to take this particular project in. As acknowledged in the methodology chapter, this ethnodrama remans unperformed. Developing this play text into a piece of theatre could not only improve the text itself, it could also facilitate conversations about trans and intersex activist relationships in engaging ways. A performance of the play for an interested audience could be presented alongside an opportunity for discussion on its themes. This could be particularly interesting for those engaged in trans or intersex activism or LGBTI activism as well as researchers.

Furthermore, the fictional context of consultations on draft bills relating to trans and intersex legal recognition are ongoing realities in some of the fieldwork sites, and elsewhere in the world, and a performance could contribute to those ongoing legislative discussions.

Appendices

Appendix i: Invitation to Interview

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Invitation to Interview

A Cross-national Analysis of Intersex and Transgender Social Movements and their Relationships

Researcher: Rhi Humphrey

To whom it may concern,

You are receiving this email because of your involvement with trans activism or intersex activism in some way in Scotland (or the UK), Malta or Australia. If you do not feel that you are an activist working to improve the lives of trans and/or intersex people, regardless of your own trans or intersex status, feel free to disregard this letter.

This research project will develop a sociological analysis of trans and intersex activism, the work of activists for trans and intersex related campaigns and the relationships between individual activists as well as within groups. This research project is being conducted by a PhD researcher in sociology in the College of Social Sciences at the University of Glasgow, Scotland. I have previously investigated the effects of trans media representation on trans audiences and barriers to accessing higher education faced by trans students. Additionally, I have been active in trans activism and broader LGBTI activism for the last 10 years.

Would you be interested in participating in one face-to-face interview, a skype interview, or a focus group, in a mutually agreed location, lasting between one and two hours to discuss your experiences in trans and/or intersex activism? The suggested interview themes for the interview will be made available before the interview so you know what will be covered during the interview. If you do consent to this research project you are free to withdraw that consent at any time.

If you wish to remain anonymous then all identifying information in your interview will be removed. However, you may wish to be named in order to speak on behalf of one or more organisations or groups. This can be discussed in more detail with me prior to the interview starting, and you will be able to change your mind after the interview has taken place.

Often people find participating in a research interview or group discussion an opportunity to reflect on interesting issues. Additionally, I will be in discussion with activist groups on how they may wish to use the results of this research to inform their own work and the best ways to do that – for instance a short report.

Please feel free to discuss this with me if you think a brief report or presentation would benefit your group/organisation.

This research is open to any trans activist or intersex activist in Scotland (or elsewhere in the UK), Malta or Australia who is over the age of 18 so feel free to pass this invitation and my contact details to anyone you think may be interested.

Yours faithfully,
Rhi Humphrey r.humphrey.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Appendix ii: Plain Language Statement

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

A Cross-national Analysis of Intersex and Transgender Social Movements and their Relationships
Researcher: Rhi Humphrey r.humphrey.1@research.gla.ac.uk

I would like you to consider taking part in a research project addressing trans and intersex activism, the work of activists for trans- and intersex-related campaigns and the relationships involved in successful activism. If you choose to take part we will have an in-person interview. Please let me know if you would like any further information that is not covered on this sheet. Take as much time as you need to consider your participation and feel free to discuss any questions you may have with me.

The purpose of this study is to conduct a sociological analysis of trans and intersex activism and the relationships within these activisms. This study will also fulfil the requirements for a PhD.

Your participation in this research project is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your consent at any time including after the interview.

The interview itself will last between one and two hours and with your consent will be recorded on an audio recorder.

Should you decide to participate and wish to remain anonymous your details will be kept secure using a code system with only the researcher knowing the details of this system.

Confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached, such as in the event of possible danger to yourself or others. If this was the case I would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality. Please note I have a duty of care to report to the relevant authorities possible harm/danger to yourself or others.

The interview will be used as part of the data to inform a PhD thesis on this issue. All electronic data will be kept in password protected files and hard copies will be kept in locked cabinets. This data will be retained until the PhD has been submitted. It will be kept for future publication of the research in academic texts or for presentation to interested groups. After 10 years all original data will be destroyed. The final thesis and any publications will remain available.

This project has been funded by the Families and Relationships pathway of the UK Economic Social and Research Council. It has been considered and approved by the University of Glasgow College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

For more information please contact the researcher [details above]. For complaints or concerns please email the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix iii: Consent Form

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

A Cross-national Analysis of Intersex and Transgender Social Movements and their Relationships
Researcher: Rhi Humphrey Supervisor: Dr Lucy Pickering

Before completing this please ensure you have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for this study. Feel free to ask Rhi any questions about that sheet or this form.

Recording this interview

☐ I consent to interviews being audio-recorded.

☐ I do not consent to interviews being audio-recorded.

☐ I acknowledge that copies of transcripts will be available for me to read and review.

How you will be known in the thesis

☐ I consent to being referred to by pseudonym (and I have discussed if I have a preferred pseudonym and pronoun) in the thesis and any publications arising from the research.

☐ I consent to being identified by name in the thesis and any publications arising.

I understand that

- All names and information likely to identify me will be anonymised if I do not wish to be named. If I do tick that I wish to be named and I change my mind I can contact Rhi to ensure my anonymity. However, if I get in touch several months after the interview I may find some results have already been published/presented. In such a scenario I understand only future publications/presentations could be edited.
- This interview is confidential and the audio recording and transcript will be stored securely.
- The interview data could be kept for up to 10 years for the researcher's future academic use including publications.
- I agree to waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.

I understand my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

Participant Name

Signature Date

Researcher
Signature Date

Appendix iv: Interview Themes

Interview Questions

Demographics: Can we start by talking about your age, where you live and have lived, your gender identity and/or your intersex status, if you want to tell me? Could you also tell me the types of activism you do? Working alone or with others? Can you tell me about any organisations you work or volunteer with and if there is any compensation or payment?

How long have you been an activist in relation to trans and/or intersex issues?

What made you want to take part in this research?

Can you tell me about your activism and what this means to you?

How did you get into activism?

Can you tell me which groups or organisations you are involved in?

How did your involvement come about?

Can you tell me about the important trans/intersex campaigns you are involved in or have been involved in?

What issues are you working on currently and what do you hope to achieve?

How do you approach conflicting issues or approaches amongst the group or groups you work with?

Have intimate relationships such as partners, friends, parents, or children been important to your activism?

What can you tell me about this?

Do you work with other trans activists, intersex activists and LGBTI activist groups? Can you tell me about your experiences working together?

How does lived experience or representation of particular identities fit into your activism?

Is there anything you would like to add?

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Endnotes

[i] The Women and Equalities Committee produced a report on 'Transgender Equality' in January 2016 covering a range of issues including reform of the *Gender Recognition Act [GRA]* and the *Equality Act*; NHS services; and transphobia across a range of institutions. This report received a government response in July 2016 outlining actions in relation to 35 recommendations. However, at the time of writing UK government activity in his area remains limited with the exception of consultations on reforming the *GRA*.

[ii] The Family Court of Australia is a federal court covering all states and territories except Western Australia, which has its own Family Court of Western Australia. The Family Court deals with complex legal family disputes including parenting and child welfare rights. The use of 'both parents' is a reflection of this legal system which will not consider an application from a single parent, unless the other parent is deceased. Furthermore, a parent's new partner or spouse will also not be considered a parent for this process.

[iii] In practice this means that trans young people without full parental support from both parents, regardless of their relationship with their parents, are still required to go through the Family Court or wait until they are over 18.

[iv] The decision in *Cassar vs Malta* held that there was a violation of Articles 8 'right to respect for private and family life' and 12 'right to marry' of the European Convention on Human Rights. In 2013 Cassar reached an out of court settlement with the Maltese government. This government passed the *Civil Code (Amendment Act) 2013* later that year which granted some binary trans people legal recognition, birth certificate changes, and the right to marry if their partner was of the 'opposite' gender to the one they were now legally recognised as. More recent legislation has altered the possibilities for legal recognition and marriage in Malta. The *GIGESC 2015* law grants legal recognition to trans, intersex and non-binary individuals, and the *Marriage Act and Other Laws (Amendment) 2017* allows for two consenting individuals to marry irrespective of gender identity.

[v] Those under 16 can apply for recognition of their gender through the Civil Court with parental support. This issue will be different for those whose birth registration was without sex registration. The law allows for registration of sex at birth to be delayed until the child can confirm their gender and apply for gender recognition with parental support through the Civil Court. Current provisions suggest such individuals will be automatically designated with an X ID card and X passport unless they apply for such gender recognition. The provisions for ID cards and passports for those who do not have their sex registered at birth in Malta remain speculative due to the age of the law. Sex and gender were previously used interchangeably in Maltese legislation (and this is the case in the Maltese language) which is sometimes reflected in guidance in this area.

[vi] At the time of writing reform of the *GRA* has been the subject of one consultation from the Westminster Parliament of the UK and two consultations from the Holyrood Scottish Parliament.

[vii] The decision in *Goodwin & I v. United Kingdom* held 'unanimously that there [was] a violation of Article 8 of the Convention' and held 'unanimously that there [was] a violation of Article 12 of the Convention' (European Court of Human Rights, Application 28957/95 & 25680/94). The UK state's refusal to update or replace the birth certificate of trans people violated Article 8 of the *European Convention on Human Rights,* 'Right to respect for private and family life' (*European Convention on Human Rights)*, and the inability for trans people to marry violated Article 12 of the *European Convention on Human Rights,* 'Right to marry' (*European Convention on Human Rights*).

[viii] The *Civil Partnership Act 2004 [CPA*] and the *GRA* were introduced in anticipation of each other due to *Goodwin & I*. The complex relationship between marriage rights and the legal gender recognition has changed since the introduction of same-sex marriage legislation across the UK. See Scene 1 of the Ethnodrama section for further consideration of how these legislative possibilities work currently.

[ix] At the time of writing the Scottish Government is consulting on a *Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Bill* to replace the *Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009*. This Bill replaces the term 'intersexuality' in the 2009 legislation with 'Variations in Sex Characteristics'. The 2009 law includes 'intersexuality' within a definition of 'transgender identity' and this new Bill proposes to separate these categories.

[x] Monro et. al's (2019) research with intersex activists, medics and policymakers in Italy, Switzerland and the UK has further developed the concept of intersex citizenship with a particular focus on healthcare and children's citizenship. Elsewhere, this research team have analysed intersex activism from a human rights perspective providing an alternative European perspective to the work of North American sociologists' considerations of intersex activism and identities (Bauer et al., 2020; Crocetti et al., 2020). This contrasts with Monro (2003) and Monro and Warren's (2004) earlier work on transgender citizenship that

considered intersex citizenship part of transgender citizenship. This highlights the emerging new perspectives in sociology and political science in relation to intersex activism across Europe. However, the considerations of human rights framing and citizenship work is outside the scope of this research project considering relationships between trans and intersex activists with its focus on language and identity formation.

[xi] The concept of an 'imagined community' in relation to LGBT communities has been explored by Weeks (1996) in relation to a lesbian and gay community, and more recently in relation to LGBT communities by Bakshi and Browne (2013) and Formby (2017).

[xii] Much of the sociological considerations of trans activism outlined in this introduction are from a North American and a UK context. Sociological considerations of trans activism in Malta and Australia remain underexplored. This is also the case for sociological considerations of intersex activism in Malta and Australia. The exceptions to this are considered in the Legal Contexts section of this Introduction.

[xiii] The relationship between support groups and activism with support group involvement acting as a catalyst to other activist work in relation to intersex activism has also been explored by the research of Cola and Crocetti (2011), Davidson (2009) and Davis (2015) following Chase's (1998) activist consideration of this phenomenon.

[xiv] In more recent publications Monro has referred to her earlier consideration of intersex within umbrella trans definitions as 'problematic' (Monro et al, 2019).

[xv] These texts, like the majority of the literature in this Introduction, have focused on western and English language experiences of trans, intersex and non-binary lives. Herdt's (1993) earlier work considers a range of gender and sex experiences that are lived outside of a male/female binary. This research project considered the relationship between trans, intersex and non-binary activists in the majority English-speaking contexts of Australia, the UK and Malta and as such did not engage with other terms outside of these discussed. While, Malta is a bilingual country the trans and intersex activism takes place in English. For further discussion of the relationship between Maltese and English in trans and intersex activist contexts see Scene 5 and its analysis.

[xvi] While I used online methods in the form of Skype interviews for participants this was due to geographical distance rather than a particular recruitment effort. The risk of drop out found by Miner et al (2012) relates to survey respondents rather than interviews via video or audio calls

[xvii] Girshick describes 'stealth' as a type of 'passing [that] is quite complete' (Girshick, 2008: 109) and for Namaste passing usually means hiding a trans history (Namaste, 2000)

[xviii] See the Interview Themes in Appendix iv.

[xix] See the Research Setting and Legal Contexts of the Introduction for a reflection on the importance of legislation to this thesis. Furthermore, this focus on fictionalised legislation as a setting for the play through which to tease out these relationships speaks to an earlier iteration of the research question that was more focused on legislation. This earlier research question can be found in the Research Question section of the Introduction.

[xx] At the time of writing Scotland is in Phase 3 of moving out of lockdown due to Covid-19. Theatres are currently closed to the public and live performances are not permitted.

[xxi] These reflections on being read differ to trans studies considerations, such as Stone who discusses 'the opposite of passing, being *read*' (Stone, 1991: 173, n.45) and Eyre et al (2004) and Stanley (2017) who discuss 'clocking' that is also related to not passing and being read as trans that can have dangerous consequences of violence. However, my personal experiences of being 'read' as trans or as 'one of us' was not experienced as a negative 'clocking' nor was it in opposition to passing. As a non-binary person 'passing' does not sit alongside my experience because of the ways passing is associated with being read as cis or not trans.

[xxii] Sandy makes cultural references to David Attenborough and sings The Kinks *Tired of Waiting* (The Kinks, 1965) to indicate their age. These references continue throughout the scene with The Beatles and Douglas Adams.

[xxiii] Special Section D is the department at the HMRC (Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs) that deals with changing the gender recognised by this institution in the UK.

[xxiv] These considerations of trans temporality differ to considerations of intersex temporality, although these too account for hormonal experiences. For instance, Grabham discusses the role of hormone responses within intersex bodies constructing a 'temporal splitting' from expected linear narratives of time and somatic activity (Grabham, 2012: 9). For further engagement with intersex temporalities literature see Scene 4.

[xxv] There are sociological considerations of friendship outside of activism contexts including friendship as intimacy, particularly within LGBT friendships. For further considerations of lesbian and gay friendships and friendship as intimacy see Roseneil and Budgeon (2004), Weeks et al (2001), and Weston (1991). Furthermore, Sanger (2010) considers trans people's partnerships and the ways these partnerships may transform into friendships as part of considerations of an ethics of intimacy.

[xxvi] Dickens, C. 2003. *A Christmas Carol and other Christmas books*, London, Penguin.

[xxvii] The *Gender Recognition Act (2004)* is at the time of writing 64 pages long including all schedules and amendments.

[xxviii] The Beatles. 1967. When I'm Sixty-Four. *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band.* UK: Parlophone.

[xxix] Since 2018, all the regions within this research have adopted one standardised pension age.

[xxx] For a summary of waiting times across the UK Gender Identity Clinics see Vincent (2018a). At the time of writing summaries of waiting times across the other research sites are published on individual clinics' websites, if at all.

[xxxi] Adams, D. 2005. *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, London, Del Rey.

[xxxii] This is a feature of the requirements for legal gender recognition in England and Wales because of the *Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013*. This not a feature of the requirements for those living in Scotland because the *Marriage and Civil Partnership (Scotland) Act 2014* did not include spousal consent requirements that would change GRC applications. As of January 2020, same sex marriages are now legal in Northern Ireland due to the *Northern Ireland (Executive Formation etc) Act 2019*. This Act adopted the provisions of the *Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013* and its relationship with the *Gender Recognition Act 2004* for Northern Ireland. At the time of writing reform of the *GRA* has been the subject of one consultation from the Westminster Parliament of the UK and two consultations from the Holyrood Scottish Parliament.

[xxxiii] New South Wales; Northern Territory; Queensland; Tasmania; Victoria; Western Australia.

[xxxiv] *Miscellaneous Amendment (Marriages) Act 2018* [New South Wales]; *Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2018* [Northern Territory]; *Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Amendment Act 2018* [Queensland]; *Justice and Related Legislation (Marriage and Gender Amendments) Act 2019* [Tasmania]; *Justice Legislation Amendment (Access to Justice) Act 2018* [Victoria]; *Gender Reassignment Amendment Act 2019* [Western Australia].

[xxxv] For academic considerations of the terms 'boys' and 'bois' across lesbian, butch, and trans masculine communities see (Noble, 2004, 2006, Halberstam, 1998a, 1998b, 2006, Hale, 1998, Thimble, 2005).

[xxxvi] As noted in the Introduction, the Scottish Government is currently consulting on a *Hate Crime and Public Order (Scotland) Bill* with a proposed 'Variations in Sex Characteristics' terminology. This would replace the use of 'intersexuality' and remove it from the definition of 'transgender identity' which is the current wording and placement in the *Offences (Aggravation by Prejudice) (Scotland) Act 2009*.

[xxxvii] *Gesetz zur Änderung personenstandsrechtlicher Vorschriften (Personenstandsrechts-*

Änderungsgesetz—PStRÄndG) 2013 [Germany]

[xxxviii] The Maltese *GIGESC* law allows for birth certificates to remain blank for intersex individuals until the age of 18, whereas the other states and territories in Australia and the UK require birth registration, including information relating to sex, to be completed within the first 6 months.

[xxxix] The Maltese *GIGESC* law is an exception to this. See the Legal Contexts section in the Introduction for further discussion on this law.

[xl] The Parliament of Australia, 'Federal Parliament', has two houses (House of Representatives and The Senate); the Parliament of the United Kingdom, 'Westminster', has two houses (House of Commons and the House of Lords); and the parliaments of the following states and territories of Australia have 'lower and upper houses': New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia (Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council); South Australia, Tasmania (House of Assembly and Legislative Council). However, the Parliament of Malta; the parliaments of the following states and territories of Australia: Australian Capital Territory, Queensland, Northern Territory; and the devolved parliaments of the UK: the Northern Ireland Assembly, 'Stormont'; Senedd Cymru, 'the Senedd', and the Scottish Parliament, 'Holyrood', are all unicameral.

[xli] As noted in Endnote xxxii the provisions of the *Northern Ireland (Executive Formation etc) Act 2019* have allowed for same sex marriages in Northern Ireland since January 2020.

[xlii] Only the state of Victoria has a specific LGBTI anti-bullying scheme at the time of writing.

[xliii] Not all ten participants that make up this composite character were trans or under 25. The character is also made up of trans and intersex participants under 30 as noted in the introduction to the ethnodrama.

[xliv] These definitions of self-help, or support, groups contains similarities to the *Dictionary of Sociology*'s definition of social movements (Marshall, 1998); Hank Johnston's definition of collective action (Johnston, 2014); and Rhodes-Kubiak's definition of activism (Rhodes-Kubiak, 2015). Oliver and Marwell's definition of activist as well as the *Dictionary of Politics* definition of activist also highlight how support group work would align with these definitions (Mclean and Mcmillan, 2009, Oliver and Marwell, 1992).

[xlv] The toaster with Ellen DeGeneres' face on is a reference to the two-part coming out episode of *Ellen* that celebrated Ellen the character and Ellen DeGeneres the actor coming out as a lesbian (*The Puppy Episode, part 1*, 1997a, *The Puppy Episode, part 2*, 1997b). The toaster alludes to a joke in this episode about toaster ovens offered to successful lesbian recruiters, which is mentioned again when Ellen confesses to getting the toaster joke while coming out, and the episode ends with Melissa Etheridge giving away a toaster.

[xlvi] During 2016 and 2017 when the majority of the interviews were conducted this song was in the top 15 of the download or singles charts in Australia, Malta and the UK (Robyn and Berger, 2016). It was also frequently played in public spaces such as coffee shops so it is in the background of some audio recordings of interviews.

[xlvii] While Lavender is a fictional name, and its shorthand title is similarly fictitious several groups had been subject to medica criticism and unfavourable comments on their names or the group's aims. These particular linkages to queer lives and toilets draw from historical lesbian and gay activism in the UK. For instance, in 1986 James Anderton, the Chief Constable of greater Manchester of the time, referred to gay men as 'swirling about in a human cesspit of their own making' during an AIDS conference as quoted in *The Guardian* at the time (Sharratt, 1987). Furthermore, Moore's poem on the history of homosexuality, *The Mirror of Love*, contains the line 'reminding us in our tenderness/ of our equivalence/ with shit' (Moore, 2004: 52 L14-16).

[xlviii] The other three parent participants used terms such as 'cisgender', 'not trans', 'heterosexual' and 'straight' to describe themselves. They discussed that their children were their connection to LGBTI or trans or intersex activism

[xlix] The Identity Card Unit facilitates ID cards in Malta for Maltese and Gozitan citizens, but similar compulsory national ID cards do not exist in the other research sites. These are issued in Malta at the age of 14. These ID cards can be designated with the appropriate lived in gender at 14 if the person has applied for gender registration with parental support through the Civil Court. For those over 16 these ID cards can reflect their lived gender with an M, F, or an X, but this is unavailable to those accessing their first ID card at 14 without a court process. At the time of the Maltese interviews discussions to make ID cards available with an X were underway, and since 2017 this has been possible, but these require a statement in front of a notary public which is unavailable to those under 16. This issue is different for those whose birth gender registration was delayed and they are automatically designated with an X ID card and X passport unless they have applied for a gender registration with parental support through the Civil Court (*Gender Identity, Gender Expression and Sex Characteristics Act 2015*).

[l] This is those under 16 in Malta, although the provisions for the self-determination of legal recognition of those between 16 and 18 was relatively recent at the time of my interviews and participants were unsure if 16 year olds, or institutions they may interact with, were aware of this possibility. In Australia a minor is under 18.

[li] In the ACT this is only possible for intersex children and in Malta this is only possible for those that have not registered a child's sex at birth (*Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act 1997; Gender Identity, Gender Expression and Sex Characteristics Act 2015*). No other state or territory within the fieldwork sites had legislation that allowed for such changes at the time of writing.

[lii] The scientific claims behind the 'irreversible' status of HRT and the links to infertility were directly challenged in the 2017 *Re: Kelvin* decision in the Family Court of Australia. For further consideration of the effects of HRT and the ways in which these interventions have been presented in scientific literature see Vincent (2018a). For research into HRT access and puberty blockers for under 18s see Chung et al (2020). Research into fertility preservation for trans young people in relation to puberty blockers and HRT is limited, however, see Nahata et al (2020). For broader considerations of the transition-related healthcare available to young people see Forcier et al (2020).

[liii] The situation for young people accessing trans healthcare specifically differs in each research site. Puberty blockers are available in the UK, Malta and Australia on an individual cases by case basis. HRT is available at age 16 in Malta. HRT is available at age 16 in the UK for those that have spent at least 12 months on puberty blockers. HRT is now available in Australia for adolescents without explicit age requirements.

[liv] The Orchids, XOXO group name also includes a reference to the XOXO sign off at the end of communication popularised by G*ossip Girl* (*Gossip Girl*, 2007).

[lv] Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome.

[lvi] Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia.

[lvii] Georgiann comments on Lavender "add[ing the] I" and subsequently receiving an increase in external funding. This observation on groups and organisations adding T and I and the perceptions of related funding is explored more fully in Scene 4. However, this reference in Scene 5 provides additional context for the fraught relationship between Dean and Georgiann.

[lviii] This law uses the terms gender expression, gender identity and sex characteristics rather than trans or intersex.

[lix] These terms were formed through combining the Italian and English terms.

[lx] AS noted in Endnote xlix, X markers have been available on passports and ID cards in Malta since 2017. X markers have been available on passports in Australia since 2003. Prior to 2011 these were only available to those that could locate evidence of intersex classification from a medical professional. X markers are unavailable on UK passports.

[lxi] Since the original data collection in Australia the *Marriage Amendment (Definition and Religious Freedoms) Act 2017* has been introduced. Pikramenou's interpretation of the legislation suggests it "allows for a broad interpretation … including trans and intersex people' (Pikramenou, 2019: 114). Since the original data collection in Malta the *Marriage Act and Other Laws (Amendment) Act 2017* has been introduced. Pikramenou (2019) similarly interprets this legislation to be available to all Maltese citizens including trans and intersex individuals due to its lack of gender specificity. The *Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013* and the *Marriage and Civil Partnership (Scotland) Act 2014* were introduced prior to data collection.

[lxii] Dean is still under the cardboard box with the word TV written on so the audience can infer Leslie's comments are about media representation.