

17. The Power of the Personal: The Promise and Challenge of Transgender Identities for Christian Discipleship

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Life necessarily involves transitions. Most are familiar: from childhood to adulthood, adulthood into old age; innocence into experience; work into retirement. Some transitions are given special religious or spiritual significance. For example, the transition from non-Christian to Christian, signalled by baptism. Whether we are people of faith or not, public gesture and ritual are used to mark life's transitions. Marriage, for example, is never a private matter. Even the shortest life entails a transition from life to death. My life has included a less usual transition: from male to female. It is sufficiently unusual that, over the decade since I've been public about my transition, it has garnered considerable interest, not least from those curious about how that transition relates to my Christian discipleship.^{[1](#)}

Though my transition from male to female is unusual, I have long been convinced it bears a family resemblance to those other transitions indicated above. Indeed, I am convinced that using trans experience as a lens through which to examine human identity and formation offers rich and useful insights on the call to Christian discipleship. This chapter, therefore, juxtaposes my trans identity and formation alongside my identity and formation as a Christian disciple. I shall interrogate how elements of my own particular story helpfully contribute to a substantial contemporary account of discipleship. I shall suggest that such an account must be serious about the inner and outer horizons of formation and identity in specific cases; I shall seek to indicate that the complexities of my particular identity and formation enrich discourse around discipleship.

Identity in the Context of Formation: 'Becoming who you are ...'

Who am I? This or the other?

Am I one person today and tomorrow another?

Am I both at once? A hypocrite before others,

And before myself a contemptibly woebegone weakling?

Who am I? They mock me, these lonely questions of mine.

Whoever I am, Thou knowest, O God, I am Thine!^{[2](#)}

Dietrich Bonhoeffer's famous poem of doubt and faith, written during his imprisonment in Tegel Prison, has become a classic text in some spiritual direction and formation circles. It examines Bonhoeffer's sense of 'disconnect' between his inner narrative (insecure, lacking in faith, uncertain either of his own presence or that of God) and the public behaviour he

performs in front of others (bold, encouraging, lovingly present to both his fellow prisoners and his guards). When I came to faith, rather dramatically, through a conversion experience at Whitsun, 1996, this poem was one of the very first things on which my first spiritual companion and guide invited me to reflect. He was alert, I think, to how Bonhoeffer's anxieties about subjectivity and God, organized around the binaries of inner/outer and private/public, found an analogue in my own journey as a new disciple of Christ and as a trans woman.³ As a Christian I was concerned with discerning the ways in which my 'inner' sense of faith and God might be properly located in discipleship; in prayer, worship, communal participation in the Body of Christ, and social commitment. As a trans woman, who'd transitioned three years before, I was still exploring what living as a woman, as a bodily, practical public reality that was often called into question by verbal abuse and misgendering, meant in terms of an inner narrative.

One of the intersections between being a Christian disciple and being trans, then, is that they are in many ways both readily concerned with the notion of 'being one's true self' or, in its rather paradoxical formulation, 'becoming who you are'.⁴ Certainly 'spiritual direction' as has come to be practised in Western traditions (notably the Ignatian) has typically suggested that 'becoming one's true self' is a process of growing into the likeness of Christ.⁵ This process is predicated on prayer, action and discernment, grounded in Scripture and self-examination, in the midst of the community of others. Bonhoeffer's question 'Who am I?' matters because 'who I am or see myself to be' will be crucial in revealing how I see God and vice versa. That is, one's images of oneself are guides to one's images of God and vice versa. As a spiritual master like Thomas Merton famously suggests, each of us can give no greater glory to God than being our true selves.⁶ So it is for all creation: a tree gives glory to God by being a tree. But for the tree that's not a difficult thing to do; it cannot be other than its essential 'tree-ness'. But for humans, it's terribly complicated. We have so many possibilities and paths before us. We carry brokenness within us. Our best efforts at following the Way of God may be diverted by selfishness or self-interest. And so the only way any of us can know and be truly ourselves is to know ourselves in God. For only God sees the picture clearly and fully. Only God holds me in my completeness. On this account, a journey into self, then, is a journey into God.⁷

The Power of the Specific: Why Particular Identities and Formation Matter to Discipleship

I want to suggest that attention to the spiritual dynamics of 'inner' and 'outer', as well as 'private' and 'public', do present fruitful lines of enquiry in a discussion of the significance of identity and formation for discipleship. However, it is important to draw attention to one significant and, potentially, rich complication at this point: if, as I've already suggested, there are strong reasons to suggest that a story like mine intersects with some accounts of discipleship, it is also important to acknowledge the complexities presented by discourse around trans identity and formation.

When I transitioned in the early 1990s the range of options for trans ‘self-understanding’ were rather limited. While I was aware, dimly, that there were trans people who owned to very different understandings of trans identity from myself, their stories were not foregrounded. That is, I was aware, from conversations I had with people at the Gender Identity Clinic at Charing Cross Hospital, that some trans people were (as we might now put it) ‘non-binary’ or ‘genderqueer’.⁸ However, there really was one dominant, normative and psychiatrically shaped understanding for trans people: one either identified as male-to-female or female-to-male. The psychiatrists who acted as gatekeepers expected those who came to them for support to conform to stereotyped ideas about gender: dresses and demureness for women, suits and confidence for men. Those who did not conform to the psychiatrists’ expectations about gender were less likely to be supported with hormonal therapy, or surgery. They were likely to be accused of lacking seriousness. Their inner conviction was coded as lacking commitment to public reality. If one could conform to the medically defined binary, one could expect better treatment.

Since the 1990s, the trans community has become very much more confident in its ‘self-understanding’ and has a clearer sense of its history, discourse and cultural imaginary. It has found role models, it has ‘elders’ (of which I guess I count as one) and it has dug into archives to find historical antecedents.⁹ If, when I was growing up, most discourse about trans people was either sensational (tabloid exposés of famous trans people) or medical, in recent years trans people have begun to claim their own narratives more confidently for themselves. Most trans people no longer see themselves as living with a mental health issue that needs to be remedied; rather we have come to read ourselves as an ordinary variant among a range of human identities. This has led to considerable nuance and richness, as well as higher levels of public visibility. ‘Non-binary’ and ‘genderqueer’ identities have become more centred in trans discourse; classic ‘transsexual’ stories like mine have been better contextualized. If those outside the trans community might see people like me (often coded as ‘transsexuals’) as normative, the community itself no longer sees me as such.¹⁰

Trans subjectivities and identities, then, are as diverse as trans people. Yet as I’ve already indicated, there is one obvious intersection with some classic pictures of Christian formation and discipleship. Many trans people speak of becoming their true selves; of working out, typically in publicly effective ways, an inner conviction; a desire to conform the body in some significant way to a pre-critical, inner representation of self. Even this claim deserves careful nuancing. While there is insufficient space in this chapter to examine the scholarly positions which have emerged about trans self-understanding, it is worth noting one key distinction: that which has been delineated between ‘narrativity’ and ‘performativity’. For some scholars, influenced by Judith Butler, trans people act as icons of ‘gender performativity’, which in essence is the claim that ‘gender’ is constructed, performed and artificial.¹¹ However, the trans theorist Jay Prosser draws attention to another trajectory for some trans people: he says that while some argue for the constructed ‘non-naturalness’ of sex and gender for all subjects, ‘there are ... transsexual trajectories that aspire to what this scheme devalues. Namely, there are transsexuals who seek very pointedly to be

nonperformative, to be constative, quite simply to be.’¹² Judith/Jack Halberstam glosses this as: ‘many transsexuals do not want to represent gender artifice; they actually aspire to the real, the natural, indeed the very condition that has been rejected by the queer theory of gender performance.’¹³ Prosser indicates a powerful subjective ‘force’ in some trans identities: the desire to be ‘conformed’ to ‘the natural’.¹⁴

It should be clear from the above that there is a rich diversity among trans people about what it means to be trans. While it may not be necessary to go to a profoundly granular level when asking, for example, what it means for the call to grow into the likeness of Christ to be heeded by ‘trans people’, nuance is helpful. Whose identity and whose formation is being spoken about? Trans people should no more be treated as monocultural than any other group. To speak out of the particular and specific helpfully draws attention to the way in which any discourse around discipleship must be appropriately nuanced. Given the inroads made by ‘identity-framed’ theologies in recent decades, not least ‘feminist’, ‘womanist’, ‘black’ and ‘global-majority’ as well as ‘queer’, this should not constitute a surprise. Nonetheless, even within the attention to detail brought by emerging theologies, this reminder about the problematic nature of generalizations about identity and formation is significant.

Being (Con-)formed to Christ: A ‘Case-study’ in How the Personal Matters to Discipleship

Becoming a Christian in my mid-twenties remains one of the most bewildering, delightful and mysterious commitments of my life. This I know, however: it has been a journey into loss and recovery, into false consolation and into real hope. It has been transformative, and by turns joyful and bleak. It has also been an encounter with the God that is living and a journey into becoming, into becoming the person I truly am. It has been an invitation into the demanding realities of discipleship, an invitation made to all, whether trans or cis, gay or straight, male or female, white or global-majority. My journey as a trans person into the life of a disciple of Christ – with its inner and outer, its private and public horizons – presents particular features which offer potentially fresh insight for those wishing to reflect on discipleship in the twenty-first century. One personal vignette may be especially helpful.

Jesus said, ‘Those who seek to save their life will lose it, and those who lose their life for my sake will save it.’ It is a statement with endless resonance and ripples. One ripple that many may miss, simply because they’ve had little cause to question their basic identity, is that in order to lose one’s life, one must have one to begin with. That is, to give one’s life to God, to lose it, one must have some sense of *who* one is to begin with. In order to lose oneself there has to be someone there to get lost. In a very important sense, it wasn’t until I was in my mid-twenties that there was anyone much there to lose. As I transitioned, and sought to discover who I was, I felt that for the first time in my life I wasn’t playing a part. The irony was that the person I had been for over twenty years, shaped and formed in a thousand conventional ways, felt increasingly like a series of masks, a theatrical invention. At the same time, as I ‘played’ with what it meant to be Rachel (the very public experiments

with clothing, make-up, voice, bodily movement), I felt like I was becoming more myself.

In the midst of the ‘creation’, the theatre and play, I was becoming a solid person rather than a set of masks. For those who are already inclined to treat trans people as ‘fakes’ or who are suspicious of the need for theatre and play in the emergence of identity, these claims may sound paradoxical or at least counter-intuitive.¹⁵ However, that is how it was. I’d be lying if I claimed that period of my life, even after the helpful shifts of living full time as a woman and of changing my name legally to Rachel in 1995, was one easy march to self-realization. But as I moved into my mid-twenties I felt like I was becoming the person I was supposed to be. My life was coming together rather than fragmenting. For the first time I properly had a sense of who I was – hard fought for and hard won, an achievement of self-determination, with little encouragement from others. This was the context for my becoming a Christian. I guess God had been waiting for me to ‘appear’ for over twenty-five years. Arguably, the inner and outer horizons of my personal identity were sufficiently integrated for an encounter with the disruptive and challenging realities of the living God (one dimension of which was, ultimately, a call towards ordained ministry). I was in a position where God could get at me, and invite me into the life of Christian discipleship. I was ready to grow a little more into the likeness of Christ.

This short vignette draws attention, then, to the importance of respecting a person’s formational backstory (perhaps, especially a trans person’s backstory) when considering what might be crucial for them to come to a place where a life of Christian discipleship might be possible or even plausible for them. It should caution us against the temptation to treat trans people’s negotiations of identity, which may involve play and acting up and acting out, as necessarily problematic, or lacking the seriousness we expect of adults. Such play, trial-and-error and performance may be necessary for God’s reality to become available. In the closing section of this chapter, I want to further delineate the creative dynamics between trans identities and the invitation to be a disciple of Christ in the twenty-first century. I want to acknowledge that for some trans people the call to be conformed to Christ may have toxic or at least equivocal implications. However, I shall conclude that, provided discipleship is not conceived in a priggish, one-dimensional manner, Christian tradition can hold the space for queer identities to flourish.

Being Attentive to What is Hidden Before Our Eyes: Finding Generosity in the Discourse of Discipleship

Discipleship is, arguably, a determinedly public matter. That is why it is costly. When I came out as a Christian in my mid-twenties, one friend asked me why on earth I wanted to hang out with ‘that lot’. He said this: ‘You’re like a Jewish person who wants to join the Nazi Party.’ Undoubtedly his rhetoric was inflated, questionable and tasteless. Yet as far as he could judge the situation, it had grip.¹⁶ He had a point: as a new Christian I felt called to be with those who would delight in my conversion, but perhaps reject me as a trans person, even attempt to persuade me to de-transition.¹⁷ I have certainly encountered those. But still I was

clear that if I were to be a faithful follower of Jesus I had to do so in public. Upon coming to faith I sought preparation for confirmation. In late 1996 I was confirmed and gave, with careful redactions, my testimony at my new church. It was a moment of definitively 'coming out' as a Christian. There have been many occasions in the past twenty-five years when I've found it easier to be out about being trans than be out about being a Christian, but I could not be a disciple in private.

However, given the at best equivocal affirmation offered to trans people (and LGBT+ people more broadly) within the church, for a trans person to be out about their trans-ness while being out about their discipleship is not a straightforward matter. Rather than outline some of the horrible treatment I have experienced, including death threats, I want to make a case for generosity and pastoral awareness on the part of the church. I want to suggest that if the life of discipleship entails being conformed to Christ and growing into his likeness, an expansive understanding of that life may be required to meet the nuances and pressures faced by trans people. I shall make the case for a generous understanding of discipleship by discussing two concepts which have a controversial history in trans discourse: 'passing' and 'stealth'. These concepts indicate just some of the complex decisions which trans people may feel they need to make in the midst of a sincere commitment to be a disciple of Christ.¹⁸

For anyone unfamiliar with the notions of trans 'stealth' and 'passing', perhaps the easiest explanations can be provided by using my own experience as an example. When I transitioned in the early 1990s, one of the key requirements from the NHS psychiatrists who 'treated' me, a condition of becoming a recipient of HRT and being recommended for surgery, was undertaking the so-called Real Life Test (RLT). The RLT remains a key, controversial part of NHS treatment to this day. It is typically set as a condition for trans people to be recommended for surgery, and asks us to 'live' in our 'chosen' gender for two years and work for one year as such too. When I met with my psychiatrists the litany of questions always included some about how I was seen: did I 'pass', did I think I 'passed', what kind of gaze did I think was directed at me? The imperative, both spoken and unspoken, was (as a male-to-female trans person) 'to pass' as a woman, to achieve invisibility and blend in; that is, to not be seen as trans but what is now known as 'cis'.¹⁹ 'Success', from a psychiatric, medical point of view, was measured by being seen socially and publicly as 'just like' any other 'cis' woman.

Of course, as indicated earlier, running alongside this was the conservatism of the psychiatrists who were treating me. Their ideas about what, say, constituted a woman was of an essentially conservative kind: a woman wears make-up, wears a skirt or dress, is attracted to men and so on. I learned to 'act up' to their stereotypes on visits to Charing Cross; it simply made my life easier and I was more likely to get what I wanted (my hormone prescription, the prospect of surgery) if I 'performed' according to their script. Those who disobeyed, because they saw themselves as gender-neutral or genderqueer, for example, or who simply could not visually conform to cultural conventions about masculinity or femininity, were likely to run into trouble. On the one hand, like many trans people at that time, I was rather desperate to 'pass' (not least because I so completely wanted to be

seen/read/accepted as a woman); however, on the other, the notion of 'passing' can be read as an introject generated by medical, social and cultural expectations. The fundamental demand of the psychiatric script is to be 'conformed' to social and medical normative ideas of 'woman', 'man', 'femininity' and so on.

The notion of 'passing' can easily be connected to an allied concept: 'stealth'. Again, my own experience can readily illuminate this concept. As I transitioned I was keen to pass and perhaps had certain social advantages (youth, stereotyped 'feminine' physical characteristics, access to money, etc.), to achieve that end. Like many trans people who, on these terms, 'successfully' transition, I saw the social and personal advantages of 'going stealth'; that is, effectively excising all performed reference to my trans identity. I enacted my disappearance into cis-normative society by living as if I was a cisgender woman. Letting people know I was trans became the exception rather than the 'norm'. While it is understood as a practice with a history, and therefore, one might say, part of the trans tradition, this practice is controversial among trans people, being seen by some in trans communities as an example of internalized transphobia.²⁰ In other words, to 'go stealth' is to act as if one is so fearful and anxious about one's status as trans that one seeks to 'pretend' or act as if one is not trans. One thing I'm clear about in my own case is this: though my transition was 'successful',²¹ I was often anxious about being 'spotted' or outed as trans and, thereby, stigmatized or ostracized by those who'd 'spotted' me. This anxiety only increased when I became a Christian.

One of the things one learns about being trans in the time of psychiatry and indeed in any context of normativity, in which being trans is inescapably 'other' and 'othered', is that there is no escape from cost and loss. Those who perform or foreground their trans identities face regular abuse and the threat of violence, but those who go stealth will live in the terror of discovery and outing. One of the indicators that we live in a cis-normative culture is the prevalence of the narrative that trans people are duplicitous and tricksterish. This has inner and outer dimensions. The inner dimensions can be acute around the formation of intimate relationships. I, along with other trans people I've known, have felt pressure to disclose my most intimate personal truths in order to enjoy the kind of everyday relationships many people unconsciously take for granted. The internalized belief that being trans is somehow shameful has led me to the 'There's something you need to know about me' conversation on too many occasions. I've felt like I've been making a dirty confession. Yet the 'outer' dimension, in which men have attacked and killed trans people and offered 's/he tricked me' as a defence, is also well-attested.²²

Given this analysis of concepts of 'stealth' and 'passing', it is perhaps possible to discern some of the complexities for some trans people in the call to discipleship. When I came to Christ, I wanted to be open and congruous about my life story. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to frame the life of discipleship as a lifelong invitation to live in and on God's truth, reality and promise. To follow Christ obediently and faithfully is to become more Christlike in one's public and private life. Yet trans people who feel called into a life of discipleship may find themselves in no simple place as they negotiate the nature and shape of that call. Until I definitively came out, via a spiritual memoir in 2012, I lived in the double-edged world of

stealth and passing: it protected me from the viciousness of many people, including the judgement of many people of faith, but I lived with endless low-level anxiety about being outed and exposed. Nonetheless, within the painful complexity of passing and stealth, I felt I was seeking to be an obedient disciple.

These negotiations of the inner and outer horizons of identity, formation and discipleship are, of course, faced by pretty much everyone. We all carry 'wounds', burdens and vulnerabilities. The life of a disciple is, at a deep level, predicated on the willingness not to hide behind one's hands but reveal one's face, in the very least, to God. But I am conscious of how for some trans people the reality of living in a prejudiced society and culture, which has partly formed the context of what it means to be a follower of Christ, presents a poignant case. In cultural contexts, like ours, where trans people are still encouraged to pass and go stealth, and in which the 'successful' trans person is so often the one who does not draw attention to her trans-ness, it surely behoves the church to be sensitive to the impact of this culture on trans people of faith. I certainly spent a great deal of my early journey as a disciple as one who might be said to have been in an alienated relationship with her trans-ness. Why? Because I saw myself as a 'good' trans person insofar as I saw myself as a close approximation of a 'natural' cis woman. Perhaps the gift of grace that the church might model to trans people is a gift of space and time. This gift might permit us to discern fresh riches in the call to grow into the likeness of Christ; these riches might break open culturally conditioned ideas of 'male' and 'female', 'men' and 'women' and allow us all to discover new horizons of gender. This is a gift which all of us, straight or gay, trans or cis, could do with being offered a little more often.

Of course, there is a gift which, in turn, trans identities might offer to accounts of discipleship, and human and spiritual formation. This is the gift of disruption and reformulation. Trans people offer an opportunity for those of us involved in reflecting on and promoting discipleship to reappraise what it means to talk of human beings, subjectivity and bodies (and, indeed, of Christ himself). When we in the church talk about 'becoming who we are', trans people invite us to consider again the contribution of postmodern, feminist, womanist and queer theologies (to name a few!) to our theological anthropology. This contribution reminds us that whenever we talk about discipleship, as much as anything else we should pay attention to who or what is privileged and who or what is 'othered'. Too often, white, male, middle-class, straight and cis experiences have been used as the framing devices to understand what the life of discipleship means. A standardized understanding of human subjectivity has been taken as either the best or only way to understand human experience. As I have sought to show, trans lives both intersect with that experience and diverge creatively from it. If the life of discipleship is to hold space where all may find their fullest lives, it is way past time for those charged with the work of Christian formation to pay attention to those of us who live on the other side of 'normal'. We may have struggled to find a home in the church, but often we have much to report back on the empowering comfort and promise of Christ's startling company.

Notes

- ¹ See, for example, my BBC Radio 4 'Lent Talk' on Trans Identity, broadcast Lent 2020: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000fvzz> (accessed 22.2.21).
- ² Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (London and Southampton: The Camelot Press, 1953), p. 165.
- ³ I'm conscious that various terms for 'spiritual direction' are used. I tend to use 'director'/'directee' simply because those were the terms used in my first exposure to 'direction'. I also use 'spiritual companionship' and some directors see themselves as 'soul friends'. A discussion of the power dynamics and semantic values of differing terms falls outside the scope of this chapter.
- ⁴ See James Martin SJ, *Becoming Who You Are* (Boston, MA: Hidden Spring, 2006) for a study of this claim.
- ⁵ See, for example, Margaret Silf, *Landmarks: An Ignatian Journey* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1998); Gerard W. Hughes, *God of Surprises* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1996).
- ⁶ Thomas Merton, *Seeds of Contemplation* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962).
- ⁷ This 'journey into self' might sound both overly individualistic and inwardly directed. Certainly, there are some who might parody the practices of Christian formation as the work of 'holy joes' and the overly 'spiritual'. As this chapter wishes to emphasize, however, formation as a person of faith and disciple of Christ is always located in public and community living and realities.
- ⁸ For a helpful glossary of key terms about gender identity, see Christina Beardsley and Chris Dowd, *Transfaith: A Transgender Pastoral Guide* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2018).
- ⁹ This has become very much part of LGBT History Month projects, as well as popular history studies. For example, see <https://www.historytoday.com/reviews/rediscovering-trans-history> (accessed 15.1.21).
- ¹⁰ For a more detailed analysis of these claims, see Rachel Mann, *Dazzling Darkness*, 2nd edn (Glasgow: Wild Goose, 2020), pp. 23–5.
- ¹¹ Though such is gender's power that it has inner 'effects' on the subject, and s/he may feel his/her identity is a natural given. For more, see, for example, Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2005).
- ¹² See Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 32.
- ¹³ Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, p. 50.
- ¹⁴ I've felt the pre-critical force of this in my imaginary: I should like to be able to 'have' a womb, ovaries, give birth to children and be a mother. At the level of theory, it's relatively straightforward to bring critical pressure on that 'desire' from various angles. However, at the level of pre-critical, expressive and 'confessional' living, my hunger to embody the 'natural' fecund and my acknowledgement that this cannot be the case has been emotionally and psychologically resonant. It's certainly the case that one of the most difficult aspects of negotiating being trans is accepting that I cannot 'bear' children. In my late twenties and early thirties, despite 'knowing', at an intellectual level, that I couldn't and would never bear children, I struggled to accept it at an emotional level.
- ¹⁵ For more on play, dress-up and performative identities in following Christ, see Rachel Mann, *Love's Mysteries: The Body, Grief, Precariousness and God* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2020), pp. 102–4.
- ¹⁶ For more on this, see Rachel Mann, 'The Other Side of Gender', in *Others*, ed. Charles Fernyhough (London: Unbound, 2019), pp. 147–57.
- ¹⁷ I remember telling one of the psychiatrists at Charing Cross about my conversion experience and he said that every trans person he knew who had found religion had de-transitioned within a year.
- ¹⁸ For an analysis of the concepts of stealth and passing through a close reading of Psalm 139 and its implications for spiritual direction, see Rachel Mann, "'Queering" Spiritual Direction: Towards a Trans*-Literary Praxis', *Theology & Sexuality*, 3, vol. 20 (2014), pp. 214–24.
- ¹⁹ 'Cis' is a term developed in gender theory to indicate those who are comfortable with their gender assigned at birth. It is derived from the Latin for 'to the near side'.
- ²⁰ Michelle Roberts, 'Stealth doesn't help the trans community', *TransAdvocate*, 25 July 2013: https://www.transadvocate.com/stealth-doesnt-help-the-trans-community_n_9817.htm (accessed 15.1.21).
- ²¹ In terms of the normative, dominant psychiatric and social narrative.
- ²² Jaime M. Grant, Lisa A. Mottet, Justin Tanis, Jack Harrison, Jody L. Herman and Mara Keisling, *Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey* (Washington DC: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2011), https://www.transequality.org/sites/default/files/docs/resources/NTDS_Report.pdf (accessed 15.1.21).