

City University of New York (CUNY)

CUNY Academic Works

Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects

CUNY Graduate Center

2-2021

Progress Narratives in Trans Internationalism: Surveying a Collected Archive of the Global Trans Movement, 2008–2018

Flora P. Wolpert Checknoff

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

More information about this work at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/4217

Discover additional works at: <https://academicworks.cuny.edu>

This work is made publicly available by the City University of New York (CUNY).

Contact: AcademicWorks@cuny.edu

PROGRESS NARRATIVES IN TRANS INTERNATIONALISM:
SURVEYING A COLLECTED ARCHIVE OF THE GLOBAL
TRANS MOVEMENT, 2008-2018

by

FLORA WOLPERT CHECKNOFF

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2021

© 2021

FLORA WOLPERT
CHECKNOFF

All Rights Reserved

Progress Narratives in Trans Internationalism: Surveying a Collected Archive of
the Global Trans Movement, 2008-2018

by

Flora Wolpert Checknoff

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal
Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

Paisley Currah

Thesis Advisor

Date

Elizabeth Macaulay Lewis

Executive Officer

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

Progress Narratives in Trans Internationalism: Surveying a Collected Archive of the Global Trans Movement, 2008-2018

by

Flora Wolpert Checknoff

Advisor: Paisley Currah

Trans liberation as a global movement began to be documented in public reports in the mid-2000s. Gathered together from their first decade (2008-2018), publications produced by three trans NGOs dedicated to broad global regions—Transgender Europe (TGEU), the Asia Pacific Trans Network (APTN), and Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE)—demonstrate the cultivation of a global trans imaginary and materialize records of a coalescing struggle. The publications depict tensions between an evolving global trans imaginary and the construction of a rights deserving trans population in the development sector. The seeking of international action and resources has compelled the unification of messaging through rhetoric and data aggregation across otherwise heterogenous circumstances of gender non-conforming people in different geographical, societal, political and cultural settings. This unification of messaging enables the trans movement to engage and become established within global development spaces, while steeping the conceptualization of trans liberation within global developmentism as it applies to the modernizing of populations' conditions and capacities, framed by narratives of cumulative progress. By studying the living public archive of the global trans movement collected in its first decade, I explore the formation of this global trans imaginary and the articulation of trans populations' potentiality through the lens of Roderick Ferguson's concept of the will to institutionality.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to Paisley Currah for guidance in developing this project. Thanks also to professors Barbara Katz Rothman, James Wilson, and Kevin Nadal.

Special thanks to Dr. Beverly Wolpert, Shirley Carr, Iris, Nelson, the Rude Mechanical Orchestra, L., and the Gunks.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
I. Surveying a Collected Archive of the Global Trans Movement, 2008-2018	3
II. The Will to Institutionalization and Minority Population Research	19
III. Progress Narratives in Trans Internationalism	32
Conclusion	40
Bibliography	42

Introduction

Trans liberation as a global movement began to be documented in public reports in the mid-2000s.¹ Gathered together from their first decade (2008-2018), publications produced by three trans NGOs dedicated to broad global regions—Transgender Europe (TGEU), the Asia Pacific Trans Network (APTN), and Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE)—demonstrate the cultivation of a global trans imaginary and materialize records of a coalescing struggle. The publications depict the relations between an evolving global trans imaginary and the construction of a rights deserving trans population in the development sector. The seeking of international action and resources beyond the local scale has compelled the unification of messaging through rhetoric and data aggregation across otherwise heterogenous circumstances of gender non-conforming people in different geographical, societal, political and cultural settings. This unification of messaging enables the trans movement to engage and become established within global development spaces, while steeping the conceptualization of trans liberation within the conceptualization of global development as it applies to the modernizing of populations' conditions and capacities, framed by narratives of cumulative. By studying the living public archive of the global trans movement collected in its first decade, I explore the evolution of a global trans imaginary and the articulation of trans populations' potentiality through the lens of Roderick Ferguson's concept of the "will to institutionality."²

¹ Trans, understood in the context of this project as a Western hegemonic term, has been defined by Susan Stryker as a descriptor used by "people who move away from the gender they were assigned at birth," those who "feel strongly that they properly belong to another gender through which it would be better for them to live," and/or those who "challenge the conventional expectations bound up with the gender that was initially put upon them." Susan Stryker, *Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution*, Second edition. (New York: Seal Press, 2017): 1.

² Roderick A Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012): 209.

In the Asia Pacific Trans Network's (APTN) first publication in 2012, the stated aims were "to provide a research and strategic information network" to "guide governments, civil society, donors and key stakeholders to design and produce relevant research as part of a collective effort to reduce the extreme vulnerability of transgender people."³ In line with these aims, many of the reports serve as guides for trans activists to build channels and work on their aspirations through the international human rights system using mechanisms at the United Nations, NGOs, and global funders. Frequently, the publications are produced to retroactively document global conferences convening trans community activists, NGO personnel, funders, policymakers and development professionals.

In serving to educate policymakers and development professionals about the needs of gender non-conforming populations, the reports and the meetings that they document articulate the utility of trans population inclusion in universal ideas of progress and projects of development. While appealing to and operating within the networks of global development, the reports reflect Enlightenment-born conceptions of individuality that merge with neoliberal structures in which they are produced, reflected by nonprofit organizational models. The publications model a spirit of research innovation and advocate for the expansion of data collection on trans populations as the currency necessary to articulate trans life to, as well as include it in, political and economic authoritative spaces.

To unpack the project and potentialities of the global trans movement as illustrated by its living public archive collected, I begin by giving an overview of the first decade of publications. I then critically analyze two of the primary mechanisms at work in the publications throughout the collection—minority population research and progress narratives—in light of decolonial

³ Sam Winter, *Lost in Transition: Transgender People, Rights and HIV Vulnerability in the Asia-Pacific Region* (APTN and UNDP, 2012): vi.

theory that intervenes in the lineage of the enlightenment, the human rights framework, and global developmentalism.

I. Surveying a collected archive of the global trans movement, 2008-2018

I have gathered original resources produced and publicly archived by the Asia Pacific Transgender Network (APTN), Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE), and Transgender Europe (TGEU) for analysis. Published in the “resources” sections of each organization’s website between 2008 and 2018, my analysis combs through roughly 40 of these documents, those that are formalized publications and toolkits. Out of what has been made publicly accessible by the organizations, I excluded from my scope an equally substantial amount of statements, papers, and letters issued in response to legal and political events affecting gender non-conforming communities globally.

TGEU (Berlin) formed in 2005 and published its first report in 2008. APTN (Bangkok) and GATE (Buenos Aires/New York) each formed in 2009 and each started publishing reports in 2011. Between the three organizations, research on trans populations and global organizing has been released multiple times a year since. From the start, publications have often been produced in partnership with older, established NGOs such as the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), global health agencies like the World Health Organization (WHO), foundation funders based in the US and EU, and government and intergovernmental agencies based in the US and EU.

For the overview, I unpack the aims of the few publications released in the seminal years of the archive, 2008-2012. This way, I establish the rhetorical and strategic foundations from

which increasingly nuanced research issues evolved. I then survey the gradual proliferation of research issues and frequency of publication from 2013-2016. Selections from the years 2017-2018 illustrate my discussions of minority population research and progress rhetoric in light of decolonial literature in subsequent sections.

The earliest communications from the three trans organizations I study here emerged using human rights perspectives and terminology to frame access to health care and legal gender recognition. As the global trans movement grew beyond medicalized framings and became distinct from the global LGBTI+ rights movement, the issues focused on in reports proliferated. Publications expanded from the foci on health care and legal recognition and became dedicated to a wider array of human rights principles applied to trans population issues, such as employment rights and security.

The opening discourse in the publications centralized depathologization—a thrust of the movement that continues to confront the classification of transness as a mental health disorder in authoritative, international psychology manuals and guidances. This arm of the movement also confronts the medical procedures mandated for legal transition, by locality. Such kinds of requirements include or have included psychological treatment (ranging from quotas of talk therapy to mandatory periods of institutionalization), hormone therapy, surgery, and sterilization.

2008: Transgender Europe’s seminal report

TGEU’s first report, *Transgender EuroStudy: Legal Survey and Focus on the Transgender Experience of Health Care* (2008), identified the classification of both transgenderism and transsexualism as mental disorders in “the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual

(DSM) IV for the American Psychiatric Association (APA); the International Classification of Diseases and the World Health Organization (WHO),” to be “the most significant issue” that “places trans people in a position with healthcare providers” marked by “power and control; desire and need coupled with vulnerability; pathologisation and protocol.”⁴ The report documented the consistent denial of access to “the most basic medical treatment required to enable them to live in their preferred gender role” as well as to “non trans-related care because they are trans” throughout EU states. From the out start, TGEU framed the basis for prompt action and aspirational change on human rights principles: “Trans people have the same rights as everyone else to adequate, respectful and accessible healthcare; the shame they are forced to undergo for even the most basic medical treatment offends against basic principles of equality and human rights.”⁵

2011: Global Action for Trans* Equality’s seminal report, TGEU continues publishing

While TGEU’s seminal report in 2008 was directed to the Commissioner for Human Rights and aspired to influence state response to the medical and legal conditions harming trans communities in the EU, GATE’s first publication in 2011 was directed to medical and mental health professionals authoring and adhering to authoritative guides in practice internationally. *It’s time for reform: Trans* Health Issues in the International Classifications of Diseases* (2011) reported on a meeting held at the Hague to coordinate global trans influence on revisions to the

⁴ Stephen Whittle, Lewis Turner, Ryan Combs, and Stephenne Rhodes, *Transgender EuroStudy: Legal Survey and Focus on the Transgender Experience of Health Care*. (Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2008): 13.

⁵ Whittle, *Transgender Eurostudy*, 14.

tenth edition of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10). The ICD-10 was, in varying applications across countries, “used to make trans persons’ access to health (including transitional health) possible, while in other countries...used for the opposite effect: denial of health care.”⁶ In some countries, where ICD-10 diagnoses were required to obtain legal recognition of trans people’s identities, the practice of diagnosis simultaneously pathologized “trans* persons and their bodies, identities, expressions and sexual experiences” and was criticized for “scarce or null clinical relevance” and “outdated and biased judgments.”⁷ Focused on depathologizing transness in the next volume of the ICD and improving access to and experience with healthcare, GATE “convened a group of experts in different fields – many of them trans*-identified, and most of them also activists – for an in-depth discussion of ICD-10 and to suggest lines of work towards the development of ICD-11.”⁸

In the same year, TGEU set the stage to expand its publications’ coverage of research issues by analyzing trans conditions through multiple human rights framework-based channels. In a follow-up to the first paper dedicated to trans issues released by the Europe Commissioner for Human Rights in 2009, TGEU published *Human Rights and Gender Identity: Best Practice Catalogue*. As TGEU’s second publication, it supported and expanded upon the Commissioner’s twelve recommendations that called on “Council of Europe Member States to respect the human rights of trans people and put in place concrete measures for the social inclusion and emancipation of trans people.”⁹ The catalogue contained twelve chapters, beginning with advisement on the implementation of international human rights standards and ending with a

⁶ Global Action for Trans* Equality, *It's time for reform: Trans* Health Issues in the International Classifications of Diseases*. The Hague: GATE, 2011): 3.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Silvan Agius, Richard Kohler, Sophie Aujean, Julia Ehrt. *Human Rights and Gender Identity: Best Practice Catalogue*. (Berlin: Transgender Europe and Belgium: ILGA. 2011): 7.

comparison of then-recent trans data collection projects undertaken by varying localities and for varying aims.

In response to TGEU's frequent solicitation for advisement by policymakers and other NGOs, the organization produced the catalogue in order to "illustrate how each of the twelve recommendations [could] be met in legislation, policy and practice."¹⁰ In answer to their collective inquiring, the catalogue was intended for use by "legislators, decision makers, equality bodies, and human rights organisations to work towards a world...that affords trans people the dignity and respect that they deserve."¹¹ The first chapter recommended that international human rights standards be implemented in national non-discrimination legislation with explicit prohibiting of "discrimination on the ground of gender identity," using the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity as a guide for national implementations.¹²

Continuing to build upon comparative and preexistent models, the catalogue referred to the historic resolution adopted earlier in 2011 by the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC, founded in 2006) "expressing...concern regarding violations of human rights and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity."¹³ The UNHRC Resolution led to the production of a report from the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights entitled *Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity*. Suggesting the potential for trans-specific advocacy within such broader gender-related resolutions and conventions the catalogue demonstrated that "[s]ome thematic instruments within the UN human rights system make express reference to

¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 8.

¹³ Ibid., 9.

gender identity as well. This is the case of the *Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)*.¹⁴ TGEU’s foundational assertion in this report that “[t]he Council of Europe (CoE) has been a global pioneer in the advancement of the application of human rights to trans people” will prove important to the shaping of research in the years that follow, both by TGEU as well as the other two organizations based outside of Europe, whose trajectories of publication and research areas model that of TGEU.¹⁵

The best practice catalogue’s final chapter recommended the development of research and data collection projects to analyze “the human rights situation of transgender persons including the discrimination and intolerance they encounter with due regard to the right to privacy of the persons concerned.”¹⁶ While TGEU was encouraged by the growth of trans population research at the EU-wide level, gauging the human rights situations of trans people at most state and local levels was obstructed due to the scarcity of available data. Consistent with the rest of the catalogue, TGEU provided several models drawing from the few national trans research projects that were yet in existence. These models included the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Bra)’s trans hate crime statistic collection methods (ongoing), the United Kingdom’s Equality and Human Rights Commission’s *Trans Research Review* (2009), The National Center for Transgender Equality’s (US) 2009 publication, *National Transgender Discrimination Survey and Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey*, published in 2011.¹⁷

In addition, TGEU referenced its own internal global data collection project, Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide (TvT), to serve as a potential model for localized trans

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 10.

¹⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹⁷ Ibid., 61-2.

population research projects. “[A]n ongoing worldwide comparative, qualitative and quantitative research project conducted by Transgender Europe in close cooperation with regional partner organisations[,] the project provides an overview of the human rights situation of trans persons and collates useful data and prepares advocacy tools for the use of international institutions, human rights organisations, and the trans movement.”¹⁸ To map the legal and social situations of trans people, TvT implemented the following indicators: “including (i) gender recognition and anti-discrimination legislation; (ii) hate crime and asylum legislation; (iii) criminalisation, prosecution and state-sponsored discrimination; and (iv) trans-specific health care, including access to hormones and hormone therapy, gender reassignment treatment and body modifications.”¹⁹ Within Transrespect versus Transphobia, the *Trans Murder Monitoring Project* monitors reported cases of murders of trans people globally.

2012: Asia Pacific Transgender Network’s seminal report, GATE and TGEU continue publishing

In 2012, the movement continued to gain steam and two formal publications were produced. The issues focused upon were primarily healthcare access, research expansion, and trans movement building within the international human rights system.

The Asia Pacific Transgender Network released its first report, *Lost in Transition: Transgender People, Rights and HIV Vulnerability in the Asia-Pacific Region*, examining “existing literature on trans* people’s human rights and HIV vulnerability across the Asia-Pacific region... [including] all those nations and territories on the continent of Asia (from the

¹⁸ Ibid., 62.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Mediterranean to the Pacific) and in Australasia and Oceania,” focusing mainly on lower income and middle income countries of the region.²⁰ In its examination of preexistent research, the report identified the disproportionate attention given to “urban, trans* women” and a dearth of research elucidating the situations of trans people who live rurally, are elderly, and/or who are “trans* men,” the latter identity of which was emerging at the time “across much of the Asia-Pacific region.”²¹ Distinguishing it from previous publications by TGEU and GATE, the report spent significant effort to address the functions and inadequacies of Western terminology as well as Western frameworks for understanding gender variance in the Asia-Pacific region in 2012. It recommended that “[a]ttempts to construct a vocabulary that conveys both dignity and precision may be an essential first step for trans* people to achieve recognition as a distinct community able to promote its members’ interests and press for their rights.”²² The report continues:

The terms ‘transgender’ and its derivatives (including trans* person, ‘trans* woman’ and ‘trans* man’) are Western and modern. Many ‘transgender’ individuals across the Asia-Pacific are in fact likely to identify using indigenous labels. These labels often reflect a sexual and gender worldview in which sexuality (orientation and behaviour) and gender (identity and expression) were once closely associated, and diversity was much better accepted than in much of recent Western history (even in some cultures celebrated). For some cultures there was once an energetic ‘gender pluralism’ in which those who nowadays would be called transgender were able to thrive. Despite a range of ‘modernising’ influences, vestiges of that gender pluralism still remain in parts of the region, for example South and Southeast Asia.²³

The report explored the bases for stigma and prejudice against gender variant people throughout the region hindering both the seeking of and access to healthcare, driving the disproportionate prevalence of and vulnerability to HIV in gender variant populations. Among such bases for stigma and prejudice, the report referred again--as it had in the case of inadequate

²⁰ Sam Winter, *Lost in Transition: Transgender People, Rights and HIV Vulnerability in the Asia-Pacific Region*. (Bankgok: APTN and UNDP, 2012): 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²² *Ibid.*, 8.

²³ *Ibid.*

terminology--to “[m]odernising forces associated with economic development, urbanisation and globalization which have sometimes led to the disappearance of roles trans* people once played in their indigenous communities” introducing in some places “[w]estern mainstream medical views of gender variance as a mental disorder (across much of the region, e.g. Hong Kong). In some places gender variance is even seen as mental disability (as in Indonesia), or as permanent psychosis (until recently in Thailand),” carrying the “strong force in modern Western psychology and psychiatry” that psychopathologizes gender variance.²⁴

Within Transgender Europe, the Transrespect versus Transphobia (TvT) project released its first report, *A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, the first global, comprehensive research project on the human rights situations of gender-variant/trans people. For the project, trans researchers and activists mapped and surveyed the legal and social situations for gender-variant/trans people in “dozens of countries in all six world regions: Africa, Asia, Central and South America, Europe, North America and Oceania.”²⁵ By “documenting violence and collecting good practices,” and developing “useful data and advocacy tools” the TvT project articulated its aims to “foster activist collaborations and contribute to the strengthening and visibility of local, regional and transnational self-organising.”²⁶ The TvT project also grounded its purpose to contribute to the “paradigm shift in the perception and framing of gender-variant/trans people” toward [t]he new understanding conceives of gender variant/trans people as equal members of society in the context of the

²⁴ Ibid., 14.

²⁵ Transrespect versus Transphobia, *A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*. (Berlin: TvT Worldwide and Transgender Europe, 2012): 20.

²⁶ Ibid., 20.

universality of human rights.”²⁷ The report cites the Yogyakarta Principles and the UNHCR Resolution on Sexual and Gender Identity as milestones for trans movement activists.

2013: APTN, GATE, and TGEU continue publishing

In 2013, the issues focused upon were healthcare access, legal recognition, and expanding funding strategies globally.

APTN produced another report springing from the lens of healthcare, *Regional Assessment of HIV, STI and Other Health Needs of Transgender People in Asia and the Pacific*. GATE created one publication, documenting a conference held in Europe that brought together global trans activists and funders: *Advancing Trans* Movements Worldwide: A Meeting for Funders & Activists on Gender Diversity*. TGEU released a toolkit directed toward activists, outlining strategy for legal gender recognition advocacy throughout Europe.

2014: APTN, GATE, and TGEU continue publishing

In 2014, the issues focused upon were healthcare access, funding expansion, employment rights, and legal recognition.

APTN produced *Agenda in Transition: Advancing Actions to Secure the Health and Rights of Transgender People in Asia and the Pacific*. GATE published a state of the movement report, an analysis of funding accessibility for both trans and intersex organizing, in concert with

²⁷ Ibid.

the American Jewish World Service. TGEU released a report on employment rights throughout the EU and updated its analyses of legal gender recognition by country.

2015: APTN, GATE, and TGEU increase frequency of publication

In 2015, focus issues included healthcare access, mapping community-based organizations, population research, funding strategizing and expansion, and movement building within the international human rights system. Publication increased with seven reports in all, marking a new momentum that continued to accelerate. APTN released two reports: one focused on health care (in partnership with a group of global health and development agencies), and the other mapping trans organizations throughout Asia and the Pacific. TGEU and GATE helped to coordinate and contributed to *International Trans* Fund Convening: A Meeting for Funders & Activists Working on Gender Diversity*. The International Trans Fund was formed in 2015 as a joint effort between global trans activists, its seminal report outlined U.S. foundation funding for trans communities.

TGEU published two toolkits for trans activists: one for UN advocacy, the other outlining trans rights under then-current EU law. TGEU began to form the Transrespect versus Transphobia Project and Trans Murder Monitoring, researching gender-nonconforming experience throughout the world. TGEU also published the Transrespect versus Transphobia project report, presenting research into “trans” experience in Columbia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey and Venezuela.

2016: Focus issues expand

In 2016, focus issues included population research, funding strategizing, hate crime monitoring, sex work advocacy, and best practices advisement.

APTN:

- *Views of Transgender Persons & Hijras Associated with the Global Fund Program, Pehchan, in India*
- *Learning Guide: Strengthening Knowledge on the Global Fund Processes for Transgender Communities*

TGEU:

- *Sex Work Policy*
- *Legal Gender Recognition in Europe: Toolkit*
- *TMM annual report 2016: 2,190 murders are only the tip of the iceberg -- An introduction to the Trans Murder Monitoring project*
- *Human Rights and Gender Identity: Best Practice Catalogue, Second Revised Edition.*

2017: Focus issues expand, publication increases

In 2017, focus issues included healthcare access, legal situations mapping, depathologization, organizing and funding strategy, disability and trans populations, migration, employment rights and inclusivity in workplace environments, migration, and violence monitoring.

APTN:

- *Increasing Access to HIV and other Health Services for Trans People in Asia: Business as usual won't get us there*
- *Legal Gender Recognition: A Multi-Country Legal and Policy Review in Asia*

GATE:

- *Gender is Not an Illness: How pathologizing trans people violates international human rights law*
- *The State of Intersex Organizing 2nd Edition: Understanding the Needs and Priorities of a Growing but Under-Resourced Movement*
- *The State of Trans Organizing 2nd Edition: Understanding the Needs and Priorities of a Growing but Under-Resourced Movement.*

TGEU:

- *Oppression Squared: D/deaf and disabled trans experiences in Europe*
- *Overdiagnosed but Underserved. Trans Healthcare in Georgia, Poland, Serbia, Spain, and Sweden: Trans Health Survey*
- *The vicious circle of violence: Trans and gender diverse people, migration, and sex work (w TvT)*
- *Claim Your Rights! Guide to legal aid for trans people in Europe*
- *Trans-Inclusive Workplaces: Guidelines for Employers and Businesses.*

2018: APTN, GATE, and TGEU

In 2018, focus issues included employment rights, online organizing, carcerality, and health.

APTN:

- *Denied Work: An audit of employment discrimination on the basis of gender identity in Asia with the UNDP.*

TGEU:

- *Mapping Digital Landscapes of Trans Activism in Central Asia and Eastern Europe*
- *Activity Report: Transgender Europe's activities from June 2016 until June 2018*
- *Anti-Activity Report: A critical reflection of TGEU's activities and work from June 2016 until June 2018*
- *Deprived of Liberty, Deprived of Rights: A community report on policing and detention of trans people in Central-Eastern Europe and Central Asia (CEECA)*
- *Global trans perspectives on health and wellbeing: TvT community report (TvT)*

On the survey

This collected archive from 2008-2018 illustrates how documentation of the global trans movement emerged as a largely European-based research project, focused on depathologization and the establishment of a distinct presence in international human rights networks. In the first few years following TGEU's seminal report in 2008, trans activists and organizations steadily cultivated global networks, continually produced research, and co-organized strategies for utilizing transnational and intergovernmental human rights mechanisms. The focus issues of the publications gradually expanded to document movement building efforts such as regionally comparative organizing strategy and collectively cultivated funding channels. Increasing the frequency of publication and convening global activists consistently, the foci of the publications

proliferated to amplify nuanced issues such as workers' rights, migration, carcerality, security, and inner-movement decolonization.

As mentioned in the introduction to the survey, the publications were aimed toward multiple audiences: trans activists, NGO personnel, policymakers, funders, and development professionals alike. Part of the project, therefore, in the production of knowledge articulating the experiences of gender variant populations was constructing their potentiality and utility within the greater scheme of global progress and development, both conceptually and materially. Pulling the conceptualization of gender variance along a rhetorically progressive spectrum from pathological to productive, the approach of the publications emerged out of anti-discrimination rights narratives—such as depathologization—and shifted to centralize rights narratives predicated on the construction of transness/gender variance as normative and economically beneficial to societies dedicated to progressive modernization. The argument that links trans life enhancement to economic growth was one strategy increasingly leveraged by the movement to appeal for legal rights and inclusion. In *The Right to Maim*, Jasbir Puar provides a lens through which to understand how investment by the development sector leverages life enhancement projects for minoritized populations to maximize economic growth. Puar writes “[n]eoliberal mandates regarding productive, capacitated bodies entrain trans bodies to re-create an able body not only in terms of gender and sexuality but also in terms of economic productivity and the development of national economy.”²⁸ Along the arc of the first decade of publication, the articulation of trans populations, their rights deservingness, and potentiality became increasingly universalized. The unification of messaging and coalescence of strategies, and the situatedness of trans populations and subjectivity in the sights of the useful, exemplified the function and

²⁸ Jasbir Puar, *The Right to Maim*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018): 35.

stabilizes the positionality of minoritized population research as a leveraging force within neoliberalistic politics globally.

By 2018, the end of the timeframe for this collection of publications, trans activists marginalized and invisibilized by status quo NGO and human rights system operations demanded the organizations driving the global movement transform internal working structures and research frameworks. Reflecting back the internal reproduction of neocolonial dynamics manifested by the directionality of research, resources, and imbalance of representation in leadership, Transgender Europe began transforming its processes toward the relinquishment of white/western/global northern leadership and restructuring for non-hierarchical work and research frameworks:

We have recently started to take a power-critical look at our activities and deliverables, at our structures, at our (implied) values, at the ways we work, and have realised that we are leaving many people behind.

It's long overdue that we, the most privileged people within the trans community and within TGEU, open our eyes and realise that despite our successes in producing publications and fulfilling commitments made to our funders, we have also failed... Those of us socialised as belonging to various dominant groups, and lacking awareness of the dominant norms and culture, thought that it was enough to 'learn' about intersectionality, to organise workshops and trainings for our staff and steering committee to share articles and books, to talk over coffee and lunch about various topics.

This is not enough. We needed to deeply examine whom we were contracting for workshops, what articles and books we were reading, and whom they were written by. Why did we search for knowledge in academic ways while not seeing we were silencing the people sitting right next to us? How did people from underrepresented groups feel? How did our socialisation as belonging to the dominant group play a role in our empathy, or lack thereof, towards them being silenced or hurt?²⁹

TGEU's public restructuring was publicly documented and led to concrete transformation is significant within the overall shape of the movement. TGEU began as a primary locus of the

²⁹ Transgender Europe, *Activity Report: Transgender Europe's activities from June 2016 until June 2018*. (Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018): 5-6.

globalizing trans movement's engagement with human rights and development mechanisms, partnering with regionally-specific community based organizations, and leading globally-scoped research projects on trans populations. The geographical breadth of TGEU's work through community based partnerships is reflected in a higher rate of publication, compared to APTN and GATE, and a constant expansion of focus issues.

In the next sections, I explore how the development of large-scale research networks for the study--and creation--of gender non-conforming populations purports to leverage privileged positionalities toward the extension of tangible resources. How does the global trans movement's institutional assimilationism compromise or undermine its liberatory rhetorics? What constitutes the powers to which the global trans movement directs its appeals, in order to fit the framework of rights deservingness? In what ways have the globalizing trans research effort and its largely Western-based leadership negotiate and offered the "inclusion" of gender variant subjects to power systems through deeper enumeration and elucidation of trans populations?

II. The Will to Institutionalality and Minority Population Research

The first decade of publication patterns from the global trans movement can be situated in Roderick Ferguson's broader analysis of minoritized groups' "will to institutionalality," the incorporation and subjection of difference by institutional power.³⁰ I expand this analytical frame, conceived by Ferguson to critique the function of minority studies in academic institutions, to critique the function of minority population research throughout global human

³⁰ Roderick Ferguson. *The Reorder of Things*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012): 209.

rights networks and development institutions.³¹ Applying this expanded frame, I consider the routine publication of research reports as a demonstration of a trans will to institutionality. With this will embedded in a global trans imaginary, the movement's publication strategy relies on an understanding of population research as a neutral and adaptable tool that is capable of enabling liberation.

Ferguson unpacks the will to institutionality as a kind of desirous assimilation, “founded on decisions between legitimacy and illegitimacy;” an internalization of the authority of dominant discursive and methodological tools. Addressing the desire for institutional legitimacy, he finds a distinction “between the promise of formality and the presumed ephemeral nature of informality” presumed by the will to institutionality. He continues, “formalizing certain forms of

³¹ According to Rosalind Petchesky, “the very concept of a ‘minority’ derives from Western liberal notions of ‘tolerance’ dating back to the Protestant Reformation in Europe and edicts such as the English Toleration Act of 1689, which excluded Catholics, Jews, Muslims and atheists from its protections.” (2) Petchesky argues that to “adopt the language of ‘sexual minorities’” endorses a history wherein “the objects of ‘toleration’—commonly referred to in the West as ‘minorities’” were always “treated with condescension and exceptionalism at best and continued exclusion and persecution in practice.” Moreover, to Petchesky the adoption of sexual minority language harkens to “the hierarchical ordering of local and indigenous populations into ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ groups [a divisive tactic] Western colonial and imperial policies... right up to the recent US treatment of Sunnis, Shi’a and Kurds in Iraq.” (2-3)

Petchesky also argues that “the language of ‘minorities’...helps to codify assumptions about the ‘normal’ that should be open to question.” Referencing the distinction between sexual identity/gender expression and behavior, she writes that “practices that may have been considered completely unremarkable and even common among Asian, African, American, and other indigenous peoples became branded as ‘deviant and dangerous’ through ‘the introduction of Western conceptualizations of sexuality,’ whether by colonial conquerors and missionaries or by post-colonial development agencies and regimes (think Robert Mugabe).” She calls for “sexual and gender rights advocates...to seek language that illuminates the reality that all kinds of practices and pathways labeled ‘abnormal’...are prolific within and across societies in an infinite and ever-changing variety,” instead of “contributing, however unintentionally, to the insidious process of producing categories of deviance.” (Ibid.)

Alexa DeGagne has critiqued the prevalent use of “sexual minority” language as “indicative of how naturalized and uncontested liberal equal rights discourse is within many of North America’s [queer] social and political movements, and within state institutions as well.” (25) She argues that the term “is problematic because it espouses assimilationist politics; it does not question how or why particular sexualities are rendered abnormal or deviant; and it fails to challenge the existence or coherence of the supposed sexual majority.” (24) It is important to note that my Petchesky references are from 2008, and while the DeGagne article was published in 2012, most of her references hover midway between 2000 and 2010. While this misuse of language has decreased in scholarly focus, it is “now experiencing a resurrection” in the public sphere.

difference give those forms permanence and institutional protection and will lift difference from the netherworld of marginalization and informal curiosity.”³² Associating formal knowledge production with a sense of permanence and “informal curiosity” with a sense of impermanence, Ferguson locates a “desire for stability and legibility...in the promises of Western bureaucracy.”³³ Minority studies emerged in late 1960s Western academic institutions as a response by university administrative power “to restrict the collective, oppositional, and redistributive aims of difference at the same time that administrative power had to affirm difference to demonstrate institutional protocols and progress.”³⁴ The formation of minority studies in academia functioned to pacify civil rights movements and reconfigure capitalism’s modes of operation amid globalization and the rise of neoliberalism. Ferguson writes:

[W]e might say that the administrative university unmarks and reabsorbs difference, one of the familiar imprints of globalization...we can think of this moment as unleashing a new mode of power, characterized generally by the commodification of difference as part of an emergent global capital... If neoliberalism, as Lisa Duggan defines it, represents the forcible curtailment of liberal, left-liberal, and leftist social movements of the sixties and seventies, then neoliberalism can be understood as part of those historic processes that attempt to “get hold of and neutralize difference.” Indeed, we might think of neoliberalism as the latest expression of contemporary globalization’s effort to cannibalize difference and its potential for rupture.³⁵

In the context of a global trans research infrastructure growing between academia, NGOs, development agencies and institutions, the strategy of amassing empirical data to substantiate advocacy for trans populations follows a developmentalist progress narrative—the minoritized group is like a developing world. Western bureaucratization—standardized research, documentation, collection, archival—standardized research, documentation, collection, archival - promises to facilitate justice and betterment through supporting objective and rational

³²Roderick Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012): 225-6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 219.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 213-4.

discourse. This incentivizes the presentation of trans population research in formalized reports as authoritative knowledge and animates a faith in progress foundational to the global trans movement. The will to institutionality provides a lens through which to problematize both the motivation toward and function of minority population research in the spaces of authoritative knowledge production. That is, it helps to conceptualize the coercive imperative to study minoritized groups and the difference-neutralizing, rupture-pacifying, incorporative function of minority studies/minority population research within academia, governmental and intergovernmental spaces, and development-oriented institutions, as well as in the collaborations between these entities.

Pivoting with Ferguson's concept, work in trans theory and critical development studies provide lenses through which to problematize the laboratory of methods for minority population research found within trans publications collected in the archive. These methods serve the developmentalist imperative to standardize populations, "one of the central tasks of modern states."³⁶ In the introduction to *Making Transgender Count*, a 2015 volume of *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, Paisley Currah and Susan Stryker survey the multiplicity of functions and potentials of then-emerging institutional projects for measuring trans populations. They weigh the detriment to minoritized groups of "cataloguing the population according to its properties," such as facilitating "the exercise of the state's broad police powers to regulate the population" while imbuing hope in the same population cataloguing imperative to "help ensure the safety, health, and welfare of the people."³⁷ This dual awareness of hope and caution in producing research on trans populations gets articulated throughout the global movement's publications,

³⁶ Paisley Currah and Susan Stryker, "Introduction," *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (February 2015): 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

shaping and directing the invention of new methods out of necessity. Adding to the uncertain outcomes of population research for minoritized groups, attempting to measure transness confounds conventional processes of data collection. Currah and Stryker continue:

The very instability [of trans as concept] frustrates the project of fixing embodied identities in time and space—a requisite operation for the potentially life-enhancing project of counting trans populations and better addressing their needs as well as for the necropolitical project of selecting certain members of the population for categorical exclusion as dysgenic.³⁸

Similar to neoliberalism’s function through minority studies in academia to neutralize and incorporate difference, the standardization of populations “flatten[s]...zoetic confusions of movement and form, of time and space, of doing and being, into neat two-dimensional axes specifying static properties and numbers.”³⁹ Beyond which, “enumeration has the capacity to create what it purports only to name, causing new kinds of people to appear on the social map,” in some cases catalyzing beneficial resource distribution, while in other cases isolating “incoherent...and noncompliant types of bodies and subjects deemed inconvenient to or obstructive of ends in categories that facilitate containment and control” for capture and/or exclusion.⁴⁰

On quantitative research efforts focused on measuring more broadly LGBTIQ populations, Rori Rohlf and Dean Spade have written that “the explosion of new empirical data about gay and lesbian or LGBT people is not discovering the truth about an existing population; rather, it is formulating that population in order to frame it as a ‘deserving’ population.” Attempting to uncover a persistent “relationship between eugenics and statistics” that “was obscured and buried,” they assert that “many of the statistical techniques developed for eugenics

³⁸ Ibid., 4.

³⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

continue to be used without re-examination of the assumptions that undergird them.” The shadow lineage of eugenics alive in contemporary statistical techniques further illustrates the link between population research and population construction.

Queer Parallels

The global LGBTI movement provides a comparison and ongoing parallel that shares reciprocal influence, aspirations, and resources with the distinct trans movement. Reflecting on discourses circulating in the mid-2010s contemporaneous to the timeframe of the collected archive of trans publications, dynamics between grass roots activists and institutional researchers fluctuated amid their unions and tensions. Along with formalized reports and other dispatches published across diverse mediums, global queer rights organizations have compiled public archives of research as well as documentation of conferences involving activists, NGO personnel, policy makers, development professionals, and academics. Out of a uniformity of human rights based approaches characterizing these discourses, two central projects have particular relevance to the overarching discussion of the global trans movement: the production of standardized, scientifically-grounded data depicting queer life comparable between regions and political contexts, and the articulation of queer life as economically contributive on the national scale.

Global queer NGOs and development institutions like the UNDP, OECD, and the World Bank began data collection initiatives focused on queer populations in the latter half of the 2010s. Amid the early stages of coordination of a data research infrastructure, OutRight Action International’s executive director, Jessica Stern, spoke to a room full of potential donors at a 2016 fundraising event:

When we can tell governments this is how much your economy is losing from discrimination...This is how many lives you could save...And this is how much suffering happens right beneath your nose...It becomes that much harder, maybe even impossible, for them to say “not now, not my problem, there are none of those people here.” Of course, there’s so much we need for justice. We need access. We need skills. We need public awareness and a will to change the status quo. But to take a major leap forward for every LGBTQ person around the world, for every activist and for every ally...We need facts...We need data...We need aggregated data...Accurate data...Credible data...Data that tells the truth of our lives.⁴¹

Global development researchers adjust language to conceptually present the queer subject as viable, of utility, and of necessity to economic growth. M.V. Badgett of the Williams Institute at UCLA has led various analyses that inform increasingly central economic arguments for LGBTI inclusion in global development and human rights contexts. To enrich the case for the link between LGBTI inclusion and economic growth, Badgett and those taking up the economic approach articulate the “costs of exclusion” as well.

At [the] micro-level, the costs to the economy of...exclusionary treatment include lost labor time, lost productivity, underinvestment in human capital, and the inefficient allocation of human resources through discrimination in education and hiring practices. The decreased investment in human capital and suboptimal use of human resources, in turn, act as a drag on economic output at the broader economy level.⁴²

Economist Gary Becker’s pathbreaking theory of discrimination demonstrates that employers who discriminate may end up with lower profits by refusing to hire productive minority workers, who might then end up in less productive and lower paying jobs. In addition, workers facing discrimination might be crowded into jobs where they are less productive or might be unemployed; in either case their human capital is not being efficiently used, a situation that reduces economic output from its potential.⁴³

⁴¹ Jessica Stern, “Concluding Speech,” *Celebration of Courage*. Audio recorded at United Nations previously published at <https://soundcloud.com/outrightintl>. (New York: OutRight Action International, 2016).

⁴² , M.V. Lee Badgett, Sheila Nezhad, Kees Waaldjik, and Yana van der Meulen Rodgers, *The Relationship between LGBT Inclusion and Economic Development: An Analysis of Emerging Economies*. (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, 2014): 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14.

In 2014 Badgett and co-authors published a study analyzing the correlations between LGBT social inclusion and economic development in 39 countries—29 of which have emerging economies, defined as “those countries that are experiencing high levels of economic growth and investment and are identified as such by the International Monetary Fund and others,” and ten of which are not “emerging” but have “active and engaged LGBT social movements” and are “of particular significance to global development institutions.”⁴⁴ The researchers used the following theoretical frameworks to link LGBT (pre-addition of intersex rights) inclusion to stronger economies:

The human capital approach

- inclusion allows LGBT people to achieve their economic potential when they can get education and training that improves their productivity and when they are treated equally in the labor market

The capabilities approach

- suggests that greater rights and freedoms improve individual well-being by expanding individuals’ capabilities to be and do what they value.

Post-materialist

- suggests that greater economic development might make countries more likely to respect the rights of LGBT people, as LGBT people can freely organize and push for legal changes and as public opinion shifts to support greater individual autonomy and minority rights.

Strategic modernization approach

- posits that countries hoping to present themselves as more visibly “modern” and successful to potential trading partners might be using LGBT rights strategically as a way to promote and expand economic opportunities.⁴⁵

Facilitation of globally-scoped queer data projects is mostly based in, and/or modeled on Europe and the US. The imaginary that sustains this imbalance of power relies on a narrative casting queer rights movements in post and neocolonial settings as vulnerable and dependent

⁴⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 11.

upon not only material resources concentrated in the global north, but the concentrated knowledge of how to access them. Coining the term “homodevelopmentalism,” Christine Klapeer describes this dynamic as reproducing “a geopolitical progress narrative (of queerness) and a new spatialized temporalization of homo- and transphobia,” within which “‘failure is attributed primarily to local factors’... until the ‘sexually most developed’ ones intervene as ‘heroic saviour[s].’”⁴⁶ A rhetorical stance of responsibility is adopted by researchers in the US and Europe to leverage their privileged positions in order to help rectify the abuses of colonialisms/imperialisms, while infrequently relinquishing their privileged positions in order to dismantle hierarchical dynamics that persist within these global projects and spaces.

Earlier in the section, I discussed the similarity between neoliberalism’s function through minority studies to neutralize difference and the standardizing, constructive function of population measurement. Queer development agendas show how incorporation into a global rights narrative has a homogenizing effect on vastly differentiated expressions of embodiment. In the article *Decolonizing Transgender in India*, Aniruddha Dutta and Raina Roy write that “[t]he attempted universalization of [queer identity conceptions] as transnational umbrella term[s]” works to “subsume [local] discourses and practices of gender/sexual variance as merely ‘local’ expressions of [LGBTI+] identity, often without interrogating the conceptual baggage,” and bolsters “the long-standing and continuing (post)colonial construction of hierarchies of scale between transnational, regional, and local levels of discourse and praxis as evidenced in the relation between the hegemonic anglophone discourse of LGBTIQ identities recognized by the

⁴⁶ Christine Klapeer, “Queering Development in Homotransnationalist Times: A Postcolonial Reading of LGBTIQ Inclusive Development Agendas,” *Lambda nordica* 22, no. 2-3 (January 2017): 52.

state and the development sector.”⁴⁷ In an historical analysis of this skewed dynamic, Maya Mikdashi and Jasbir Puar move beyond the discursive hegemony of merely “US-based queer histories and movements” to add that “it is also anchored in, and anchors, white, cisgendered, masculinist, and middle-class queer histories that are elevated through the elision of race, sex, and class domination in the United States.”⁴⁸ Despite that “in the 1990s [queer theory] sought to trace the flows of queer as a hegemonic traveling formation that followed circuits of US Empire,” they write, “several decades later, despite many trenchant interventions, such epistemic issues remain.”⁴⁹ The persistence of epistemic hegemony despite the interventions of, and because of, the global institutionalization of queer research serves as another demonstration of how institutionality itself works to reproduce a hierarchy, challenging the prospect for the adaptability of knowledge production within its conventions for the purposes of liberation.

From the 60th annual Commission on the Status of Women held at the United Nations in New York in March of 2016, a panel called “Measuring Inclusion of Lesbian, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Women” was published as a podcast by OutRight Action International. It centered on the introduction of a global LGBTI data collection project begun by the UNDP, to be aided and informed by smaller regional entities. In the discussion, Leigh Ann Van Der Merwe, coordinator of the S.H.E. Feminist Collective, South Africa was asked by Andrew Park of the Williams Institute in Los Angeles to describe her experiences, challenges, and methodological maneuvers when conducting research developed around locally determined needs/parameters with limited resources and little to no precedent.

⁴⁷ Aniruddha Dutta and Raina Roy, “Decolonizing Transgender in India: Some Reflections,” *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (August 2014): 321

⁴⁸ Maya Mikdashi and Jasbir Puar, “Queer Theory and Permanent War,” *GLQ* 22, no. 2 (2016): 215–222.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 215.

We are trying to dismantle the power in terms of research. It is the case that European and American[s]...flock to Africa...Everyone comes and does research, and extracts and leaves, and nothing ever changes...And whatever they publish, they publish in international journals which ...in Africa will never get to be read...When you talk about empowerment for transwomen in the context of research, we need to be involved from the conceptualization of the research to the analysis, to the publication...Include us as co-investigators, or we have nothing to talk about.

We currently are working on two mixed-method surveys...measuring four areas of life: social, psychological, economic costs, and gender based violence factors...With all our research...we wanted to centralize ourselves...[but, we] didn't get ethical clearances from a university--so [we were] told the research wasn't valid...

For most researchers, publishing is the goal. From the community perspective, publishing is not the goal. How are we going to translate it into a language that the people it affects can understand? It looks good on everybody's CV...but how does it change things in the community?⁵⁰

A subsequent podcast documented a discussion on globalizing queer data projects from OutRight's annual conference for international queer activists. Hosted by CUNY Law in 2016, the panel was called "Who Counts? The Queer Data Revolution and UN Sustainable Development Goals" and featured an all European and American panel of professional researchers from the UNDP, OECD, and nonprofits. From a Global South-based audience member, these critiques were shared:

I was part of a study that spanned five countries. We realized there was a politics to the kind of discourse we had to follow, very much a kind of "discrimination...discourse." And we found we didn't have the language for it in our local language. We didn't have vernacular expressions for certain things we had to frame. We had to frame it separately. We changed our methodologies around it...When we say context and when we say adapt to context, I think we need to also look at the globalization of our languages, the globalization of our approaches, on a much deeper level, on a much deeper scale...

The concept of personhood is very central to human rights research...That really means people self-identifying...or your being able to identify them as LGBTIQ...This has been contested in the global south...and perhaps also in your parts of the world... The extent to which you are able to collect data depends on the extent to which the populations are self

⁵⁰ Leigh Ann Van Der Merwe, "Panel: Measuring Inclusion of Lesbian, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Women," *60th annual Commission on the Status of Women*. Audio recorded at United Nations previously published at <https://soundcloud.com/outrightintl>. (OutRight Action International: New York, 2016)

identifying as LGBTI... We should be sensitive to the globalization for those kinds of norms and see how we can ethically help people without making them identify in order for us to include them in our data...⁵¹

As a global trans narrative is increasingly unified and expanded, the methods by which it is constructed act upon transness itself, catalyzing organized critiques from gender variant activists being marginalized by imbalanced power dynamics in work structures and knowledge production. At the panel “Meritocracy and other Bullshit Narratives” as part of the 7th European Transgender Council that took place in Antwerp, Belgium, TGEU staff and activists uprooted and disrupted the organization’s embedded ableist and white supremacist frameworks. Below are some brief selections from the video of the panel made publicly available by TGEU:

In an ideal world we would step away and do our thing, but you have the access to resources.
Akim Giroux of TGEU

Through their fight [referring to Marsha P. Johnson, Sylvia Rivera, and Miss Major Griffin-Gracy] we as a broad global movement are existing. Yet the white western LGBTIQ movement makes us still today invisible, does not hire us for jobs, excludes us from policy making... You write publications on us, but you don’t know us, you don’t work with us.
Dinah Bons of TGEU, Proud Nederland, International Committee on the Rights of Sex Workers in Europe

Trans activism in the region [Eastern Europe and Central Asia] cannot develop its own path. We are sandwiched. On the one hand Russian traditional values which have been imposed on us through colonialism push us hard. On the other hand, there are only Western-dominated ideas of gender and activism we can refer to. Instead, what we would need is funding, respect, meaningful inclusion, and support to develop our own path.
Sanjar Kurmanov of Labrys Kyrgyzstan, Trans*Coalition in the Post-Soviet Space

European organizations think that our needs are the same or their needs are better. And always want to dictate us what to do. How to proceed, how to address our needs, in a way that reinforces the power-dynamics, as they are and to show themselves as the experts and we are always in the position of a continuous learning. And therefore we are powerless. Whereas, we experts in our regions. In our contexts we know best how to

⁵¹ Anonymous conference attendee, “Panel: Who Counts? The Queer Data Revolution and UN Sustainable Development Goals.” *OutSummit*, Audio recorded at CUNY School of Law. (New York: OutRight Action International, 2016).

address our needs, and what they really are.
Carter Honorée of Trans Respect versus Transphobia, Rwanda Gender Pride,
International Trans Fund⁵²

Critiques from activists in response to persistent imbalanced dynamics in the global queer and trans movements grew as the movements' work expanded and communications circulated internationally. By the end of the timeframe for this research, such critiques took center stage in the global trans movement and catalyzed transformative shifts in both working structures and methods of knowledge production, particularly within TGEU as was discussed earlier in the section.

Trans will and queer parallels

In this section, I took up Roderick Ferguson's concept, "the will to institutionality," as a lens through which to problematize trans population research efforts by NGOs producing publications in the global trans movement. Through this lens, I considered trans-led knowledge production in the contexts of human rights and development systems to be a demonstration of a trans will to institutionality which relies on an understanding of population research as a neutral tool that is capable of enabling liberation. From there, I used trans theory to discuss population measurement as a standardizing, constructive project by modern states and the lineage of eugenics carried by contemporary statistical methods. Exploring the global queer rights movement as a parallel, I discussed the LGBTI research infrastructure devised in the mid-2010s involving queer NGOs, development institutions, academics, and funders and subsequent critical

⁵² Akim Giroux, Dinah Bons, Sanjar Kurmanov, and Carter Honorée, "Meritocracy and Other Bullshit Narratives," *7th European Transgender Council*. Conference video previously published at <https://tgeu.org/resources/> (Belgium: Transgender Europe, 2018).

response to the homogenizing effects of universalizing rights paradigms. Finally, I related the above discussions to critical response within the global trans movement by trans activists marginalized by imbalanced power dynamics in organizational work structures and knowledge production in the greater movement.

Progress Narratives in Trans Internationalism

APTN, GATE, and TGEU narrate a globally unified trans movement and their own positions in it. Collecting the organizations' reports into an archive of global trans social analysis, I have searched for threads connecting their approaches and shifting throughout the first decade of publication. In particular, I grapple with the centralization of the human rights framework and the principle of progress which acts as its engine. Using selections from the collected archive between 2017 and 2018, I compare how the publications contextualize their data and construct rhetorical narratives for the past and future in which to situate their research.

There is tension between how movements for human rights yet function and their imagined purpose/potential. Informed by this, a determinant in my reading was to clarify how the organizations articulated their reliance on human rights, often fluctuating between instrumentalizing the framework as a modelable precedent or an aspirational ideal. This distinction grounds my discussion of trans organizing strategies in light of debates in decolonial theory which trouble faith in cumulative, linear progress by exposing and centering exploitative practices upon which universalizing progressive movements yet operate.

By instrumentalizing the human rights framework, the global trans movement engages the lineage of the Enlightenment. In *Decolonizing Enlightenment*, Nikita Dhawan traces the history of the rights narrative:

[C]onsidered as a gift of the European Enlightenment to the world ... [t]he rights narrative is commonly constructed chronologically from the English Bill of Rights in 1689, through the US Declaration of Independence in 1776, and to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1788 emerging from the French Revolution. According to this narrative, these declarations reached a culminating point in 1948 with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the subsequent ‘generations’ of rights.⁵³

Continuing in this generational chain of rights declarations, the Yogyakarta Principles were developed in 2006 “in response to well-documented patterns of abuse...to outline a set of international principles relating to sexual orientation and gender identity” by “a distinguished group of international human rights experts” that convened in Indonesia. Upheld as “a universal guide to human rights which affirm binding international legal standards with which all States must comply” promising “a different future where all people born free and equal in dignity and rights can fulfill that precious birthright,” APTN, GATE, and TGEU refer to the Yogyakarta Principles as the central moral beacon and legal authority.⁵⁴

Having “introduced the notion of progress,” Dhawan writes that the Enlightenment claims itself to be “both the result of and the cause of progress in history. It points to its own success as proof that progress is indeed possible.”⁵⁵ Mirroring this inherited behavior of enlightened self-consciousness, the reports narrate the catalyzing force and recognition of trans populations in policy change as progress, and as substantiation for the success of human rights and development systems. TGEU’s 2018 internal review of activity exhibits this logic, collecting the policy changes that the organization worked to catalyze in the recent past as “advances,”

⁵³ Nikita Dhawan, “Affirmative Sabotage of the Master’s Tools: The Paradox of Postcolonial Enlightenment.” In *Decolonizing Enlightenment: Transnational Justice, Human Rights and Democracy in a Postcolonial World*, ed. Nikita Dhawan (Opladen; Berlin; Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2014), 21.

⁵⁴ Sheila Quinn, *An Activist’s Guide to the Yogyakarta Principles* (ARC International and the International Commission of Jurists. 2010): 2.

⁵⁵ Dhawan, “Affirmative Sabotage,” 21.

implying linearity of the movement, and promising to continue “leading progressive change” into the future.

We can congratulate ourselves that on June 18 2018 the World Health Organisation published the new version of the ICD where the trans adolescents and adult identities have been depathologised (although still pathologizing trans children and intersex people). While in April 2017 the European Court of Human Rights banned forced sterilization as a requirement for legal gender recognition, 12 countries in Europe have reformed or are reforming their legal gender recognition procedures in this time, and 5 states in Europe now have legal gender recognition based on self-determination.

But despite these advances, we still have a long way to go to achieve full respect for our most fundamental rights. TGEU is committed to being an organization that leaves no one behind...to our identity as trans people are added other discriminations and violence against those of us who do not enjoy the social privileges of the dominant positions in society. TGEU seeks to achieve objectives set by the global human rights movements, and in order to leave no one behind when leading progressive change, our organization must actively fight racism, ableism, classism, xenophobia, and other forms of oppression and discrimination.⁵⁶

Articulating shifts in the movement linearly rests faith in what Amy Allen describes as the “notion of historical progress as a ‘fact’” that is itself complicated by “relations of domination, exclusion, and silencing of colonized and racialized subjects.”⁵⁷ Interpretations of political and social change that see liberation advancing cumulatively rely on, Allen writes, “the forward-looking conception of progress” that is “justified by the backward-looking story about how ‘our’ ... moral vocabulary and political ideals are the outcome of a learning process ... that provides the basis for our moral-political strivings.”⁵⁸ Allen continues, seeing “the norms or institutions of European modernity as the outcome of a developmental or learning process,”

⁵⁶ Transgender Europe, *Activity Report: Transgender Europe’s activities from June 2016 until June 2018* (Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018): 4.

⁵⁷ Amy Allen, *The End of Progress: Decolonizing the Normative Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016):19.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14-9.

overlooks the global north's "material and ideological relation" to the global south and east, and "continues to serve the ideological function of rationalizing and legitimizing contemporary forms of informal imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism."⁵⁹

In *Decolonizing Sexualities*, Silvia Posocco conceptualizes coloniality as the "condition of modernity that structures temporality... It is a socio-epistemic formation that marks-- determines, even--modes of being the world as well as the knowledge practices through which experience can be understood articulated and accounted for."⁶⁰ Continuing to inhabit and instruct today's movements' communicative forms, enlightenment-born standards of discourse carry its Eurocentric lineage. On this discursive baggage, Nikita Dhawan writes "[p]roponents of the Enlightenment aspire to speak rationally and objectively about the world as a whole and to establish the legitimacy of knowledge by means of the systemic separation of value from fact."⁶¹ For instance, states that have coded legal rights and protections for trans populations often fail through various obstructions to effectively implement and activate them, so that conditions remain precarious and dangerous for trans people, despite the legitimation of trans rights in the passage of policy.

Dhawan continues, "as has been repeatedly pointed out by its critics, a common malady of the Enlightenment is its attempt to divorce reason and cognition from experience, intuition, and affect."⁶² An effect of this separation of reason from reality is that idealistic messaging washes over violences that persist underneath/materially support what and where isolated improvements are being achieved. Aspired-to objectivity, rationality, and empiricism play out

⁵⁹ Ibid., 19.

⁶⁰ Sandeep Bakshi, Jivraj Suhraiya, Silvia Posocco. *Decolonizing Sexualities: Transnational Perspectives, Critical Interventions* (Oxford: Counterpress, 2016): 250.

⁶¹ Dhawan, "Affirmative Sabotage," 23.

⁶² Ibid.

like a process of euro-civilizing of trans narrativization in global trans reports which, as partially explored in the previous section, not only centralize quantified data on gender non-normative experience in standardized form, but couch this data in language designed to affirm a rigorous, objective and thus authoritative grounding. The report *Legal Gender Recognition: A Multi-Country Legal and Policy Review in Asia*, jointly authored by APTN and UNDP in 2017, is premised on applying standardized research methodology created by a global north-based development institution onto a wide variety of Asian political contexts for the implementation of human rights standards.

In most Asian countries, the vast majority of transgender people cannot obtain any official identification documents that reflect their gender identity...

... Given this context, UNDP provided a process and methodology to comprehensively assess laws, regulations and policies in relation to legal gender recognition in nine countries in Asia. UNDP oversaw assessments in seven of those countries: Bangladesh, China, India, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. APTN conducted equivalent assessments in Indonesia and Malaysia.

The objective of this nine-country project was to demonstrate how laws and policies related to gender recognition can play a key role in upholding human rights and promoting transgender people's well-being in different legal, political and cultural settings. It also aimed to observe how provisions that are not consistent with human rights standards present barriers to transgender people's well-being.⁶³

Standardizing political and legal goals across transnational regions toward the application of universal human rights enacts and enables a developmental comparison. Gender expansive modernization, writes Klapeer, is "similar to old tropes and ideas of modernization and development based on a (colonial) conceptualization of geopolitical differences (and

⁶³ UNDP and APTN, *Legal Gender Recognition: A Multi-Country Legal and Policy Review in Asia* (Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2017): 1.

inequalities) as temporal differences.”⁶⁴ In the “Ways Forward” section, the UNDP and APTN authors write:

the report welcomes the progressive steps countries have taken to implement human rights standards in laws and policies.

The report ... calls for recognition that respecting and protecting the well-being and human rights of transgender people is necessary to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).⁶⁵

Overseen by the UNDP, the application of elsewhere-developed models for gender expansive modernization onto nine distinct sociopolitical contexts in the global south demonstrates a neocolonial dynamic. This dynamic is weighted by reference to the Sustainable Development Goals, charging the target countries with a moral imperative to participate in the universalized project of progress while reaffirming the UNDP’s authoritative stance to measure and assess stages of development.

Rhetorical Tensions

Toward the end of the collected archive’s timeframe, much of the publications’ discourse centralized active, intended disentanglements of human rights based practices from habitualized neocolonial dynamics. Yet along with such intended disentanglements, rhetorical and conceptual vehicles of long-rooted power imbalances remained in the discourse throughout, including faith in linear progress, the beacon and authority of universal rights, and a striving for expansive research collection. As many of the reports between 2017 and 2018 fluctuated between an urgent imperative to decenter global northern approaches to trans advocacy and a will for inclusion and

⁶⁴ Klapeer, “Queering Development,” 9.

⁶⁵ UNDP and APTN, *Legal Gender Recognition: A Multi-Country Legal and Policy Review in Asia* (Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2017): 1.

recognition in the global development system, they framed human rights alternately as a modelable precedent and an aspirational ideal. Publications fluctuated internally between emphasizing strategies within the human rights tradition while simultaneously calling for significant transformations to practices internal to organizations and/or the greater movement.

This alternating created contradiction within the publications which operated in disjuncts between the overarching systemic structure in/for which they were created, liberatory rhetoric, and strategies with which they experimented. As grappling with embedded oppressive structures occupied much solving energy within the global trans movement, the sum functionality--not just desirability--of institutionality comes into question against nondominant frameworks that evolved outside of and in opposition to institutionalized liberatory movements. Terminology and concepts from anti-institutional thought became integrated into the publications, creating conceptual hybrids that resembled respectably alternative, structurally assimilationist strategies. The tensions between transformative rhetoric and system-embracing reform played out particularly visibly in publications' internally contradictory positions on carcerality.

In the TGEU publication, *Deprived of Liberty, Deprived of Rights: A community report on policing and detention of trans people in Central-Eastern Europe and Central Asia (CEECA)* from 2018, punitive approaches in carceral systems throughout the CEECA region are compared to what the publication describes as less violent and more nuanced responses to harm established in Western Europe.

Despite the constant development of alternative sanctions, measures, and procedures such as community service, conditional caution, probation supervision, and restorative justice programmes in Western European countries, these are only minimally implemented in CEECA. Use of detention and long-term imprisonment, in addition to an overuse of pre-trial detention and custodial sanctions, as the main tools of punishment result in prison overcrowding and poor conditions in detention. The absence of separate juvenile justice

systems, lack of measures to support the reintegration of offenders back into the community, and the Soviet tradition of camp-style prisons remain persistent problems.⁶⁶

This comparison positioned Western Europe's carceral systems as more developed than those in the CEECA region. The report's solutions were then oriented toward the viability of Western European models for alternative justice programs and police sensitivity training, grounded in the belief that carceral mechanisms are reformable.

Nonlinear movement and rhetorical tensions

In this section, I used decolonial theory to trouble the reliance on progress narratives throughout the collected archive. With works by Nikita Dhawan and Amy Allen, I traced the lineage of the human rights framework to the Enlightenment. Reminding of the imperialisms and colonialisms amid which rights narratives were--and continue to be--constructed, I aimed to a) complicate faith in cumulative, linear progress, and b) clarify how rational, objective standards of discourse serve to maintain a separation between rhetoric and reality. Helped by works from Silvia Posocco and Christine Klapeer, I further illustrated the neocolonial character of global developmentalism in part through its Eurocentric structuring of temporalities. Comparing how the publications contextualized their data and constructed narratives for the past and future, I discussed how the organizations fluctuated between conceptualizing human rights as either a modelable precedent or an aspirational ideal.

⁶⁶ Boglarka Fedorko, *Deprived of Liberty, Deprived of Rights: A community report on policing and detention of trans people in Central-Eastern Europe and Central Asia (CEECA)*, (Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018): 8.

Conclusion

By surveying the living public archive of the global trans movement collected in its first decade, I traced the evolution of a global trans imaginary and articulations of trans populations' potentiality. Gathered together from their first decade (2008-2018), publications produced by Transgender Europe (TGEU), the Asia Pacific Trans Network (APTN), and Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE) depicted the relations between an evolving liberation movement and the construction of a rights deserving trans population in the development sector. While appealing to and operating within the networks of global development, the reports articulated the utility of trans population inclusion in universal ideas of progress. The publications modeled a spirit of research innovation and advocated for the expansion of data collection on trans populations as the currency necessary to articulate trans life to, as well as include it in, political and economic authoritative spaces.

In the first section, I gave an overview of the collected archive. The earliest communications from the three trans organizations emerged using human rights perspectives to frame access to health care and legal gender recognition. As the global trans movement grew beyond medicalized framings and became distinct from the global LGBTI+ rights movement, the report's focus issues proliferated. Publications expanded from a focus on health care and legal recognition and became dedicated to a wider array of human rights principles applied to trans population issues, pulling the conceptualization of transness along a rhetorically progressive spectrum from pathological to productive. Along the arc of the first decade of publication, the articulation of trans populations, their rights deservingness, and potentiality became increasingly universalized. After a decade of global expansion of research coordination and circulation of communications, critical pushback emerged in the movement in response to the reproduction of

neocolonial dynamics in work structures and knowledge production. This catalyzed the beginning transformational processes in 2018, such as the relinquishment of white/western/global northern leadership and restructuring of research by Transgender Europe.

In the second section, I problematized trans population research efforts by NGOs producing publications in the global trans movement. I considered trans-led knowledge production in the contexts of human rights and development systems to be a demonstration of a trans will to institutionality which relies on an understanding of population research as a neutral tool that is capable of enabling liberation. I discussed population measurement as a standardizing, constructive project by modern states and the lineage of eugenics carried by contemporary statistical methods. As a parallel, I discussed the LGBTI research infrastructure devised in the mid-2010s and the critical response to the homogenizing effects of universalizing rights paradigms.

In the third section, I troubled the reliance on progress narratives throughout the collected archive. Reminding of the imperialisms and colonialisms amid which rights narratives were--and continue to be--constructed, I aimed to a) complicate faith in cumulative, linear progress, and b) clarify how rational, objective standards of discourse serve to maintain a separation between rhetoric and reality. I illustrated the neocolonial character of global developmentalism through its Eurocentric structuring of temporalities and compared how the publications constructed narratives for the past and future.

Bibliography

- Agius, Silvan, Richard Kohler, Sophie Aujean, Julia Ehrh. *Human Rights and Gender Identity: Best Practice Catalogue*. Berlin: Transgender Europe and Belgium: ILGA, 2011.
- Agius, Silvan and Richard Kohler. *The Trans Corridor: Trans People's EU Employment Rights and National Gender Recognition Laws*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2014.
- Aher, Abhina and Simran Shaikh. *Views of Transgender Persons & Hijras Associated with the Global Fund Program, Pehchan, in India*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2016.
- Allen, Amy. *The End of Progress: Decolonizing the Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.
- APTIN, WHO. *Regional Assessment of HIV, STI and Other Health Needs of Transgender People in Asia and the Pacific*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2013.
- APTIN. *Agenda in Transition: Advancing Actions to Secure the Health and Rights of Transgender People in Asia and the Pacific*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2014.
- APTIN. *Finding Our Place Finding Our Voice: Asia & The Pacific Transgender Network Organization Mapping Report*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2015.
- Badgett, M.V. Lee, Sheila Nezhad, Kees Waaldjik, and Yana van der Meulen Rodgers. *The Relationship between LGBT Inclusion and Economic Development: An Analysis of Emerging Economies*. Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, 2014.
- Balzer, Carsten/Lagata, Carla and Jan Simon Hutta (Editors). *Transrespect versus Transphobia: The social experiences of trans and gender-diverse people in Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey and Venezuela*. Berlin: Transgender Europe and TvT Worldwide, 2015.
- Balzer, Carsten/Lagata, Carla and Lukas Berredo. *TMM annual report 2016: 2,190 murders are only the tip of the iceberg -- An introduction to the Trans Murder Monitoring project*. Berlin: Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide and Transgender Europe, 2016.
- Bakshi, Sandeep, Jivraj Suhraiya, Silvia Posocco. *Decolonizing Sexualities: Transnational Perspectives, Critical Interventions*. Oxford: Counterpress, 2016.
- Berredo, Lukas, AR Arcon, Amaranta Gómez Regalado, Carter Honorée, Neish McLean, Islèm Mejri, Simran Shaikh, Timofey Shenker, and Vaito'a Toelupe. *Global trans perspectives on health and wellbeing: TvT community report*. Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide project. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018.

- Byrne, Jack. *APTAN Fact Sheets: Being Trans in Asia and the Pacific*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2016.
- Costache, I., Baigazieva, S., Gejadze, E. *Mapping Digital Landscapes of Trans Activism in Central Asia and Eastern Europe*. Berlin: Transgender Europe and Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, 2018.
- Currah, Paisley and Susan Stryker. "Introduction." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (February 2015): 1-12.
- DeGagne, Alexa. "Queering the Language of 'Sexual Minorities' in Canada." In *Beyond the Queer Alphabet: Conversations on Gender, Sexuality, & Intersectionality*, edited by Malinda Smith and Fatima Jaffer, 24-27. Teaching Equity Matters E-book Series, 2012.
- Dhawan, Nikita. "Affirmative Sabotage of the Master's Tools: The Paradox of Postcolonial Enlightenment." In *Decolonizing Enlightenment: Transnational Justice, Human Rights and Democracy in a Postcolonial World*, edited by Dhawan Nikita, 19-78. Opladen; Berlin; Toronto: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2014.
- Dodo, Karsay. *Making the UN work for you: A toolkit on UN advocacy for trans activists*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2015.
- Dutta, Aniruddha and Raina Roy. "Decolonizing Transgender in India: Some Reflections." *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (August 2014): 320-337.
- Eisfeld, J., Gunther, S., and Shlasko, D. *The State of Trans* and Intersex Organizing: A case for increased support for growing but under-funded movements for human rights*. New York: Global Action for Trans* Equality and American Jewish World Service, 2014.
- Fedorko, Boglarka. *Sex Work Policy*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2016.
- Fedorko, Boglarka and Lukas Berredo. *The vicious circle of violence: Trans and gender-verse people, migration, and sex work*. TvT Publication Series Vol. 16. Berlin: TvT Worldwide and Transgender Europe, 2017.
- Fedorko, Boglarka. *Deprived of Liberty, Deprived of Rights: A community report on policing and detention of trans people in Central-Eastern Europe and Central Asia (CEECA)*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018.
- Ferguson, Roderick A. *The Reorder of Things*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Gale, Nathan. *Oppression Squared: D/deaf and disabled trans experiences in Europe*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2017.

- Giroux, Akim, Dinah Bons, Sanjar Kurmanov, and Carter Honorée. “Meritocracy and Other Bullshit Narratives.” *7th European Transgender Council*. Conference video previously published at <https://tgeu.org/resources/>. Belgium: Transgender Europe, 2018.
- Global Action for Trans* Equality. *It's time for reform: Trans* Health Issues in the International Classifications of Diseases*. The Hague: GATE, 2011.
- Health Policy Project, Asia Pacific Transgender Network, United Nations Development Programme. *Blueprint for the Provision of Comprehensive Care for Trans People and Trans Communities*. Washington, DC: Futures Group, Health Policy Project, 2015.
- Howe, E., Frazer, S. Dumont M. and Zomorodi, G. *The State of Trans Organizing 2nd Edition: Understanding the Needs and Priorities of a Growing but Under-Resourced Movement*. New York: American Jewish World Service, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice and Global Action for Trans Equality, 2017.
- Keuzencamp, Noah. *Know Your Rights! TGEU's Activist's Guide on Trans People's Rights under EU Law: An Overview of Current EU Law Covering Gender Reassignment, Gender Identity and Gender Expression*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2015.
- Klapeer, Christine. “Queering Development in Homotransnationalist Times: A Postcolonial Reading of LGBTIQ Inclusive Development Agendas.” *Lambda nordica* 22, no. 2-3 (January 1, 2017): 41–.
- Kohler, Richard, Julia Ehrt, and Alecs Recher. *Legal Gender Recognition in Europe: Toolkit*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2013.
- Kohler, Richard, Julia Ehrt, and Constantin Cojocariu. *Legal Gender Recognition in Europe: Toolkit*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2016.
- Mikdash, Puar. “Queer Theory and Permanent War.” *GLQ* 22, no. 2 (2016): 215–222.
- OutRight Action International. “Panel: Who Counts? The Queer Data Revolution and UN Sustainable Development Goals.” *OutSummit*, Audio recorded at CUNY School of Law in New York: OutRight Action International, 2016.
- Petchesky, Rosalind. “The Language of ‘sexual Minorities’ and the Politics of Identity: a Position Paper.” *Reproductive health matters* 17, no. 33 (2008): 105–110.
- Pons Rabasa, Alba. “From Representation to Corposubjectivation: The Configuration of Transgender in Mexico City.” *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 3-4 (November 2016): 388–411.
- Puar, Jasbir. *The Right to Maim*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

- Quinn, Sheila. *An Activist's Guide to the Yogyakarta Principles*. ARC International and the International Commission of Jurists, 2010.
- Sepper, Mir-Liis. *Claim Your Rights! Guide to legal aid for trans people in Europe*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2017.
- Sheherezade, Kara. *Gender is Not an Illness. How pathologizing trans people violates international human rights law*. New York: GATE, 2017.
- Spade, Dean and Rohlfs, Rori. "Legal Equality, Gay Numbers and the (After?)Math of Eugenics." *Navigating Neoliberalism in the Academy, Nonprofits, and Beyond*. The Scholar and Feminist Online 13.2. New York: SCRW, 2016.
<http://sfonline.barnard.edu/navigating-neoliberalism-in-the-academy-nonprofits-and-beyond/>
- Stern, Jessica. "Concluding Speech." *Celebration of Courage*. Audio recorded at United Nations previously published at <https://soundcloud.com/outrightintl>. New York: OutRight Action International, 2016.
- Stryker, Susan. *Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution*, Second edition. New York: Seal Press, 2017.
- TGEU and ITF. *International Trans* Fund Convening: A Meeting for Funders & Activists Working on Gender Diversity*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2015.
- Transgender Europe. *Overdiagnosed but Underserved. Trans Healthcare in Georgia, Poland, Serbia, Spain, and Sweden: Trans Health Survey*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2017.
- Transgender Europe. *Activity Report: Transgender Europe's activities from June 2016 until June 2018*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018.
- Transgender Europe. *Anti-Activity Report: A critical reflection of TGEU's activities and work from June 2016 until June 2018*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2018
- Transrespect versus Transphobia. *A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*. Berlin: TvT Worldwide and Transgender Europe. 2012.
- UNDP and APTN. *Legal Gender Recognition: A Multi-Country Legal and Policy Review in Asia*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2017.
- Van Der Merwe, Leigh Ann. "Panel: Measuring Inclusion of Lesbian, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Women," *60th annual Commission on the Status of Women*. Audio recorded at United Nations previously published at <https://soundcloud.com/outrightintl>. OutRight Action International: New York, 2016.

- Westerlund, Ulrika and Richard Kohler. *Human Rights and Gender Identity: Best Practices Catalogue, Second Edition*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2016.
- Winter, Sam. *Lost in Transition: Transgender People, Rights and HIV Vulnerability in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Bangkok: APTN and UNDP, 2012.
- Winter, Sam, Davis-McCabe, C., Russell, C., Wilde, D., Chu, T.H., Suparak, P. and Wong, J. *Denied Work: An audit of employment discrimination on the basis of gender identity in Asia*. Bangkok: Asia Pacific Transgender Network and United Nations Development Programme, 2018.
- Whittle, Stephen, Lewis Turner, Ryan Combs, Stephenne Rhodes. *Transgender EuroStudy: Legal Survey and Focus on the Transgender Experience of Health Care*. Berlin: Transgender Europe, 2008.
- Whittle, Stephen and Lewis Turner. *Trans-inclusive Workplaces: Guidelines for Employers and Businesses*. Transgender Europe, 2017.
- Zaidi, Sarah. *Learning Guide: Strengthening Knowledge on the Global Fund Processes for Transgender Communities*. Asia Pacific Transgender Network, 2016.