6-15-2021

Living Precariously: The Cultural Politics of Becoming Transgender in Postcolonial Jamaica

Kemar McIntosh
kmcin019@fiu.edu

FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Miami, Florida

LIVING PRECARIOUSLY: THE CULTUAL POLITICS OF BECOMING TRANSGENDER IN POSTCOLONIAL JAMAICA

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

GLOBAL & SOCIOCULTURAL STUDIES

by

Kemar McIntosh

2021

To: Dean John F. Stack Jr.
School of International and Public Affairs

This dissertation, written by Kemar McIntosh, and entitled Living Precariously: The Cultural Politics of Becoming Transgender in Postcolonial Jamaica, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgement.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

_____
Guillermo Grenier

_____
Heather Russell

_____
Matthew Marr

_____
Percy Hintzen, Major Professor

Date of Defense: June 15, 2021

The dissertation of Kemar McIntosh is approved.

_____
Dean John F. Stack
School of International and Public Affairs

_____
Andres G. Gil
Vice President for Research and Economic Development
and Dean of the University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

LIVING PRECARIOUSLY: THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF BECOMING TRANSGENDER IN POSTCOLONIAL JAMAICA

by

Kemar McIntosh

Florida International University, 2021

Miami, Florida

Professor Percy Hintzen, Major Professor

This dissertation examines the cultural politics of stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence encountered by persons becoming male-to-female (MtF) transgenders in postcolonial Jamaica. The issue of stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence has been the subject of considerable research in the Global North but has failed to adequately address institutional structures and cultural practices that continue to produce postcolonial realities in the Global South. Transphobic violence in Jamaica is captured by a 2014 Human Rights Watch report detailing the murder of 16-year-old Dwayne Jones, who was engaging in processes of becoming a male-to-female transgender. While attending a dance party attired in women's clothing, Jones was beaten, chopped, shot, and her/his body run over with a car after it was discovered that she/he was not biologically female. Thus, the research analyzes and examines how persons becoming MtF transgenders are violated by cultural practices and institutional structures that are embedded in postcolonial realities of stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence (transphobic violence). The dissertation also examines public space (Lefebvre 1974; Massey1994; Ross 2009) as materially informing how persons becoming MtF

transgenders navigate stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence as mediated by colonial continuities of race, class, and gender categories.

Drawing on theoretical approaches to queer and transgender studies, structural stigma, postcolonial heteropatriarchy, and precarity, the research presents an ethnography that exposes everyday stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders. The research also remains the first ethnographic study which examines how persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica navigate public spaces, craft local and transnational mobilities, while revealing colonial continuities that manufacture MtF transgender lives as structurally precarious.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

As with the debates over the identification and categorization of anthropological and historical subjects, the trope of "inclusion" points to the ambiguities in the working out of distinct histories and contemporary identities. And, as with the reordering of those anthropological and historical subjects, this ambiguity is worked out in the margins…
David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender*

[Institutions] incorporate tradition. They pass on memory; they (like art and architecture) give us stability and permanence. Trust in the 'goodness' of institutions...is also trust in future generations who then place trust in those same institutions
Scott Lash, *The Risk Society and Beyond*

Dwayne Jones's murder did not resonate with me until I attended an event themed Her Legacy in 2018. Collaboratively organized by the Institute for Gender and Development Studies at the University of the West Indies, Mona, and We-Change, an NGO led by LBQ women, Her Legacy created conversational space for women—and the few men who attended—to voice ceaseless commitments to gender-based advocacy and encouraged emotional reflections about histories of women's nation-building contributions within pre and post-independence Jamaica. The event facilitated conversations around the importance of women-led community projects, women's health, women in representational politics, poverty affecting women, domestic abuse, stalled amendments to rape legislation, strategies of economic mobility employed by women across class lines, and ultimately, the universal liberation of women from patriarchal violence. Women were centered at the event as they problematized and confronted legacies of institutionalized heteropatriarchy in postcolonial Jamaica. Her Legacy simulated a liberal intersectional space wherein fragmented identities worn by women coalesced to form an inclusive feminist discourse.

But as I listened cautiously, mindful of erasures present in every narrative, never quite the full story, I came to realize the limits of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989; Collins 1998; Anthias 2014), an academic notion uncritically abused to normalize neo-essentialist discourse. Her Legacy, essentially, was about the nationalized contributions of real women, political struggles survived by real women, biological women sharing straight, lesbian, bisexual, or queer (questioning) identities. Her Legacy, as inclusive as the event appeared to be, failed to feature the culturally buried stories of Jamaican transgender women or that of persons who were (and who are presently) engaging processes of becoming women in postcolonial Jamaica. Dwayne Jones, who was violently murdered by a mob in 2013 for impersonating a real woman, for lacking the biological marker: a vagina, would not possess stories to tell at Her Legacy had she been allowed to live. Her Legacy remained patriarchally tied to female genitalia, conserving woman-ness, her-ness to materiality sexually signified by the modern medical gaze (Foucault 2003): the vagina.

Renae, who identifies as a transwoman and positions herself as an advocate for transgender equality, expressed feelings of erasure after Her Legacy came to an end. Renae wanted to know why transwomen's narratives were not given space; she wanted to see herself represented in stories of the past and present. Renae was perturbed by the uncomfortable erasure of narratives surrounding transwomen and gender transgressive persons still immersed in processes of becoming. I sensed Renae's exclusion from the identity she claimed, alienated from Her Legacy, denied ontological representation because of the type of woman she is: a transwoman. Her Legacy did not make room for narratives of becoming a woman since woman-ness, like male-ness, remains an essence: historically and colonially preserved to keep bodies in their sexed and gendered place.

Renae felt out of place, and I understood. Dwayne Jones, affectionately called "Gully Queen," did not survive the violent coloniality of Manichean Western sexism, and I understood.

My *queer femme* subjectivity, framing and fracturing my own standpoint epistemology, enabled me to empathize with Renae's feelings of *being out of place* (Ahmed 2012). I know that feeling of being in places, especially public places, where my expressed femininity does not match my cisnormative appearance, creating discord I do not get to "pass." Refusing such an impasse, the heteropatriarchal gaze is deployed, aggressively or with some amount of nuance, and returns me to my given sex: (re)cognizes me as essentially male. I need to know the significance of my sex, the seriousness of my given gender—I do not get a "pass." And in postcolonial Jamaica, rejecting this culturally institutionalized epistemology carries material consequences: you are either mortally erased (murdered) or made to feel out of place (social death).

The limits of inclusivity arrested me at the Her Legacy event, and so I began to consider: If stories of becoming a woman were not granted representation at a women's event, were susceptible to erasure by other women, how, then, do persons become transgender women in both domestic and public spaces in Jamaica? How do persons become transgender women against valences of stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence? How do they become a category still patriarchally produced and policed by institutionalized heteropatriarchy? How is this becoming mediated by power relations, small and superstructural power relations, that work to discipline and manage bodies as naturally sexed and gendered? How do they become transgender women against rigid and

durable colonial continuities mediating race and class relations in postcolonial Jamaica? How do subjects become transgender women against institutionalized techniques of governmentality set on preserving sex and gender as unamenable, impassable, naturalized through modern scientific discourse? And finally, is becoming a transgender woman in Jamaica always precarious: an always vulnerablizing metamorphosis that challenges the very humanity of the subject becoming a woman? To provide sufficient answers to the questions posed, I engaged ethnographic fieldwork to examine and analyze everyday processes of persons becoming transgender against institutional structures and cultural practices of transphobia in Jamaica. Semi-structured interviews, archival research, and organizational ethnographies were systematically employed to ground the vulnerable politico-cultural positionality of persons becoming male-to-female (MtF) transgenders in Jamaica.

Framing Fieldwork: Ethnography, Stories of Silence, and Agentive Archives

Data collection for this dissertation occurred between January 2018 and August 2020. I arrived in Kingston, Jamaica late December 2017, a time when most Jamaicans, like myself, pamper the palate with rum cake, sorrel, gungo peas soup, goat head soup, and hybrid concoctions, never missing rum. What is ethnography without inebriating tastes, smells, and feelings of culture? I arrived in Kingston, Jamaica, not as an outsider but as someone who wanted to examine and analyze the indigestible portions of Jamaican culture, portions that forced me to leave, nauseating portions which often script the stories of Jamaican queers granted refugee status in Global North countries. However, before December 2017, I arrived more than five times to Jamaica. Each arrival was used to reconnect with friends and family in the flesh, secretly attend gay parties in Kingston

never before sunset, participate in workshops or conferences around LGBTQ issues, and attend Jamaican-styled Pride events. Before beginning formalized fieldwork in 2018, prior arrivals prepared me to compose an ethnography which challenges the insider /outsider binary: the emic/etic formulations governing unreflexive ethnography. Let us ponder: How outside is the ethnographer when connections, disconnections, and reconnections remain humanly possible? How outside is the ethnographer when bodily sustenance requires immersive participation? How outside is the ethnographer when erotic desires find climax in the field? How outside is the ethnographer when ethnography facilitates border-crossings, neo-imperialist invasions, and provoke questions about cosmopolitan ways of being in the world?

Surpassing the banality of sketchily written itineraries, flying, and sounds of stamps assaulting passports as I waited in line to receive entry, *how* I arrived in Jamaica is meaningful to articulate as I present this ethnography. Each arrival in Jamaica, demonic grounds (McKittrick 2006) hardening memories of trauma still, is, for me, a return from exile. I arrived emotionally charged and triggered. I arrived seeking fragile frames called closure. I do not write this ethnography as an unaffected social science researcher trained to model and represent "objective" social truths. I write from a place of *affective reflexivity* as I am always implicated—never on the outside. The insider/outsider binary singularly serves to mask the imperialist anthropological gaze still shaping much of social science research. As Nikki Lane's "Bringing Flesh to Theory" notes, "ethnography requires reflexivity because the ethnographer must constantly consider how her body is *affecting* and is *effected* by the communities and institutions in which she is embedded" (Lane 2016, 632).

From Portmore, a dormitory suburban town neighboring Kingston, I would commute to the Jamaican Forum for Lesbians, All-Sexuals, and Gays (J-FLAG) office based in Kingston. TransWave, a transgender focused NGO led by transgender Jamaicans, shared office space with J-FLAG in a building once affectionately called Rainbow House (the building was destroyed by "fire of yet unknown origin" on December 30, 2018.) Since the research promises an ethnography about the everyday processes of persons becoming male-to-female (MtF) transgenders—peripheral to my own indigestions regarding portions served as anti-queer Jamaican culture—the first two months of 2018 were used to coordinate relationships with J-FLAG and TransWave staff members. Given the ethnography's focus, I expended most of my time with TransWave staff members and the transgender clients they serve using safe space practices (Hanhardt 2013). I was in the field for two months without a notepad, building relationships without disciplinary fieldnotes. For me, practicing "situated listening" (Sanjek 2014) as a "hybrid and experimental" (Breglia 2011) approach to ethnography helped me to design interview questions which eventually served as efficient data collecting tools. I listened carefully, and so "epistemological and ontological assumptions" (Desmond 2014) about transgender existence in Jamaica were often disrupted. Therefore, I had to frame in-depth interview questions in ways that allowed for epistemic disruptions, queer slippages meant to disturb the "heterosexual matrix" (Butler 1990)— "untidy epistemologies" (Lutz 2015) organized thereafter as queer ethnography.

I met Renae before she started working at TransWave, so I was confident, because of a thin acquaintance we shared, that she was best equipped to help me recruit persons becoming MtF transgenders for interviews. Renae accepted my request, and in less than

two weeks I was in the field conducting my first in-depth interview. I interviewed eight persons becoming MtF transgenders, six less than anticipated in the research proposal. However, given the depth of the semi-structured interviews—over seventy pages post-transcription—I am confident that the interviews, which converse with each other throughout the dissertation, serve as empirical data poised to narrate the embodied or ontological experiences of persons becoming MtF transgenders in postcolonial Jamaica. The semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted between March and June of 2018.

Neish McClean, a transmasculine transgender person and TransWave's executive director, approved a small and secluded section of Rainbow House where I conducted all eight interviews. The smallness of the space structured the interviews as inherently intimate; and since I was interested in everyday "microscale" (Aronoff and Kubik 2013) processes enacted by persons becoming MtF transgenders, the micro-spatial arrangement felt appropriate. During the interviews I asked some of the following questions:

- How did you feel when you realized you identified with being a girl/woman?
- How did you cope with this realization?
- Did you tell your parent(s), close friend, or a relative about this realization?
- Did you feel supported after expressing you identified as a girl/woman?
- How do you feel when you wear women's clothing?
- At which age did you start dressing as a girl/woman?
- What does it mean for you to dress as a woman?
- Where would you go to get women's clothing?
- Do you experience discrimination while purchasing women's clothing?
- Do you use public spaces by yourself?
- How does transphobia feel?

Designed to evoke affective and semantic epistemologies, the questions reanimate the transition: they allow room for messy memories and everyday experiences of gender-based violence commonly sculpting processes of transgender becoming, processes of resisting institutional and cultural *epistemes* (Foucault 1994) of heteropatriarchy. The answers I received from the eight interviewees confirmed the violent dialectics of becoming transgender women in Jamaica: narratives unveiling private and public struggles with stigma, discrimination, and transphobia fortuitously survived and defied daily. The questions venture into what Oren Gozlan (2015) thematizes as "[the] aesthetics of transitioning." While other questions concerning access to equitable health care, employability, sustainable employment, migratory possibilities, and histories of serial displacement (homelessness)— questions cognizant of material realities shaping processes of becoming transgender in Jamaica— I, like Gozlan, partially seek to capture the "thick" (Geertz 1973) aesthetic processes concomitantly molding gender transition in Jamaica. Gozlan tells us that "[transitioning] our thinking about [transgender] from a category of identity to a problem of aesthetics requires us to consider the experience of conceptual break-down as the grounds for transformation and new education…" and "[this] approach would require us to empty the construct of [transgender] from its "known" biological, social, and medical meanings…"(p. 14). Gozlan's insight surfaced in the interview transcripts, as aesthetic processes of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica did occasionally "empty" biological, social, and medical epistemologies set on governing this at-risk category. In another way, the semi-structured in-depth interviews revealed the lived contradictions and complications presently shaping processes of becoming transgender in postcolonial Jamaica—often opaque (McHugh 1997) processes refusing

"objective" social science descriptions and prescriptions about transgender being and becoming.

Organizational Ethnography: Rethinking Accessibility

The politics of gaining access to organizations and the cultures they administer is common to ethnographic fieldwork, and peculiarly for ethnographers who arrive in the field with insider/outsider attitudes and anxieties. Power relations framing entrance points and barriers in the field certainly deserve critical reflection. But how should ethnographers reflect on these power relations? How should we reflect on "position-taking(s)" (Bourdieu 1993) in the field? How do insider/outsider attitudes and anxieties, embedded in traditionalist ethnographic training, work to imagine the field? Can we reimagine the field? If yes, how should we (ethnographers), then, move to dismantle insider/outsider attitudes and anxieties which often occasion "ethnographic failures" (Miyazaki and Riles 2005) and curtail ethnographic possibilities? I am inclined to appropriate Bourdieu's (1993) insight that:

> Every position-taking is defined in relation to the *space of possibilities* which is objectively realized as a problematic in the form of the actual or potential position-takings corresponding to the different positions; and it receives its distinctive value from its negative relationship with the coexistent position-takings to which it is objectively related and which determine it by delimiting it (p. 30).

I did not arrive in the field as an outsider, the assumed position of the ethnographer armored with anthropological attitudes and anxieties. I arrived knowing my limits,

conscious of how I would be limited through "negative relationship(s)" and organizational barriers manufactured to maintain outsider positions. Challenging the insider/outsider binary, I architectured room for possibilities, "*space of possibilities*" which formed new relationships—open and enclosed relationships—and enacted two points of access. I crafted access points through deploying both my Jamaican-ness (cultural capital) and queerness (marginalized capital).

When I approached TransWave, Jamaica Network of Seropositives (JN+), and Jamaica AIDs Support for Life (JASL) for organizational access, I positioned myself as queer since these organizations primarily serve Jamaica's LGBTQ community. Approach *matters* in matters of access. For these organizations, my ethnographic research promised a queer-academic voice for the community. My queer ethnography would allow subaltern (Spivak 1988) voices to speak from within and beyond the academy. But alongside my queer positionality, access was granted because the ethnography was being co-produced by an American university. My attachment to an American university meant that stories of persons becoming MtF transgenders against everyday stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence in Jamaica would reach far: stories of transphobic violence would reach Global North audiences imagined as more empathetic towards transgender suffering. For TransWave, JN+, and JASL, there was a "collapse of distinctions" (Lashaw 2012) in the field. I was not an outsider.

When I approached the Ministry of Health and Wellness, South East Regional Health Authority (SERHA),the Bureau of Gender Affairs (BGA), National Family Planning Board (NFPB), Ministry of Labor and Social Security, and administrators at the Kingston

Public Hospital (KPH), I positioned myself as a Jamaican researcher (ethnographer) interested in examining and analyzing administrative practices and policies made to address the health and social needs of persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica. As part of the approach, I repeated my attachment to an American university. While my research topic did not appear pressingly relevant or important to current public health and social policy debates in Jamaica, limited access was granted because I was a Jamaican interested in producing knowledge consumable, acceptable, and progressively tolerable in the Global North. I was afforded limited access because my Jamaican-ness, viewed as a natural identity, is attributable to co-produced products consumable in the Global North. Limited access was given because I was productively positioning myself to represent Jamaica in the Global North (America)—impertinent representation, but representation, nonetheless. I was not an outsider.

The organizations enumerated offered different forms of access made accessible through reimagining the field as a site of possible "position-takings" (Bourdieu 1993). I positioned myself to renegotiate the insider/outsider binary. I strategically mobilized discursive identities, my Jamaican-ness and queerness, to effectuate ethnographic possibilities. Email addresses were exchanged, interviews were granted, personal conversations sparked, and at times I was convincingly encouraged to return home, to Jamaica, where brain-drain continues to shape the country's social, cultural, and economic future. Ethnographers, like culturally cultivated subjects studied, possess pliable identities; and efficiently positioning identities in order to obtain different forms of access should allow us to rethink the politics of accessibility anticipated in the field.

Now, given the dissertation's focus, I deliberately engaged TransWave's staff members and persons becoming MtF transgenders serviced by the NGO to: (1) gather in-depth interviews about transphobic violence (2) discuss homelessness disproportionately affecting persons becoming MtF transgenders (3) grasp the NGO's interaction with persons becoming MtF transgenders who engage in sex-work (4) document the ways persons engaging processes of becoming MtF transgenders gain access to the organization's resources (5) tabulate the number of persons becoming MtF transgenders who receive supportive services from the organization (6) account for health and social services provided by TransWave, and lastly, (7) understand relationships with transnational LGBTQ organizations and their funding of TransWave's work. These itemized objectives served to ground my ethnographic examination of structural stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence (transphobic violence), emplaced and executed through postcolonial cultural practices and institutions in Jamaica.

Archival Work: Silences and Non-Governmental Disclosures

I began archival research the month after, in July. I made sporadic commutes to the Jamaica Archives and Records Department (JARD) located on King Street in Spanish Town. The deteriorating Georgian buildings hosting the records preempt the kind of work done at the Archives: diligent diggings through colonial ruble hoping to find stories buried, ruined, or selectively preserved. My task was to find paper trails inked with postcolonial discourses around race, class, and gender, and particularly, written conversations about early gender transgressors such as the late Miko Blanco. Meticulously preserved newspaper clippings containing racist and classist discourse were

found and inspected, but I did not find a single trace of Miko Blanco or leaflets archiving histories of transgender presence in post-independence Jamaica.

Seated at a computer, as some records have since been digitized, I tailored my search between 1990 and 2015 for newspaper articles, periodicals, government gazettes, and editorials hoping to discover written words affirming transgender existence in Jamaica. No words appeared. However, multiple stories about homosexuality, Jamaica's buggery law, HIV/AIDS, and moral decline attributed to reckless sodomites appeared below the search bar. Filled with frustration I began to ask myself: Is transgender a category too contemporary for (post)colonial archives? Is it too foreign, too Global North to be found in Jamaica's Global South archive? Is it hiding behind other words, other vocabularies used to describe gender transgressors in Jamaica? Did the archivists deliberately erase (trans)textual texts: written words affirming transgender existence in Jamaica? Are trans-related stories, stories of silence, in Jamaica? Are transgender stories unarchivable in Jamaica? Is this moment a subtle experience of institutional erasure? Is transgender social death being insidiously rehearsed at the national archives? I needed answers.

Birthed following the passage of the Archives Act, 1982, the Jamaica Archives and Records Department does indeed participate in the institutional erasure (Cooper 2000) of transgender Jamaicans by rendering the category unarchivable. Untraceable within the national archives, transgender stories and lives remain alienated from state-sanctioned history, positioned outside Jamaica's nationalist narratives preserved for postcolonial progeny. JARD's heteronationalist (Lazarus 2011) mission is clearly articulated below:

> The Department serves as the main repository in the country for the preservation of government records in paper, audiovisual and electronic formats, relating to the country's history and heritage. It collects archival materials relating to Jamaica produced by government ministries, agencies and department and persons of national importance as well as churches, charities and other organisations to ensure that primary materials of cultural value to Jamaica are preserved. It provides a research and reference service to the public and disseminates information on the collection to promote interest and knowledge of the nation's history and culture. (JARD, 2014)

The logic of institutional erasure organizes techniques intended to leave certain bodies and identities undocumented—embodied identities denied "cultural value." After months of interacting with transgender Jamaicans (transmen and transwomen) and interviewing those engaging processes of becoming MtF transgenders, I knew the Records Department practiced a politics of erasure intended to alienate transgender lives and histories from Jamaica's cultural geography. As Mark Friedrich's (2018) *Birth of the Archive* tells us:

> Archives are not storage facilities or receptacles that simply accumulate documents; they are the sum of activities and actions. Nothing about an archive is passive or automatic, no matter what the clichéd expression about the "organic growth" of archival holdings may suggest. The idea that archives are characterized by "passive receptivity," even in part, is misleading (p. 6).

After remembering scheduled and sporadic conversations I had with Vicki Silvera, a fellow Jamaican and archivist, about locating transgender narratives outside Jamaica's

national archives, *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *Jamaica Observer*, two reputable newspapers, returned to memory. So, naturally, I abandoned archival research at the JARD and started using online search options offered by the *Gleaner* and *Observer* to fruitfully finalize archival research.

The researcher-friendly online platforms offered by the newspapers reinforce the almost archaic task of journeying to physical archives. Stretching my fingers to the keyboard was the only journey necessary to enter the newspapers' unorganized "digital archives." I made it to the search bar, typed Miko Blanco, and articles appeared. I located Miko Blanco, a gender transgressor, outside the national archives. I resurrected *Gleaner* articles honoring Blanco's contributions to Jamaica's tourism and performing arts industries and one *Observer* article connecting Blanco's artistic reach to local entertainers from the past. Functioning as dispersed "digital archives," the *Gleaner* and *Observer* databases serve to preserve stories rendered unarchivable by the Jamaican state. Furthermore, conceptualizing the *Gleaner* and *Observer* as quasi-NGOs, the articles revived from both newspapers, I am suggesting, perform non-governmental disclosures, non-institutional revelations working to historicize transgender existence in Jamaica. Acknowledging the ways in which non-official (non-institutional) sources often work to reorient public memory and subvert state-sanctioned epistemologies, Ann Laura Stoler's *Along the Archival Grain*, in examining "epistemic anxieties" found in (post)colonial archives, imparts:

> Sometimes the borders that define the "official" and the "non-official" are hard to trace. Government civil servants wrote in newspapers, newspapers culled from

> official records to which they were not suppose to have access. Leaks soaked through and across confidential missives, private letters, and the sequestered archival page (p.15).

Archival research during this digitally-driven era (Szekely 2017) should compel us to consider dispersed databases used to record, document, store, and preserve stories rendered erasable by the state: non-governmental technologies designed (directly or inadvertently) to counter insidious forms of governmental erasure. Redefining archival research as a flexible data mining enterprise should enable ethnographers to excavate hidden histories and stories peripherally preserved: histories and stories (digitally and tangibly) preserved outside of state-sanctioned institutions. That being said, my archival research, performed flexibly, brought me to a blog titled "Gay Jamaica Watch" and below the blog's title are these words:

> A Gay Man's Views from Inside Jamaica; With News & Opinions; Serving Mint Tea Fi Di Jamaican Suh, Hard Hitting Posts, Homosexuality in Jamaica; LGBTQ Advocacy Concerns; Battyman Tings. (GJM)

The anonymous blogger professes to offer a gay perspective from "Inside Jamaica," a sort of domesticated Human Rights Watch mission in blog format. While perusing the blog I saw that Miko Blanco was the featured face of Jamaica's "LGBT History Month, 2015." Unlike institutionally created and supported Global North projects such as the Transgender Archives at the University of Victoria and the Digital Transgender Project based in Worchester, Massachusetts at the College of the Holy Cross, "Gay Jamaica Watch," creatively organized by an anonymous gay Jamaican blogger without any

declared institutional (governmental) support, is another quasi-NGO articulation of Jamaican transgender history proffered and preserved against institutional erasure: transgender memory memorialized outside Jamaica's national archives. Memorializing Miko Blanco's historical significance to Jamaica's LGBTQ community, a history hardly known to many Jamaicans due to institutional erasure, the blogger presents us with visual memorabilia below:

And memorable words:

Earlier this year we lost an icon in name and status after a brief illness, those of us in our forties onwards knew the name Miko Blanco even you didn't meet him ever as his fashion or dancing or limbo skills placed him on the map thus his reputation preceded

him…Good memories to reflect on despite the challenges. We have been losing our icons in rapid succession this year, but life goes on I imagine.

The blogger, as seen in the eulogistic language above, uses masculine gender pronouns—"his" and "him"— in his heartfelt reflections about Miko Blanco. The pictures, however, present a different gendered story. Similarly, an article pulled from the *Gleaner*, which pays tribute to Miko Blanco, also uses a masculine gender pronoun while alluding to Blanco. The *Gleaner* article titled "Miko Blanco Was a Limbo Legend" memorializes Blanco as such:

> *In the 1960s, Miko Blanco's Tropicano Dance Group was the headline performer at Sheraton Kingston's Jonkanoo Lounge. The sight of a pencil-thin Miko Blanco with a colourful turban about two feet high, strutting through the lobby in high heels, stopped all activity. Everyone stared at the eccentric entertainer wearing heavy make-up.*
>
> *His ability to limbo under a blazing pole set on two Red Stripe beer bottles was the highlight of his show. This had tourists and locals alike in awe of his skill at doing this, even while wearing his turban (which actually caught fire on more than one occasion).*
>
> *Blanco's legendary, colourful limbo show was in constant demand on the hotel circuit, and his discipline and punctuality were to be admired.* (*Jamaica Gleaner*, 2015)

Archives, both institutional and non-governmental, are always agentive in that they store stories in ways that reveal and reproduce durable categories and epistemologies which work to preserve private and public memories. Miko Blanco, blogged as the face of Jamaica's "LGBTQ History Month, 2015" and articled as an "eccentric entertainer" by the *Gleaner*, occupies an unintelligible interstitial space between transgender identity and

drag performativity (Butler 1990). However, to short circuit this unintelligibility, the blogger and newspaper article simply avoided the gender transgressive contradictions shaping Miko Blanco's biography to present and preserve a cisnormative narrative for Blanco who evidently existed in gender transgressive ways. But why? Is it that gender, like race (Stone 2012) and class (Carnegie 2014) durabilities embedded in postcolonial Jamaica, remains tasked with preserving the modern Manichean (Fanon 1961) epistemic order? Is it that durable gender norms, in Jamaica, willfully reject the postmodern lecture? How postmodern can we get in postcolonial Jamaica? Or does postmodernism (Derrida 1967; Lyotard 2010; Bhaba 2004) simply remain a Global North academic invention tasked with relegating cultural and epistemic contradictions to domains of discursive discourse? But can we ever come to comprehend such contradictions outside of modern and postmodern discourse? Perhaps Susan Hekman's (2010) *Material of Knowledge* provides a suitable answer:

> Postmoderns reject ontology not only because of its association with modernism but also because of their conviction, if they can be said to have convictions, that "there is no there there," it is all fiction, play. [But language] does not constitute the world or mirror its reality. The "new ontology" [therefore]…rejects both the fixed ontology of modernity and the linguistic constructionism of postmodernism (p. 74- 89).

The epistemic untidiness simultaneously unveiled by the blog and the newspaper article should allow archival researchers to meticulously examine how categorical and epistemological contradictions form new ontologies (Hekman 2010; DeLanda 2016)

about embodied narratives preserved, revealed, and reproduced from within both state-sanctioned and unofficial archives: agentive archives. The new ontology, according to Karen Barad (2007), "clarifies the nature of the causal relationship between discursive practices and material phenomena" and "[proposes] a new understanding of how discursive practices are related to the material world" (p.34). Critical archival research, therefore, is tasked with sifting through epistemic entanglements that arise when "discursive practices" and external "phenomena" reveal material contradictions and nebulous uncertainties found in state and non-state representations of embodied stories actively preserved and memorialized. In a more succinct way, the new ontological approach permits archival researchers to wrestle with the often contradictory "relationship between" agentive representation and "material phenomena" occasionally encountered within both institutional and non-official archives.

In concluding this chapter, the cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender as grounded in this ethnography should enable an understanding of the mechanics of inclusion and exclusion embedded in institutional practices, the state and non-governmental (local and international) relationships framing transgender existence, and lastly, the multiple race, class, and gender-based precarities shaping ontologies of becoming MtF transgender in postcolonial Jamaica.

Chapter 2

Theorizing *Becoming*: Transgender Literary Landscapes, Precarity, and Postcolonial Heteropatriarchy

> I have tried to write this thing calmly even as its lines burn to a close. I have come to know something simple. Each sentence realised or dreamed jumps like a pulse with history and takes a side. What I say in any language is told in faultless knowledge of skin, in drunkenness and weeping, told as a woman without matches and tinder, not in words and in words and in words learned by heart, told in secret and not in secret, and listen, does not burn out waste and is plenty and pitiless and loves.
> Dionne Brand, *No Language Is Neutral*

> "I mean the time will come for both of us to choose. For we will have to make the choice. Cast our lot. Cyaan live split. Not in this world."
> Michelle Cliff, *No Telephone to Heaven*

Words do not complete modernity's history; but interrogating words used to construct social, cultural, and political realities throughout modern history should enable us to understand how we became, and are still becoming, sexed, gendered, raced, and classed human beings. Being in words, becoming through words, flesh faltering to written language is a modern phenomenon that has been under intellectual inspection since the early 20th century's "linguistic turn." Turning towards language offered, and continues to offer, a novel epistemological corridor constructed to grasp the myriad ways words (written and spoken) work to effectuate and represent materiality (corporeality). Richard Rorty's (1992) *The Linguistic Turn*, in responding to critics of the "linguistic turn," succinctly posits that "[it] is no good saying that the great philosophers of the past were not interested in anything so piffling as *language*, but were interested instead in the nature of *reality*, unless we can get some clear idea of what it was they wanted to know about reality, and of how they would know that they had this knowledge once they had it"(p. 8). Words, historically emerging through linguistic articulations and arrangements,

construct epistemologies as forms of discourse, and so modern representations of "reality" materialize through words: are manifested through dispersed and convergent forms of discourse. As Michel Foucault's (1994) *Order of Things* tells us:

> [Modern] thought has been unable to avoid…a discourse that would be neither of the order of reduction nor of the order of promise: a discourse whose tension would keep separate the empirical and the transcendental, while being directed at both; a discourse that would make it possible to analyse man as a subject, that is, as a locus of knowledge which has been empirically acquired but referred back as closely as possible to what makes it possible, and as a pure form immediately present to those contents (p.320).

Persons becoming MtF transgenders in postcolonial Jamaica—ethnographic "subject(s),"— are indeed confined to modern "empirical" and "transcendental" medical (sexological and psychological), sociocultural, race, class, and gender-based discourses informing how they become transgender. But where did these discourses come from? And does this "where" allow us to understand histories of power/knowledge (Foucault 1995) dynamics presently informing how bodies are sexed, gendered, racialized, and classed in Jamaica? The "where" is the imperialist Global North: Western Europe and North America. Hence, the cultural politics of becoming MtF in Jamaica is already mediated my colonially preserved, practiced, and institutionalized discourses governing durable race, class, gender, and sexist relations in postcolonial Jamaica. The "where" should also usher us to acknowledge that we cannot understand transgender becoming outside of the post-World War I Americanization of the Caribbean (Knight 1983; Kettell and Sutton, 2015; Ferguson and Bornstein 2015), which compliments the Anglo-

Caribbean's British colonial past (Pearse 1956; Barriteau 1998; Pretley 2011; Thame 2014). A fairly new category, the term transgender emerged through transatlantic sexological and medicolegal discourses exchanged between North American and Western European practitioners who were preoccupied with normalizing bodies deemed to possess sexual and gender-dysphoric abnormalities. To grasp the historical emergence of the category, transgender, and how its history presently informs the ways in which persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica "find" their transgendered selves, a compact literature review will be offered. Additionally, quotes from the semi-structured in-depth interviews will be inserted to ground the literature review.

To begin, Dave King's (1993) *The Transvestite and the Transsexual* provides an inventory of scholars who dominated American and Western European sexological debates and theories about gender nonconforming persons. King itemized sexologists Magnus Hirschfield (1910, 1938), David O. Caudwell (1949,1956), and Harry Benjamin (1953, 1954, 1966) as key figures who significantly influenced psycho-medical discourses and informed mainstream media representations about medicalized gender "deviants." The 1979 foundation of the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (HBIGD), now the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH), speaks to the extraordinary transnational influence Benjamin had in framing authoritative discourses about transgender identity formation. Gordene Mackenzie's (1994) *Transgender Nation* speaks to the historical deployment of the "psycho-medical model" which organized a culture of pathologization internalized by many transgender Americans who were forced to transition under biomedical and psychiatric regimes of discourse; and this internalization of psycho-medical discourse, Mackenzie argues, made

transgender persons "view themselves as sick and deviant" (p.28). June Rathbone's (2001) *Anatomy of Masochism* provides an examination of Freudian psychoanalytic theories around human sexuality. Historicizing Freud's "'sadomasochistic view of sexuality'" exhibited in the *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), Rathbone outlines how heteronormative Freudian psychoanalytic theories— the Oedipus complex formulated to interpret male psychosexual development and the negative Oedipus complex invented to interpret the psychological evolution of female sexuality, later coined the Electra complex by Carl Jung (1913)—historically informed epistemologies about sexual inversion and perversion. Rathbone tells us that "Freud's (1905) exploration of infantile sexuality, masochism signified sexual excitement associated with pain, a normal developmental capacity which might endure and become extreme as an ultimate perversion" (p.31). Therefore, for Freud, masochistic sexuality, interpreted as female (feminine) sexuality, is an expression of sexual perversion since "feminine masochism [places] the subject in situations of being castrated, copulated with, or giving birth." Freudian psychoanalysis, as many feminist psychologists have since argued, was invented through a phallocentric (masculine) lens still preoccupied with placating different patriarchal symptoms of castration anxiety. Reinforcing late feminist interventions set on unsettling the patriarchal foundations of Freudian psychoanalysis, Rathbone posits that "Freud's equating of masochistic with passive/feminine and sadistic with active/masculine has been largely questioned by later [feminist] analysts. Use of the term masochistic may be based on value judgements and conceptions of the normal which differ from person to person" (p.32). Rathbone's genealogical examination of Freudian psychoanalysis allows us to grasp the historicity of psychosexual discourses

which perform the epistemological "doublet" (Foucault 1994) of normalizing and abnormalizing bodies as perverted gender/sexual deviants. Given the history of Freudian psychoanalysis, Rathbone would perhaps agree that interpreting male-to-female (MtF) transgenders through a Freudian psychoanalytic lens would render such subjects deviant since they avail themselves to "situations of castration." But one interviewee, who would forcefully negate Freud's patriarchal pathologization of castration, presented here as S4, relayed the anguish of possessing a penis in this quote:

> S4:I was really confused because when I would go to the bathroom, me and mi cousin dem used to bathe, girl cousins, me used to say: Why God give me this long something, with two marbles, and him [God] give dem this flat something, with this little something? I was like: No. I am supposed to be the girl; I'm not supposed to have this. I want a vagina. So, what I would normally do is, I would draw my penis and nap it betwixt my legs to make it look like a vagina—because that's what I wanted, that's how I feel. I wanted to be a woman so badly. It even came to the test where I wanted to do surgery on myself—as in cut my penis. And my cousin turned to me and said: "yuh crazy? You can't do that." And I was like: This is something I have to battle with. So, I'm getting the whole understanding. I didn't know about transgender or whatever. I used to call myself a *boy-girl*. And I don't know if any other transgender woman [has] ever felt this way before, as in when you wake up in the morning you feel like you're trapped. You're waiting for a door to open to express yourself, to be you, and it's just not working. So, I used to have that experience a lot—trust me. But now I'm more comfortable with

> myself, because the acceptance part has made me realize: Listen, you are who you are, and be who the fuck you are. Sorry for my language, but I have to be real!

Mutilating the penis, for S4, would enact the desired reality of no longer feeling and being "trapped." Freedom imagined as female embodiment rejects Freud's pathologizing analysis of the female sex, feminized sexuality, as oppressively perverse. S4's desire to possess female genitalia speaks to the alluring power of femininity signified. "I want a vagina" signals the desire to become a liberated body dispossessed of castration anxiety—the fleshy fantasy of becoming female, feminine, and free. But since vaginoplasty—a form of gender confirmation surgery—remains a surgical non-reality in Jamaica, S4's desire of becoming a woman, with a vagina, remains a fantastic impossibility. But why should mutilating genital surgery be a desired course to confirm gender authenticity? Why must womanhood (femaleness) remain tied to the vagina, to medically signified genitalia? Does not the vagina, like the penis, materially articulate gender-binary entrapment? Are modern gendered and sexed bodies forever trapped? Well, perhaps moving beyond Western gender/sex binarity to gender-bending liminality would supply this practicable postmodern possibility. In fact, S6, another interviewee, disclosed practicing this postmodern option in this fashion:

> S6: Couple of weeks back, my birthday, I was sitting home, and I was saying: "What makes you trans?" And I've been asking myself, "What makes you trans?" And I always say getting a breast and vagina makes me a woman; but with all the training, I'm getting to understand that a vagina and a breast doesn't make you a woman. So, it comes to me one night, and I was like, okay—I'm comfortable being in this form; [and], I'm comfortable being called she/her as gender

> pronouns. And I'm just comfortable being me. A vagina and breast [do not] make me a woman. It's just understanding me as a woman, and understanding that that's how it should be, and the beauty in it.

Collete Chiland's (2003) *Transsexualism: Illusion and Reality* discusses the sexing of the body at different levels and viewpoints. Chiland argues that "[it] is not enough to distinguish between biological sex and psychosocial gender" since "we come closest to the daily reality of human life and clinical fact by distinguishing *three levels*—biological sex, social sex, and psychological sex—and *two viewpoints*—the division into sexes and sexuality"(p.6). Chiland sets up the "*three levels*" as such:

- At the *biological level*, nature goes *beyond dimorphism*: there are not just two sexes, for some human beings also fall between 'between the two sexes' (the intersexed or hermaphrodites and pseudohermaphrodites—terms that may be deemed synonymous).
- At the *social level*, a male/female *dichotomy* exists in our culture: an individual belongs to one of two sexes and there is no third social sex.
- At the *psychological level,* sex is subjective: it is the sex each individual sees himself as possessing. (p.6).

Disentangling the dynamic biological, social, and psychological discourses assembled to demarcate bodies as sexed and sexualized, as argued by Chiland, allows us to situate epistemic complexities which work to frame gender and sexuality as naturally given phenomena. Disassembling discursive biological, social, and psychological discourses deployed to govern sexed and gendered bodies should permit us to see microscopic power relations concealed in institutionally simplified gender/sexuality discourse.

In outlining processual paths taken by persons becoming transgender, Chiland provides an insightful distinction between *iatrogenesis,* surgical and hormonal processes performed throughout gender transition, and what she coins as *mediagenesis*. Chiland's coinage, *mediagenesis,* posits that outside of medically mediated processes of becoming transgender, "[it] is by reading a newspaper or magazine, or hearing or seeing a programme on radio or TV, that [persons] give a name to their malaise, become aware that they are [transgender]" (p.20). Chiland's insight that persons becoming transgender rely on modern media sources to "become aware" of their potential gender transition speaks to the power of media technologies in manufacturing gender-based consciousness: media produced cognitive maps offering guides toward the gendered/sexed (sexualized) self. When I asked persons interviewed how they realized or became "aware" of their desire to transition and how they coped, I was told:

> S1: Something had always been there, but I didn't know what is was. But it was about age 17 that I started reading upon what—my actual Google search was: "What is a boy that feels like a girl? What is he?" And the word transgender came up. And I started reading up and found all the terms, and I saw myself fitting in where I saw gender non-conforming, because I do feel like both sometimes. So, it's better to not settle. And that's where I am at right now. I don't know if it will vary somewhere else, but that's where I am at right now.
>
> S6: At age 20. Well, because I've always been upset when persons would say, "Ohh, he." So, that's been a thing for me. I've always been upset, but I didn't

know. So, when I go on TransWave's website, and look on these things and I go, "Oh, this is what it means." Then this is what I am.

S2: So, my coping mechanism was really music. I listened to music, listened Fergie, Beyoncé, Rihanna, and all of the female artistes that I felt spoke to me as a woman. I just listened to them, and I would, for purposes of safety, I would suppress the feelings or the expression around certain persons; I just kept listening to them, and knowing that I was empowered, I was empowering myself, and I was happy.

Rachel Ann Heath's (2006) *The Praeger Handbook of Transsexuality* provides an exhaustive history detailing the chromosomal, endocrinological, psychological, and unsettled biomedical debates which shaped and continue to influence socioscientific conversations around transgender identity politics. Recognizing the modern durability of our Western gender/sex binary system, Heath imparts that:

> The terms of sex and gender are somewhat difficult to dissociate even when we stipulate that sex is biological and gender is sociocultural. Perhaps this problem arises from the complex intertwining of gender identity and sexual orientation that pervades both the literature and popular convention (p.53).

The "intertwining" of "biological sex" and "gender identity" is at the center of the transgender problem. Gender non-conforming bodies, beneath the Western gaze, are problematic because these bodies materially defy biomedical discourses which do not provide space for the "third sex concept" found in non-Western societies (for example, the *hijra* community in India and *two spirit* Native Americans). The Western gender/sex

binary works to provide epistemic certainty through *otherizing* discourse, since to be one sex/gender negates being the *other*. This form of discriminatory discourse does not only problematize bodies seeking to be or become the *other* gender (transgender) but works to position the intersexed body as the biomedical monstrosity of modern gender/sex disorder. Heath tells us that "[forming] a gender identity is difficult for people born with genital anomalies. When one has ambiguous genitals, it is difficult to aspire towards a unique and consistent gender identity. The psychological world of the intersexed is a difficult one" (p.155). The cultural politics of becoming transgender in postcolonial Jamaica is likewise historically tied to colonially invented gender/sex discourses and psycho-medical practices that worked to correct bodies bearing genital deformity (ambiguity). Lady Colin Campbell, born in Jamaica in 1949 and raised as George William Ziadie, wrote her 1997 autobiography *A Life Worth Living* which narrates the gender-based struggles she survived while being raised as a boy in colonial Jamaica. Born into Jamaica's wealthy Ziadie family and assigned male at birth due to genital malformation, Lady Colin Campbell's autobiography invites us to grapple with the inherent coloniality (Quijano 2000) of Western gender/sex binarity through exposing different domestic traumas and administrative power relations present in the sexing of bodies. As Anne-Fausto Sterling's (2000) *Sexing the Body* posits:

> To talk about human sexuality requires a notion of the material. Yet the idea of the material comes to us already tainted, containing within it preexisting ideas about sexual difference…As biology emerged as an organized discipline during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it gradually acquired greater authority over the disposition of ambiguous bodies. Nineteenth-century scientists

> developed a clear sense of the statistical aspects of natural variation, but along with such knowledge came the authority to declare that certain bodies were abnormal and in need of correction. (p. 23-36).

The sexed and gendered body "in need of correction" is the psycho-medical phraseology similarly articulated to apprehend transgender becoming in Global South countries such as Jamaica. When asked about the significance of health care services for an interviewee becoming transgender, I was told:

> S2: It is very important; because knowing I am a woman of trans experience, my body needs to be changed, my body has to undergo certain procedures. So, healthcare is very important for me. I would want to ensure that I'm getting the best health support that I can so that when I'm ready to transition fully, I'll be able to do that. But currently, it's very important to me.

Patricia Gherovici's (2010) *Please Select Your Gender* relies on historical accounts, theoretical literature, and her own experiences as a clinical psychologist to advance what she calls the "democratizing of transgenderism." But specific to Gherovici's work, moreover, is the "hysterical body" and how "[transgender] issues all revolve around this particular body." Preoccupied with a male-to-female transgender framework, Gherovici asks:

> If we review the ways in which specialists have grappled with multiform manifestations of hysteria, we can hope that we will see the links between the most general issue that hysteria possess, namely: What is a woman? and its more pointed and recent version: How can I become a woman? (p. 43).

The “What is a woman?” question, Gherovici argues, ultimately gave birth to Western (modern) psychology and promulgated Freudian psychoanalysis, in particular. She posits that “[hysteria] must be given pride of place above all because it was with the hysterics that Freud reached a new understanding of the human psyche” (p. 53). The interviewees becoming transgender women in Jamaica do grapple with this question and gave complex responses about transitioning against sociocultural rules and expectations defining womanhood in Jamaica. However, womanhood, in pro-natalist Jamaica, as the quote below will affirm, is not contemplated at this almost abstract cognitive level but is bestowed through the sociobiological ability to successfully participate in the reproductive economy: the romanticized biopolitics of reproducing the nation, *birthing the nation* in perpetuity. In another way, reproductive biology (womb fertility) is culturally ingrained in defining womanhood in Jamaica. And this sociobiological definition was somberly acknowledged by interviewee, S7:

> S7: Being with a guy and him know [you are trans], and you know him have a baby-mother; but yet he’s always around, and you’re there because him have a baby, and you’re doing a hundred percent for him plus the child, and he’s doing a hundred percent for the [baby] plus the baby-mother, at some point you feel yuh nuh mek no sense inna de relationship, because yuh know about the baby-mother and it’s like you a try fe match up. For trans-females, I don’t even know how to put it, people like me—the ones that are not up to that level yet—it’s a big deal, and it’s always a problem—we always trying fe match up to a biological female, in terms of being with a guy, we always try to match up; it’s always a competition. We always want to compete. So, it always comes down to a

problem. You don't want to break up and you have to comply by his rules, and you have to accept that he has a baby-mother—that yes, he's going to be here this minute, and he's going to be there next minute, and you have to accept the fact that he's in your place, but when it's the baby-mother's time, you have to accept the fact seh a fe har time. And all when de pickney (child) come, you wish it was you.

Offering further evidence from Jamaica's popular culture to support this claim, I refer to Lady Saw's (Marion Hall) lyrics about her own struggles with infertility and the cultural stigma still attached to this dewomanizing condition in Jamaica. Titled *No Less Than a Woman (Infertility),* the lyrics poetically posit:

Chorus
Not having a child don't make me less than a woman
You see I got so much love to give, to so much unwanted kids
You can say all you want about me trying to ruin my reputation
But I have so much love to give to so much unwanted kids
Listen to my song
Verse 1*:*
I may not know the joy of giving birth
May not experience the pain and all the hurt
But I know how it feels to lose a child
And if pain is pain then I am hurting inside
If infertility makes me less than a girl
What would I say to many women in this world
Would you tell them have faith
Would you tell them be strong
Or would you tell them that they're less than a woman?

Gherovici's work brings us to the womb, the "hysterical" site jointly invaded by Western biomedical discourse and Freudian psychoanalysis set on answering the *otherizing* question: "What is a woman?" Gherovici's work further allows us to understand the modern hysteria (irrationality) exposed in transgender politics occurring in Global North and South geographies socially structured by a binary gender/sex epistemology obsessed with normalizing bodies as diametrically sexed and gendered.

Chantal Zabus and David Coad's (2011) *Transgender Experience* provides a collection of authors interested in exploring the ways in which place, ethnicity (race), and visibility practices shape how persons experience being and becoming transgender. Zabus and Coad's edited volume encourages us to examine (1) how urban and rural, national, and transnational geospatial arrangements structure transgender experiences (2) how histories of colonial white supremacy experienced globally continue to produce racialized transgender experiences, and (3) how visibility tactics and praxes work to frame the politics of passing experienced in Western and Westernized (post)colonial societies. Historicizing the cultural politics of transgender being and becoming within a Pacific postcolonial nation-state, Susan Stryker, a white transwoman, offers a chapter entitled "The Transsexual Whiteness of Christine Jorgensen in the (Post) Colonial Philippines," which insightfully presents the place, ethnicity (race), and visibility triad fashioning transgender processes and experiences subserviently subjected to the neocolonial Western gaze. Addressing the "embodiment" or corporeality of the modern sexed and gendered body, Stryker tells us that:

> Transsexuality is an administrative solution, with biopolitical consequences, particular to certain kinds of problem bodies within Eurocentric modernity—for

> bodies whose natal sex registration does not match their bodily habituses, whose gendered comportment does not accord with their societal gender status, whose subjective identifications with gender categories are not congruent with those typically associated with their roles or capacities, and so on. It is the juridico-medical apparatus of institutional, state-sanctioned power that enmeshes itself with the bare life of individuals whose embodiment problematizes the regulatory function of the gender system…[and] displaced [outside the West], it can become part of the machinery of colonization, performing its operations on different kinds of bodies that may, or may not, be problematic in the contexts in which they are encountered (p. 78).

The cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender in postcolonial Jamaica does allow us to capture and analyze the Western "machinery of colonization" presently influencing processes of becoming transgender in Jamaica. For some persons, becoming a transgender woman in Jamaica is often colonially burdensome when forced to introject institutionalized language, medico-legal language from the Global North administratively articulated to govern transgender bodies and experiences domestically and transnationally. For one interviewee (S4), gender-based bodily modifications do not make you transgender in Jamaica; and for another interviewee (S1), unintelligible gender fluidity is a more suitable and survivable form of transgender becoming in Jamaica. When I asked how they understood themselves as being or becoming transgender women in Jamaica, I was told:

> S4: For society wise, I have to say I'm a transwoman. But deep down inside myself, I'm just a normal human being. Mi just nuh get mi breast, and mi batty

(bottom) do. But even if I get my breast and ass done, I am still a human being. I'm not a transgender woman. ***(So, we all have to work through labels?)*** Just to interject on that: Jamaica don't get the full understanding of transgender. I prefer you say you identify as a battyman (gay) in Jamaica, because they don't get the full understanding. [I'm] classified as a battyman, not a transgender woman.

S1: I think my identity is very confusing; I don't know if that's the word to use, but at one point I did identify as a transwoman, but I still do like the male part of me; so, I don't know, I just don't know. (***At what point did you consider yourself to be a transwoman****?)* Months ago. Because when you tend to say, okay, I'm a gender non-conforming person, persons don't really know what that is, so after you explain it then discrimination will come. When you say you're a person of trans experience or I'm trans, I think that's where most discrimination comes. I don't think that's where me settling at gender non-conforming comes from. But I think I now understand how society is and how to go about things. That's how I identify. So, I'll be in a space where you have heterosexual persons and I would sit there, and they are like: "You're so effeminate, or you're a feminine guy." And I would say: "No, I'm not a guy, I'm gender non-conforming. That's how I identify." And they are like, "What? The third thing would be transgender?" And I'm like, "No, your gender identity doesn't stop at man, woman, transman or transwoman. It varies." So, I think you just have to deal with certain situations, in certain spaces.

Zabus and Coad's anthology offers an intersectional theoretical space which enables us to examine and analyze transgender ontologies forged by place, ethnicity (race), and

visibility dynamics. Fully concerned with the ""phenomenological body" or "[the] "individual body"…where [the] lived experience of the body is experienced as existing apart from others" (p.9), the chapters compellingly work to expose the embodied experiential encounters of being or becoming transgender under modern techniques of biopolitical governmentality: the institutional managing of bodies predicated on spatial, ethnic (racial), and gender-based histories and epistemologies.

Trystan Cotten's (2012) *Transgender Migrations* is another edited volume which invites us to recognize the different local and transnational migratory patterns, networks, and possibilities created to actualize processes of transgender becoming. The chapters, according to Cotten, allow us to encounter transgender migrations as configured by "movements of desire, agency, and generativity without unitary subjects of foundations. They are heterotopic, multidimensional mobilities whose viral flows and circuits resist teleology, linearity, and tidy, discrete borders" (p.2). One chapter that helps my theoretical formulation of MtF transgender becoming in Jamaica is Eva Hayward's "Spiderwomen: Notes on Transpositions." Hayward outlines the "sensuous transactions between body and environment" which provide subjective narratives about the ineluctable relationship between social ecology and physical sensuality. Hayward, also theorizing through a MtF transgender lens, proposes understanding the "somatic sociality" of persons becoming transgender women via the "intensities, energies, and forces that accompany [transgender] transitions." For Hayward, "trans-becoming" simply means the "emergence of a material, psychical, sensual and social self through corporeal, spatial, and temporal processes that trans-form the lived body" (p.94). Hayward's notion of "trans-becoming" allows us to conceptualize gender transitioning as

a dynamic process where bodies and minds are changed through space-time tangibilities and emergent desires. Becoming transgender therefore disrupts the tidy linear trajectory which serves to simplify the complex and contradictory roots and routes involved in configuring trans-identity within and beyond borders. Hayward's conceptualization of "trans-becoming" resonates with S7's narrative about the socio-spatial anxieties, corporeal changes, and migratory possibilities utilized (local and transnational) while becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica. When asked to recall early stages of becoming a transgender woman in Jamaica, S7 told me:

> S7: Oh my God, I'm going to keep this (transitioning) to myself, just nah say nothing to nobody—do things inna secret, inna hiding, self-medicate and I'll just watch my body change. Normally, I would wear tight clothes as a boy, even though I was still in hiding. I would have to like double my shirt—cause when I was taking hormones, and the breast start pop out, I was like doubling my clothes because me nuh wah nobody fe notice. And knowing my aunt, and to knowing how fe har man stay, de least likkle something dem bash about it. So, I had to wear double shirt. So, I had this girl who was like my friend, but she started noticing stuff and she was like out bursting in front of people, "Watch yah, yuh a grow breast." So, mi did have to do something about it. I went to stay with a friend. I would leave my friend and go to my aunt's on weekends, so that kinda like drifted away. ***(Where would you get hormones?)*** When I fully got the understanding and concept and wanted to see a doctor, my friend, she (transgender) went overseas. She went and found out [about transitioning]. After she left, I looked about my passport, got through with my visa (U.S. visa) and I

> went with her next time, saw the same doctor, and that's how I got my own hormone treatment and so. ***(Is it still common practice for you to travel to the States?)*** I haven't been in a year now. It's kinda expensive. ***(How expensive?)*** The expense, because the last time it was $700 USD (for hormones), I would get three months' worth, because I'm still living in Jamaica. So, I would go and get like a 3 months' worth of something.

As reflected in S7's narrative, "trans-becoming" or becoming MtF transgender in postcolonial Jamaica is commonly experienced through episodes of expressed stigma, agentive displacement, and processes of "self-medication" enacted to materialize gender transition. Beyond Hayward's insightful chapter which works to affirm my theoretical formulation regarding transgender becoming in Jamaica, Cotten's volume, again, welcomes us to tarry with the different local and transnational migratory patterns, networks, and possibilities created to actualize processes of gender transition mediated by space-time materialities.

And finally, Oren Gozlan's (2015) *Transsexuality and the Art of Transitioning* guides us to perceive transgender (transsexual) becoming as an aesthetic process achieved through convoluted complications which often challenge heteronormative epistemologies bent on reproducing the institutional and politico-cultural fixity of the gender/sex binary. Advancing gender/sex transitioning as an embodied artistic endeavour, Gozlan tells us that:

> In elaborating a link between the object of art and the sexed body it becomes clear that the aesthetic approach is ultimately a sexual one because it is predicated

> upon a relation to an enigmatic other, who, given its structural self-decenteredness, can never be fully known or apprehended. One implication of this approach is that it allows us to shift our conceptualization of transsexuality from a category that describes a particular sexual identity to a universal psychic position that allows sexuality to remain in a state of flux, always in transit. (p. 21).

Gozlan's Lacanian aesthetic approach encourages us to see becoming transgender (transsexual) as a journey that may "always" remain "in transit." Gozlan's aesthetic approach argues for us to reconceptualize gendered and sexualized journeys as "enigmatic" since becoming transgender is always a process of finding one's self: entropic gender/sex journeys toward perpetual self-discovery. The body-art of transitioning means un-authenticating the institutionally sexed and gendered body through embarking on psychical pilgrimages which might reveal unsettled sexual and gendered ways of being in the world. Transitioning, for persons I interviewed about becoming MtF in Jamaica, was repeatedly narrated through a "finding myself" trope. Becoming MtF transgender began early for all the interviewees; but of course, they did not know what they were becoming—they had to journey to find the "enigmatic other," the other gender, the other sex: the mysterious aesthetic crossings realigning their being. Narrating becoming against institutionally embedded stigma and discrimination S1 and S2 told me:

> S1: Well, during that time in high school, I was just finding myself as an individual, trying to understand me and the thoughts going through my brain at the time. It was a bit challenging; but it was after I realized you can't change who

you are to please somebody else, that's when things became less stressing, because I stopped listening to what people had to say and the perception they had of me. I had to own my image.

S2: Well, naturally I went to a coed primary school. The experience wasn't really that bad as during that time of my life when I was still trying to find myself as a person and figure out who I really wanted to be. However, in terms of high school, I went to an all-boys institution, which was really rough because I couldn't express or identify as a female, going to an all-boys institution.

Gozlan's aesthetic approach calls us to return to the complex subjective processes of becoming "other" against institutional rigidities informing modern gender/sex sociocultural realities. The gendered and sexed Westernized body is categorically captured through the gender/sex binary which serves to manage bodies as institutionally identifiable. Becoming transgender essentially performs a transgressive act against institutional identity; the gender transgressive body, then, signifies institutional subversion through acts of becoming the unintelligible *other*. Gozlan's aesthetic approach reminds that the "…the subject's capacity to play with the signifier in ways that escape the determinisms of culture…speaks essentially [to] the subject's capacity to transgress and shape the signifier" (p.24). Therefore, the aesthetic approach speaks to the playful transgression of bodies practicing dangerous crossings towards the gender/sex *other*; crossings impelling us to recognize body-aesthetic transformations which serve to revolt against the hegemony of the phallocentric "signifier" (Lacan 1997). "Like the object of art" Gozlan posits that "gender can be transformed into a soft, plastic object that can be

played with, but only if this object of the "the Real" is "sacrificed" and turned into an object of the imagination" (p. 27). For persons presently becoming MtF transgenders in postcolonial Jamaica, the institutional embeddedness of gender/sex binarity means that transgender crossings, as Gozlan would agree, will remain dangerously precarious if conservative (post)colonial institutions do not move to sacrifice "the Real" gender/sex cultural politics governing Jamaica's body politic.

Finalizing this compact literature review, moving across transgender literary landscapes allowed us to encounter gender transgressive histories, emergent epistemologies, and counter-hegemonic narratives serving to unveil the complexities available when analyzing processes of transgender being and becoming. This literature review, interspersed with quotes from the interviews, should move us to grapple with the traumas and dangerous corporeal crossings which shape transgender becoming in Jamaica and similar Global South spaces. The continued dehumanization of bodies seeking to cross-over, bodies desiring liberation from the given gender/sex binary, subjective embodiments journeying towards gender/sex subversion, must alert us to the carcerality of modern categories and the unethical sufferings encountered by those who dare to actualize transgression. As I conducted fieldwork surrounded by persons possessed with hidden and unmasked desires to transition, to cross-over, yearnings to caress the feminine gender, poetic episodes emerged through chants and bodily movements mourning the need to escape being male, to become her. I present one such fieldnote as such:

Cross-Over, Chyle, Cross-over

Waves shattering small stones, bodies prostrate hearing him chant: *Cross-over*.

Roselle Beach, Morant Bay, summoning another rebellion, he chanted: *Cross-over*.

He is a fierce revivalist, hips swaying against fear, waves moving to greet him: *Cross-over*.

Why is he chanting? Who is in the way? Are objects in the way? Dangerous crossings.

His feet set upon a rock, obstinate waves breaking still: *Cross-over*.

Arms outstretched, the wind showing its own resistance, unbridled chants remain: *Cross-over*.

Deliverance untied his tongue, saving him, saving us who listened: *Cross-over*.

I moved to the sea, watched him carefully, admiring Braithwaite's rebel woman possessing him.

His chants becoming clear, the need to neglect masculine flesh: *Cross-over*.

Calling on waves to transport him over, queering the Atlantic, invoking feminine spirits to possess him, to transform him, to make him her: *Cross-over*.

Precarity: Postcolonial Cultural Politics and Transgender Vulnerability

The political precarity of persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica is pronounced in cultural practices and institutional policies which intently work to erase male-to-female transgender bodies and stories from Jamaica's anti-queer geography. And this unapologetic biopolitical erasure becomes more apparent among black and lower-class persons embarking on processes of becoming MtF transgenders. The cultural politics of becoming transgender in postcolonial Jamaica remains moored to valences of structural stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence—transphobic violence. Now, as a way to analyze everyday precarities experienced by persons becoming transgender, mediated by race, class, and gender-based *relational identities*, Judith Butler's (2004) *Precarious*

Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence provides a pertinent theoretical framework to ground the lived vulnerabilities exposed by those interviewed about becoming MtF transgenders in postcolonial Jamaica. The cultural politics of erasure, as Butler argues, begins with situating certain bodies as undeserving of institutional recognition. Transgender vulnerability, in Jamaica, is therefore coordinated by cultural practices and *de jure* governmental procedures which refuse to grant persons being or becoming transgender political recognition through legislative protections. The absence of political recognition via denied legal protections effectuates precarious ontologies for transgender denizens deemed legislatively unrecognizable by the Jamaican state. Butler, in framing the political, existential, and ethical implications of vulnerability, posits that:

> [Vulnerability] must be perceived and recognized in order to come into play in an ethical encounter, [but] there is no guarantee that this will happen. Not only is there always the possibility that a vulnerability will not be recognized and that it will be constituted as the "unrecognizable," but when a vulnerability is recognized, that recognition has the power to change the meaning and structure of the vulnerability itself. In this sense, if vulnerability is one precondition for humanization, and humanization takes place differently through variable norms of recognition, then it follows that vulnerability is fundamentally dependent on existing norms of recognition if it is to be attributed to any human subject (p. 43).

The “norms of recognition” are not extended to persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica since said bodies are culturally and institutionally marked as erasable through modalities of exclusion. For persons engaging processes of MtF transition, modes of

exclusion are experienced as quotidian episodes of stigma, discrimination, and transphobic violence; and these experiences are amplified for persons becoming transgender against colonially produced race and class inequalities in Jamaica. And although the 2011 constitutional amendment of Chapter III of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms guarantees " the right to freedom from discrimination on the ground of – (i) being male or female; (ii) race, place of origin, social class, colour, religion or political opinions;" we still see where civil rights guarding against discrimination only apply to politically recognized social categories. Chapter III, therefore, does not afford the "precondition of humanization" for persons being or becoming transgender since it ceases to constitutionally recognize this category of Jamaicans existing as such. Furthermore, the constitutional exclusion of the category, transgender, legibly serves to reinforce Jamaica's antiqueer cultural practices which work to dehumanize bodies and lives resisting the carceral dichotomy of durably preserved gender/sex binarity.

Transgender vulnerability, in postcolonial Jamaica, should provoke us to think about political marginality and traumatic struggles experienced by embodied subjectivities seeking humanizing inclusion through petitioning power structures that define the "norms of recognition." Butler tells us that:

> To ask for recognition, or to offer it, is precisely not to ask for recognition for what one already is. *It is to solicit a becoming*, to instigate a transformation, to petition the future always in relation to the Other. It is also to stake one's own being, and one's own persistence in one's own being, in the struggle for recognition" (p. 44). [My emphasis]

Given the very constitutional reinforcement of naturalized gender binarity in Jamaica, "to instigate a [gender] transformation" challenges heteropatriarchal juris prudence and disrupts culturally embedded and institutionalized norms of gender-based "recognition." Butler would agree that transgender "*becoming*," in particular, is always precarious within Western (post)colonial landscapes since becoming "Other" than one's assigned sex or gender is already structured as constitutionally unrecognizable. Therefore, transgender vulnerability in Jamaica is ultimately predicated on the expressed constitutional exclusion of this category—on the ungovernability of transgender lives left to become *bare* lives, which, again, is apparent for black lower-class MtF transgenders whose lives are hardly preserved through the effortless invocation of international human rights law (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and swiftly forgotten rehearsals of human rights rhetoric staged by the signatory state. Giorgio Agamben's (1995) *Homo Sacer* in recognizing the sovereign state's capacity to dehumanize its subjects, its legitimate ability to make lives become *bare* through domestic articulations of power, instructs us that "[it] is time to stop regarding declarations of rights as proclamations of eternal, metajuridical values binding the legislator (in fact, without much success) to respect eternal ethical principles, and to begin to consider them according to their real historical function in the modern nation-state" (Pg. 75). Considering the "real historical function" of human rights discourse in Jamaica does not bring us to transgender (queer) rights but instead guides us to histories of pro-Black anti-imperialist movements which asserted black humanity through the creation of a postcolonial nation-state. Historically, for pre and post-independent Jamaica, human rights claims were represented through an anticolonial racial lens: the narrow visualization of a free black body politic protected and

preserved through heteronormative "patriarchal relations" (Byron and Thorburn 1998). As Robert J.C. Young (2012) reminds us, "[the] emancipatory narrative of postcolonialism was not accessible to those who remained invisible within it" (p. 25). Therefore, persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica will continue to occupy the postcolonial blind spot surrounding gender and sexuality politics since the "gendered dichotomy" (Kempadoo 2003), reified through neocolonial heteropatriarchy, renders transgenders legislatively "invisible"—*bare* bodies deemed institutionally unrecognizable and erasable from Jamaica's (post)colonial society.

Precarities are indeed experienced differently due to race and class-based inequalities in Jamaica; so, for black lower-class persons becoming MtF transgenders, episodes of transphobic violence are amplified by what Jemima Pierre (2012) terms as the postcolonial "predicament of blackness" which is intimately entangled with processes of economic deprivation long hardening "social divisions"(Carnegie 2014) in Jamaica. The violence of transphobia is not violent within itself but achieves external materiality when transgender lives become precarious against race and class-based forms of stigma and unmitigated discrimination. Intersecting race and class-based vulnerabilities experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica allows for multi-tiered analyses about the ways in which different precarities converge to enact structural violence. Violence, for Butler, is the tangible effect of power projected against bodies deemed expungable, bodies branded by institutional and politico-cultural modalities of power that situate said bodies as fit for erasure. Butler teaches us that:

> Violence is surely a touch of the worst order, a way a primary human vulnerability to other humans is exposed in its most terrifying way, a way in which we are given over, without control, to the will of another, a way in which life itself can be expunged by the willful action of another. To the extent that we commit violence, we are acting on another, putting the other at risk, causing the other damage, threatening to expunge the other (p. 29).

The brutal 2013 murder of Dwayne "Gully Queen" Jones, a black lower-class Jamaican who was engaging processes of becoming a MtF transgender, still reverberates in the minds of those presently becoming transgender in Jamaica. Dwayne was "expunged," erased from becoming a woman— visions of vanquishing the male body returned to her, violently. Dwayne's murder received both local and international media coverage which highlighted Jamaica's hidden practice of erasing transgender bodies, and peculiarly MtF transgender bodies through acts of violence. A USA Today article titled "In Jamaica, transgender teen murdered by mob," published weeks after Jones's murder, provides a vivid account of the murder scene in this way:

> *By age 16, the teenager was dead — beaten, stabbed, shot and run over by a car when he showed up at a street party dressed as a woman. His mistake: confiding to a friend that he was attending a "straight" party as a girl for the first time in his life.*
>
> *Dwayne was the center of attraction shortly after arriving in a taxi at 2 a.m. with his two 23-year-old housemates, Khloe and Keke. Dwayne's expert dance moves, long legs and high cheekbones quickly made him the one that all the guys were trying to get next to.*

> *Minutes later, according to Khloe and Keke, the girl's male friends gathered around Dwayne in the dimly-lit street asking: "Are you a woman or a man?" One man waved a lighter's flame near Dwayne's sneakers, asking whether a girl could have such big feet.*
>
> *Then, his friends said, another man grabbed a lantern from an outdoor bar and walked over to Dwayne, shining the bright light over him from head to toe. "It's a man," he concluded, while the others hissed "batty boy" and other anti-gay epithets.*
>
> *Khloe says she tried to steer him away from the crowd, whispering in Dwayne's ear: "Walk with me, walk with me." But Dwayne pulled away, loudly insisting to partygoers that he was a girl. When someone behind him snapped his bra strap, the teen panicked and raced down the street.*
>
> *But he couldn't run fast enough to escape the mob.*
>
> *Dwayne's father in the Montego Bay slum of North Gully didn't want to talk about his son's life or death. The teen's family wouldn't even claim the body, according to Dwayne's friends.* (USA Today, 2013).

The article—notwithstanding its clumsy conflation of homophobia with transphobia and its conservation of Jones's assigned gender through reaffirming gender pronouns ("he" and "his") and the noun "son,"—provokes Global North readers to uncomfortably digest the lethality of transphobic violence in Global South Jamaica (however, the epidemic of black transwomen being murdered in the United States often goes unnoticed). The article likewise invites readers to encounter the lack of grievability further dehumanizing Dwayne's body, "the means by which a life becomes noteworthy" (p.34). Jones's family refused to "*claim the body*," a postmortem rejection serving to cement the abject positionality, the intolerable social ontology of black lower-class persons being or

becoming transgender in postcolonial Jamaica. "[The] abject" Darieck Scott (2010) imparts, "is the receiver of humiliation—it is the experience of violence at the core of the self, violence run so rampant that it is, in the moments of its being, what the self is…" (p. 267). Jones's family's refusal to grieve her violent erasure, to mourn her death, to claim her cold corpse, speaks to how race, class, and gender-based identities combine to configure experiences of stigma, discrimination, and shared abjection.

Returning to Butler's "touch of the worst order" conjures existential anxiety, the foreboding fear felt by those I interviewed. It is fear holding me still, fleeting flashes of gestures that threatened my own existence before being granted refugee status in the States. I remember.

The everyday threat of transphobic violence in Jamaica is narrated by interviewees as such:

> S2: I try to be strong; I try to encourage myself to say: this one of the things I'm forced to deal with on a daily basis; however, it doesn't get me down that much—initially it did. I thought about it a lot: Do I want to be killed? Do I want to be shot? Do I want to be chopped? Do I want to be stabbed? Do I want to be locked up and not receive proper care while in prison or in jail or so forth? It was an issue, but then I just tend to tell myself that I am happy with who I am now. So, if that's the case, and if that's what's going to happen, then it's just going to happen. I know I'm going to die happy, so. I'm going to die being the person I always wanted to be.

S6: I would say, “Okay, you’re going on the road, with these persons, with these people, they know nothing about you, they don’t know if you prefer to be called a he or a she, just accept it and move on with your life. Don’t argue and just go through.” So, I just prep myself or I say a word, “Like, God, I’m going on the road protect me and cover my mouth. Just close it.” **(*Do you usually defend yourself?*)** How it works is that I wouldn’t answer until the third or the fourth. On the road, if people say “Yo breggin!” (Hey, man!) I wouldn’t look around, because obviously it’s not me they’re talking. But then I remember, they’ll forever see me as a man, so. **(*Forever being a man?*)** The flat chest and you know, the penis. So, they say once you have a penis, you’re a man—which I think is just so dumb.

S1: I think I can deal with the homophobia; transphobia is a totally different thing. (***Do you think transphobia is different from homophobia****?*) It’s the same thing, but you’re just dealing with different persons, or you’re being discriminated by different persons. I see transphobia to be more; or I’ve experienced transphobia worse than homophobia because normally everyday you’d hear people curse at persons who are openly gay, but the ones that they do see in female clothing, they tend to want to beat up on them. So, they would argue with a gay man, but when they see a transwoman, they would actually want to beat up on them. For me, I hate being in transphobic spaces.

Transgender vulnerability in Jamaica, mediated by race, class, and gender-based durabilities, is ordinarily experienced as layers of violence structured by cultural praxes

and neocolonial ideologies that ultimately work to ghettoize transgender lives—that work to dispose of bodies being or becoming transgender (MtF transgender) against postcolonial rigidities structuring precarity. I end this chapter with a fieldnote written as a visceral meditation on postcolonial precarity and overlapping vulnerabilities encountered by Jamaica's "queer precariat" (Hollibaugh and Weiss 2015)—ghettoized bodies geospatially reserved to experience necropolitics, a "let die" (Giroux 2006) form of biopolitics.

The Whole World is a Ghetto

It was a quiet night; reading quietly until I accepted the phone call. My paternal brother was on the other end, breathing thinly from the other end, without much air from the other end, an end where lives suffer precariously, without recourse. He called from the ghetto, a place named Jungle in Kingston. Traumatic tremors unsettling his voice, he relayed bearing witness to his maternal brother's murder. They shared the same womb, that similar fleshy place serially released them to life, awaiting death. His brother no longer waiting, chopped to death by his own people. *The violence of ownership.*

I had access to a car, so I sped into Kingston, into Jungle. I wanted to be there for him, embodied, in that ghetto place, from where he stood. I pulled up to yellow tape protecting the murder scene, that hard asphalt place. My paternal brother was covered in blood, red and stained. He had caressed his brother, cradled him on their way to Kingston Public Hospital. But from words before, he did not make it. It is hard to make it in the ghetto, this abandoned place where bodies are beguiled to befriend death.

I stood beside him, effusions of blue light touching our faces as police "worked' the scene. I embraced my brother, walked him to the car, and we decided that it was best for him to spend the night in Portmore: a momentary pause from Jungle, a temporary escape from the murder scene. He is close to concrete, my brother, hardened to survive the ghetto. But I created space for him to shatter that night: to cry. And slowly, tears came.

Weeks after I was asked to eulogize his brother. Aside from stage fright, family members feared breaking down, fragmenting further in public. Stoicism was better. So, I read the eulogy. As I read memories heavily sketched on paper, I remembered Dwayne Jones, the ghettoized transgender who was similarly chopped to death. Intersecting their murders, the place of precarity became the ghetto. Disposable ghettoized lives have no place outside the ghetto, they are abandoned to destruction from their own, from within. *The violence of ownership.*

From the pulpit, I wished they had been disowned, liberated to life, freed from carceral violence, freed from ghetto violence still killing precarious black bodies.

Chapter 3

Gender, Sexuality, and Heteropatriarchy in Policy and Practice of the Jamaican Postcolonial State: Respectability and Morality

> The intellectual architects and theorists of the anticolonial movement confirmed their complicity with the modernity of their rulers when they translated the terms of their national liberation back into the very same moral economy with which Europe's colonial order had understood its own state-building adventures and imperial enterprises. Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or convivial culture*

> [Binary] gender and compulsory heterosexuality has to be destroyed because they regulate us all into our gender and sexuality boxes, limiting our ability to be liberated and to participate in resistance. It is necessary to come up with new ways of resisting gender oppression/patriarchy without reinforcing the idea that woman is a useful category to organize around. C.B. Daring et al., *Queer Anarchism: Essays on Gender, Power, and Desire*

Policies and practices occupied with gender, sexuality, heteropatriarchy, morality, and bourgeois respectability in Jamaica disclose the durable embeddedness of empire. The cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica is indeed structured by colonial continuities which ought to compel us to consider the "circuitous imperial" (Stoler 1995) passageway between Western geographies, Great Britain to be exact, and postcolonial landscapes such as Jamaica which maintain and reinforce institutional praxes and policies that re-legitimize oppressive apparitions of empire. Examining Jamaica's proposed national policy written to address gender-based inequalities, alongside regional and international policies preoccupied with the same agenda, this segment of the chapter will argue—grounded by interjections from the interviews—that said initiatives insidiously work to rearticulate imperialist (Western) epistemologies and ideologies around gender and sexuality and further legitimize transnational heteropatriarchy, neocolonial morality, bourgeois respectability, and ultimately, the institutional erasure of transgender citizens in Jamaica and beyond. As Boaventura de Sousa Santos's (2014) *Epistemologies of South* teaches us, "[It] is as difficult to imagine the end of colonialism as it is to imagine that colonialism has no end. Postcolonial or decolonial studies and struggles in the past three decades have shown how entrenched colonialism is in both private and public life, even many decades after the end of historical colonialism" (Pg. 48). The following gender-based polices that will be examined: Jamaica's National Policy for Gender Equality

(2011), the Plan of Action to 2005: Framework for Mainstreaming Gender into Key CARICOM Programmes (2003), The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005-2015 (2005), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and lastly, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979).

The Bureau of Gender Affairs (formerly the Bureau of Women's Affairs), a subdivision of Jamaica's Ministry of Culture, Gender, Entertainment and Sport, drafted and released Jamaica's National Policy for Gender Equality (NPGE) in 2011. A critical analysis of the NPGE unfolds heteropatriarchal sentiments, "common sense" presumptions, deliberate contradictions, and traditionalist values still framing gender-based policy agendas and practices in postcolonial Jamaica. Attired in Global North liberal discourse and ostentatious human rights rhetoric, the NPGE, when disrobed, does not articulate a policy position that would seek to recognize Jamaicans who engage in processes of gender transgression. For persons becoming MtF transgenders, the NPGE perpetuates a history of institutional erasure. The NPGE does not grant transgender Jamaicans politico-ontological representation, and this intentional erasure serves to reinforce the nation's Christian theopolitical morality and bourgeoisie respectability.

Before unpacking certain sections of Jamaica's NPGE, I must acknowledge that queer-feminist theories around gender, sexuality, and heteropatriarchy enabled intellectual space for me to sufficiently grasp and interrogate techniques of colonial governmentality (Scott 1995) and attendant histories of carnal oppression, sexual repression, and gender-based traumas still permeating postcolonial societies such as Jamaica. A queer-feminist analysis of the NPGE allows me to ground the politics of institutional (governmental)

erasure experienced by transgender Jamaicans and the material implications of said erasure. Diane Richard's et al. (2006) *Intersections between Feminist and Queer Theory*, warns us that "[when queer-feminist] analysis does not talk of institutional and material processes, the nature of their influence remains vague and primarily discursive. Without a thorough engagement in the material contexts within which representations and enactments occur we lose 'sight of the ways in which gender and heterosexuality are structurally deeply embedded in the social order, with important material consequences for our lives" (pg. 65).

Like the regional and international policies listed, the word transgender does not appear within Jamaica's NPGE. However, the policy does recognize same-sex relations and the ways in which domestic policies such as the Domestic Violence Act and the Offenses Against the Person Act do not equitably provide legal redress for citizens in same-sex relationships. The NPGE's recognition of same-sex relationships clearly acknowledges Jamaica's present homophobic history, but this recognition simultaneously works to represent the intelligibility of gay (battyman) and lesbian (sodomite) identities, however stigmatized and institutionally rejected, such identities are rendered intelligible. Being or becoming transgender in Jamaica is (re)cognized as an *unintelligible phenomenon*, and the government's erasure of transgender lives from policy agendas, gender-based or otherwise, cements the politico-cultural invisibilization of subjects subverting gender/sex binarity: a modern Cartesian epistemology employed to essentialize differences between gendered and sexed bodies. Jamaica's NPGE proposes the following agenda:

> The NPGE is timely and strategic as it sets out a framework that brings together, concepts, meanings, trends and initiatives to analyse the gender process and to influence development plans and strategies, thus making it more relevant. This Policy addresses the various facets of gender inequality and further builds on the work that is already in progress in order to take into account the varied and different circumstances, experiences, socio-economic realities and *concerns of women and men* [my emphasis]. It seeks to highlight unfair and unequal gender-related outcomes, so that Government can adequately address these in order to achieve equal and equitable sustainable human and national development (p.4).

The "concerns of women and men" are already known because the categories "women" and "men" provide essentialist epistemologies settled to inform the gender mainstreaming of bodies necessary for neoliberal (Ferguson 2006; Escobar 2012) "national development." For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, the NPGE does not recognize their "concerns" because gender transition is not institutionally recognizable. It is however ironic that Jamaica's "former" colonial master, Great Britain, in 2005, implemented its Gender Recognition Act 2004 which enables transgender citizens to certify their acquired gender identity. A tragic mishandling of the master's tools, perhaps (Lorde 1984)?

The category "women," as articulated in the policy, refers to biological women, traditional women, womanhood oppressively tied to the reproduction of the nation-state. Raewyn Connell's (2016) article which addresses the heteropatriarchal (heteronormative) construction of colonial economies tells us that "[the] making of colonial societies deeply

concerned gender. It required the management of reproductive bodies through relationships that organized sexuality, birth and childrearing, domestic work, and the broad division of labor. Colonial economies required continuing workforces, and colonizing elites required family and inheritance structures" (p. 307). Jamaica's NPGE reaffirms conventional notions of womanhood and manhood in order to delimit its equality, human rights, and sustainable development discourse to bodies that do not disrupt the colonial binarity of gender and sexuality, and this deliberate erasure of transgender bodies overtly serves to normalize institutionalized cultures of heteropatriarchy in Jamaica. It must be understood that "[conventional] gender is also a form of social control that depends on the oppression of other, unconventional genders. Unconventional gender is, therefore, any behavior, identity, or disposition [which] transgresses or threatens the heteropatriarchal order" (King 2004 p. 22). Representing the government's agenda to singularly secure equality for gender/sex conforming citizens, the NPGE indirectly announces the quotidian violence of erasure experienced by gender non-conforming Jamaicans: politically precarious citizens (denizens) engaging processes of "unconventional" becoming.

The NPGE's agenda to promote and achieve gender equality in Jamaica is indeed contemplative about the colonial jurisprudence holding heteropatriarchal practices and policies together. In an almost defeatist tone, the NPGE admits that:

> Jamaica's progress in law reform remains slow as it directly related to changing the legal status of women compared to men and vice versa. Century-old statutes tainted by traditional concepts of the place, abilities, and potential of *women and*

> *men* [my emphasis] remain in the law. The intention is to bring gender neutrality to the laws, regarding legal protection from sexual violence and exploitation, and to remove from the law the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and discrimination (p.14).

Without rehearsing the NPGE's failure to interrogate traditionalist rearticulations of both womanhood and manhood, the NPGE does however highlight the "slow" course of gender-based legal reforms and calls for a gender-neutral approach to current laws that perpetuate "gender stereotypes and discrimination." The exasperating slowness of gender-based legal reform is attributed to "[century-old] statutes" governing contemporary gender politics in Jamaica. But where did these statutes come from? Why are they slow to change in Jamaica? And which segment of Jamaican society is responsible for this *strategic slowness,* this sedative neocolonial slowness used to preserve the status quo? Providing a thorough response, Tracy Robinson's (2008) article "Gender, Nation, and the Common Law Constitution" tells us that:

> Post-independence Caribbean common law constitutionalism privileged continuity…Its everyday form privileged the continuity of law, giving preeminence to existing laws. Ordinary laws were elevated to higher order norms and this practice sought its support from the texts of the written constitutions themselves. The presence of savings law clauses within Caribbean constitutions, the supreme law, energized early assertions that the fundamental law was derived outside the written constitution, in the common law. The saving clauses preserved

> law and practices that were in existence prior to the constitutions, and in some instances immunized the laws from constitutional scrutiny (p. 744).

The "[century]-old statutes" or "savings law clauses" currently governing gender-based politics in Jamaica should move us to examine bourgeois "higher order norms" and the politics of inscrutability permitted to preserve and protect said norms. A critical examination of "higher order norms" will reveal that statutes saved to maintain social order and customs are not powerful within themselves but retain political effect when promulgated to protect bourgeois norms which function to *normalize* the body politic. Entrusted to curate standards of normality, Jamaica's postcolonial bourgeoisie is likewise granted the power of inscrutability; therefore, the colonial courts' practice of common law jurisprudence guarantees the continuation of customs, traditions, and institutions purporting to guard society from abnormal constitutional challenges and possible social disintegration.

Becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica is perpetually precarious because bourgeois morality and respectability, or "higher order norms," still inform and influence policies designed to govern conventionally gendered/sexed bodies. Drawing upon Michel Foucault's (1976) *History of Sexuality,* Ashwini Tambe's (2009) *Codes of Misconduct* imparts that "Foucault viewed the attention to sexuality and selfhood as a feature of identity formation among bourgeois classes. Through its concern with knowledge about sex, the bourgeoisie endowed itself with a body possessing health, hygiene, descent, and [morality]. The identification of sex with selfhood ultimately underlined class distinctions" (p.16). The (post)colonial bourgeoisie's conservation of nineteenth century

Victorian ideals and morals around respectable sexuality (Pearson 1978; Thomas 2004; Bradbury 2005; De Ferrari 2007) in Jamaica, distinguishes them as *guardians of the nation-state,* and since binary (heteronormative) gender/sex conventions are deemed necessary to reproduce a healthy, hygienic, and morally secured society, juridical codes of conduct are strategically conserved to *slow* the erosion of bourgeois "higher order norms" informing neocolonial policies and practices (Kumar 2005). Historicizing the bourgeoisie's investments in ordering society through techniques of domination, Michel Foucault's (1976) "Society Must be Defended" imparts that "[it is] the mechanisms of exclusion, the surveillance apparatus, the medicalization of sexuality, madness, and delinquency, it was all that, or in other words, the micromechanics of power that came at a certain moment to represent, to constitute the interest of the bourgeoisie. That is what the bourgeoisie [is] interested in" (p.32). The Lawyers' Christian Fellowship, invested in promoting and defending "laws and systems grounded in Christian values," is a perfect example of the ways in which Jamaica's (post)colonial bourgeoisie remains committed to guarding the "micromechanics of power" used to discipline and *normalize* corporeal subjects confined to the national body politic.

Drafted to advance the work of Caribbean feminists (Mohammed 1994; Bolles 2002; Webster 2006; Robinson 2011) long preoccupied with problematizing patriarchal practices and policies designed to entrench gender-based inequalities, Jamaica's NPGE, however, does not subscribe to a *queer-feminist politics;* therefore, the proposed policy politely rehearses and rearticulates bourgeoisie (conventional) notions of gender and sex— "women" and "men" essentialized to reproduce traditions, customs, practices, and values (family values) confined to *normalizing* heteropatriarchy.

At the regional level, CARICOM's Plan of Action similarly enacts the political erasure of gender transgressive Caribbean citizens (denizens). The Plan, likewise advancing a gender mainstreaming agenda, does not recognize nor represent gender-based institutional realities structuring processes of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica and other Caribbean countries. The Plan does not problematize the "heterosexual matrix" (Colebrook 2009) informing its bourgeois agenda. Confronting this violent erasure, OutRight Action International, a U.S. based non-profit organizing to defend the "human rights for LGBTIQ people around the world," launched the United Caribbean Trans Network (UCTRANS) in 2019, the Caribbean's first trans-focused social justice initiative. Resembling Jamaica's proposed gender equality policy, the Plan of Action informs us that:

> Gender mainstreaming is a process of assessing the implications of any planned action *for women and men (girl and boys* [emphasis added]: it involves the (re)-organisation, development and evaluation of policy processes so that a gender perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making and programming. It requires consideration of such questions as the following: (a) What is the gender division of labour (in relation to the sector or area being dealt with)? (b) Who has access to its resources, material and non-material? (c) Who has control over these resources? (d) Who benefits from the use and distribution of these resources? (p. 13)

The "women and men (girl and boys)" binary, presented in the Plan, presupposes the patriarchal stability of gender/sex categories. The Plan, which appropriately poses questions about power relations shaping gender-based "access to…resources, material and non-material," nevertheless fails to recognize unjust power relations which often obstruct transgender Caribbean citizens (denizens) from accessing "resources" equally. Protracting the political erasure of trans-identified Caribbean people, the Plan in its present state does not acknowledge that "a commitment to gender justice [should] mean working to end hierarchies embedded in the current gender ideologies that construct and maintain particular configurations of gender [identity]…" (Barriteau 2003 p. 68). CARICOM's gender mainstreaming policy fails to *queer* conventional "gender ideologies" and therefore disseminates a political discourse anchored in binary epistemologies governing gendered and sexed Caribbean subjects.

Jamaica is signatory to the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005-2015 (2005), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979). As stated earlier, it is my position that all three gender mainstreaming policies legitimize transnational heteropatriarchy and contribute, historically, to the erasure of persons becoming transgender in Jamaica and across regional and international "geographies of connection" (Phillips 2007). These transnational policies reaffirm gender/sex binarity and thus foreclose on representing bodies that "[open up possibilities] of seeing the heteronormative world differently, as well as [challenge] oppressive structures through a refashioning [of the gendered/sexed self]" (McCann 2016). The respective gender mainstreaming agendas articulate:

- Commonwealth's principles and values and incorporates its responses to the differential impacts of global changes and challenges on *women and men, girls and boys* [my emphasis). It supports and works towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the objectives of gender equality expressed in the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) and 2000 Beijing+5 Political Declaration and Outcome Document (PoA, 2005, p. 9).
- Equality *between women and men* [emphasis added] is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people centered sustainable development. A sustained and long-term commitment is essential, so that women and men can work together for themselves, for their children and for society to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century (Beijing Declaration, 1995, p.7).
- To embody the principle of the *equality of men and women* [emphasis added] in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle; (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to

> ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination. (CEDAW, Article 2, 1979).

Examined critically, these national, regional, and transnational gender-based policies ultimately admit that nations are "…gendered in the sense that [they are built] on dominant ideas of masculinity and femininity as a means of determining women's and men's roles in the nation, [and these] roles, in turn, reproduce the nation as a masculine enterprise" (Brown-Glaude, 2006, p. 42). The masculinist erasure of gender transgressive bodies from the policies examined serves to legitimize the universal supremacy of heterosexuality and its bourgeois biopolitics bent on normalizing bodies imagined as belonging to the nation-state. Therefore, bodies being or becoming transgender are not fairly granted inclusive recognition, institutional representation, equitable and equal protections, complete citizenship, and I would argue, ethical human dignity; and given that "heterosexuality and patriarchy are perceived as normal and natural, and [all] other configurations are perceived as abnormal, aberrant, and abhorrent" (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 13), many Western heteropatriarchal states, then, colonially caricature gender non-conforming bodies as ungovernable lives deserving of erasure.

The gender-mainstreaming policies examined expose that "progressive legislation meant to redress unequal relations of gendered power must be implicitly understood as constructing the beneficiaries of such legislative protection as heterosexual and gender conforming" (Haynes et al., 2017, p. 110), therefore, as "beneficiaries," cisgender citizens are implicitly implicated in the institutional "violence of heteropatriarchy,

heteronormativity, and [systemic] transphobia" (Simpson 2017) which manufacture transgender being or becoming as precarious. To end, Jacqui M. Alexander's (2005) *Pedagogies of Crossing* teaches us that:

> [Heteropatriarchal] recolonization operates on at least three levels simultaneously. At the discursive level it operates through law, which is indispensable in the symbolic and material reproduction and consolidation of heteropatriarchy, and in the elaboration of a cathectic structure based primarily in sexual difference…To the extent that citizenship is contained within heterosexuality, the state can produce a group of nonprocreative noncitizens who are objects of its surveillance and control—subjected to its processes of normalization and naturalization that serve to veil the ruses of power (p. 40)

Methods of Institutional Erasure: Epistemic Injustice and Administrative Fatigue

Becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica remains precarious because institutions refuse to amend oppressive 'objectivist' epistemologies erected to preserve gender/sex binarity, and by extension, state embedded hegemonic heterosexuality; thus, transgender subjects are institutionally scripted as unintelligible, ungovernable, and methodologically erasable. Quoting TransWave's Executive Director, Neish McClean, a *Jamaica Observer* (2019) article titled "Research, data collection must account for transgender people," decries the methodological erasure of gender non-conforming persons from traditional social science methods used to structure policies governing Jamaica's cisgender population. For transgender persons, traditional or conservative social science methods used in social policy research reify binary gender/sex concepts and categories which

ultimately work to marginalize their standpoint epistemologies (Harding 1992; Hekman 1997). Offering an alternative, Matt Brim and Amin Ghaziani's (2016) article "Queer Methods" imparts that "queer social research methods question the origins and effects of concepts and categories rather than reify them in an allegedly generalizable variable-oriented paradigm, because these categories do not always align with lived experiences" also "queer social research methods reject the fetishizing of the observable. If empiricism grants authority to categories that are operationalized into observable units, then to queer empiricism means to embrace multiplicity, misalignments, and silences" (p.16-17).

Presently, social policy frameworks in Jamaica neither recognize nor represent the "lived experiences" of persons becoming MtF transgenders, so experiences of institutional erasure remain silent. A queering of social science paradigms would enable us to actualize Edouard Glissant's (1997) *Poetics of Relation*. Glissant teaches us that "[relation] is learning more and more to go beyond judgments into the unexpected dark of art's upsurgings. Its beauty springs from the stable and the unstable, from the deviance of many particular poetics and the clairvoyance of a relational poetics. The more things it standardizes into a state of lethargy, the more rebellious consciousness it arouses" (p. 139). Therefore, transporting the social sciences from a "state of lethargy" demands queer reimagination: empiricist observations that give epistemic credibility to "unstable" categories, identities, and "unexpected" experiences.

Drawing on Miranda Fricker and Katharine Jenkins's (2017) essay "Epistemic Injustice, Ignorance, and Trans Experiences" and Michel Foucault's (1963) *Birth of the Clinic,* in-depth interviews I conducted with respective administrators from the National Family

Planning Board (NFPB) and the Kingston Public Hospital (KPH), operated under the South East Regional Health Authority (SERHA), will ground my analysis that persons engaging processes of gender transition in Jamaica, MtF becoming, experience methods of institutional erasure through episodes of epistemic injustice, and for some public servants, moments of *administrative fatigu*e.

The National Family Planning Board's Field-Coordinator began our interview with acknowledging that Jamaica's transgender community is a "hidden population;" and so creative strategies are coordinated to meaningfully "reach" the population. I began our lengthy interview with the following question:

Me: What is your position in the organization?

FC: I am the Field Coordinator with responsibility for the MSM and TG [transgender] population. So, my roles include planning and implementing strategies to reach and test MSM and TG. I also do other things like skills training with the MSM and TG— just the transwomen population**.** (***Is there a particular reason why transwomen***?) Well, they say transwomen. We look at the risk behavior, so transwomen—they still engage in anal sex—so, that is pretty much why. The risk is higher, and they are the drivers of the HIV epidemic in Jamaica, and I think in the world too. Because when I look at the world statistics—they are the drivers, the prevalence among the trans population is even higher than the prevalence among MSM.

A World Health Organization (WHO) report substantiates the field coordinator's claims. According to the WHO, "[transgender] women are around 49 times more likely to be living with HIV than other adults of reproductive age with an estimated worldwide HIV prevalence of 19%; in some countries the HIV prevalence rate in transgender women is 80 times that of the general adult population. Transgender people have low rates of access to health and HIV services due a range of issues including violence, legal barriers, stigma and discrimination" (WHO, 2018). Also, Carmen H. Logie et al.'s (2016) article titled "Prevalence and Correlates of HIV Infection and HIV Testing Among Transgender Women in Jamaica" informs us that "[transgender] women experience HIV rates almost 49 times higher than the national prevalence estimates across high and [low middle-income countries]. Yet in Caribbean contexts, including in Jamaica, there is limited knowledge about HIV prevention and care needs among transgender women" (p.416).

But why? There are many reasons and possible responses; however, Fricker and Jenkins conceptualize this domestic and transnational public health crisis disparately impacting MtF transgenders as an expression of epistemic injustice. But what do they mean by epistemic injustice? Fricker and Jenkins impart that "[prejudice] is better conceived as a determinant of what one knows and ignores; and if we take prejudice always to involve some motivated maladjustment to the evidence…, then its tendency will be to produce ignorance, for maladjustment to the evidence tends to produce epistemic error and distorted social perception" (p.3-4). Therefore, in Jamaica and other cultural landscapes invested in preserving transphobia, the institutionalization of prejudice against this population serves to justify their erasure. For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, it clear that their lives will remain precarious as long as institutions continue to

preserve “ignorance” used to prejudicially exclude and erase this population from necessary sociopolitical protections. And although this harmful “epistemic error” has been confirmed by trans-specific research, the Jamaican government currently refuses to devise policy platforms that would recognize and remedy socioeconomic and public health precarities disproportionately affecting persons becoming MtF transgenders. To account for methods of institutional erasure impacting subjects becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, I asked the NFPB’s field coordinator this initial question:

Me: As for research around transwomen, how is that research coordinated?

FC: We do not do research. I think research is done through more international agencies, like: UNAIDS and USAID. However, it is usually through like J-FLAG. We do not do that kind of research, there has not been one commissioned. So far, it has been the MSM and the MSM will touch on trans, but it is not in-depth. Up to this point they cannot estimate the trans population. They do not know how many of them are here—there is a whole heap of red tape around trans, because there is some level of uncertainty as to who the population is, the mental state of trans in Jamaica, we are confused with the high level of drag queens that we see and whether or not it is an internal deep-felt emotion that they feel like a woman. Even based on right now, I am working with a MSM study as well—I am the Kingston site manager—and I find that some of them [transgenders] are very confused as to who they are at a particular moment. And I think a lot more needs to be done in terms of advocacy and probably finding, and helping them to discover themselves, probably hormone therapy—just probably giving

> information to the population. Because they lack knowledge—they just get up today and dem feel like to put on lipstick and dem feel seh dem a woman or based on the position they play in bed dem feel like dem a woman, when that is not necessarily the full swing of it. When I interview real, real trans people, it is different than some of the drug queens who are often recorded as the trans population; so, a whole lot of things need to be sorted out and I do not think right now we have enough knowledge to plan strategies to reach the trans population.

The methods of institutional erasure employed by the Jamaican government, as revealed by the field-coordinator, are (1) the absence of state-commissioned research to gather demographic data about the MtF transgender population, (2) the containment of "at-risk" public health research to the MSM population, since gay (battyman) identity remains institutionally intelligible, and lastly, (3) the institutional disavowal of persons becoming MtF transgenders through permitting Global North sponsored and organized NGO's (J-FLAG, TransWave, UNAIDS, USAID etc.) to govern what the government renders an ungovernable population—a population positioned as peripheral to the Jamaican body politic. Also, another method of institutional erasure is the common claim that persons becoming MtF transgender "lack knowledge" about who they are being or becoming. In other words, they are perceived to lack epistemic credibility about transgender identity. Fricker and Jenkins frame this form of epistemic injustice as testimonial injustice. Fricker and Jenkins tell us that "[testimonial] injustice is the injustice of receiving a degree of credibility that has been reduced by some kind of prejudice. This kind of epistemic injustice consists in *an unjust deficit of credibility*" (p.1). Fricker and Jenkins would jointly concur that the field coordinator's uninterrogated "prejudice" resembles the larger

institutional prejudice informing methods of erasure experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica.

The NFPB's Field Coordinator continued and informed me that:

> **FC**: I have tried, in terms of interventions. We do a number of limes [events] and so on—every week we do a lime where we gather MSM in small groups; [and] I have tried to do trans limes, where we do make-up sessions. We do photography sessions; we do a number of things that I think can reach and pull them into this place. (***Have you ever tried to coordinate with TransWave***?) I have, but then TransWave and I do not know how much of this [transgender] is out there, and TransWave's reach of the trans population is very limited—and this was even told to me but their executive director—so, I spoke with a TransWave [executive] member and I said, "We do testing, can I partner with you when you do your limes?" And the response was, "We haven't had a lime in a while, and the last lime we had, only 3 or so persons came." I think they probably have a network of 10 trans people, in terms of transwomen, they may have a number of transmen, but I know for the transwomen population, the ones who access J-FLAG are very limited than the ones who do not have access to J-FLAG—the ones who are pushed out by J-FLAG because of bad behavior, or dem homeless, or whatever. So, it is a whole heap ah issues. (***So, how do you reach that population***?) Those are the ones that come to my limes because they do not have support— those are the same ones who have been reached as MSM before this whole trans thing, before this whole trans thing came into play—they had interventions with them as

> MSM, people knew them as MSM, when the whole trans thing, and JASL now has targets to reach trans, everybody turn trans now. So, there is now a whole shift, I am confused. Everybody is confused. I think the organizations are confused—everybody in Jamaica is confused when it comes to trans because of the lack of information and yea, the miscommunication too. People send up records that they are meeting trans people when they are not—dem ah meet drag queen; dem do not do the proper screening methods and procedure. I do not think they have even been trained on how to screen for sexual identity or gender identity—so that is very lacking. There is space for it because I do meet a lot of young people in high schools, people feel like woman from dem likkle bit, dem know seh dem a woman. And I've meet some in the study who are 16 and they are saying dem really do not see themselves being a man. When dem look pon dem penis dem do not feel the same. And those are the people not being recorded as being trans. And I think the whole health care system needs a whole re-education and reintegration about how to assess who these people are.

"Everybody is confused" confirms an epistemic injustice which Fricker and Jenkins conceptualize as hermeneutical injustice. They propose that "[hermeneutical] injustice is the injustice of being frustrated in an attempt to render a significant social experience intelligible…Hermeneutical injustices are moments of unmet needs of understanding where the explanation is an underlying poverty of intelligibility for which no individual agent is at fault. [Hermeneutical] injustices preserve the out-group's ignorance, just as straightforward cases of testimonial injustice do" (p. 1-7). The field coordinator's statements usher us to grasp Fricker and Jenkin's assertion that "no individual agent is at

fault" in committing hermeneutical injustices; therefore, epistemological frustrations arising from organizational interactions with persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica point to a larger systemic preservation of institutionalized "ignorance" and so a "whole re-education" is necessary to address the institutional erasure of transgender Jamaicans.

I then asked the Field Coordinator the following questions:

> **Me: Does the organization cater to the sexual health needs of transwomen living with HIV? If yes, how so? If not, why not?**
>
> **FC**: I think, at this current snapshot at how the health sector is—public health—I do not think we have a system in place that separates catering to the needs of MSM versus catering to the needs of transgender. I think they are all boxed in one. This is a special group of people and they do not know the intricacies of what a trans-population would need. I know that they started some sort of research, because some lady provided some findings at a meeting, and even those findings were very limited—is nothing that nobody never know—it merely skimmed through the experiences of violence and what they need—we already know their needs. (***But how do you know their needs if there's not enough data***?) Based on the conversations we have had, so, there is qualitative information. They have done research where you can interview four or five trans persons and dem tell you seh they got shot, dem get stab up, dem do sex work—so we know those things—we know seh dem want house, we know seh dem want breast, we know seh dem want this, you understand, we know those things. But

we cannot quantify it, we cannot do that. We do not know the extent to which the demand is. But we have spoken to a few—the few that is more visible and homeless, otherwise it is very limited.

Me: Does the organization have a database focused on both projecting and documenting the sexual health needs of transwomen?

FC: I have information on people that we have reached since my three years of being here. So, I have information on everybody we have reached. The Ministry itself, I am sure the DHIS system (District Health Information System) they can pull up information—I do not know if they can estimate on what the numbers look like, like how many trans persons have actually been reached, but we, NFPB, we have information on every client that we have reached, and especially for my area who I have reached.

Me: Does the organization partner with entities invested in promoting the sexual health needs of transwomen?

FC: I am not sure what is happening with TransWave now, but I remember last year they had a policy meeting where they invited key stakeholders to just—I guess it was just a meeting to introduce themselves and who they are and the needs of the population. I think it was about four trans persons who were present, who we all know, so no—there is nothing we have done to respond to the needs of the trans population in particular.

Me: Do you think there needs to be a policy framework centering the social and sexual health needs of transwomen?

FC: My thing is, planning for a population that we do not know how many of them exist can be—I do not want to put it as a waste of resources—but we actually need to put resources into finding out how many trans people is actually there. If we are just going to fish, throw a net out and hope people will respond, then it really makes no sense—that is really not good planning. There needs to be way of finding out how many persons, estimating how many persons—like how dem can estimate how many MSM are in Jamaica, they can try to estimate how many trans, and the level of transition that they are at and where they want to be at. From my knowledge, not every trans person want to become a woman in terms of biologically or physically—they do not want to become a real woman. So, it nuh mek [does not make] sense to put hormone therapy in place when all dem want to do is be themselves—put on aesthetics and that is it, but not necessarily go the full mile of getting breast or getting a vagina. (***But what about that population that would want to do that***?) I think it is available in private spheres. I have spoken to some who take hormones, I do not know if it is from online. Ashley [a popular transwoman] has seen a doctor. There are private doctors and private places that are welcoming to help the trans community, and I think JASL—they are pioneering the whole hormone therapy thing—there are little things that are happening. I think on a national framework, if four or five trans persons see that they have access to this [treatment], more would come forward.

I do think the social determinants [framework] is not yet ready to accommodate some of these persons coming out—the reality is that some of these persons have social issues—they do not live no weh [where]—and you coming out now, you

> have to have certain conditions to be able to maintain a certain lifestyle. So, for example, JASL, who wants to give them one-year worth of hormones—what happens after that one year? These are persons who cannot necessarily maintain the whole hormone therapy. What are the effects on their bodies after the one year? So, I just think it is too much right now, and I do not think we are ready. We do not have the resources. I do not see a lot of attention being given to trans persons. So, even when you go to meetings, meetings are about meeting MSM targets, you are meeting sex work targets, but we are not meeting trans targets and nobody really cares—*because dem nuh exist* [my emphasis]—that is the view. Dem nuh really exist. Donors are saying they exist, but they do not really exist. However, we [organizations] are the ones who claim they exist—JASL for one. They are the ones that overstated some amount of the trans population they were reaching; and nobody cannot track them up to now. We nuh know [we do not know] if dem migrate or dead, or what.

Without dismissing the material precarities, agentive aesthetics, and nuanced identity politics framing how most persons experience gender transition in Jamaica, as vividly narrated in the interview, "Dem nuh exist" [transgender people do not exist], twice avowed by the field coordinator, firmly cements the ontological predicament of becoming transgender in Jamaica. In particular, the field coordinator's responses provide us with the everyday "micromechanics" of erasure (Foucault 1976) experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders. But how does one become without *being*? Are MtF transgenders able to *be* or become when systematically deprived of *ontological standing*? George Ciccariello-Maher's (2017) *Decolonizing Dialectics* educates us that "[for] those

relegated to nonbeing and condemned to invisibility, to even appear is a violent act—because it is violent to the structures…and because it will inevitably be treated as such…Ontological force disqualifies the [*other*] from full access to humanity, erecting thick walls within being itself, or more precisely, between Being and non/sub-being" (p.61-62). Thus, the institutionalized "invisibility" of persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica works to position them as "nonbeing(s);" and this ontological erasure serves to negate the very humanity of said gender violators.

With this insight, does human rights discourse adopted to advocate for LGBTQ rights in Jamaica then miss the poignant point that gender transgressors—especially those becoming MtF transgenders—are not granted "full access to humanity" and so *trans-corporeality*, bodies violating heterosexist structures of gender/sex binarity, are institutionally ontologized as *bare lives* (Agamben 1995), are designated erasable "nonbeings" through state commissioned discourse? In another way, is human rights discourse futile discourse for persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica? Giorgio Agamben's (2000) *Means without End: Notes on Politics* argues that "[the] conception of human rights based on the supposed existence of a human being as such…proves to be untenable as soon as those who profess it find themselves confronted for the first time with people who have really lost every quality and every specific relation except for the pure fact of being human" (p. 18). Understanding that humanity, the condition of being human, is produced through a politics of "relation" permits us to examine power-laden discourse employed to either humanize or dehumanize "human being(s) as such." Agamben would therefore agree that since Jamaica's government presently refuses to recognize transgender citizens (denizens) as deserving of humanizing inclusion, human

rights discourse is futile because it has no material effect on the government's prejudicial heterosexist discourse embedded to preserve the dehumanization of transgenders through "relation(s)" of systemic erasure and violent exclusion. On the other hand, some may rubbish the claim that the government's discourse is entirely heterosexist since MSM and LGB identities are given reasonable recognition within public policy discussions. But why are MSM and LGB identities afforded this reasonable, or perhaps *tolerable*, form of recognition by the Jamaican government? As argued before, persons becoming MtF transgenders disrupt the "heterosexual matrix" (Butler 1990) in such a way that they are rendered *unintelligible* through heterosexist (heteronormative) discourse, but a discourse which simultaneously affords reasonable recognition to persons, however queer, that do not desire becoming the *other* sex or gender. In other words, cisgender queers remain *intelligible* and recognizable through a gender/sex "heterosexual matrix." Furthermore, it can be argued that MSM, gay (battyman), lesbian (sodomite), and bisexual identities are granted reasonable recognition within policy conversations because said identities do not *radically* disrupt institutionally embedded gender/sex binary epistemologies—the heteropatriarchal ordering of embodied subjectivities.

To conclude, the field coordinator's statement that "Donors are saying they exist, but they do not really exist," is a further epistemic injustice manifested as testimonial injustice since, according to Fricker and Jenkins, "[the] hearer had something to learn from the speaker, but prejudice got in the way, and so the ignorance remains" (p. 4). As articulated earlier, this is not the field coordinator's personal "prejudice." Instead, it is a verbalization of institutionalized "ignorance" repeated to (re)present the situation of systemic erasure still shaping experiences of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica.

Again, this statement reiterates the ontological predicament, the existential crises traversed by bodies becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, bodies condemned, by the Jamaican government, to "a subontological zone of nonbeing" (Ciccariello-Maher, 2017, p. 65).

A 2014 Human Rights Watch report titled "Not Safe at Home: Violence and Discrimination against LGBT People in Jamaica" shares the story of a transgender woman who experienced gender-based violence and discrimination while seeking health care at the Kingston Public Hospital (KPH). The report reveals:

> *Anne I., a transgender woman, described the level of hostility that she received at Kingston Public Hospital when she tried to access treatment for the knife wounds she received after a vicious attack by two men in 2008*:
>
> > *The doctor asked me what happened. I told him the story. He called the porter and said, "You have to look at this." He called various people to look at me. He pulled down my pants to look at my sex organ. He said, "You should not let man [men] sex you." He called about three porters and another man [a patient] to look at me.*
>
> *When Anne I. returned to the hospital for follow-up treatment, she was physically assaulted by one of the porters to whom she had been exposed. "The porter recognized me and said, 'Who you a look pan [Who are you looking at]?' He took out a knife and he cut me in my face."*
>
> *Two nurses locked Anne into a room, apparently to protect her, and she went without treatment through the night. The next morning, she received treatment for her knife wounds, but was also subjected to further humiliation. Anne explained, "Some guys [auxiliary staff] wanted to know if I was a woman, and for me to let them see my breasts."*

While interviewing subjects becoming MtF transgenders about their experiences with public health care in Kingston—at KPH in particular—similar stories surfaced about stigma and discrimination experienced while interacting with health care professionals and auxiliary staff at the hospital. These interviews will be shared in Chapter 4.

To gather an ethnographic account of what I thematize as *administrative fatigue,* I interviewed Kingston Public Hospital's Chief Medical Officer (CMO). But what do I mean by *administrative fatigue*? I mean the myriad frustrations felt from experiencing cognitive dissonance while working in any administrative role. An interview request was similarly sent to the hospital's CEO, but that request was denied. Nonetheless, the interview I had with the CMO sufficiently serves to ground key insights from Michel Foucault's (1963) *Birth of the Clinic.* To begin, Foucault provokes us to ponder:

> Is a medical experience, diluted in the free space of a society reduced to the single, nodal, and necessary figure of the family, not bound up with the very structure of society? Does it not involve, because of the special attention that it pays to the individual, a generalized vigilance that by extension applies to the group as a whole? It would be necessary to conceive of a medicine sufficiently bound up with the state for it to be able, with the cooperation of the state, to carry out a constant, general, but differentiated policy of assistance; medicine becomes a task for the nation (p. 21).

The administration of medical health care is indeed "a task for the nation" since a healthy heteronormative body politic is deemed necessary to reproduce the nation, "the family." Medical practice and public health policies are explicitly heterosexist in Jamaica; thus,

episodes of physical violence, discrimination, and stigma experienced by persons being or becoming MtF transgender are produced out of multiple structural factors aligned to position transgender lives as perennially precarious. Furthermore, health care professionals and administrators "bound up with the state" are perceived as public servants committed to the state's anti-queer biopolitics. But what about public administrators, peculiarly within the health sector, who are not blindly "bound up with the state" and so mindfully refuse to promote the state's prejudices? How do we account for cognitive dissonance, an " uncomfortable feeling of [discord], or lack of harmony, when [one becomes] aware of some inconsistency [around] attitudes, beliefs, and items of knowledge that constitute [one's] mental store" (Wong 2009, p.246), experienced by politically conscious public servants committed to social justice? How do we account for administrators who work to consciously circumvent cultures of institutionalized ignorance? And lastly, does this experience of cognitive dissonance lead to moments of *administrative fatigue*? In this section I will argue that my interview with the hospital's CMO does reveal moments of *administrative fatigue*. My first question to the CMO was:

> **Me: What is your opinion on transgenderism? And would most Jamaicans share your opinion?**
>
> **CMO**: I do not have an opinion, per se. My duty certainly as a doctor is to respond to the health care needs of any individual who presents themselves either to me as a physician or to the hospital. So, issues relating to people's lifestyle choices really neither here nor there to me. As a professional, I have a duty of care, not just individually, I make sure that my team members also conduct themselves in a professional manner. **(*Do you think most Jamaicans share your***

***sentiments*?)** I think perhaps not, there is a lot of ignorance, and persons just do not know. Jamaicans, we are suspicious of things that we do not know. [But] the society is changing; we are becoming more sophisticated as we grow as a nation in terms of our knowledge base. I would think that most Jamaicans would perhaps not know. I mean, as professionals our personal opinions do not really matter. You have a duty of care for any patient who presents themself. There is some amount of ignorance here at KPH. We have an ongoing collaboration with the private sector to facilitate training our team members in terms of issues of HIV, sexuality, because some of these things we are not taught in medical school or nursing school, so there is that ignorance as well that should not really impact on the delivery of care, but sometimes perhaps it may.

As discussed earlier, the institutionalization of ignorance produces prejudice, and this prejudice is permitted to cultivate cultures of unjust stigma, discrimination, and experiences of erasure. The CMO informs us that "there is a lot of ignorance, and people just do know" how to relate to persons being or becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica however "sophisticated" the nation is becoming. But I believe that the sociocultural evolution or the notion that Jamaica is "changing," as stated by the CMO, is complexly predicated on the reality that more Jamaicans now have access to the internet, and this cybernetic revolution has accelerated and expanded exposure to Global North, or to be more specific, mainstream American culture. According to the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN), Jamaicans accessing the internet increased from 24% in 2012 to 53.4% in 2017. Certainly, this enhanced level of exposure to mainstream American culture has altered the cultural fabric of Jamaican society. But to what extent? As this

ethnography has been narrating, for subjects becoming MtF transgenders confined to Jamaica's cultural landscape, nothing is structurally (institutionally) "changing" to accommodate transgender ontologies; therefore, transgender lives continue to live precariously against an anti-trans culture of erasure.

Further, the CMO's response appears to signal cognitive dissonance or a "lack of harmony" with institutionally permitted prejudice realized as gender-based violence, stigma, and discrimination experienced by LGBTQ Jamaicans. Throughout the course of the interview, I observed the CMO's cognitive dissonance; the CMO's body language and facial expressions led me to discern that the CMO's "attitudes" and "beliefs" were not "bound up" with the state's institutionalized ignorance embedded to permit prejudicial violence, stigma, and discrimination often experienced by LGBTQ Jamaicans. So, as a way to circumvent this culture of institutionalized ignorance affecting the democratic delivery of care at KPH, the CMO initiated partnerships with the "private sector to facilitate [trainings on] issues of HIV [and] sexuality." Additionally, as articulated by the CMO, since "some of these things [are] not taught in medical school or nursing school, [there] is that ignorance…that should [not] impact on the delivery of care."

Acknowledging Jamaicans' present and historical familiarity with mainstream American culture, I posed this second question to the CMO:

> **Me: Do you think transgenderism is a North American/European phenomenon?**

> **CMO**: Well, I will tell you, in preparation for the interview I asked. Because in my own experience as a doctor, I have not had an encounter—perhaps because I am an ear, throat, and nose surgeon, so, maybe the nature of the things I do as a doctor do not require me to know—If I am looking at your ear, I am looking at your ear. So, I did ask some of my colleagues, "Have you encountered any transgender persons in the hospital?" And the answer was "No." One of my colleagues, perhaps because of the nature of what he does, he said yes. He had some knowledge and was able to share some of his experiences. I think this interview is good for me as well because it has allowed me to learn because I really did not know.

It is comprehensible that the CMO's medical gaze missed persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica since the institutional erasure of transgender Jamaicans produces ignorance which, again, works to render the population invisible. However, given the CMO's cognitive dissonance with this injurious culture of institutionalized ignorance, the CMO is willing "to learn" more about Jamaica's transgender population and their unique health care needs. For the CMO, the interview was "good" because it raised necessary political consciousness about the embedded structural erasure of persons being or becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, an erasure that is ultimately unjust. Within the chapter titled "A Political Consciousness," Foucault teaches us that the:

> The first task of the doctor is [certainly] political…Man will be totally and definitively cured only if he is first liberated: Who, then, should denounce tyrants to mankind if not the doctors, who make man their sole study, and who, each day,

> in the homes of poor and rich, among ordinary citizens and among the highest in the land, in cottage and mansion, contemplate the human miseries that have no other origin but [through] tyranny? If medicine could be politically more effective, it would no longer be indispensable medically (p. 38).

The "tyranny" of transphobia in Jamaica—spatiotemporally experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders as traumatic vignettes of physical violence, discrimination, and structural stigma—is politically irrelevant because many doctors in Jamaica either subscribe to (1) anti-queer prejudices promulgated by a culture of institutionalized ignorance or (2) are made to believe that public health policies and praxes are entirely apolitical. However, the CMO's willingness "to learn" or become more consciousness about the needs of this precarious population should encourage those of us concerned with social justice to think about resistance strategies from within institutions designed to oppress, erase, and dehumanize lives through institutionalized ignorance.

I concluded the interview with following questions:

> **Me: Does the hospital, to your knowledge, have explicit policy guidelines about how transgender persons should be treated while receiving health care?**
>
> **CMO:** No. What we have though is a patient charter, so there is a general patient charter of rights (Patient's Bill of Rights) and responsibilities, but we do not look at any particular group—we just have a general charter of rights. **(*Do you think the patient charter should be interrogated?*)** Certainly, if there is any group—persons who are physically disabled for example, perhaps we should include something. The charter is very general. Unfortunately, a lot of our policies and procedures are dictated by the Ministry of Health, and there is a process for

review and sometimes that process lags behind. So certainly, that is something I will propose and hope that we can have some changes—across the board.

Me: Do you think stigma, discrimination, physical assaults, and other forms of violence reported by persons who identify as transgender (peculiarly MtF transgender Jamaicans) ought to be rendered public health concerns?

CMO: Yes; it can impact on persons health seeking behavior. So, if you have been assaulted, and you feel that if you come to a health facility you are going to be discriminated against, that may impact on your ability to receive adequate health care. There are implications even for sexual and reproductive health. The public health system has responsibility to push disease prevention, health promotion, but that has to take place in an environment where persons feel comfortable coming forward or else you will not reach them. So, if you do not have a facility that is stigma free then you may have pockets of persons that the health care delivery system is not reaching.

I can tell you one of the challenges we have here, even from an infrastructural point of view. Our wards are open wards, and because we always have more than a hundred-bed occupancy, privacy becomes an issue. So, you have an open ward; we have patience for the most part, male separate from female. Now, how does the hospital now respond to a transgender? The bathrooms are shared; [and] the bathrooms may have three toilets with an open area with one shower. How? Those are some of the issues from a physical infrastructural point of view. In the Intensive Care Unit (ICU) we will do men and women, because these are patients who are very ill, so we do make sure that patients' privacy is maintained. But on the open ward, where in an area where you should have one bed, you have two beds with a screen, persons may feel discriminated against because of those infrastructural challenges. We do not have single rooms. So, even in that space we may have three or four patients, how do you then maintain [privacy]? Persons may feel discriminated because of those infrastructural challenges.

The facility was built in the 1980s. KPH] started as a hot-house, slaves were treated, in fact some of our buildings were stables that have been refurbished and then we started as the mental asylum and then the hospital has grown to become the largest deliverer of public health care services, not just Jamaica, I just got a call Guantanamo Bay; so, we also extend our services beyond Jamaica. (***People 's behaviors reflect their surroundings?*)** Well, it should not matter, and we have policies that look at that as well. So, as a health care professional you have a responsibility to be professional and if you are unprofessional there are sanctions that can result from that as well.

Me: What do you think the Ministry of Health's position is on tailoring a health policy for MtF transgender persons or Jamaican transwomen?

CMO: I am not aware of any policy. As I said to you, the policies are reviewed, and I know that there is a new customer service charter, for example, and a customer service policy; but there is nothing in it that specifically addresses transgender. To my knowledge there is no policy, as yet; it maybe something that is being developed, but I have no knowledge of it.

Me: **Where do you see health care response to transgender health/social issues presently and in the near future within Jamaica's cultural context?**

CMO: I think more advocacy needs to be done. Even in the absence of advocacy though, it is the health care delivery system should be responsive. Perhaps because there is a lack of data, [and] that may limit health care systems' ability to be responsive, because you [need to] rely on data. There are resource challenges as well, and so sometimes it is difficult to respond in the absence of perhaps funding that comes from the outside and development of a specific project. Having said that though, it is the right of every Jamaican, no matter class, creed, sex, color, to receive a satisfactory standard of health care, and so that is something that needs to be responded to—the Ministry needs to respond to. Having said that though, as Chief Medical Officer of KPH, I have recognized that my team members are sometimes harsh, we work in a harsh environment, and we

> have resource constraints—not just the physical constraints of a building that's thirty years old—not having the things that we need to work with, but there are gaps in terms of the human resource component; in spite of that though, we still have a responsibility to care for persons in a professional way, and so the first part is persons recognizing that there's this population that we need to respond to, and we need to respond to in a way that's professional and without stigma and discrimination.

To conclude, the *administrative fatigue* revealed in the CMO's interview should prompt us to reflect on the ways in which institutionalized ignorance and epistemic injustices ineluctably affect administrators who instigate strategies of resistance mobilized to circumvent practices and policies that harm the most vulnerable. The frustrations expressed by the CMO emerge from a place of political consciousness grounded in social justice. The CMO tells us that "more advocacy needs to be done" for persons *being* or becoming transgender in Jamaica and affirmed, ethically, that it is "the right of every Jamaican…to receive a satisfactory standard of health care" freed from stigma and discrimination. The CMO (re)cognizes that for persons being or becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica to be "liberated" from stigma, discrimination, and institutional erasure, as Foucault teaches us, the Ministry of Health needs to review and revise policy frameworks that would first acknowledge and then accommodate the unique health care needs of this vulnerable population.

Escaping (postcolonial) Erasure: Geographies of Better Belonging and Becoming

Jamaica's cultural geography possesses historical familiarity with a well-known transgender story which circulated globally. For persons being or becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, I argue that their postcolonial erasure *subliminally* serves to

distance Jamaica from a Western-imperialist global history which acknowledged, sensationalized, and empathized with MtF transgender being (ontology) and becoming. I propose that the erasure of transgenders in Jamaica also operates at a subliminal level since Ino Rossi's (1974) *The Unconscious in Culture* reminds us that "[the] *episteme* is the hidden part of cognitive culture. It contains the structures according to which things are ordered" (p.131). And given that Jamaica's body politic is "ordered" by an anti-queer heterosexist epistemology manifested through institutionalized practices and policies, persons *being* or becoming transgender are deemed erasable because they disrupt the postcolonial embeddedness of bourgeois creole decency and respectability politics found in heteronormative relations. And since this disruption of the gender/sex binary, transgender ontology, is perceived as a historically Western cultural phenomenon, Jamaican culture, I argue, unconsciously works to diametrically distance its history and contemporary politics from queer disruptions given greater cultural accommodation and institutionalized tolerance in the Global North (in the West). However, this postcolonial distancing is an illusion since Christine Jorgensen's male-to-female transgender story has been silently archived in Jamaica as an inescapable remnant of Western colonialism. Featured in the *Jamaica Gleaner* between 1952-1969, Jorgensen's story repeatedly penetrated Jamaica's colonial and postcolonial cultural geography. Pulled from the *Gleaner's* archives are articles sharing Christine's Jorgensen's transgender story: assembled stories transported globally to exalt the modern world's medico-technological management of a body that desired gender/sex correction and normalization. Said articles are shown below:

PRINCESS WITH CHOPSTICKS: Princess Alexandra coped with chopsticks like an expert at a banquet given by leaders of the Chinese community in Hong Kong on Tuesday Nov. 7. Most ... prawn, not used to chopsticks, turn them in into shoptsticks, but the Princess Managed well. ... and got encouraging smiles from the Chinese businessmen on each side of her. She "chopstick-ed" her way through fourteen dishes, including chicken and waltnuts, fried prawns, sharks fin and gentle' eggs. Before setting down the Princess thanked her hosts for the banquet — in Chinese. "I've been practising the words in the bath" she told her neighbours at the dinner. —Mirror.

For many- sexchange solves tragic problem

LONDON: **By Graham King**

ONE OF the most terrible dilemas a doctor can face is the inability to decide the sex of a baby he has just delivered.

In Britain alone, this problem confronts doctors upwards of 2,500 times a year. The babies are what the medical world terms "XXY."

Poised on the edge of both sexes, they belong to a shadow world that is neither wholly male nor female. In those circumstances their lives depend almost entirely on a one-word verdict from a specialist.

His decision is not likely to endanger the baby physically. But if the verdict is wrong, and an operation to restore the baby to normality either as a boy or a girl fails through faulty diagnosis, that child is doomed to a life of hell trying to fit into society.

IN 1953, other Canadian scientists found that cells rubbed from the inside of the cheek also yielding the secret of a person's sex under a microscope.

As that test seemed equally reliable and was easier to perform, experts recommended it in place of the earlier method. It is this technique that most doctors apply today when they are in doubt about a new-born baby.

So far, the system has worked with great success. But it has not yet been established long enough to claim that it is absolutely infallible.

And in the case of grown-ups, it is of doubtful value since there are many important considerations besides the true sex.

Often enough, the social pattern is too well established to be disturbed. Then it is better to leave well or ... are which they have been accustomed and in which superficially they appear to belong.

To do this, it is necessary to remove the evidence of the other sex so as to avoid embarrassment later on and, as far as possible, to leave the evidences of the obvious sex intact.

Benevolent viewpoint

All cases mentioning so far are known medically as hermaphrodites. Their condition requires surgery to define their real sex and to allow them to lead normal lives.

Standard outlet

BUT SOME of the "changes of sex" reported in adults in recent years fall into an altogether different category.

There are the transvestite people who are normal males or females in the physical sense, but who suffer from a psychological abnormality that they belong to the opposite sex. Their standard outlet is to dress the clothes and some of ... ways of that sex.

trolled with a little more willpower.

The Christine Jorgensen case was one factor that helped to change this list. Immediately her story was published, specialists all over the world were inundated with inquiries and appeals for medical help.

NOT only, doctors, but government authorities too, then began exercising a more benevolent attitude towards this aspect to the problem.

In 1957, arrangements were made in Britain for men legally to change their sex to women and vice versa, even though they had undergone no operations or glandular treatment. All they required was a doctor's declaration sanctioning the change.

Recently, there has been talk of forming an International Association of Trans-Sexists. It would strive to educate public opinion and obtain changes in

Furthermore, since black cultural nationalism meant and continues to mean rejecting colonially imposed ideologies and Western ontologies, the postcolonial erasure of persons being or becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica simultaneously signals a rejection of Jamaica's colonial past. As Neville Hoad's (2007) *African Intimacies* imparts:

> [LGBTQ claims to] human rights circulate transnationally and appear as an extremely unstable placeholder for a set of desires, anxieties, claims, and counterclaims around modernity and cultural authenticity in the discourses of postcolonial nationalisms, which are themselves transnational. Within these national discourses, they are frequently described as a threatening imperialist import. It is asserted that their point of origin is outside the space, norms, and psyche of the nation and that their mode of circulation is dangerously foreign (p.69).

The dehumanizing postcolonial erasure of persons being or becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica is indeed based on the hetero-nationalist ideology that gender non-conforming bodies are "dangerously foreign"— these bodies do not belong and are therefore institutionally alienated from the nation. In fact, the presence of queers in Jamaica is imagined to be such an "imperialist import" that in 2015 a conservative Christian group, Jamaica C.A.U.S.E. (Churches Action Uniting Society for Emancipation), staged a well-attended rally in Kingston under the slogan, "Defending Family, Faith, and Freedom," as way to protest the Global North's increasing influence over Jamaica's domestic sexual politics (Millet 1970). Also, the protest revealed that colonial discourse and categories are so embedded in postcolonial forms that any challenge to these categories, which are emerging in the Euro-American context, is resisted. Further, Jamaican queers, and especially those becoming MtF transgenders, are politico-culturally scripted as embodying the "threatening" penetrative potency of Euro-America cultural supremacy. The postcolonial erasure of persons becoming MtF transgenders then works to reinforce a Jamaican "cultural authenticity" that is purportedly anti-queer since *being* or becoming queer is (re)cognized as a Euro-American (Global North) cultural phenomenon.

The Poetics of Precarious Belonging

Some of the persons I interviewed becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica are likewise attached to black cultural nationalism (Karenga 2014), an anti-imperialist politics which challenges colonial aesthetics and subconscious cultural sentiments tied to white supremacy. When I questioned if they participated in skin bleaching practices used by

many Jamaicans, across class lines, to erase the postcolonial predicament of blackness (Pierre 2012), to lighten the epidermal problem, I was told:

> S4: I love my skin too much. Why would I bleach? That means yuh no love yuhself if you bleach. I love me for me, honey; this fabulous cocoa-brown dark complexion honey, ain't going nowhere.
>
> S5: No, I think I am beautiful. Not even my hair, I try not to put anything in there.
>
> S6: No, not my nice pretty dark skin.

These Jamaicans on their way to becoming MtF transgenders resonate with Thomas Glave's (2004) poetic reflections about LGBTQ activism and black queer belonging in Jamaica, a postcolonial belonging composed of feelings connected to *maroonage*, Garveyism, and Rastafarianism. But a precarious belonging likewise shaped by traumas of institutional erasure, dehumanization, and political exclusion perpetrated by the Jamaican state. Titled "Whose Caribbean?" Glave writes:

> [We acted with hope] that we could engender social and political change in a nation which, broadened through our efforts, would ultimately be worthy of all Jamaicans: a nation welcoming to all, irrespective of sexuality and/or perceived gender transgressions. Faith that our fellow Jamaicans would civilly receive us, extend, and in so extending, grow. Grow into the nation we had and have yet to achieve: the island of matchless mountains that had produced the likes of Paul Bogle and Marcus Garvey, [would] grow into the nation that could produce lights

> like Nanny and Claude McKay, Bob Marley…Miss Lou Bennet, and Rex Nettleford (p. 673).

So, given that policies and cultural practices of exclusion and erasure continue to create precarious belonging for persons becoming MtF transgenders, heterosexist policies and praxes that will not "civilly receive" them as legitimate members of the postcolonial body politic, where then, is better belonging possible? Where is better becoming realizable? For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, where are geographies of better belonging and becoming? And how do they get there? The Global North, collectively imagined by interviewees, offers geographies of better belonging and becoming, and they anticipate their escape from postcolonial erasure through the Rainbow Railroad. Alluding to America's historical Underground Railroad which enabled "…a centuries-long progression of escape, connecting geographically unrelated, yet politically connected, philosophically aligned sites, interconnected by [black] families as well as individuals in their relentless insistence on freedom [from organized and institutionalized white supremacist slavery]" (LaRoche 2013, p.158), the Rainbow Railroad, a Canadian based NGO founded in 2006, works to strategize the escape of LGBTQI people from countries where they are commonly murdered, persecuted, and politically excluded to countries where *queer* belonging and becoming is better or more possible, the proverbial *promised land, queered*. The Rainbow Railroad has been organizing with Jamaican LGBTQ activists and organizations since it began in 2006, so this border-crossing pathway for persons becoming MtF transgenders to escape violent postcolonial erasure in Jamaica is well-known and consistently engaged by the community. Carl F. Stychin's (2000) article, "A Stranger to Its Laws': Sovereign Bodies, Global Sexualities, and Transnational

Citizens," tells us that " [mobility signifies] freedom, and it also signifies a need to leave - to escape - which suggests inhospitability, danger, and violence; dangerous journeys undertaken before reaching a (safe) destination" (p.605). A statement taken from Rainbow Railroad's website informs us that the:

> Rainbow Railroad has a robust network of partners and activists on the ground in Jamaica. These essential partnerships assist us in the identification of vulnerable persons, the verification of their files and evidence to support their claim, and support in building a plan for their escape. Without these critical partnerships we would not be able to assist the volume of persons we are each year.

The point of the term Rainbow Railroad and its metonymic reference to the Underground Railroad, is that the latter was escape from the space of enslavement, in the same manner that the Rainbow Railroad is an escape from the space of the nation: a colonial and modern category that is rejected by queer theory as well as post-modernist theory. Understanding that "queerness and transnational movement are collapsed" and that

"queerness constitutes a mobile resistance to the boundaries and limits imposed by gender, and that resistance is the same as the migrant's movement through national and cultural borders" (Wesling 2008, p. 31), then Jamaicans becoming MtF transgenders desiring and strategizing their escape from anti-trans erasure embody "resistance" through the humanizing possibilities found in "movement," the freedom found in finding another place to be and become. Narrating the desire to escape postcolonial erasure, persons becoming MtF transgenders, when asked about the possibility of seeking political asylum in the Global North, told me:

> S6: Yes, I want asylum. I thought about Amsterdam and other places. I did sign-up, and I think we are waiting on emails from Rainbow Railroad. So, you know, in my space that I am in now, I am very uncomfortable. I think Renae can say, because Renae came to my house one time and saw the level of discrimination and threats and everything I face daily. I hate going home. I rather go home when I know everybody is off the road. But then I stopped going home late because my father's girlfriend told me that her brother knows when I go in every time, he watches me. That makes me uncomfortable, because I know she does not have a bother in this community, and for her to say that someone in the community is watching me go out or come in at nights, it makes me worry even more. I do not know what [the person] is doing. I have to be looking, and you know you can never look so far to know where this person is. Because it is so late when you walk in that lane; it is very lonely. For my [father's girlfriend] to say that somebody is watching me, and I do not see anyone on the road. What can

happen? What will happen? I do not know. So, that is why I went and applied for asylum, because I am at the edge. I do not know where to go.

S4: Well, I just started the process now with Rainbow Railroad. I do not know if I did not send the email right or whatever, but I have not received a response yet. I will have someone help me fix that. And just to speed up that process, I am willing to donate $50,000 JMD to the process because I want to move. Like, if I could get the chance to leave by September, fine. I want this to be my last Pride in Jamaica. I am tired. I think I have made my marks. I need to go. I need to go get my breast done; [I] need to get my boobs done; I need to do it; I need to go live my life. I need to stop putting on this façade and everything. I am tired of it.

S1: I emailed Rainbow Railroad. (***Are they responsive in a timely fashion***?) They did get back to me, but I would not say timely fashion. But I am [okay] now. It has been a slow process. So, I am like, this is just not gonna happen. You just have to make life here, yea. And feel like that is the reason why I have been so confused. Because I was willing to leave this place.

I think a fresh start in anything is always good. So, having that fresh start to maneuver how you are gonna do stuff would be good. Okay, I am granted this [asylum]. I am starting over. This is what I expect now. This is what I expect myself to do then. So, it would actually give me the opportunity to construct how I want my life to be. It would be easier than growing up in a country [that discriminates]; having a fresh start here is harder than having one overseas.

Because I think there are more opportunities overseas than here. I think it would be easier to start over there.

S2: Yes, I have thought about it. Reason for this is that services such as sexual reassignment surgeries and so forth is not really accessible in Jamaica. I know one or two Caribbean islands that may have the service offered. I have thought about the issue a lot. I have thought about seeking asylum in other countries, because I want to do the surgery at some point to fully transition. And not being able to do it in Jamaica, and do not get me wrong, I am stickler for being in my own country, but in terms of accessing those services it can be very hard. I have thought about going overseas. Canada, Spain, and Amsterdam [in the Netherlands]. The [Netherlands], for long, has been an accepting country, USA as well, Canada and Spain—I know someone who has been to Spain and they tell me the atmosphere there is a lot different from Jamaica. I would try Spain. Yes, I am in contact with a transwoman living in Spain. I do speak with someone from The DC Center. We have had conversations about the process and how it is done and what we would need to do to get it started and so forth. But I have not consulted them much, lately. I have not spoken to anyone in Canada, but I heard about the Rainbow Railroad. I have not heard of anything in Amsterdam. I just know that [Amsterdam], within itself, is much more accepting.

Seeking refuge from institutional policies and cultural practices embedded to erase, oppress, and dehumanize lives is certainly not confined to queer Jamaicans desiring "transformative movement from repression to freedom" (Murray 2004), as "transnational

practices" (Dahinden 2010) and mobilities are creatively strategized by queers globally to enact "multiple citizenships that make up their shifting global positionalities" (Otalvaro-Hormillosa 1999). For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, escaping the violence of postcolonial erasure would allow them, as S1 puts it, "the opportunity to construct how [they want] …to be." In another way, the escape is always existential, it is always an aesthetic maneuver choreographed to manifest what Herbert Marcuse's (1972) *Counterrevolution and Revolt* teaches us, and it is that "… truth is the beauty, tenderness, and passion of the victims, and not in the rationality of the oppressors" (p. 95), it is an escape fueled by humanizing resistance, putting up resistance, freedom desires and dreams to be embodied in another place, a better place.

As a *queer femme* Jamaican, who sought and was granted political asylum in the USA, the interviewees' desire to escape confirmed my truth and Marcuse's words, the truth of finding queer spaces and possibilities in the States where I was able to start over and still journey towards better becoming, spaces I co-created with others, queer and non-queer, to construct "beauty" out of an existence still resisting durable transnational forces of oppression—a queer life still surviving the post-traumas of institutional erasure felt in Jamaica.

As I conducted this ethnography, collecting stories which confirmed my visceral discomforts and indigestions about being or becoming queer in Jamaica, I used poetry as a coping mechanism while in the field, poetic field notes, if you will. I now conclude this chapter with this field note:

Unisex Salon Blues

Fragile to touch, time gracefully transformed you.

You sit still, gestures of contemplation holding you.

Your face shows survival. So many stories of survival molding you, still, eternal.

Caressed in your aged melanin, you emit presence still, bleached blonde hair,

no time scolding you.

Your blackness does not crack woman, beauty your servant still.

Your speech says it all.

You traversed histories shaping your smile, sternness your forever guide.

Survival is your feature, strong contortions, no frivolous laughter.

Your hand wears pearls, visible as you move to conceal them.

Clasped in your feminine divinity, hands together, Maya Angelou's words anointing you: phenomenal woman!

I felt safe against this hard masculine place, giving me hope as your feminine energy baptized me. Your feminine finesse saving me from this hard place, no longer a barbershop.

Chapter 4

Globalization, Agency, and Rights in Transgender Representation: Queer Counter-Discursive Challenges, Precarity, Trauma, and Visibility Tactics.

> Empowerment occurs when the citizen-subject coordinates its existential data "(the empirical position of the subject)," with "unlived abstract conceptions of the geographic totality", comes to a decision, and moves from there. Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*
>
> [Subaltern] counterpublics contribute to a process of inclusion that expands the public discourse beyond the "bourgeoisie" who dominate the "universal" public spaces…"
> Nancy A. Naples, "Sustaining Democracy: Localization, Globalization, and Feminist Praxis."

Rainbow House, the place that provided safe space for TransWave and J-FLAG's LGBTQ advocacy before it was destroyed by fire in 2018, as mentioned before, is where I conducted interviews with persons becoming MtF transgenders. Tacked onto the door of that intimate space I was granted to conduct in-depth interviews was a flag bearing pale pink and blue horizontal stripes with a single white stripe in the middle. This is the transgender flag, which was designed by Monica Helms, an American transgender woman, in August 1999. The flag represented TransWave's legitimate occupation of the shared office space, as transgender visibility politics, likewise organized to contest the erasure of transgender persons from within Jamaica's LGBTQ community, is a very recent phenomenon. Likewise, one which evidences the culturally embedded stigma still attached to transgender being and becoming.

The presence of the transgender flag also symbolized TransWave's connection to a transnational activism network preoccupied with protecting transgender people from the

violence of both cultural and institutional erasure happening globally. Acknowledging that the cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica is not isolated from global processes allows intellectual space for us to analyze and examine the impacts of globalization on how persons participate in processes of gender transition in Jamaica. But how should we conceptualize globalization? Lisa Lowe (2014), I believe, offers a sufficient conceptualization. At length, Lowe writes:

> [The] term "globalization" is used to name a specific set of transformations that occurred in the late twentieth century: changes in world political structure after World War II that included the ascendancy of the United States and the decolonization of the formerly colonized world; a shift from the concept of the modern nation-state as bounded and independent toward a range of economic, social, and political links that articulate interdependencies across nations; and an acceleration in the scale, mode, and volume of exchange and interdependency in nearly all spheres of human activity (p.119).

The shift from the "nation-state as bounded" speaks to the "erosion of boundaries" (Pooch 2016) which produces possibilities for cosmopolitan ways of being and becoming. And since the global "ascendancy of the United States" has significantly influenced the "very organization and behavior of states" (Atasoy 2003), persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica experience this "erosion" of the nation-state through human rights discourse, global NGOs (Robinson 2003), and international juridical instruments used to promote Western (American) values of individualistic self-determination and secular liberalism. Jamaicans becoming MtF transgenders are indeed impacted by images and discourses reaffirming "Americanization [as] the latest variety of

Westernization…as cultural icons and values, being predominantly American, are transported beyond borders and continents" (Pooch 2016, p.16).

However, we should still consider that though globalization allows us to contemplate the "interstices of the state-centric world" (Mittelman 2004), the in-between transnational connections creating cultural impurities (Kraidy 2005; Simon 2006) and influencing policies both foreign and domestic, the durable political philosophy of state sovereignty, on the other hand, still works to show the limits of globalization. In another way, the state apparatus uses nationalism as a technology of inclusion and exclusion, so while borders remain porous for bodies to flow, a key feature of globalization, state practices and policies still regulate who gets belong to the nation. In other words, "…globalization does not lead to the withering away of the nation-state form; instead, national imaginaries constitute a key spatial scale through which apparently delocalized conceptions of [identity formation] become reworked in specific cultural contexts" (Boellstorff 2007, p.22). For example, The National Cultural Policy of Jamaica (2003) explicitly denounces the invasive impacts of globalization—framed as the Americanization of the Caribbean—and so encourages Jamaicans to defend their national identity from American values which may lead to national (cultural) disintegration. Titled "Towards Jamaica the Cultural Superstate" the policy proposes that:

> Jamaica must develop policies and programmes that will allow us to fulfill our potential and become the Cultural Superstate we are obviously capable of being. In this regard, Jamaica must contend with the paradoxical opportunities and threats of globalization, the penetrating cultural presence of the United States with

> its influence on the cultural integrity and identity of our population, and the leadership role Jamaica must play in Caribbean cultural activities (p. 8).

The "threats of globalization" anxiously articulated in Jamaica's cultural policy should prompt us to visualize "states as dynamic actors [that] work…to facilitate globalization [and] enhance [the] benefits they receive from it [while also limiting its] impact through public policy. Balancing the gains and losses from globalization through public policy is therefore a principal challenge for states. Policy is, then, key in the consideration of [managing the impacts] of globalization."

(Nayar 2014, p.6). Therefore, for persons becoming transgender in Jamaica, the state continues to perpetuate their institutional erasure as way to reify Jamaican nationality as essentially heteronormative and anti-queer. And such an erasure ultimately works to limit the "penetrating cultural presence of the United States." In the United States, transgender activism has gained impressive momentum over the years, and current public policy drafts and debates continue to reflect the political advances made by the community. Framing transgender activism as "America's next civil rights frontier," the *Time Magazine* cover below features the contemporary cultural politics of transgender *being*, becoming, and anti-erasure activism in the United States.

For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, exposure to the transgender flag, human rights discourse, Global North sponsored NGOs affirming their unique needs and identity,

international human rights laws articulating their need for equal protections under domestic laws, and the enhanced visibility of transgender cultural icons in America, certainly impacts how they envision and partake in processes of gender transition, and Gill Valentine et al. (2013) reinforces this point. Valentine et al. (2013) writes that "…emerging are LGBT movements informed by and adapting various ideas from 'Euro-American' identity politics and demands for citizenship, to create new cultural formations alongside the persistence of traditional [heterosexual] identities…" (p. 171). The persons I interviewed understood that the cultural politics of becoming transgender in Jamaica is presently precarious because the state will not grant them "cultural citizenship—cultural

belonging in the nation…" (Maira 2004). Therefore, becoming transgender remains an alienating experience since transgender bodies are marked as foreign, are situated outside of Jamaica's cultural (national) boundaries of "belonging." The lyrics from Jamaican reggae artist, Queen Ifrica, presented below, are set to reinforce Jamaica's anti-queer nationalism: a postcolonial nationalism invented to counter, however uncritically, the neocolonial impacts of Americanization. The lyrics are:

Introduction	Translation
Yu got to make it better	You have to make it better
Fi the youths dem future yu know	For the youths' future, you know
Wi can sit down an a gawn	We cannot sit down and be easy
Like say wi nuh si say	Like we do not see
Someting kind a go wrong still	Something is going wrong, still
And wi nah talk, to the world	And we are not talking to the world
Got to make it better again, hey.	We have to make it better, again.
Chorus	
Doan bring it to Jamaican (Keep it to yu self)	Do not bring it to Jamaican, (keep it to yourself)
We nuh want dat a jamrock (Keep it to yu self)	We do not want that in Jamaica, (repeat)
Wi can't tek no more slackness (hear dis)	We cannot take anymore immorality, listen!
Verse 2	
Yu fi multiply an replenish di Earth	You should multiply and replenish the Earth
An dats why di woman labor inna child birth	This is why women labor in childbirth
Mi nuh want si mi brother Dress up inna no skirt	I do not want to see my brother in a skirt
An mi sister nuh fi mek lift up her skirt	And my sister was not made to lift up her skirt

As a nation, nuh matter what, wi put god first As a nation, no matter what, we put God first

The lyrics present the moral and political anxieties common among postcolonial geographies impacted by the penetrative puissance of Western-centric globalization. The lyrics present a counter-discourse to globalization; in dialectical fashion, the lyrics speak back to the Western "world" as a way to assert Jamaica's national (cultural) sovereignty against the material and cultural restructuring powers possessed by the Global North (America). "*Do not bring it to Jamaican, (keep it to yu self)*" serves to reject the queer freedoms found in American secularist culture; but ultimately, it asserts a visceral rejection of American cultural imperialism, felt globally. In other words, "…although contemporary globalization has complicated the nation-state form, it has not rendered it obsolete as a form of political organization" (Cheah 1997, p.159). Grace Kyungwon Hong (2006) educates us that:

> In the contemporary era, Caribbean nation-states attempt to reconsolidate a sense of national identity undermined by [globalization]. They do so by blaming the dissolution of the nation-state not on such processes as structural adjustment, privatization, and international investment but on those that are defined as deviant and threatening. In such a context, invocations of colonial manifestations of discourses on propriety, morality, and sexuality are always implicitly a register of the contemporary effects of economic internationalization and the consequently altered role of the nation-state (p.75).

Queen Ifrica's, "*As a nation, nuh matter what, wi put god first"* speaks to the uneasy material conditions of exploitation experienced by everyday Jamaicans due to "economic

internationalization." Heteropatriarchal "propriety [and] morality" are thus invoked to preserve and "reconsolidate a sense of national identity." Therefore, it is critical for us to likewise acknowledge the precarious material conditions produced under capitalist globalization within postcolonial nation-states, such as Jamaica, and how said precarities work to exacerbate anti-queer violence and erasure experienced by Third World queers. The cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica cannot be disentangled from histories of plantation slavery and contemporary neoliberal schemes of exploitation choreographed by international fiscal institutions such as the IMF, IDB, and World Bank (James 1983; Kim et al. 2005). Wholesale forms of precarity such as sustained poverty, fluctuating unemployment, deteriorating public health infrastructures, neoliberalized labor policies, and uncontainable violence leave everyday Jamaicans vulnerable and serially deprived.

Acknowledging the tangible vulnerabilities produced under capitalist globalization, Nancy Ettlinger (2007) teaches us that "[precarity] is located in the microspaces of everyday life and is an enduring feature of the human condition. It is not limited to a specific context in which precarity is imposed by global events or macrostructures" (p. 320). Therefore, a critical examination of transphobic violence in Jamaica should similarly lead us to account for the ways in which "global events and macrostructures" inadvertently work to produce conditions of postcolonial anti-trans violence and influence national policies and cultural praxes set on excluding and erasing transgenders as pathological byproducts of Western cultural and politico-economic imperialism.

For the interviewees becoming MtF transgenders, it was repeated that there is no cultural space for them to live and thrive since they are violently excluded from Jamaican cultural citizenship (Maira 2004); and regardless of how affectionately connected they felt to Jamaican culture, the national culture perpetually rejects (excludes) them. So, how do persons becoming MtF transgenders digest this traumatic rejection? How do they cope with exilic emotions while situated in Jamaica? Knowing that secular Western countries would grant them cultural citizenship, how do they imagine disavowing Jamaican citizenship? How do they envision the *trans*-formation of their national identity? When I asked interviewees what it means to be Jamaican while engaging processes of becoming MtF transgenders, I was told:

> S4: Like to tell the honest truth, I love me some Jamaica. But mi just cah [cannot] bother, mi feel like mi wah turn over mi nationality. I cannot be bothered. If I could turn over my nationality, I think I would. And if I get the chance to go to Spain, trust me, that is the first thing I would be working on. Mi wudda turn over mi nationality, to be honest. I would give up Jamaican citizenship. It is just a flag. I would give it up. Trust me. I am proud of my country, we have some fabulous heroes, fabulous people from our country, but the people from our country disgust me. And what turned me off was an incident that happened to a transwoman years ago—that turned me the fuck off from Jamaica. That person was sixteen years old, you killed the person, you shoot the person, to stab the person, you run a car over the person. Jamaica is a fucking evil country. It is a fabulous country to come for vacation, but to live, no. I would give up my nationality. It is just a flag.

S1: Being Jamaican and being gender non-conforming, I am already excluded. My country is not as inclusive as it should be or could be. But whether or not they exclude me, I fall in every aspect as a Jamaican person, as an individual. Whether or not I am excluded. My gender identity is not identified. It is not seen or accepted. [However] I still have problems like any other Jamaican. (***So, you do not see exclusion as an additional problem***?) I do. Because I feel if things were more inclusive, Jamaica would not be so much of a bad place. Because, if you had a bill passed saying that if you mess with persons of different identities or different sexual orientation (like if somebody see yuh pon de road and dem lick yuh, you can sue dem) it would be better country. But even in the court you are being excluded.

Because I have had cases with the court, and because of my sexual orientation or my gender identity, [I experienced discrimination]. I went to court, we go to court, and yes, we are women of trans-experience. It was not easy with the court system because of the police and all of that, and think that if things were more inclusive, persons of trans- experience would have way less problems with the police. (***You think policy changes would help*?**) Yes.

S5: I do not think I am a Jamaican, because people seh [say] in Jamaica you cannot be a trans-person, but here I am being a transwoman. I just do not think I am a Jamaican. Being a trans-person, it has made me less emotional. I do not have to sit and cry anymore. I can be myself.

S2: Growing up you are told, if you do this yuh ago dead [you are going to die], if yuh do that yuh ago dead, and then you grow up and accept yourself and you are living by virtue of the fact that you are a woman of trans experience and you are living, and you are surviving. [I have not experienced] much harm physically, but verbally, there is harm, but you still have the support of a TransWave per se. It feels good, but I want to feel more. I want to feel excellent or marvelous, other than just feeling good. [And] in terms of surviving and thriving; it would be good to thrive. I want for persons to understand that if you put on a wig, and you go out, and you feel you are a woman, it does not mean you are a tough man in drag.

I want people to understand that the process takes a while, and in order for me to fully accept myself and fully understand that this is who I really am, during this process, I do not want persons to scorn, stigmatize, or discriminate against me. I want to feel happy in my own country. I mean, if you are not happy identifying and expressing who you are, then it makes no sense. I am happy, but I want to be happier.

The responses converge to show the complex emotions and experiences structuring the politics of precarious belonging revealed by gender non-conforming Jamaicans. Mixed emotions and expectations manufacture these stories of cultural exclusion and institutional erasure; precipitous transitions from "I love me some Jamaica," to "Jamaica is a fucking evil country…I would give up my nationality." Optimistic lamentations of " I am happy, but I want to be happier" or "I feel if things were more inclusive, Jamaica would not be so much of a bad place" to wounded words of "I do not think I am a

Jamaican…Being a trans-person, it has made me less emotional. I do not have to sit and cry anymore. I can be myself." Such pendulating utterances, or discursive standpoint epistemologies, should usher us to understand (1) the psychologically damaging and disorienting effects of traumatic exclusion; (2) that for some persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, relinquishing Jamaican citizenship would release them to comfortably transition in the Global North and enable them to acquire full cultural citizenship (Maira 2004). And lastly (3) for some, there is political optimism that the nation-state will eventually recognize and institutionally accommodate presently stigmatized subjects *being* or becoming transgender in Jamaica—there is no urgency to *trans*-form their national identity.

Agency: Aesthetic Affirmations and Transgender Visibility Tactics.

Actualizing the queer self against heterosexist systems designed to terminate the queer body, to destroy and deactivate queer existential embodiment, is an expression of political agency. In other words, it is resistance resting on the very preservation of the queered body, the queered self, always done aesthetically. When used as a verb, the notion queer allows us to see aesthetic affirmations as a politics of resistance performed by gender/sex subversive subjects challenging heteronormative aesthetic stylistics, as one is not queer but becomes queered through agentive-aesthetic forms of resistance. For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, occasionally or consistently dressing in female attire affirms their aesthetic process of becoming. But we should understand that this aesthetic affirmation is not singularly the action of being attired in conventional female clothing, the aesthetic affirmation is also a conscious or phenomenological

experience embodied with feelings of resistance and pleasure. In another way, the queer aesthetic affirmations practiced and performed by subjects becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica work to materialize the conscious feelings of becoming the other gender, gender transgressive feelings attired in aesthetic textiles of *crossing over*.

Richard Shusterman (2006) teaches us that "[if] feeling is always implied in phenomenological experience, and aesthetic experience is always phenomenological, then such experience involves [conscious feelings]" (p. 223). The "aesthetic experience" of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica is indeed realized through phenomenological feelings of resistance and subversion, but also through feelings of pragmatic self-preservation. Transgender aesthetic affirmations, however differently these embodied aesthetic actions are executed by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, categorically perform a politics of resistance as they come from below. Mikael Baaz et al's (2016) article, "Defining and Analyzing "Resistance": Possible Entrances to the Study of Subversive Practice," invites us to accept that "[resistance should] be understood as a response to power from below—a subaltern practice that could challenge, negotiate, and undermine power…"(p.140). Accepting such a conceptualization means that we confirm the Foucauldian insight that resistance resides where oppressive power abides. Or more abruptly, there's always room to instigate scattered forms of subaltern resistance.

The in-depth interviews with subjects becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica reveal transgender aesthetic affirmations disclosed as conscious feelings of resistance and spatial strategizes used to agentively actualize becoming. When I asked interviewees the

following questions: (a) “How do you feel when you wear women’s clothing?” (b) “What does it mean for you to dress as a woman?” and lastly, (c) “Where would you go to get women’s clothing?” I was told:

Me: How do you feel when you wear women’s clothing?

S4: Sexy as fuck. I am a diva honey. I am sexy, honey. I am a Goddess when I am in women’s clothes. Why would I say women’s clothes? When mi inna my clothes, I feel so fabulous. Honey, I feel like I am on top of the world. Yuh know, put on your little sexy couture dress, designer dresses, you do your little designer shoes. Oh, come on honey.

Me: What does it mean for you to dress as a woman?

S4: It means a lot to me, because it is a part of who I am, and I am expressing myself and I am comfortable. Because dressing like this now, as a boy, I am uncomfortable as fuck. I am [really] uncomfortable. But dressing like a woman, it does something to me that I just, I do not think I can explain that feeling. Mi look inna de mirror and mi look so gorgeous; mi just feel like a little Barbie dolly. Yes, woman clothes do a whole heap for me—nah go tell nuh lie. I Love it.

Me: Where would you go to get women’s clothing?

S4: Oh, mi go inna any normal store, like any normal woman and buy my stuff—try dem on and everything. **(*At the store*?)** In the store, and I do not give a fuck about anybody, because I am spending my money, and persons I am spending my money with they love gay people. **(*Where do you normally go? Uptown? Downtown*?)** Downtown. Mi born and grow downtown, Matthews Lane mi come from, so nobody nah look pon me. So, places I shop are like Jada’s Boutique, Loud Fashion, and Posh by V. And my designer stuff, mi nuh get none of my designer stuff in Jamaica. All of my friends overseas get them, so you know the Gucci, Fendi, Christian Dior, the Oscar de la Renta, the Jimmy Choo, Christian

Louboutin, Aldo, should I continue? So, all that designer stuff, I actually get them exported here to Jamaica from my best friends.

Okay, so because I am a Facebook sensation, you have persons overseas who are like: I like how you look, I want you to model this for me, and they would send me a nice designer outfit. So, some of my outfits are very expensive—especially when it comes on to my gowns. My gowns are, and how can I not mention my gown designer, King Couture aka Jay-Jay. I never go wrong when I am making an outfit from Jay-Jay. They are fabulous designers (local designers). I work with Gregory HOD sometimes, Chris Facey, but nobody like Jay-Jay Couture. It is just the truth.

Me: How do you feel when you wear women's clothing?

S1: I feel very comfortable.

Me: What does it mean for you to dress as a woman?

S1: My type of dressing is a bit androgynous, so it will not always be all female or all male. So, sometimes you would see me in a Timberland, but my pants are really tight, and my shirt is very feminine. I am comfortable dressing like that. But when I wear female clothing, I have a sense of confidence that I do not normally have when I wear men's clothing, but I do not know.

Me: Where would you go to get women's clothing?

S1: I have certain stores that I shop. Lee's in Halfway Tree, I would shop there. You [also] have this store in Bargain Mall. Like most of the place I shop is in Halfway Tree or up by Manor Park. (***When you are buying female clothing, do you think they know you are buying it for you***?) Yea. (***And how is that interaction***?) You go into the store, you know you might face transphobia, but that does not stop you. You go in there, and you are surprised to know that these

persons—I do not know if it is because they actually want to sell the clothes, fe mek de money or wah—some of them are really nice. You have one or two places, you go there, you interact with them, and yuh nuh go back there because they are transphobic. But you do have places that are very welcoming.

Me: How do you feel when you wear women's clothing?

S2: I feel empowered. I feel like I am doing the right thing. I feel like this what I am supposed to be doing.

Me: What does it mean for you to dress as a woman?

S2: It really helps me to realize, it kinda solidifies what I was trying to realize over the years and trying to develop. It actually cements the fact that I am a woman. And this is who I am. (***Presently, do you wear women's clothing****?)* I would say yes and no. By virtue of the fact that yes, I wear it when I am at home, when I am alone. Again, safety is of utmost importance because I want to survive to tell my story later on, that I was a woman of trans experience growing up in Jamaica, predominantly voted as one of the most homophobic countries in the world, and transphobic. But for work purposes, I would need to dress as a male, but whenever I am at home or at my friends, I dress as a female.

Me: Where would you go to get women's clothing?

S2: Normally, I would have friends, or if it is a day that I just feel brave enough, I would just walk into a store that I know to be LGBT acceptable and just purchase what I need. (***What is the name of the store***?) I do know. There was this store downtown, because I knew the persons that worked there, they were comfortable with me. So, going in would not be a problem, and they would arrange a certain time so I could come in when there were not a lot of customers in the store. I would just pick and go to the dressing room, and they would assist.

The answers from the interviewees show fragmented or diverse transgender aesthetic affirmations which ought to provoke us to acknowledge that transgender becoming is never monolithic. Thus, the different responses serve to confirm that "[in] an aesthetic experience there [are]…various moments and [enactments] of…conviction" (Ingarden 1961, p.311). As perceived in the transcripts, the interviewees were consciously convicted about becoming MtF transgenders, and dressing in female clothing aesthetically affirmed their shared "conviction." And yes, the responses equally expose epistemic uncertainties and affective ambivalences which failed to capture words to *define* transgender aesthetic affirmation. For example, S1's: " I am comfortable dressing like that [a man]. But when I wear female clothing, I have a sense of confidence that I do not normally have when I wear men's clothing, but *I do not know* [my emphasis]". Nonetheless, the transcripts, I argue, show that the interviewees enacted an anti-Kantian aesthetics because they reveal inarticulable feelings and pleasures (*jouissance*) and phenomenological convictions which confirm that transgender aesthetic affirmations are indeed *definable by agentive feelings*: embodied emotions meeting rebellious consciousness. Michael R. Neville's (1974) essay "Kant's Characterization of Aesthetic Experience," informs us that:

> The opening paragraphs of the *Critique of Judgment* are devoted to showing how judgments of taste can be disinterested. Kant calls such judgments "aesthetic" judgements because they are based on feelings of pleasure... Kant's general view is that "pleasure can- not be defined," which seems to mean that we cannot say what it is or, for that matter, what any feelings are. Rather, he takes feelings to be unanalyzable ultimates; we only know "what" they are by having them" (p.195).

"I am comfortable" and "they were comfortable with me" speak to subjective and intersubjective "somatosensory experiences" (Nummenmaa et al., 2018) *defining* transgender aesthetic affirmations emanating from cognitive states of agentive resistance. The Kantian view that ""pleasure cannot be defined"'' presents a rationalist masculine epistemology articulated to divorce the body from consciousness. Evident in much of Western transcendental philosophy, Kantian aesthetics is also disembodied; therefore, subjective and intersubjective sensations are not granted epistemological credibility (Martin Alcoff, 1999). Disembodied Kantian aesthetics (epistemology) does not understand that for persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, *Being* or becoming comfortable in social spaces designed to exclude and eliminate queer embodiment, queer existence, is *definitely* pleasurable—that surviving structures of traumatic erasure stimulates conscious episodes of ecstatic comfort.

The agentive construction of physical and psychosomatic conditions to experience comfort in the midst of structural stigma, physical violence, and discrimination is resistance *defined as pleasure*. Drawing inspiration from Audre Lorde's essay, "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power," Thelathia "Nikki" Young (2016)—arguing for a feminist epistemology that would radically challenge and disrupt disembodied ways of knowing (or in another way, subvert masculine institutionalized rationalism)—teaches us that "[the] ongoing separation from one's self—one's body knowledge—is a result of a systematic maintenance of myopic modes of knowing. When we have been taught to suspect knowledges that are not socially (or religiously) sanctioned or institutionally derived, we deny the legitimacy of our deepest feelings as a way of knowing" (p.303). When we grant subaltern voices epistemic credibility—articulations of "I am

comfortable" and " they were comfortable with me"— we are then enabled to see the "deep feelings" of political agency embodied to produce and define *resistance as pleasure.*

I continue to argue that transgender aesthetic affirmations are indeed subversive because they do the double work of actualizing transgender *being* and becoming phenomenologically and through female textiles worn to materialize the transition. However, some may argue that aesthetic affirmations of wearing women's clothing and creating conditions of psychosomatic comfort, practiced by persons engaging processes of MtF transition in Jamaica, are not subversive and should instead be perceived as a *politics of hope* masked as resistance. Calvin L. Warren (2015) offers this nihilistic argument. Warren writes:

> "The politics of hope masks a particular cruelty under the auspices of "happiness" and "life." It terrifies with the dread of "no alternative." "Life" itself needs the security of the alternative, and, through this logic, life becomes untenable without it. Political hope promises to provide this alternative—a discursive and political organization beyond extant structures of violence and destruction" (p.222).

The nihilistic argument misses the poststructuralist point (Bignall 2010) that subaltern praxes of subversion are not materialized to affirm agentive freedoms, "happiness," and political hope as operating "beyond extant structures of violence and destruction." Instead, subaltern practices of subversion work to skillfully contest power structures that produce present realities of violent oppression; subaltern ontologies are not naïvely futuristic, the "alternative" is always invented in the present tense. Aesthetic affirmations

practiced by subaltern subjectivities therefore question and challenge structures of "violence and destruction" through emergent relations of resistance. The nihilistic argument fails to recognize that political "hope" is the *pleasure of resistance*, everyday resistance used to reveal the political delusion of hegemonic governmentality, as there is always room for subversion. Laura Zanotti's (2013) article, "Governmentality, Ontology, Methodology: Re-thinking Political Agency in the Global World," educates us that:

> Relational ontologies nurture "modest" conceptualizations of political agency and also question the overwhelming stability of "mighty totalities," such as for instance the international liberal order or the state. In this framework, political action has more to do with playing with the cards that are dealt to us to produce practical effects in specific contexts than with building idealized "new totalities" where perfect conditions might exist. (p. 290)

For subjects becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, aesthetic affirmations challenge and "question the overwhelming stability" of transphobic erasure. Becoming transgender against traumatizing valences of both cultural and institutional erasure, possessing the corporeal courage to not give a"…fuck about anybody" while purchasing women's clothing in a cultural context of state-sanctioned transphobic terrorism, should prompt us to pensively consider the humanizing effects of resistance. The "rebel consciousness" (Thorington 2007) embodied by Jamaicans actualizing transgender becoming through aesthetic affirmations is the very materiality of political agency, queer bodies affirming their humanity through orgasmic resistance—the phenomenological *pleasure of resistance*.

Actualizing the queer self is liberating, but how do the shackles fall? How do queer bodies absorb the personal traumas associated with liberating resistance? Particularly, how do persons becoming MtF transgenders experience the traumas of being stigmatized and discriminated by persons within their communities and close family members? When I asked interviewees how family and community members reacted to their processual *cross-over*, to their aesthetic affirmations of becoming transgender? I was told:

> S7: I would go back home for my aunts, for the ones I really talk up to, for the ones who were there, from back then coming up, the ones that I wrap with, they do not have a problem with it. They just see me as who they see me as—I am still their little nephew, their little apple. But the uncle part now, mi nuh really wrap with dem [I do not have a relationship with my uncles]. From mi lef and dem hear [after I left and they heard about my gender transition], mi nuh talk to dem [I do not talk to them]. Like one of my uncles, I think, he had some bad remarks—I cannot even remember. But my grandfather, they said that when he heard, he cried, him just cry. And mi grandma seh "Well, if him a give me anything or him a come fe look fe me, him haffi come inna de form weh God mek him inna" [If he is giving me anything or visiting, he will have to return in the form God made him in] "So, mi seh mummy, why yuh seh dat?" But mi just never put it pon mi head. Mi ah do me [I am doing me]. And I was comfortable. For four years I did not talk to my grandmother, four years. And one day I decided to call. Because I said no, four years—ah mi grandmother raise me, not me mother [my grandmother raised me, not my mother]. Mi love mi mother, but ah nuh she raise me, mi nuh have so much love like weh mi have for mi grandmother [I love my mother, but I have more love for my grandmother because she raised me]. So, mi seh, "Hello. You know ah who you a talk to?" And she [grandmother] said, "No. Who is this?" Mi deh and mi a listen because the tears ah come down enuh [I listened, and I began to cry]. And mi seh, "Mummy ah me." And she said "Yea,

mi hear, mi know seh ah you. Yuh voice can't change." So, mi start explain myself and mi start cry, and mi start tell har seh mi love har, and she seh she loves me too and that she does not hate nobody, and that God the loves the whole ah we, but above everything, why mi choose fe do that [be transgender]?

Me just a come fe understand seh, yes, dem did know seh I was different, dem did know something was off, but the ting they do not get or dem do not realize is that mi change from male to female [they do not understand that I am transgender]. That is the thing. Like now, dem kinda ah get an understanding, dem a tek time ah learn and ah, yuh understand, because like the other day, my cousin showed her a picture with me and she[grandmother] seh, "Him look different, him look different inna him face." She [grandmother] a tek time ah come on. **(*Has there been any physical contact*?)** It has been six years, and I have not seen her. I have always wanted to go back, and see her and hug har, but mi always afraid. **(*Is it the fear that she might not fully appreciate you or reject you?*)** It will be both. But I would just love to see what would be like to return home.

S4**:** That is easy, because my community or my whole family and community found out I was gay, which they always knew, so when the story came out, people were like, "Cho, we know dat long time." But you know the family, the family always lives in denial. Always. So, on the family part, it was kinda hard, and it was difficult for them. But the first somebody to accept me, out of the whole of mi family, my mommy was the first to accept me. She stand by me through thick and thin. Even when mi bredda dem come wid gun, and come wid machete, and say dem haffi kill de battybwoy [my brothers came with guns and a machete to kill me], and mi siddung up inna de ackee tree and mother deh downstairs, and mi bredda dem a go back-and-forth, back-and-forth, and mi mommy have her cutlass, as a pastor, ah cuss some bloodclawt, and seh dem fe come outta de yard, because she ago call de police [my mother, with her machete, stood and protected me from

my brothers and threatened to call the police]. And dem need fe gwan and leave she and har battyman pickney alone [she told them to leave her with her gay child].

From that point I came to understand from my bredda dem end, because dem kinda have dem gang clique and people would say battyman inna dem family so, mi kinda understand from fe dem end the discrimination they faced [I came to understand that my brothers wanted to kill me because they did not want to experience discrimination from the community as well]. I apologized to them, but at the end of the day, it is my life. This is my life; this who I am; this is me. You are gonna love me for me. I am not going to pon on a façade that mi straight, and mi know deep down inna mi heart mi like man, mi is a transgender woman, mi wah be myself [You are going to love me for who I am. I am not going to lie that I am attracted to women when I know I am not. I am a transgender woman. I want to be myself.] So, either you are gonna love me for the real me, or love me for the fake me, and mi just could not be fake no more. I wanted to be the real person.

S5: Within the family, they do not understand that I am trans yet. Being there, I do not try to dress up too much. I will dress up in a short-shorts or something, but they would say, "Why yuh wear the shorts so short?" And mi seh, "Because mi inna de house, mi nah go nowhere." Within the community now, when I had my tongue pierced, like for a while, but because I had to go to church and stuff, I took it out, but there was this man, he saw me and was like, "Yuh think mi nuh know seh yuh tongue bore." And in my mind, I wished I had it in to show him that yes, it is pierced, what is the problem? He is the only person who tries to say something to me. Others might, but not to that extent where dem a buss blank, or where dem want to shoot me or anything [others will try to intimidate me, but this man is extreme because he would often threaten to shoot me].

> S2: In my immediate family, my uncles always have an issue. My community would have an issue, but again, as long as I am not doing it to offend them, and I am not doing it[dressing in female attire] in there spaces, expressing myself, because expression seems to have a lot of repercussions, especially where I live, it's one of those ghetto areas, it's one of those garrison areas, so it's kind of hard to express as a woman and not be reprimanded in some way, shape or form. It has never been to a physical stage, thank God.

The responses from the interviewees disclosed deep traumas shaping the process of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica. The interviewees narrated retraumatizing memories of both actual and anticipated moments of stigma and discrimination performed by family members and those residing in their respective communities. Every word spoken by the interviewees evoked traces of trauma. Their utterances moved us to moments of survival, actual or anticipated, where existential fears and anxieties emerged to define transgender becoming in Jamaica as perpetually structured by trauma—a becoming where "[trauma] is a constant present"(Duggan 2012). Throughout the interviews, the responses revealed that testimonies of trauma "…may attest to disruptive experiences and relate to a reliving of trauma that collapses the past into the present, making it seem or feel as if it were more "real" and "present" than contemporary circumstances. With respect to trauma, a simple postulation does not suffice to distinguish between past and present, and it may function to occlude the role of trauma and post-traumatic effects"(LaCarpa 2018, p. 83). Therefore, the retraumatizing memories of stigma and discrimination narrated by the interviewees should usher us to consider the embodied "post-traumatic effects" presently structuring processes of

becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica. When I asked interviewees about the direct or vicarious trauma of experiencing transphobia, I was told:

> S2: Personally, I have not had a lot of transphobic experiences; because most of the persons I have had any phobic experiences with think that I am gay. I have had third-party experiences, and it has been terrifying. Whenever I am around my friends of trans experience and trans identity, persons tend to say [negative] things about them. It is kind of terrifying; because it is fascinating how we are encouraged throughout school, especially in Jamaica, to accept ourselves for who we are and be that person we always wanted to be; however, when it gets to that point, accepting yourself as a woman of trans experience, it is taboo, it becomes a sin and a crime. It is really terrifying at that point (***To indirectly experience transphobia***?) Yes, it is terrifying. Especially with the violence that is attributed to homophobic relations, and transphobic relations. So, it is really terrifying.
>
> S4: Just thinking about it, I feel so distraught about it. When I even think about it, to be honest, I feel very distraught. I feel disgruntled because we just want to be regular people. We just want to be like everyone else. You have persons bashing us down and all of that, like, it is so much. Sometimes, I think I am strong about the whole situation, but at times, I just break down and cry about it. You have people weh dead because of who they are. Mi have fren weh [I had a friend who] commit suicide because dem can't express themselves the way they want to. Thinking about it sometimes, it fucks me up, fuck me up, fuck me real up.

However, the interviewees' narratives also showed the self-preserving power of resilience: stories of surviving the traumas of transphobia through chants of spiritual strength, radical self-love, and liberating happiness in defiance of both social and physical death. When I asked how they survived everyday transphobia, I was told:

> S2: I try to be strong. I try to encourage myself. This one of the things I am forced to deal with on a daily basis; however, it does not get me down that much. Initially it did. I used to [ask] myself at one point, I have thought about it a lot: Do I want to be killed? Do I want to be shot? Do I want to be chopped? Do I want to be stabbed? Do I want to be locked up and not receive proper care while in prison or in jail, or so forth? So, it was an issue. But [now] I just tend to tell myself that I am happy with who I am now. And if that is going to happen, then it is just going to happen. I know I am know going to die happy. I am going to die being the person I always wanted to be.

> S4: There is a saying I learned when I was attending Ashe [The Ashe Company], and it says: "What I think of myself is more important than what others say or think about me." And words I say to myself when I wake up: "Success is a battle between you and yourself only. Someone will always be prettier than you, someone will always be more successful than you, so stop worrying about people, and worry about beating your own records." Every morning I get up, I use those words. I literally look in the [mirror], first thing in the mornings, and I say, "Thank you God I'm alive." I have said that little speech I learned from Ashe for years. I have been carrying [these words] since I was seventeen years old. And I

> say that little speech, and I say the other speech about success. I love that. Someone said that to me a year ago, and I keep on listening to it— wise words.
>
> My mirror has a lot to do with it. You feel nice when you wake up in the mornings, you look in the mirror, and you say, "Bitch, I love you." It seems like the mirror is talking back to you. So, my mirror has a lot to do with it. If I wake up and I am not having a good day, I say, "Girl, I am not having a good day today, honey." I talk to myself. Talk to yourself. Learn to love yourself. When you wake up ah mawning time, rub down your body, you look in the glass [mirror], you check your hands them. You have to do it. You look inna de glass, and yuh see seh yuh ah see, yuh ah feel, yuh ah breathe, you just love yourself and say, "I love you" [You look in the mirror, you see that you are seeing, you are feeling, you are breathing, and you just love yourself]. You have to learn to motivate yourself, because you do not have anybody around to do that. So, self-motivating has a lot to do with it. You have some people that have so much love inside, they want to share, but do not know how to. They do not know where to start, what to do. So, if you can motivate yourself, love yourself, I do not think you need nothing else. Because you love you.

We see, from the narratives, that for persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, agentive aesthetic affirmations—or attiring the body in women's clothing—work to produce the *pleasure of resistance*: conscious feelings of comfort experienced while resisting and surviving systems of transphobic violence and institutional erasure. However, at the same time, we are made to see the embodied traumas and post-traumas

that linger in these narratives of survival, stories shared by subjects courageous enough to journey towards becoming transgender in a country still refusing to include their lives as deserving of rights and protections from dehumanizing stigma and discrimination.

Visibility tactics and transgender becoming

Passing as the *other* gender requires visibility tactics that enable the gendered body to be seen, either publicly or privately, through a gender/sex binary lens which ultimately confers the passing: the body visualized as the *other* sex and gender. For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, visibility tactics used to pass as females, aesthetic techniques devised to transgress their given gender/sex, amount to life-or-death tactics, especially during public appearances. Transgender visibility tactics allow us to see that" *appearance* contradicts…the *reality* [of] gender" (Butler 1988) since the gender transgressive body constructs a postmodern epistemology wherein gender remains performative and is therefore "predicated on the effects of relational encounters…"(Parkins 2014). In other words, when the body convincingly performs being the *other* gender/sex and is thereafter related to as the *other* gender/sex, passing occurs.

Visibility tactics employed by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica also incorporate mobile strategies used to navigate through public spaces, movements strategized to resist a surveillance culture embedded to *out* and thereafter violate bodies that transgress the heteropatriarchal gender/sex order. However, visibility tactics do not solely work to evade the hegemony of heteropatriarchal surveillance; such tactics simultaneously work to resist a carceral biopolitics obsessed with naming *truths* about

gendered and sexed bodies. Passing as the *other* gender/sex, which may be conceptualized as an expression of *queer biopower,* brings me to Michel Foucault's (1978) *History of Sexuality.* Foucault teaches us that:

> Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power. [Points] of resistance are present everywhere in the power network .... Resistances do not derive from a few heterogeneous principles; but neither are they a lure or a promise that is of necessity betrayed. They are the odd term in relations of power; they are inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite. Hence, they too are distributed in irregular fashion: the points, knots or focuses of resistance are spread over time and space at varying densities, at times mobilizing groups or individuals in a definitive way, inflaming certain parts of the body (p. 95-96).

First, transgender visibility tactics, viewed as "knots or focuses of resistance," should permit us to perceive such techniques of counter-surveillance as anti-monolithic since they "spread over time and space at varying densities" and therefore produce diverse epistemologies of passing. For some persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, resistance rests in performing episodes of gender spectrality, where embodied transgender tactics create apparitional shifts between masculine and feminine appearances, where temporary moments of gender ambiguity (androgyny) are enacted consciously. Another of the many visibility tactics employed by some persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, however contradictory, is strategic invisibility, and this tactic is achieved through publicly avoiding others who visibly belong to Jamaica's

LGBTQ community. S7's interview serves to ground all the transgender visibility tactics outlined above. The interviewee shared that:

> S7: If I'm going out on a regular basis, for example, Downtown or Halfway Tree, where the clock is, I know what I am. And I know the community that I am in, as in the trans community, the LGBT community, mi know if me ago Halfway Tree and mi a go by myself, mi nuh must wear no makeup, mi just put on mi hat, ketch up mi hair, mi have on mi pants, sneakers and mi handbag, mi ago pay mi bills or whatsoever [I do not have to wear makeup, I just wear a hat, put my hair in a bun, wear my pants and sneakers, with my handbag, and go on with my business]. Mi know seh if me a go Halfway Tree and mi ah come down, at the bus center, and coming down, mi wudda tek de back and come round to where the Spanish Town bus dem would deh and go round to go to York Plaza. I would not take where the bus center is going to where the clock is, to go to where the taxis are to go to Three Miles—reason being, a lot of gays hang out right there so, and dem know me, once dem see me, dem nah go hesitate to call to me: "Yuh nah answer, yuh gwan like seh you a real woman." And you know, somebody ago she: "Oh, ah nuh one girl dat, ah one man." So, *mi avoid walking deh so* [my emphasis]. So, mi seh mi nah walk deh so because mi nuh want no problem [I avoid where the gay people hangout because I do not want any problems]. Mi nah go fight with them, mi nah go argue with them, even though mi ago hold me head straight [I do not argue, I just avoid them]. Somebody out of the crowd ago pick up something [someone would realize that I am transgender if I argue with them].

> Going Downtown, I don't walk on Princess Street, battyman hangout deh so, de gyal dem know [the gays know], and once dem see you, "Goodie, goodie, yuh look nice. Mi nah tell nuh lie yuh ah gwan." Once dem seh "goodie," you know is what. So, *mi ago avoid deh so* [my emphasis], going Downtown. So, mi just tek the next street, Orange Street, and go about my business. (***So, this how you protect yourself from being outed?***) Right.

As narrated by S7, transgender visibility tactics are a complex choreography of strategic movements and aesthetic performances employed to appear or (dis)appear as the *other* gender. Ultimately, transgender visibility tactics are used to appear as *real* as the *other* gender/sex, and as seen in the transcript, S7 tactfully avoided the gay men Downtown as they would have compromised S7's passing, S7's *realness* (Thaler 2010) with this single utterance: "…yuh gwan like seh you a real woman [you are acting as if you are a real woman]."

Transgender visibility tactics, when employed efficiently, produce the pleasure of passing. But what about the fears and anxieties around failing to pass as the *other* gender? As articulated earlier, for persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, passing is often a life-or-death matter. The existential fear of not passing as the *other* gender, particularly while in public spaces, was expressed in this way:

> S1: At [one point] I wore makeup on the road, I wore female clothing, and nobody bothered me because it is like, they did not know that I was sexually assigned at birth I was a male. So, my deepest fear at the time was for somebody

to point me out and say, “Oh, that is not a woman.” Being battered by persons on the street, that is my deepest fear. Not being able to pass.

S5: What I fear the most is being around somebody who is straight, and me being trans and stuff, and them finding out: that is a boy. So, that is my biggest fear. **(*Why would you fear being outed?*)** Because of what I heard about that person they call “Gully Queen” [Dwayne Jones]. I prefer to die of sickness than someone beating me to death.

To conclude, transgender visibility tactics used by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica allow us to see the oppressive culture of transphobic surveillance, and precarious transgender bodies surviving this durable anti-trans surveillance are those who manage to achieve the life-or-death praxis of passing as the *other* gender/sex publicly. As I conducted research in Jamaica, I experienced a similar yet different kind of anti-queer surveillance. I was not aiming to pass as persons becoming MtF transgenders do to survive transphobic publics, but my bodily movements were often watched by a scrutinizing homophobic gaze which terrorized me for appearing *queer femme* in public. But what happens when queer eyes gaze back? I tell you in this poetic fieldnote:

She had masculine Eyes

Puerto Seco Beach, Discovery Bay, St. Ann, Christopher Columbus discovered a place for us.

Me, my grandmother, my three cousins, and my best-friend, who happens to be male, resigned to sun, sand, and meditative sea breeze on Jamaica’s North Coast. Why should white tourists solely discover paradise?

We settled in, as Christopher Columbus did, and began to stretch out, melanated skin cells taunting the sun, uncontained laughter, the faint smell of rum teasing us to imbibe some more. Not watching much until she saw us.

My best-friend, who happens to be male, was too close. I sold our story. My feminine wrist movements defying stiffness wrote an article about us: he is a battyman, and my best-friend, without question, was intimately marked.

While staring, her eyes demanding our submission, our abjection, she mouthed our presence to the man next to her. She commanded the masculine gaze to reinforce her mission. But she failed.

We stared back!

No, I stared back. I watched her every move. I sensed her discomfort as she slightly looked away, hesitantly releasing me from her gaze. The man did not stare for too long. He avoided eye contact with another man, with me: buried by his own homophobia. I sat staring back.

She knew she lost when my best-friend began to smile at her; his teeth stretched across his face, eyes bright and living, she knew she lost.

My eyes yelled for me, spoke for us. I am certain my queer femme brown eyes exclaimed: Fuck you!

Fanonian, I thought.

(Trans)national transgender health: Transphobic violence, stigma, and discrimination beyond the Kingston Public Hospital.

Narratives of transphobic violence, stigma, and discrimination told by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica are transnational stories because they corroborate the violent coloniality of modernity's gender/sex dichotomy experienced by transgenders within remote geographies. The stories of transphobic violence, stigma, and

discrimination encountered by interviewees as they attempted to receive health care at the Kingston Public Hospital are far reaching. These stories of violence, stigma, and discrimination traverse borders to tell a collective narrative of transnational transphobia commonly experienced when gender non-conforming bodies solicit care from institutions that refuse to radically restructure practices and policies that would make *being* or becoming transgender less precarious. Comprehending episodes of transphobic violence, stigma, and discrimination experienced at health care institutions, Christoph Hanssmann (2012) teaches us that the "…politics of gender anxiety, far more than ethics of care, inform medical and health establishments' decisions about delivering and covering [care for transgenders]. Changing an intake form is an easier fix than changing institutional oppression; it is only a singular symptom of the longstanding ownership that medicine has taken in managing, monitoring, and controlling sex and gender" (p. 118). When I asked interviewees about their experiences while seeking medical care at the Kingston Public Hospital, I was told:

> S4: Not going [back] to KPH. **(*Why?*)** Because it is very discriminating, very judgmental. I have been there once, and I was like: "What the fuck mi cause pon mi self now Jesus?"

> S6: KPH was horrible. It was very horrible. And remember one of the doctors saying, "Come man, yuh tek hotta dan dat"[Come, you have taken a penis bigger than this needle]. Because I had to get an injection, and I was refusing. And he said, "Come man, yuh tek hotta dan dat." And I am like, "Weh dah man yah know bout me?"[What does this doctor know about me?].

S1: I remember when I was going to high school, and my ankle was broken for the third time, and the school carried me to Kingston Public Hospital (KPH). I was calling my mom on the way to say, "Mi nuh feel like me wah go Public"[I do not want to go to KPH]. But they carried me there, and the lady [nurse] ago mek me know seh she know that me ah battyman, and she knows mi know how fe tek fuck inna mi batty, so mi ago siddung and wait [the nurse told me that she knows that I am gay, she knew I get fucked in my anus, which is more painful, so I should just sit and wait]. And everybody else on the bench, I was there with a broken ankle, and it was swollen and black. And I knew my ankle was broken because it was my third time. So, I am used to this. And I am sitting there, crying and this woman [nurse] ago say: "[I'm] sure you tek bigger hood inna [yuh] batty and yuh nuh bawl, so why you come here with your noise?"[I am sure you have had large penises in your anus before, so why are you making a lot of noise?].

My mother came and she got me, and we left. (***How old were you at the time****?*) I was 16. I was not even sexually active; I was not sexually active until 18. And dis lady ago tell me a bag a things weh she know about me, weh never go so. (***And that to you was denial of health care***?) Yes. And other persons were there, and dem just siddung and did a look pon me [people were staring at me], and I am like, "I just need to leave." And teacher was like, "Where are you going to go?" And I am like, "My mother would have taken me to UC [University Hospital] or Andrews."

> And this lady [another patient] agreed with the woman [nurse] and was like, "Look how him likkle, and him a battyman." I did not tell anybody anything. What are these people talking about? And dem siddung deh, and me ah talk to my mother on the phone, and mi a bawl [people sat and stared at me as cried while talking to mother over the phone].

Both stories share the trauma of anti-queer embodied tensions and tears still shaping queer subjectivity in Jamaica— contemporary queer becoming in the Global South. However, as argued, anti-queer, and specifically, anti-trans traumas experienced at the institutional level are not confined to insular political geographies but breach national barriers to note institutionalized transphobia as a transnational phenomenon. More concretely, incidents of transphobic violence, stigma, and discrimination experienced at the Kingston Public Hospital reverberate beyond this institution to other health care facilities in the Caribbean and "progressive" health care institutions in the Global North. A study titled "Transgender Patient Perceptions of Stigma in Health Care Contexts," which was conducted in the United States, informs us that:

> Transgender individuals face social sanctions, including violence and discrimination, for violating prescribed gender norms. The stigma and isolation they experience heightens their risk for mental health problems such as depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, and substance abuse. Despite the health concerns, some transgender individuals hesitate to seek care for fear of being mistreated by health care providers (Kosenko et al. 2013, p. 819).

The rational "fear of being mistreated" also informs the ways in which persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica seek health care. It was repeated throughout the interviews that public health care workers were more likely to project anti-trans prejudice than health care professionals who provide private health care. S1 told me:

> S1: I do not go to public hospitals. Majority of the doctors, it is always a private institution. I do not know if it is based on the profession that my mom had, the links she had; I do not know. But I have never been the one to run to a public health facility knowing how flamboyant I am, how feminine I am, and the discrimination I might face there. (***But you feel safer receiving private health care***?) Yes. My doctor, Dr. Williams, our family doctor, I have known him since I was about 11 years old. I even told him I was [trans] before I told my mama; so, he was telling me to make sure I practice good anal care and all of that. I actually stayed there because I know the relationship that we have.

S1's disclosure about solely using private health care as a way to avoid the trauma of transphobic violence, stigma, and discrimination often encountered by persons becoming MtF transgenders who seek medical care at public hospitals or clinics should urge us to think about the politics of private relationality and transgender precarity. For example, "…I know the relationship that we have" is empowering, S1's settled confidence that the doctor would continue to facilitate a private health care experience divorced from dehumanizing stigma and discrimination. And this empowering private health care relationship, I argue, makes S1's transgender becoming in Jamaica less precarious. Furthermore, it worthwhile to for us to consider how private relationships and spaces

provide self-preserving possibilities for individuals becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica to practice a politics of self-care, and nothing is more subversive than caring for the queer self against cultural and institutional practices of oppression designed to eliminate the queer body, the gender transgressive body, from existence.

To conclude, employing a transnational framework to analyze the everyday processes of becoming MtF transgender in postcolonial Jamaica allowed us to grasp past and present global power relations and connections still informing the cultural politics of precarious gender bending in Jamaica. As Sima Shakhsari (2013) teaches us: "[queer] lives…[are] connected to normalizing and disciplinary measures that go beyond the state...[Therefore, we need] to engage with the study of sexuality within a transnational assemblage of medical and cyber technologies, national and religious discourses, international refugee and human rights regimes, and neocolonial and neoliberal forms of subject formation" (p. 342). As argued in this chapter, the cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica is indeed shaped by Global North (American) cultural influences and technologies historically structuring domestic experiences of globalization. The two images below represent the Global North (American) influence presently shaping the cultural politics of being and becoming transgender in Jamaica. Also, the chapter covered transgender visibility tactics and the myriad traumas and post-traumas experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders in postcolonial Jamaica.

Chapter 5

Precarious Futurity: Trans-Embodiment, Routinized Advocacy, and a Theopoetics of Resistance

> The passage beyond language requires language or rather the text as a place for the trace of a step that is not (present) elsewhere. That is why the movement of this trace, passing beyond language, is not classical, and it does not render the logos either secondary or instrumental. I *aigos* remains indispensable as the fold that bends to the gift, and as the tongue of my mouth when I tear bread from it to give it to the other. It is also my body. Jacques Derrida, *Psyche: Inventions of the Other*
>
> Contemporary trauma research seems to have come full circle to its mid-nineteenth-century origins in the diagnosis of railway shock; the body has returned as the site where trauma can both be manifested and cured. Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings:Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*
>
> Radical theology is critical and subversive. John D. Caputo, "Theopoetics as Radical Theology."

Dwayne "Gully Queen" Jones, who was brutally murdered in 2013 for impersonating the female body at a dancehall event, empirically exposes the ultimate vulnerability of trans-

embodiment in Jamaica. Jones's murder shows that anti-trans culture and heteropatriarchal policies, in Jamaica, reached beyond discourse to display the lethality of transphobia. The postmodern Foucauldian preoccupation with discourse has been useful in historizing the sociolinguistic construction of the modern body; however, "Foucault's perceived failure to engage with the physicality of the body has been seen to hamper the development of truly radical positions about the centrality of the body as 'world forming'"(Gilleard & Higgs, 2013, p. 7). Furthermore, it would be remiss of me to present an ethnography about everyday (worldly) precarities of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica if, in the end, I failed to recenter "the physicality of the body" as the primordial site of cultural politics. Recentering the body invites a feminist framework still tasked with unmasking the flesh wounding violence of patriarchy projected against precarious bodies. At length, Francis E. Mascia-Lees (2016) chapter entitled, "The Body and Embodiment in the History of Feminist Anthropology:" tells us that:

> ["The body"] emerged in the mid- to late 1970s as a central site from which feminist scholars questioned the ontological and epistemological basis of almost all forms of inquiry. Over the decades, the body remained central to feminist analyses and activism within and outside the academy. For feminists of this period, it was clear that questions of power and oppression could not be addressed without first challenging ideologies that naturalized gender and other differences through discourses, representations, and practices of the body. Thus, the body became a fertile site from which feminists mounted refutations of abstract, naturalizing models and ideologies and interrogated operations of power and possibilities for agency and political change (p.146)

For persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, trans-embodiment is precarious because the gendered body in transition challenges both cultural and state-sanctioned "ideologies that naturalized gender." And such a challenge, which was evident in the mob-style murder of Dwayne "Gully Queen" Jones at a dancehall event, can become deadly. Trans-embodiment forces us to witness the violence of neocolonial heteropatriarchy. For subjects becoming MtF transgenders, encountering the violence of institutionally embedded heteropatriarchy is always embodied since "the world is oriented in relation to the body" (Janssen, 2017). Therefore, trans-embodiment provides an empirical epistemology about transphobic violence since persons becoming MtF transgenders often embody psychosomatic scars inflicted from challenging cultural and institutional systems of gender/sex binarity. In another way, trans-embodiment in Jamaica, is scarred embodiment.

Traumas of stigma and discrimination experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica are always corporeal experiences: transphobic traumas felt and recollected by the body. In fact, the very etymology of the word "stigma" emerged from this material place called the body. Erving Goffman's (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* teaches us that "[the] Greeks, who were apparently strong on visual aids, originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor — a blemished person, ritually polluted, to be avoided, especially in public places"(p. 5). Goffman would agree that for subjects surviving everyday traumas of becoming MtF transgender, transphobic stigma does enter "into the body" and leaves

psychosomatic scars that produce a post-traumatic ontology of transgender being and becoming in Jamaica, as memories of trauma are always embodied. Bessel Van Der Kolk's (2014) work, *The Body Keeps the Score: Brain, Mind, and Body in the Healing of Trauma* educates us that "[if] the memory of trauma is encoded in the viscera, in heartbreaking and gut-wrenching emotions, in autoimmune disorders and skeletal/muscular problems, and if mind/brain/visceral communication is the royal road to emotion regulation, this demands a radical shift in our therapeutic assumptions [about trauma]"(p. 88). The transgender body in Jamaica, and peculiarly for a lower-class person becoming MtF transgender, memorializes or keeps score of "gut-wrenching emotions" felt as transgender lives are made precarious while encountering cultural practices and institutions preserving the violence of heteropatriarchy.

Presently in Jamaica, there are no trans-specific policies or institutional amendments that would protect persons being or becoming transgender from culturally embedded traumas of stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence. Therefore, trans-embodiment—specifically for persons becoming MtF transgenders—remains precarious. Jamaicans becoming MtF transgenders will continue to live precariously unless structural changes are made to reproduce their bodies as deserving of equal protections devised by the state. Presently, Jamaicans becoming MtF transgenders are produced as *bare lives*, bodies deemed underserving of inclusive political protections by the sovereign state. Agamben (1995) teaches us that "…the production of bare life is the originary activity of sovereignty. The sacredness of life, which is invoked today as an absolutely fundamental right in opposition to sovereign power, in fact originally expresses precisely both life's subjection to a power over death and life's irreparable exposure in the relation of

abandonment" (p. 53). Agamben would agree that trans-embodiment existing "in opposition to sovereign power," living against heterosexist coordinates of state power, perpetually experiences precarities that produce transgender life as "bare life." The "bare life" narratives presented in this ethnography should allow us to acknowledge that subjects becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica embody the traumas of state-sanctioned exclusions and systemic erasure. The visceral stories presented in this ethnography empirically demonstrate that experiences of transphobic stigma, discrimination, and gender-based violence, in Jamaica, are never out-of-body experiences. Like any other form of irrational political anxiety projected onto corporeal human bodies, transphobia leaves psychosomatic scars that will not heal unless meaningful institutional and cultural changes are manufactured to include and humanize embodied ways of being and becoming transgender. Clearly articulated in every interview, persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica know their lives will remain precarious until the Jamaican government recognizes the materiality (carnality) of transgender existence.

Routinized Advocacy: Human Rights Rhetoric and Everyday Trans-Erasure

As examined in previous chapters, the cultural politics of becoming MtF transgender in Jamaica is entangled with Global North or Western values that influence the unfolding of domestic cultural politics. Further, NGOs operating in Jamaica, mostly funded by Global North state and non-state actors, routinely perform the task of reminding the state to adhere to "Western liberal democratic values" (Reimann 2006) informing contemporary international relations. In another way, most NGOs performing advocacy in Jamaica serve to repeat international human rights rhetoric (Martens 2002) largely financed by

governments and non-state actors from the Global North. Ann Marie Clark's (1995) article, " Non-Governmental Organizations and their Influence on International Society," teaches us that "…NGOs foster the creation and maintenance of an international public consensus on principles of human rights…that tends to impel responsive states to adhere to new legal and behavioral norms of practice related to these issues" (p. 509). During separate interviews with top administrators from the Jamaican Network of Seropositives (JN+) and Jamaica Aids Support for Life (JASL)— NGOs sponsored by Global North governments and non-state actors—it was repeated that "principles of human rights" are consistently invoked during advocacy; and I frame this present practice as *routinized advocacy*.

Most local NGOs interact with the Jamaican state in ways that serve to remind the state of its commitments to international human rights policies and treaties. But does this practice inadvertently work to placate imaginations of a robust civil rights movement necessary to change political structures that produce human life as bare life, locally? Providing a response, Agamben (1995) argues that "…[human rights-based] organizations – which today are more and more supported by international commissions – can only grasp human life in the figure of bare or sacred life, and therefore, despite themselves, maintain a secret solidarity with the very powers they ought to fight" (p. 78). Thus, Agamben's insight should provoke us to critically consider the ways in which NGOs are in "secret solidarity" with systems of governmentality that continue to freeze-frame precarious populations as "[figures] of bare life," locally and transnationally. The interviews I conducted with key administrators from JN+ and JASL— NGOs known to advocate for the human rights of LGBTQ Jamaicans—revealed that the NGOs' advocacy

agendas synchronized with the very power structures that produce queer lives, and specific to this ethnography, MtF transgender lives as bare lives in postcolonial Jamaica . However, with deeper meditation, it becomes lucid that this *routinized advocacy* carried out by both NGOs in Jamaica is a symptom of global neoliberalism: a system wherein power structures are not challenged but are adjusted to alter perceptions around the politics of inclusion and exclusion. In other words, the "imperceptibility of neoliberalism…leads to a situation in which the contemporary world itself appears incomprehensible and unrepresentable"(Baer 2013, p.76); and so, during the interviews, it was not immediately clear to me how the NGOs' advocacy agendas reinforced and reflected neoliberal techniques (human rights rhetoric) and power dynamics structuring contemporary advocacy initiatives. Further, at length, Grace Hong's (2015) article, "Neoliberalism," informs us that:

> [One] hallmark of neoliberal power is that it is no longer simply organized around inclusion and exclusion…[In] another way, we might understand neoliberal power as the dizzying enfolding of care, regulation, and punishment as simultaneous operations, in which punishment and regulation are not only the consequences of the lack of care but also, equally terrifyingly, are themselves functions of care (p.61).

Paying close attention to the "dizzying enfolding of care," ordered by neoliberal regimes of power dispersed globally, should enable us to critically examine the ways in which "top-down" (Dany 2014) power relations surreptitiously shape methods of advocacy used by NGOs. More succinctly, given that transnational and domestic advocacy agendas

are presently informed by neoliberal techniques of care, NGOs—especially for funding purposes—perform advocacy in ways that reflect our neoliberal era.

However, I am not suggesting that a human rights-based approach, however neoliberal in tone and function (Binnie 2104), does not work to materially mitigate structural vulnerabilities survived by persons becoming transgender MtF transgenders in Jamaica. As the interviews will show, irrespective of being entangled with neoliberal power relations and techniques informing methods of advocacy globally, the NGOs, JN+ and JASL, do provide valuable services that address the everyday needs and challenges of persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica. Beyond human rights rhetoric, JN+ and JASL provide tangible forms of support and coordinate strategies aimed at countering the everyday episodes of trans-erasure experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica.

The first interview was conducted with JN+'s Executive Director, Mr. Jumoke Patrick. The interview is presented below:

> **Me: What's the organization's agenda?**
>
> **ED**: Jamaican Network of Seropositives, pretty much, it is a network, an NGO that caters to the needs of people living with HIV across Jamaica--mainly advocacy, and this is done through resource mobilization, partnerships, and empowerment and capacity building session across the island.
>
> **Me: What is the organization's primary agenda?**
>
> **ED**: So, our primary agenda is really to advocate for the rights and concerns of people living with HIV, and I think that is embedded in our mission as an organization. So, at all times, whatever we do must involve reaching persons

living with HIV, and whatever program we implement, we analyze how it impacts the PLHIV community. So, we do a lot of capacity building; but let me step back a bit. There is something called GIPA (Greater Involvement of People living with HIV/AIDS), and no matter on what level, no matter in what sector, people living with HIV should be represented at the table or during the conversation. Positive Health and Dignity Prevention (PHDP) is something that we do a lot. We track the positive lifestyle of persons living with HIV, dignify them, and this prevents the spread of HIV—even though they are HIV positive. So, all our programs are embedded in that approach, and so in whatever conversation, in whatever dialogue, and spaces, we are in, that is how we operate.

Me: Does the organization cater to the sexual health needs of transwomen living HIV? If yes, how so? If not, why not?

ED: Yes, we do. Because we recognize that in our work, while people may be HIV positive, we are also recruiting, targeting, and attracting persons depending on their sexuality and gender identity. Also, we are a membership-based organization, and some of our members identify, whether as transwomen or transmen, or of trans experience in general. And so, in our programs we try our best as possible to cater to their needs, to respect their identity, calling them by their names that they want us to be called by. Respecting their gender and allowing them to be comfortable in the space as who they identify as, so that our work with them is reaching them and they want to be a part of whatever we are doing. In regard to specifically providing [for] the transgender community, we do not directly do that; but our partnership with different organizations we work with, such as Jamaica Aids Support for Life (JASL) and particularly, JFLAG—through TransWave, we are able to refer and partner with them on many initiatives.

Me: Does the organization have a database focused on both projecting and documenting the sexual health needs of transwomen?

I can tell you what we do and what we have. So, in becoming a member of JN+ there is an intake form, and the intake form is extensive in the sense that it requires a lot of information and details from the person filling out the form, and one such thing is your: gender identity, sexuality, or sort of sex you practice. We try to break it down as simple as possible for them to understand. And so, what we have at JN+ currently, is that we can tell you how many of our members identify as transwomen or transmen who are HIV positive. That is what we can tell you. And so, we seek to do a particular program or workshop, or project that targets people of trans experience. We are able to pull from our database and recruit those persons—that is what we have now, in terms of our work.

Me: Does the organization partner with entities invested in securing and promoting sexual health needs of transwomen?

ED: Well, in the National HIV Response, and because our work is mainly HIV, we tend to work with a lot of partners, and in the National HIV Response, all the organizations, especially those in HIV prevention, should target and must target, and must find intervention that caters to the needs of persons of trans experience, especially transwomen based on the data showing HIV among that population. So, we work with everybody. But in terms of the day-to-day, in terms of operations that focus primarily on persons of trans experience, what comes to mind first would be J-FLAG through their affiliates TransWave and WE-Change, and then next would be Jamaica Aids Support for Life (JASL) based on their HIV work in treatment, care, and support, and also prevention—and also some level of advocacy and human rights work. Those will come to mind first.

Other organizations may provide services, but it may not be at a standard or level that JASL and J-FLAG provide. For example, you may find that Ashe' do HIV prevention work and they may at some point in time attract persons of trans experience, but that's as far as the work or the intervention goes. So, you have other organizations maybe Children First as well, or other organizations, but their level and extent of intervention and interaction with the trans community is not at

the level that really focuses and caters to their individual and specific needs outside of HIV.

Me: Do you think there needs to be a policy framework centering the sexual health needs of transwomen?

ED: Yes. No doubt about that. There should be a policy and there are peculiar needs for the trans community, especially health needs, sexual needs. There should be some sort of policy because even as a transwoman, based on conversations, the difficulty just going to access health care is such a burden. And so, there should be something in place that helps to promote such an identity and recognizing that these persons are humans and are among us, and also requires those services that will make them live a healthy life and be respectable in society. So, there should be a policy and what that policy entails [should be] based on conversations, discussions with the community—and surely in regards to accessing health care and also the reduction of stigma and discrimination, and health care workers understanding the community, so I do believe it is important.

Me: Do you view transphobia as a public health issue?

ED: Never really thought about that, but I can see it as a public health issue considering the country I personally live in and work in. I have seen many experiences of persons being denied health care because of being from the trans community. And a lot of persons from the trans community and especially transwomen are living in fear, and especially when they are HIV positive—just going to access health care services, especially if your socioeconomic background is not one that allows you to go to a private doctor, and so you have to go to the public health care facility knowing there is transphobia, knowing there is homophobia, know there is stigma and discrimination, knowing there is violence, prevents such a person from accessing care. If you are not taking your medication and not accessing health care, then that is a big risk and a public health risk as well.

Me: What is the data around HIV infection rates among transwomen?

ED: Not of the top of my head, but I know it is lingering around 40-50% in terms of HIV rate among transwomen.

Me: What administrative steps, you think, would produce a more trans-inclusive sexual health campaign?

ED: Really, where I am concerned, it starts with policies, laws, and frameworks that recognize the community. It has to start there. So, if you are living in a society, where based on morals and principles and religion, and also based on policy, it is saying that you are wrong, then it is going to be very difficult. Even from a public health perspective, for health care workers to see somebody from the transgender community without inflicting fear, whether it is stigmatizing, whether it is making the person feel as though they are wrong, that is always going to be there. But from an administrative level, you can put systems and policies in place, frameworks, and protocols, whatever you want to call them, for health care workers especially, and know that they have to adhere to these standards, these regulations, that trickle down. [Transgender] persons would then know this can protect me; this is available to me.

Me: What do you think the Ministry of Health could do to inform and sensitize Jamaicans around public health crises affecting transwomen?

Make it mandatory. Whether it is in your HR type training, put something in it, especially at a health care facility. [Let employees know]: these are the communities you are gonna meet upon, these are the experiences, these are the issues facing the trans community, these are the possibilities, whether physician or front-line staff, you are going to encounter persons from the trans community. It can start with those sensitizations. Sensitizing the communities, [sensitize] sectors you know that persons of trans experience normally utilize. Number one, health care, so you can start there. And there can be other PR on social media, TV. Because people like to know, people like to get information, and they are

seeing a particular trend in terms of information. It would make them more aware and understanding. We can have the conversation.

I remember when J-FLAG did the We Are Jamaicans thing, it changed the perception of a lot of persons as to what gay and homosexuality looked like. For some, gay and homosexuality looked like the homeless boys, the Gully Queens. For a lot of people, when you have conversations, that is what it looks like. And so, when they saw the We Are Jamaicans, and they are like: "He is gay, she is a lesbian, oh my God, oh my God. I never know, but mi never see. There was no sign." Then people become understanding that he gay does not have a particular look. And so, using that same example, should the government do such a thing, it will, for me, sensitize and regularize or make people understand the issues. There has to be a mechanism or something in place that will make people be more understanding and if the government or any leading agency should do that, it would help.

Me: How do we move beyond stigma and discrimination as causal factors for HIV infection rates among vulnerable groups?

ED: I think the number one thing is to recognize people for who they are, that we are all people, despite sexuality, despite our gender, despite what we believe in, despite how we look, and how we dress, despite the God we serve. We need to start seeing people for people, as human beings. So, if I do not believe in how you look, do not believe in your sexuality, it does not mean that I should be stigmatized or be discriminated against. How can that be done? It goes back to my number one thing; it starts from the top coming down. We have to have some level of change in policies and laws that make vulnerable communities feel less segregated, distant, which leads to stigma and discrimination. So, if you have a small sub-set of people who, let us say, live a particular way, and the larger group does not agree with that, the larger group is always going to control the narrative, and always want to control how it should be and what should be allowed etc. And so, if our government, the persons who we put in power, who should be

representing all people, despite color, creed, class, race, etc. they should start from that level and put in those policies and laws in to protect everyone. I think it has to start there.

Two, I think we should pay more attention. We talk a lot about public health issues, but I do not think we really pay attention. I do not we are really convinced that it is a public health issue; so, because we are not really convinced, we can just do dem little intervention deh—that will hold it out for now. We really do not think it is a big issue, and we do not value the lives of these people, so when tend to operate with the same rhetoric over and over: stigma and discrimination. What more can we do? What more can we do? We can be as creative as we can and come up with the best ideas. If we do not begin to value the lives of people of trans experience, then no matter what, we are going to have issues. So, it is valuing the life of the person, which I think is at the core of how we change stigma and discrimination.

The second interview was with conducted with JASL's Policy and Advocacy Officer, Mr. Patrick Lalor. The interview is presented below:

Me: What is the organization's primary agenda?

PAO: Well, the organization's primary agenda is to control the spread of HIV/AIDS in Jamaica, to get people to know their status, get them on treatment, and get them the suppress. So, overall, it is to control or end AIDS and promote people's rights.

Me: Does the organization cater to the sexual health needs of transwomen living HIV? If yes, how so? If not, why not?

PAO: Yes, we do. We cater to transwomen generally, not just transwomen living with HIV, but transwomen in general. **(*In terms of "catering" how is that done*?)** We offer health care services to trans persons that include HIV testing, regular medical check-ups, we offer skills building for trans person. We assist them with paying for them to go educational institutions to learn a skill, to complete school,

we provide empowerment training. We provide anything that we can, realizing that they are a disadvantaged group, a group that is, because of the lack of opportunities, they are vulnerable to HIV. We provide training, skills training, educational support, medical support, so that they can achieve the best outcomes.

We also, through funding provided by the Elton John AIDS Foundation, specifically for transwomen, provide financial assistance support for those who choose to do hormone replacement therapy (HRT), as well. So, through funding from the Elton John Foundation, we have already provided preliminary sessions about what HRT, readiness for HRT, and are onto the brink of moving into the next phase of providing the HRT. **(*As for HRT, how long is this administered*)** Well, initially, it was intended to be done for a year, based on the funding we had available, it was not open to all the transwomen that we serve—it was on a basis of a selection criteria that was developed—so, it included persons who were able to sustain it after. We had funding for a year. The question was: If we did not get any further funding, would you [transwoman] be able to sustain it? Because you cannot just start this and drop it. So, that was a requirement to be part of the program. You would have to sustain it if we did not get further funding to go beyond a year. The process was started in 2017, we managed to get funding for 2018, and are looking at prospects for 2019. So, as long as the funding is available, we will continue. But we also made sure that the persons who were enrolled in the program would be able to sustain it if we were not able to.

Me: Does the organization have a database focused on both projecting and documenting the sexual health needs of transwomen?

PAO: Yes, through our trans-specific project, we keep track of the [number] of transwomen in particular, and the project is specific to transwomen that we interface with, the services we offer to them. We sort of keep track of the services that receive greater uptake from transwomen. We try to increase those; we try to increase our capacity to deliver those. We try to ftrack the services that transwomen request that we do not have, and to see where we can link them

together and see how we can get it on stream. So, yes, we do have, [I] do not know if it is so much of a database specific to that, but we do have a database that tracks our different categories of clients. We ask: What are the services we offer from time-to-time, and how can we improve those services?

Me: Does the organization partner with entities invested in securing and promoting sexual health needs of transwomen?

PAO: Well, yes, we do. So, we have done work with TransWave, which focuses on transwomen, and we do work with JFLAG, we have done work with Aphrodite's Pride, which is another entity that works with transwomen, actually led by a transwoman. So, yes, we do partner with agencies that work directly with transwomen.

Me: Do you think there needs to a policy framework centering the sexual health needs of transwomen?

PAO: That is definitely necessary and is something that is to come. But presently, I think there needs to be policy that recognizes the existence of trans persons in Jamaica first, before we even get to that. Because talking about a policy to focus on trans health, trans persons are not recognized in policy, laws, at all in Jamaica—that would be a better starting point for us to recognize and acknowledge that trans persons are a part of our society and that they do need to access social services generally: health care, education, and other social services, because it is already a challenge for a trans person, particularly transwomen, to live in communities, to even exist in communities in Jamaica to access education, just to navigate public spaces on a day-to-day basis is a challenge for them. So, I think that needs to be a greater focus before we even zoom in on health.

Me: Do you view transphobia as a public health issue?

PAO: It is, because generally, as long as we have this fear of any particular group, fear leads to exclusion, then it becomes a public health issue. The statistics are showing that the HIV prevalence among transwomen is very high, and even

higher than what has been the highest category over the years: MSM. So, it's definitely going to be a public health issue if we do not provide services that are specific to a group in which an epidemic exists, and if we do not recognize the existence of these people and tailor our services as a country to cater for them, then it's definitely a public health issue, because trans persons are out there, they have challenges accessing services in the public health care sector and as a result, those who can manage to pay for the services privately do or they find NGOs that offer the services at minimal or no cost may be able to make it. But the majority of those who cannot, we are not providing services to address their health needs, we are then only leaving them to live with sexually transmitted diseases and infections that can possibly infect the rest of the society with which they interface.

(*You spoke about challenges within the public health system, what are usually some of the challenges?)* Well, first of all, they are—the stigma and discrimination which is general for LGBT persons in Jamaica, within the health care system, stigma and discrimination is extremely high for trans persons. So, they are not necessarily welcomed at public health facilities, they cannot readily identify as trans persons, there is not rans-specific health care services, there are not enough medically trained persons who understand the nuances of providing services for transgender persons. So, all of this. They are not even recognized, they are not referred to by their preferred pronouns, stuff as simple as that. They are not referred to by their preferred names, preferred pronouns, the services are very binary, you must either be male or female. So, even going through simple registration processes to access health care is a challenge for them, and they are normally very much outed by health care workers, and very simply, it is just like there are safely concerns that [come] up just to access health care.

Me: What is the data around HIV infection rates among transwomen?

PAO: Stats, 45% for transwomen, 10% for transmen, and MSM is about 32.89%. It is very high [for transwomen]. JASL, in collaboration with the Canadian Institute for Health and Research, did a survey that was specific to transwomen,

and more so transwomen who were engaged in sex work, and out of that study we found that the prevalence rate was well within the forties, the mid to high forties—the HIV prevalence among transwomen. Our national statistics didn't quite disaggregate the data specific to trans, so you find that trans are normally lumped into the MSM category, so that was one of the few surveys out there that focused specifically on transwomen and found that the prevalence rate among them was very high, which led to questions around the accuracy of the MSM data and if we should separate the two, considering the prevalence rate in trans seems to be so high, if we separate the two, would it show a significant reduction in the MSM prevalence.

Me: What administrative steps, you think, would produce a more trans-inclusive sexual health campaign?

PAO: I am going to go back to policy and legislation, because I also think that administrators and administrative provisions and services are guided by policy and legislation to a greater extent, so until the ministry of health had trans specific policies that identify the existence of trans persons and the need and their right to access health care, then I do not see where anything administratively is going to happen in that regard. So, I think there needs to be clear policy positions from the Ministry of Health as to the existence of trans persons, the need for them to access health services, their constitutional rights to access health services, and then administrative policies, procedures, will then fall in place if there is a policy position.

Me: What do you think the Ministry of Health could do to inform and sensitize Jamaicans around public health crises affecting transwomen?

PAO: Well, I think the Ministry needs to first recognize that trans persons are a subset of our population and need to access health care like others. So, I think the starting the point is that they themselves, at the Ministry, first need to recognize and accept that. And that recognition and acceptance have to be articulated through their policies, and then they can look at embarking on public education to

get the wider society to understand that these persons exist, and it is not whether you like them or not, approve of them or not, appreciate them or not, it is the fact that they are part of our society and need to access health care.

I think it has to start with the Ministry's recognition and acknowledgement, and that recognition and acknowledgement be articulated in their policy position and that would lead to public education campaigns that say: this is a policy of the Ministry of Health. But I do not think getting to the wider society, as it relates to trans persons, can be of any effect if the Ministry themselves do not get to themselves to understand that these people are a part of our society.

Me: How do we move beyond stigma and discrimination as causal factors for HIV infection rates among vulnerable groups?

So, even the latest data out of the Ministry of Health shows that the number one barrier to accessing health care services is stigma and discrimination. And this sounds like, I am thinking, a decade ago when it was the number one barrier. And ten years later, it still is the number one barrier. So, it says to me that there needs to be a more deliberate approach to addressing stigma and discrimination. Mind you, in my opinion, it is not for lack of public education around the danger of stigma and discrimination, how stigma and discrimination drive vulnerable groups, including transwomen, underground, make them not come forward for HIV testing and accessing other health services, force them into unsafe sexual practices, and hence continue the spread of HIV/AIDS and other STIs. There has been a lot of public education around that. I think the absence of anti-discrimination legislation in Jamaica is an enabler of continued stigma and discrimination.

So, last week, we JASL had a symposium which was around de-stigmatizing HIV through legislation, and S&D (stigma and discrimination) was the focus of the symposium, and we are saying, when we assess the data around stigma and discrimination from ten, fifteen years ago until now, the reality is that the only way we are going to make any serious dent in it is through legislative change. So,

> I think the approach needs to be that we enact legislation around stigma and discrimination, our constitution presently prohibits stigma and discrimination on the basis of being male or female, place of origin, religion, there is nothing around sexual orientation, health status, gender identity. So, there needs to be anti-discrimination legislation, broader anti-discrimination legislation, and I think that is going to be one of the major steps in addressing stigma and discrimination.
>
> Mind you, there are the detractors who will argue that legislation is not necessarily a deterrent, but I think that when people understand that this is not a matter of something ethical or moral, but to say that discrimination is contravention of legislation, [and] I think people need to understand that "I can take you to court" on the grounds that you discriminated against me, whether based on health status, gender identity, or sexual orientation and there are penalties for it. And I think that is when people will begin to understand that this is something serious.

A careful examination of the interviews would reveal that both administrators are aware that *routinized advocacy,* commonly coordinated and funded by multilateral organizations and neoliberal state and non-state actors situated in the Global North, fails to confront durable heterosexist postcolonial structures that continue to produce queers, and specific to this ethnography, persons becoming MtF transgenders as precarious citizens (denizens). Reiterated throughout the interviews, the administrators acknowledged that cultural and institutional forces producing transgender erasure will remain embedded once the Jamaican government continues to structurally exclude trans-identified persons—persons being or becoming MtF transgenders—from legislative protections that would make their lives less precarious.

JN+ and JASL, as shown in the interviews, provide valuable social and health related services to persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, and particularly for lower-class persons engaging processes of gender transition. However, as disclosed by JASL's policy and advocacy officer, these services are indeed precarious without guaranteed funding. Currently, both NGOs are funded by USAID and The Global Fund. And since the Ministry of Health has not moved to recognize the existence of persons being of becoming MtF transgenders, their lives remain precarious outside of human rights rhetoric and material resources disbursed from multilateral agencies and Global North donors. Having said that, I will now move to discuss how TransWave, Jamaica's only trans-focused NGO, performs its *routinized advocacy* through multiple sources of funding solicited from multilateral organizations and Global North NGOs. TransWave has received funding from the International Trans Fund, The Global Fund, GiveOut, MPACT, UNAIDS, and the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights (RFSL). I will also provide the feedback I received from the interviewees about TransWave's advocacy.

TransWave, like many NGOs, perfected a granting writing process which has enabled the NGO to perform its trans-focused advocacy. During fieldwork, Neish McLean, TransWave's executive director, was very receptive to a rough proposal I drafted after receiving information that the Inter-American Foundation (IAF) was funding grassroots advocacy efforts for specific Caribbean countries, and Jamaica was one of them. The rough proposal is shown below.

Trans (Activism): Community Capacity Building through SMART (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Time-bound) Advocacy.

Objectives for grant:

- Defining Trans (Activism).
- Defining SMART (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant, Time-bound) advocacy approaches. • Defining community capacity building.
- Formulating a grant writing plan.

Loose Advocacy suggestions:

- Getting more persons of trans experience involved with advocacy.
- Building trans-advocacy capacity through inventing and strengthening resource networks locally and transnationally
- Securing access to government resources for trans persons—by trans person—which would make visible steps made to center trans persons in their own agenda to achieve trans-inclusion, governmental support, and equitable social services.

My rough proposal was well received; however, TransWave's executive director, who is transgender and knows the multiple challenges of being and becoming transgender in postcolonial Jamaica, already mastered the art of *routinized advocacy.* Throughout our spontaneous conversations, it became clear to me that Neish McClean, TransWave's executive director, knew that contemporary transgender erasure in Jamaica is only counteractable through securing funding from multilateral organizations and Global North NGOs invested in human rights rhetoric and neoliberal advocacy strategies which fail to materially change structural factors that produce transgender lives as precarious in Jamaica. Nonetheless, the political reality is that the precipitous path towards trans-inclusive structural changes in Jamaica is a long one; and TransWave's executive director knows this pathway must begin with thin layers of situated agency. Therefore, *routinized advocacy*, for now, grants TransWave immediate resources to resist cultural and

institutional manifestations of everyday transgender erasure in Jamaica. Below I present the feedback I received from interviewees about TransWave's advocacy.

Me: Do you think TransWave represents transwomen's issues well? If no, what do you think needs to be done for better representation?

S1: Yes, I do.

Me: Do you see TransWave as a service organization?

S1: No. (***Why not***?) Do not get me wrong, TransWave is an organization that advocates for trans people. They are very supportive on everything, but I would say to anyone else: they are not the *batty government* [my emphasis]. I don't think they should be the ones to provide shelter, and clothing, and all that for persons, yes, you are going through a difficult time, and they might can help out your situation, but the actual persons that should be dealing with all those issues of housing and all of that is our actual government, the persons we put in place to deal with these situations. It is great that TransWave do help out situations, but they are not supposed to. If it is a mechanism that will be put in place, then okay—we offer this now—but now, I think their mandate is to advocate for trans people.

Me: What does TransWave mean to you?

S1: It is a safe space for persons who are queer. I do not think you have to be of trans experience for TransWave to be there for you. I have known of incidents, where I have gay identified friends who they helped tremendously. And I do not think it is a space that is exclusive; being that trans people have been excluded from spaces whether it is supposed to be LGBT space, trans people have been excluded from that space. TransWave has been every open, having that open arm to say hey, we call everybody, not just trans people or persons of trans experience. We are here for everyone.

Me: Do you think TransWave represents transwomen's issues well? If no, what do you think needs to be done for better representation?

S2: Yes. I do know that they have had talks, focus group sessions. Through the support group sessions, whenever you go there, you learn a lot of things. You learn tips on how to deal with certain issues, like transphobia and so forth. You learn about self-acceptance, techniques you can use to better help yourself, to be a better person and accept yourself better and so forth. So, I do believe, and specifically for Renae, she has done a lot of talks with persons, helping persons to better understand. Because ignorance is bliss, and she has done a lot of talking; through talking to her, I have gotten a lot of support from her and so forth. Neish is the more structured type; Renae is more flexible.

Me: Do you see TransWave as a service organization?

S2: I think they are more support than service. (***Can you see them doing both***?) I have seen them doing service as well. I do know that they normally offer care packages. I am not sure if that is considered service. I know they host a lot of movie nights. So, I think they do both. (***Do you think this form of support is important?***) I think it is very important because we do not have much support, even within the regular LGBT community, people still have the conception that persons of trans experience or trans identity, are just drags, or just persons who like to dress up like a female or a male, or a dyke of a butch. And I think these services are offered to help others to know that, hey: we are here for you, we appreciate you, and so forth. *We know the support might not be much* [my emphasis], but we are here still doing what we can to assist. I mean, they have done a lot of stuff this far, and I am appreciative of all they have done, being that I am one of the products of TransWave. So, I think they are doing a lot of work.

Me: What does TransWave mean to you?

S2: Empowerment. I see TransWave as a safe space. It is my home. When I come here, it feels like a family. I can talk to Neish; I can talk to Renae; I can talk to FJ. I felt welcomed, I felt like this is something that needed to be done, and I think that it was very good.

Me: Do you think TransWave represents transwomen's issues well? If no, what do you think needs to be done for better representation?

S4: Yes. Yes, they do, one hundred percent.

Me: Do you see TransWave as a service organization?

S4: Yes. They are very active. It is a small organization, but at the same time, you ever hear the saying: "We little, but we tallawah?" Yea, that is TransWave.

Me: What does TransWave mean to you?

S4: A lot. It means a lot to me because at least you have an organization, where not because you are homosexual, but because you are a transgender woman, so yes. I do not have to go to a JFLAG, I do not have to go to a JASL, I can just say: "Neish, I need to have a meeting with you." I can have a meeting with Neish as a transwoman.

Me: Do you think TransWave represents transwomen's issues well? If no, what do you think needs to be done for better representation?

S7: Yes, they do. They do an excellent job. I wish they would do more though. More in terms of, there is a lot. There would be a lot, in terms of helping trans people. It would be a lot.

Me: Do you see TransWave as a service organization?

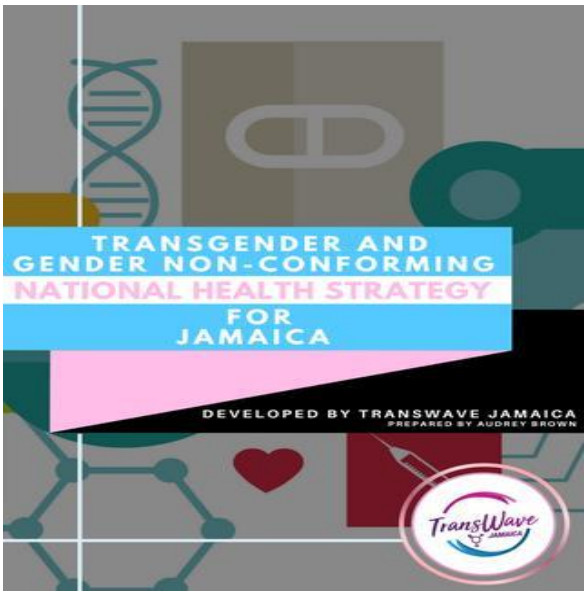
S7: Yes, I do.

Me: What does TransWave mean to you?

S7: Personally, what TransWave means to me? It means that there actually people like us here, and we are not afraid to show who we are. We opened to an extent. We are here to prove a point, to say that we do exist, and that we have a say.

The feedback from the interviewees should prompt us to think about everyday precarities experienced by persons of becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica, and how TransWave's advocacy creates safe space (Hanhardt 2013), meaningful opportunities, and moments of

psychological empowerment for transgender Jamaicans to experience *refuge from within.* In another way, within the context of continued cultural, social, and structural stigma, TransWave provides a marginal space. The images below represent the NGO's use of graphic technology to promote its trans-advocacy agenda in Jamaica.



Theopoetics: A Theology of Resistance

I end this ethnography with personal reflections. I remember feeling everything about me when I attended church services with my grandmother. I remember holding me close, feeling so safe in my body that I knew that feeling had to be God. I felt powerful in that feeling. In moments of sadness, I felt hope in that feeling. But after I was outed in Jamaica, violently exposed to a Christian culture where my queer body is forever condemned, I forgot that feeling. Trauma will do that to you.

Colonial Christianity traumatized me, and the persons I interviewed also experienced this trauma. But we continue to survive this post-trauma through resisting colonial feelings of condemnation and depression as we poetically reinvent God as the freedoms found in love. Deconstructing the Christian God invented to colonize and condemn queer bodies in Jamaica allows poetic space for us to feel God, decolonized spiritual space for us to reconstruct God in ways that lead to self-acceptance, resilience, and post-traumatic self-liberation. This is the theopoetics of resistance. David L. Miller (2010) teaches us that "…radical theopoetics views religion as disordering as well as ordering, defamiliarizing, questioning, always perceiving religion and religions as complex adaptive emergent. complexes…. [Theopoetics]… generates a next line, a next line that may be unpredictable and containing surprise….Theopoetics makes [a] radical challenge to religious discourse"(p. 18). After asking the interviewees how they understood themselves becoming MtF transgenders in relation to culturally and institutionally embedded Christian beliefs and if they actively participated in (colonial) Christian rituals, their responses, presented below, certainly conjured a theopoetics of resistance as they radically challenged, questioned, and reinvented (post)colonial Christian "religious discourse."

Me: How do you understand yourself in relation to Christianity?

S2: So, I have learnt that one of the main reasons for Jesus being here is for love, to spread his love, and spread love around the world. I have kinda adopted that principle to know that I just want to be loved, and I want to love others. Jesus would have loved others. So, it is just the principle I have adopted, and I have been living by that principle.

Me: Do you actively participate in Christian rituals? If yes, how does that make you feel?

S2: No. And really and truly, I do not feel bad. I do not feel any form of remorse. To be honest, I do not think the Church would appreciate me for the person that I am, for the person I have found myself to become, being that I am now something they frown upon. I am just accepting the fact that this is who I am, if the Church, whose purpose is to show love and share love, does not accept me, then I am just going to be happy with myself, and move on with my life.

Me: How do you understand yourself in relation to Christianity?

S4: Quite normal. Because I am a human being. I am not lesser than anybody else. God created everybody in his own perfection. So, I think that I am pretty normal.

Me: Do you actively participate in Christian rituals? If yes, how does that make you feel?

S4: No. My mother is a pastor, as mi tell yuh. But mi do not even like go ah my mother church [I do not like going to my mother's church]. I do not want anyone to think that I am not a Christian, that I do not believe in Christianity, yes, I do. I just cannot stand the people dem inna de church. I rather stay home, play mi gospel, cry, go pon mi knee, and pray to God.

My mommy goes to a very spiritual church. My mommy goes to a Revivalist church, dem always say the Obeah church or whatever, it is not.[We are] praying to the same God, to my knowledge. But you have a time when I literally feel,

> when I am praying, I can literally feel this thing over me, like ,Yes! Like, sometimes me ah pray, I am not a Christian, and sometimes if me keep on a pray, pray, pray, pray, I can find myself ah get inna spirit [I feel the spirit].

S1 and S2's responses show that colonial Christian theology does not have the final word, that a radical theopoetics is possible once colonial theology is deconstructed to create spiritual space for self-acceptance and humanizing resistance. Shelly Rambo's (2018) chapter, the "Theopoetics of Trauma," teaches us that " [Theo-poets]…observe the world by exercising a

poetic mode of release…The theo-poet holds space without predetermining what happens there. In hopes that suffering will not go unheld, untouched" (p. 236). S1 and S2's testimonies first move us to visualize the trauma of transphobic stigma and discrimination ordinarily experienced by persons becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica; but, in the end, their testimonies ushered us to encounter a theology of resistance present in their stories of survival, stories declaring that transgender "suffering will not go unheld, untouched."

However, I end this ethnography with a heavy heart because I cannot imagine a near future where the lives of persons being or becoming MtF transgenders in Jamaica will become less precarious. The Jamaican government continues to exclude transgender citizens (denizens) and Jamaican popular culture remains unapologetically anti-queer. I leave these pages with a sense of cruel optimism (Berlant 2011).

References

Adorno, Francesco P. 2014. “Power over Life, Politics of Death: Forms of Resistance to Biopower in Foucault.” In *The Government of Life: Foucault, Biopolitics, and Neoliberalism*, edited by Vanessa Lemm and Miguel Vatter. Fordham University Press.

Agamben , Giorgio.1995. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Valdisholm Publishing.

Agamben, Giorgio.2000. *Means without End: Notes on Politics*. University of Minnesota Press.

Ahmed, Sarah .2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Duke University Press.

Alexander, M. Jacqui.2006. *Pedagogies of Crossing*: *Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Duke University Press.

Allen, Jafari S. 2010. “Blackness, Sexuality, and Transnational Desire: Initial Notes toward a New Research Agenda.” In *Black Sexualities*: *Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies,* edited by Juan Battle and Sandra L. Barnes. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Althusser, L.1971. *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*: *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Amin, Kadji. 2016. “Haunted by the 1990s: Queer Theory's Affective Histories” *Women's Studies Quarterly* 44 (3/4): 173-189.

Andersen, Rune S., and Frank Möller (2013) “Engaging the limits of visibility: Photography, security and surveillance.” *Security Dialogue* 44 (3): 203-221.

Anderson, Ben.2012. “Affect and biopower: towards a politics of life.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37 (1) (2012): 28-43.

Anthias, Floya. 2014. “The Intersections of Class, Gender, Sexuality and 'Race': The Political Economy of Gendered Violence.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 27 (2): 153-171.

Anthias, Floya.2014. “The Intersections of Class, Gender, Sexuality and 'Race': The Political Economy of Gendered Violence.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 27 (2): 153-171

Appadurai, Arjun .1996.*Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.

Armitage, David. 2007. “From Colonial History to Postcolonial History: A Turn Too Far?” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64 (2): 251-254.

Aronoff, Myron J. and Jan Kubik.2013. *Anthropology and Political Science: A Convergent Approach*. Berghahn Books.

Baaz, Mikael, Mona Lilja, Lilja, Michael Schulz, and Stellan .2016. “Defining and Analyzing "Resistance": Possible Entrances to the Study of Subversive Practices.” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 41 (3) :137-153.

Baer, Hester. 2013. “Affectless Economies: The Berlin School and Neoliberalism.” *Discourse* 35 (1): 72-100.

Bailey, Carol. 2010. “Performance and the Gendered Body in Jamaica Kincaid's “Girl” and Oonya Kempadoo's *Buxton Spice*.” *Meridians* 10 (2): 106-123.

Barriteau, Violet E. (1998) “Theorizing Gender Systems and the Project of Modernity in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean.” *Feminist Review* 59: 186-210.

Barriteau, Violet E. (2003) “Confronting Power and Politics: A Feminist Theorizing of Gender in Commonwealth Caribbean Societies.” *Meridians* 3 (2): 57-92.

Barriteau, Violet E. 2003. “Confronting Power and Politics: A Feminist Theorizing of Gender in Commonwealth Caribbean Societies” *Meridians* (3) 2: 57-92.

Bazzicalupo, Laura and Clarissa Clò. 2006. “The Ambivalences of Biopolitics.” *Diacritics* 6 (2) 109-116

Beck, Ulrich, Barbara Adam, and Joost Loon Van. 2000.The Risk Society and Beyond: Critical Issues for Social Theory. Sage Publications.

Beckles, Hilary McD. 1998. “Historicizing Slavery in West Indian Feminisms.” *Feminist Review* 59: 34-56.

Bell, David and Jon Binnie. 2004. “Authenticating Queer Space: Citizenship, Urbanism and Governance.” *Urban Studies* 41 (9): 1807-1820.

Benjamin, Harry .1953. “Transvestism and transsexualism.” *International Journal of Sexology* 7: 12-14.

Benjamin, Harry .1954. “Transsexualism and Transvestism as Psycho-somatic and Somatico-psychic Syndromes.” *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 8: 219-230.

Benjamin, Harry .1966.*The Transsexual Phenomenon*, New York: The Julian Press.

Berlant, Lauren .2000. “Love (A Queer Feeling).” *Psychoanalysis and Homosexuality*, edited by Tim Dean and Christopher Lane. University of Chicago Press.

Berlant, Lauren and Michael Warner .1995. “What Does Queer Theory Teach Us about X?” *PMLA* 110 (3): 343-349.

Berlant, Lauren. 2011. *Cruel Optimism*. Duke University Press.

Besnier, Niko and Kalissa Alexeyeff. 2014. *Gender on the Edge: Transgender, Gay, and Other Pacific Islanders*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bhabha, Homi K. 2004. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bignall, Simone.2010. *Postcolonial Agency: Critique and Constructivism*. Edinburgh University Press.

Binnie, Jon. 2014. "Neoliberalism, Class, Gender and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Politics in Poland." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 27 (2): 241-257.

Boellstorff, Tom. 2007. "Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36: 17-35.

Bolland, O. Nigel .1998. "Creolisation and Creole Societies: A Cultural Nationalist View of Caribbean Social History." *Caribbean Quarterly* 44 (1/2): 1-32

Bornstein, Kate. 1994. *Gender Outlaw: on men, women, and the rest of us.* Routledge

Bradbury, Bettina .2005. "Colonial Comparisons: Rethinking Marriage, Civilization, and Nation in Nineteenth-Century White Settler Societies*." Rediscovering the British World,* edited by Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis. University of Calgary Press.

Brah, Avtar and Ann Phoenix .2004. "Ain't I A Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5 (3): 75-86.

Brandt, Eric .1999. *Dangerous Liaisons: Blacks, Gays, and the Struggle for Equality*. New York: The New Press.

Breglia, Lisa . 2011. "Longing for the Ethnographic." *The Renewal of Cultural Studies,* edited by Paul Smith. Temple University Press.

Brim, Matt, and Amin Ghaziani .2016. "Queer Methods." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 44 (3/4): 14-27.

Britton, Celia .1999. Edouard Glissant and Postcolonial Theory: Strategies of Language and Resistance. University of Virginia Press.

Brody, Jennifer D. 2000. "Theory in Motion: A Review of the Black Queer Studies in the Millennium Conference." *Callaloo* 23 (4): 1274-1277.

Brown, Janet and Barry Chevannes .1998. *Why Man Stay So: An Examination of Gender Socialization in the Caribbean*. University of the West Indies Press.

Brown-Claude, Winnifred .2006. "Size Matters: Figuring Gender in the (Black) Jamaican Women." *Meridians* 1: 38-68

Brown-Claude, Winnifred .2013. “Don't Hate Me 'Cause I'm Pretty: Race, Gender and The Bleached Body in Jamaica.” *Social and Economic Studies* 62 (1/2): 53-78

Burgett, Bruce .2014. “Globalization.” Keywords for American Cultural Studies, Second Edition. Book Eds. Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler. NYU Press.

Burton, Andrew and Michael Jennings .2007. “The Emperor's New Clothes? Continuities in Governance in Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial East Africa.” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40 (1) 1-25.

Butler, Judith .1988. “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory.” *Theatre Journal* 40(4): 519-531

Butler, Judith .1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of ‘Sex’*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith .2004. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso Press.

Butler, Judith .2006. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.

Byrne, Eleanor .2001. “Postcolonial Aporias.” *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 7 (2) 55-68.

Byron, Jessica and Diana Thorburn .1998. “Gender and International Relations: A Global Perspective and Issues for the Caribbean.” *Feminist Review* 59: 211-232

Cairney, John, Scott Veldhuizen, Simone Vigod, David L Streiner, Terranee J. Wade and Paul Kurdyak. 2014. “Exploring the social determinants of mental health service use using intersectionality theory and CART analysis.” *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 68 (2): 145-150.

Caldwell, Kia L. 2017. *Health Equity in Brazil: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Policy*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Campt, Tina and Deborah A. Thomas. 2008. “gendering diaspora: transnational feminism, diaspora and its hegemonies” *Feminist Review* 90: 1-8.

Canaday, Margot . 2009. “Thinking Sex in the Transnational Turn: An Introduction.” *The American Historical Review* 114 (5) 1250-1257.

Caputo, John D. 2013. “Theopoetics as Radical Theology.” Theopoetic Folds: Philosophizing Multifariousness. Eds. Roland Faber and Jeremy Fackenthal. Fordham University Press.

Carastathis, Anna. 2016. *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Carbado, Devon W., Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, Vickie M. Mays, and Barbara Tomlinson. 2013. Intersectionality: Mapping the Movements of Theory." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10 (2): 303-312.

Carnegie, Charles V. 2014. "The Loss of the Verandah: Kingston's Constricted Postcolonial Geographies." *Social and Economic Studies* 63 (2): 59-85

Cauldwell, David O. 1949. *Unconventional Modes of Sexual Expression*, Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Publications.

Cauldwell, David O. 1949. *What's Wrong with Transvestism?* Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Publications.

Cauldwell, David O. 1956. *Tranvestism: Men in Female Dress*. Sexology Corp, New York.

Chabot, Sean, and Jan Willem Duyvendak .2002. "Globalization and Transnational Diffusion between Social Movements: Reconceptualizing the Dissemination of the Gandhian Repertoire and the "Coming Out" Routine." *Theory and Society* 31 (6): 697-740.

Charles, Christopher A. D .2009. "Skin Bleachers' Representations of Skin Color in Jamaica." *Journal of Black Studies* 40 (2): 153-170

Cheah, Pheng .1997. "Given Culture: Rethinking Cosmopolitical Freedom in Transnationalism." *boundary 2* 24 (2):157-197.

Chiland, Colette. 2003. *Transsexualism: Illusion and Reality*. Wesleyan University Press.

Chin, Timothy S. 1997. ""Bullers" and "Battymen": Contesting Homophobia in Black Popular Culture and Contemporary Caribbean Literature." *Callaloo* 20 (1) 127-141.

Ciccariello-Maher, George .2017. *Decolonizing Dialectics*. Duke University Press.

Clough, Patricia T. 2010. "The Case of Sociology: Governmentality and Methodology." *Critical Inquiry* 36 (4): 627-641.

Cohen, Cathy .1997. "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* (3): 4-43.

Cohen, Julie E. 2008. "Privacy, Visibility, Transparency, and Exposure." *The University of Chicago Law Review* 75 (1): 181-201

Collins, Patricia C. 2005. *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender and New Racism*. New York: Routledge.

Collins, Patricia. 1998. "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation." *Hypatia* 13 (3): 62-82.

Connell, Raewyn (2016) “Masculinities in global perspective: hegemony, contestation, and changing structures of power.” *Theory and Society* 45 (4): 303-318.

Conway, Janet. 2011. “Cosmopolitan or Colonial? The World Social Forum as 'contact zone.'” *Third World Quarterly* 32 (2):217-236.

Cook, Victoria .2012. “Conceptualising ‘risk’.” *Teaching Geography* 37 (2):54-56.

Cooper, Carolyn .1998.“Ragamuffin Sounds": Crossing Over from Reggae to Rap and Back.” *Caribbean Quarterly* 44 (1/2): 153-168

Copper, Carolyn .2010. “From Beowulf to Bounty Killa: Or How I Ended Up Studying Slackness.” *Journal of West Indian Literature* 18 (2): 131-144

Cotten, Trystan T. 2012. *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders, and Politics of Transition*. Routledge.

Cotterrell, Roger. 2009. “Spectres of Transnationalism: Changing Terrains of Sociology of Law.” *Journal of Law and Society* 36 (4): 481-500.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé .1991. “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, and Violence Against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–1300

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Revi*ew 43 (6): 1241-1299.

Dahinden, Janine .2010. “The dynamics of migrants’ transnational formations: Between mobility and locality.” In *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods,* edited by Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist. Amsterdam University Press.

Daring, C.B., J. Rogue, , Deric Shannon, and Abbey Volcano. 2012. *Queer Anarchism: Essays on Gender, Power and Desire*. AK Press Distribution.

Davies, Carole B. 2015. “Gender/Class Intersections and African Women's Rights.” *Meridians* 13 (1): 1-25.

Davy, Zowie. 2011. *Recognizing Transsexuals: Personal, Political, and Medicolegal Embodiment.* Ashgate Press.

De Ferrari, Guillermina .2007. *Vulnerable States: Bodies of Memory in Contemporary Caribbean Fiction*. University of Virginia Press.

De Villiers, Nicholas .2012. *Opacity and the Closet: Queer Tactics in Foucault, Barthes, and Warhol*. University of Minnesota Press.

Derrida, Jacques .2007. *Psyche: Inventions of the Other*. Stanford University Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1976. *Of Grammatology*. Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. John Hopkins University Press.

Desmond, Matthew .2014. “Relational ethnography.” *Theory and Society* 43 (5): 547-579.

Dworkin, Shari L. 2005. “Who Is Epidemiologically Fathomable in the HIV/AIDS Epidemic? Gender, Sexuality, and Intersectionality in Public Health” *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7(6): 615-623.

Dworkin, Shari L. 2005. “Who Is Epidemiologically Fathomable in the HIV/AIDS Epidemic? Gender, Sexuality, and Intersectionality in Public Health” *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 7(6): 615-623.

Edmondson, Belinda .2009. *Caribbean Middlebrow: Leisure Culture and the Middle Class*. Cornell University Press.

Elliott, Anthony.2002. “Beck’s Sociology of Risk: A Critical Assessment.” *Sociology* 36 (2): 293-31.

Ericson, Richard V., and Aaron Doyle. 2003. *Risk and Morality*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ettlinger, Nancy (2007) “Precarity Unbound.” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 32 (3) 319-340.

Fanon, Frantz (1967) *A Dying Colonialism*. Grove Press.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne .2000. *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. Basic Books.

Feinberg, Leslie. 1998. *Trans-Liberation: Beyond Pink or Blue*. Beacon Press.

Flaugh, Christian .2013. “Crossings and Complexities of Gender in Guadeloupe and Martinique: Reflections on French Caribbean Expressions.” *L'Esprit Créateur* 53 (1): 45-59.

Foucault, Michel .1978. *History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel .1994. *Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel .1995. *Discipline and Punish.* Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel .2010. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France*, 1978-1979. London: Picador Books.

Friedman, Susan Stanford.1996. "Beyond" Gynocriticism and Gynesis: The Geographics of Identity and the Future of Feminist Criticism.” *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 15 (1):13-40.

Gannon, John C. 1977.“The Racial Ideology in Jamaican Politics: The People's Political Party in the Parliamentary Elections of 1962.” *Caribbean Studies* 16 (3/4): 85-108.

Gherovici, Patricia. 2010. *Please Select Your Gender: From the Invention of Hysteria to the Democratizing of Transgenderism*. Routledge.

Gilliom, John .2006. “Struggling with Surveillance: Resistance, Consciousness, and Identity.” *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility,* eds. Kevin D. Haggerty and Richard V. Ericson. University of Toronto Press.

Giritli-Nygren, Katarina & Olofsson, Anna. 2014. Intersectional approaches in health-risk research: a critical review. *Sociology Compass* 8 (9): 1112–1126.

Giroux, Henry A. 2009. “The Biopolitics of Disposability.” In *Cultures of Fear*: *A Critical Reader*, edited by Uli Linke and Danielle Taana Smith. Pluto Press.

Girvan, Norman .2005. “Kari Polanyi Levitt and the Theory of Plantation Economy in Contemporary Perspective.” In *Reclaiming Democracy*: *The Social Justice and the Political Economy of Gregory Baum and Kari Polanyi Levitt,* edited by Marguerite Mendell. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Glissant, Edouard .1997. *The Poetics of Relation*. University of Michigan Press.

Goffman, Erving .1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice-Hall Publishing.

Gordon, Neve .2002. “On Visibility and Power: An Arendtian Corrective of Foucault.” *Human Studies* 25 (2): 125-145.

Gorkemli, Serkan. 2012. ““Coming Out of the Internet”: Lesbian and Gay Activism and the Internet as a “Digital Closet” in Turkey.” *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 8 (3): 63-88.

Gozlan, Oren. 2015. *Transsexuality and the Art of Transitioning: A Lacanian Approach.* Routledge.

Green, Adam Isaiah . 2007. “Queer Theory and Sociology: Locating the Subject and the Self in Sexuality.” Sociological Theory 25 (1) 26-45.

Green, Eileen and Carrie Singleton. 2006. “Risky Bodies at Leisure: Young Women Negotiating Space and Place.” *Sociology* 40 (5): 853-871.

Grollman, Eric A. 2014. “Multiple Disadvantaged Statuses and Health: The Role of Multiple Forms of Discrimination.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 55 (1): 3-19.

Halberstam, J. .1998. *Female Masculinity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Halberstam, J. 2005. *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York: New York University Press.

Hall, Stuart .1989. “Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation.” *The Journal of Cinema and Media* 36: 68-81.

Hanchard, Michael G. 2004. “Black Transnationalism, Africana Studies, and the 21st Century.” *Journal of Black Studies* 35 (2): 139-153.

Hankivsky, Olena. 2014. “Rethinking Care Ethics: On the Promise and Potential of an Intersectional Analysis.” *The American Political Science Review* 108 (2): 252-264.

Harper, Phillip B. 2000. “Take Me Home": Location, Identity, Transnational Exchange.” *Callaloo* 23 (1): 461-47.

Heath, Rachel Ann. 2006. *The Praeger Handbook of Transsexuality: Changing Gender to Match Mindset.* Praeger Publishing.

Hennessy, Rosemary .1995. “Queer Visibility in Commodity Culture.” *Cultural Critique* 29: 31-76.

Herrera, Gioconda .2013. “Gender and International Migration: Contributions and Cross-Fertilizations” *Annual Review of Sociology* 39: 471-489.

Herrera, Gioconda. 2013. “Gender and International Migration: Contributions and Cross-Fertilizations” *Annual Review of Sociology* 39: 471-489.

Hirschfeld, Magnus .1923. *Die intersexuelle konstitution*. *Jahrbuch fuer sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 23: 3-27.

Hirschfeld, Magnus.1910. *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress*, New York: Prometheus Books.

Hoad, Neville .2007. *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hollibaugh, Amber and Margot Weiss . 2015. “Queer Precarity and the Myth of Gay Affluence.” *New Labor Forum* 24 (3) 18-27.

Hong, Grace K. 2015. “Neoliberalism.” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1 (1): 56-67.

Hong, Grace Kyungwon .2006. “A Shared Queerness": Colonialism, Transnationalism, and Sexuality in Shani Mootoo's "Cereus Blooms at Night." *Meridians* 7 (1) 73-103

III Hardy, Clarence E. 2007. “From Exodus to Exile: Black Pentecostals, Migrating Pilgrims, and Imagined Internationalism.” *American Quarterly* 59 (3): 737-757.

Ingarden, Roman .1961. “Aesthetic Experience and Aesthetic Object.” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 21 (3): 289-313.

Jacobs, Jessica .2010. *Sex, Tourism, and the Postcolonial Encounter: Landscapes of Longing*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Jago, Mark .2009. “Logical Information and Epistemic Space.” *Syntheses* 167 (2): 327-341

James, Caryl, and Winston De La Haye .2011. “Challenges and Treatment of a Transsexual in Jamaica” *Social and Economic Studies* 60 (1): 137-151

James, Winston .1983. “The IMF and Democratic Socialism in Jamaica.” *The Poverty Brokers: IMF and Latin America*, edited by Martin Honeywell. Latin American Bureau.

Janes, Craig R., and Kitty K. Corbett. 2009. “Anthropology and Global Health.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38: 167-83.

Johnson, E. Patrick .1998. "Feeling the Spirit in the Dark: Expanding Notions of the Sacred in the African-American Community." *Callaloo* 21 (2): 339-416.

Johnson, E. Patrick .2005. *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*. Duke University Press.

Johnson, Erica L. 2009. “Ghostwriting Transnational Histories in Michelle Cliff's "Free Enterprise." *Meridians* 9 (1): 114-139.

Jusionyte, Leva .2015. *Savage Frontier: Making News and Security on the Argentine Border*. University of California Press. (2015)

Kelly, Brian C., and Miguel A. Muñoz-Laboy .2005. “Sexual Place, Spatial Change, and the Social Reorganization of Sexual Culture.” *The Journal of Sex Research* 42 (4): 359-366

Kempadoo, Kamala .2003. “Sexuality in the Caribbean: Theory and Research (With an Emphasis on Anglophone Caribbean).” *Social and Economic Studies* 52 (3) 59-88.

Kim, Hyun S., Jyoti Puri and H. J. Kim-Puri. 2005. “Conceptualizing Gender-Sexuality-State-Nation: An Introduction.” *Gender and Society* 19 (2):137-159.

King, Rosamond S .2008. “Re/Presenting Self & Other: Trans Deliverance in Caribbean.” *Callaloo* 31 (2): 581-599.

King, Rosamond S. (2014) *Island Bodies: Transgressive Sexualities in the Caribbean Imagination*. University Press of Florida.

Kitchens, Juliette .2016. “Object Entanglements: From Postmodern Subjectivity to Posthuman Thingness in Joss Whedon's "Dollhouse"” *Studies in Popular Culture* 38 (2): 1-22.

Kraidy, Marwan M. 2005. *Hybridity: Or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Krishnaswamy, Revathi .2008. “Postcolonial and Globalization Studies: Connections, Conflicts, Complicities.” *The Postcolonial and the Global*, eds. Revathi Krishnaswamy and John C. Hawley. University of Minnesota Press.

Kumar, Malreddy Pavan. 2011. “(An)other Way of Being Human: 'indigenous' alternative(s) to postcolonial humanism.” *Third World Quarterly* 32 (9): 1557-1572.

Kumar, V. Biju “Postcolonial State.” *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 66 (4) 935-954.

Kyungwon, Grace. 2006. “A Shared Queerness" Colonialism, Transnationalism, and Sexuality in Shani Mootoo's "Cereus Blooms at Night"” *Meridians* 7 (1): 73-103.

Laffey, Mark. 2000. “Locating Identity: Performativity, Foreign Policy and State Action.” *Review of International Studies* 26 (3): 429-444.

Lane, Nikki (2016) “Bringing Flesh to Theory: Ethnography, Black Queer Theory, and Studying Black Sexualities.” *Feminist Studies* 42 (3): 632-648.

Leap, William L. (1999) “Anticipating Queer Theory.” *Theorizing the Americanist Tradition*. eds Lisa Philips Valentine and Regna Darnell. University of Toronto Press.

Lefebvre, Henri (1992) *The Production of Space*. Blackwell Publishing.

Lemke, Thomas (2011) *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*. New York University Press. (2011)

Lloyd, Sheila. 2011. “Sara Baartman and the “Inclusive Exclusions” of Neoliberalism.” *Meridians* 11 (2):212-237.

Logie, Carmen H., Ying Wang, Ashley Lacombe-Duncan, Nicolette Jones, Uzma Ahmed, Kandasi Levermore, Ava Neil, Tyrone Ellis, Nicolette Bryan, Annecka Marshall, and Peter A. Newman .2017. “Factors Associated with Sex Work Involvement Among Transgender Women in Jamaica: A Cross-Sectional Study.” *Journal of the International AIDS Society* 20:1-10.

Loos, Tamara .2009. “Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia.” *The American Historical Review* 114 (5) 1309-1324.

Lorde, Audre .2001. *Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power*. Kore Press.

Lugones, Maria. 1994. “Purity, Impurity, and Separation.” *Signs* 19 (2): 458-479.

Lugones, Maria. 1999. “Tenuous Connections in Impure Communities.” *Ethics and the Environment* 4 (1): 85-90.

Lutz, Helma. 2015. “Intersectionality as Method.” *DiGest* 2 (1-2): 39-44.

Lyotard, Jean-Francois .2010. *Discourse, Figure*. Trans. Antony Hudek and Mary Lydon. University of Minnesota Press.

Mahraj, Katy. 2010. “Dis/locating the Margins: Gloria Anzaldua and Dynamic Feminist Learning.” *Feminist Teacher* 21 (1):1-20.

Maiguashca, Bice. 2014. “they're talkin' bout a revolution': feminism, anarchism and the politics of social change in the global justice movement” *Feminist Review* 106: 78-94.

Maira, Sunaina .2004. “Imperial Feelings: Youth Culture, Citizenship, and Globalization.” In *Globalization: Culture and Education in the New Millennium*, edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Desirée Baolian Qin-Hilliard. University of California Press.

Manalansan, Martin F. 2006. “Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies.” *The International Migration Review* 40 (1): 224-249.

Manderson, Lenore. 1997. “Colonial Desires: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in British Malaya.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7 (3) 372-388

Marcuse, Herbert .1972. *Counterrevolution and Revolt*. Beacon Press.

Marks, Peter .2015. *Imagining Surveillance: Eutopian and Dystopian Literature and Film*. Edinburgh University Press.

Mascia-Lees, Frances, Patricia Sharpe, Colleen Ballerino Cohen .1989. “The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions from a Feminist Perspective.” *Signs* 15 (1) 7-33.

Massey, Doreen (1994) *Space, Place, and Gender*. University of Minnesota Press.

Maurer, Bill (1991) “Caribbean Dance: "Resistance," Colonial Discourse, and Subjugated Knowledges.” *A New West Indian Guide* 65 (1/2): 1-26

Maxwell, Jason. 2014. “Killing Yourself to Live: Foucault, Neoliberalism, and the Autoimmunity of Paradigm.” *Cultural Critique* 88: 160-186.

Maxwell, William J. 2006. “Global Poetics and State-Sponsored Transnationalism: A Reply to Jahan Ramazani.” *American Literary History* 18 (2): 360-364.

McCall, Leslie. 2005. “The Complexity of Intersectionality.” *Signs* 30 (3): 1771-1800.

McGregor, Joann .2008. “Abject Spaces, Transnational Calculations: Zimbabweans in Britain Navigating Work, Class and the Law.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33 (4): 466-482.

McHugh, Kathleen .1997. “Irony and Dissembling: Queer Tactics for Experimental Documentary.” *Between the Sheets, In the Streets: Queer, Lesbian, Gay Documentary*, eds. Chris Holmlund, Cynthia Fuchs. University of Minnesota Press.

McNeil, Elizabeth, James E. Wermers, Joshua O. Lunn. 2018. *Mapping Queer Space(s) of Praxis and Pedagogy*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Mellino, Miguel. 2016. “Gramsci in Slices: Race, Colonialism, Migration and the Postcolonial Gramsci” In *Solidarity without Borders: Gramscian Perspectives on Migration and Civil Society Alliances*, edited by Óscar García Agustín and Martin Bak Jørgensen. London: Pluto Press.

Miller, David L. 2010. “Theopoetry or Theopoetics.” *Cross Current* 60 (1):6-23.

Mishra, Arima. 2013. “Special issue on Anthropology and Public Health: An Introduction.” *Indian Anthropological Association* 43 (1): 1-15.

Mittelman, James H. 2004. “What Is Critical Globalization Studies?” *International Studies Perspectives* 5 (3): 219-230.

Miyoshi, Masao.1993. “A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation-State.” *Critical Inquiry* 19 (4): 726-751.

Mohammed, Patricia .2000. 'But Most of All mi Love Me Browning': The Emergence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Jamaica of the Mulatto Woman as the Desired.” *Feminist Review* 65: 22-48.

Mohammed, Patricia. 1994. "Nuancing the Feminist Discourse in the Caribbean." *Social and Economic Studies* 43 (3): 135-67.

Mohanty, Chandra T. 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Duke University Press.

Monahan, Torin (2011) “Surveillance as Cultural Practice” *The Sociological Quarterly* 52 (4): 495-508

Mouw, Ted, Sergio Chavez, Heather, Edelblute, and Ashton Verdery.2014. “Binational Social Networks and Assimilation: A Test of the Importance of Transnationalism.” *Social Problems* 61 (3): 329-359.

Muellner, Beth Ann (2007) “When the Ethnographic Subject Resists: Stinnes and Söderström in China.” *Colloquia Germanica* 40 (2): 157-173.

Munasinghe, Viranjini. 2002. “Nationalism in Hybrid Spaces: The Production of Impurity out of Purity.” *American Ethnologist* 29 (3): 663-692.

Munoz, Vic.2012. “Gender/Sovereignty” In *Transfeminist Perspectives in and beyond Transgender and Gender Studies*, edited by Anne Enke. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Nail, Thomas .2016. “Biopower and Control.” *Between Deleuze and Foucault,* edited by Nicolae Morar, Thomas Nail, and Daniel W. Smith. Edinburgh University Press.

Nash, Jennifer C. 2011. “Practicing Love: Black Feminism, Love-Politics, and Post-Intersectionality” *Meridians* 11 (2): 1-24.

Nayar, Baldev Raj .2014. *Globalization and India's Economic Integration*. Georgetown University Press.

Neville, Michael R. 1974. “Kant's Characterization of Aesthetic Experience.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 33 (2): 193-202.

Otalvaro-Hormillosa, Sonia .1999. “The Homeless Diaspora of Queer Asian Americans.” *Social Justice* 26 (3): 103-122.

Parkins, Ilya (2014) “texturing visibility: opaque femininities and feminist modernist studies.” *Feminist Review* 107: 57-74.

Parr, Hester. 1998. “Mental Health, Ethnography and the Body.” *Area* 30 (1): 28-37.

Patel, Geeta. 2002. “On Fire: Sexuality and Its Incitements.” In *Queering India: Same-Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society*, edited by R. Vanita. New York: Routledge

Patterson, Rubin. 2006. “Transnationalism: Diaspora-Homeland Development.” *Social Forces* 84 (4): 1891-1907

Penney, James .2014. *After Queer Theory: The Limits of Sexual Politics*. Pluto Press.

Phillips, Richard .2007. “Histories of Sexuality and Imperialism: What's the Use?” *History Workshop Journal* 63: 136-153.

Pierre, Jemima .2012. *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*. University of Chicago Press.

Pooch, Melanie .2016. *DiverCity – Global Cities as a Literary Phenomenon: Toronto, New York, and Los Angeles in a Globalizing Age*. Transcript Verlag Press.

Puar, Jasbir K. 2001. ‘Global Circuits: Transnational Sexualities and Trinidad.” *Signs* 26 (4): 1039-1065.

Purkayastha, Bandana. 2012. “Intersectionality in a Transnational World.” *Gender and Society* 26 (1): 55-66.

Rambo, Shelly .2018. “Theopoetics of Trauma.” In *Trauma and Transcendence: Suffering and the Limits of Theory*, edited by Eric Boynton and Peter Capretto. Fordham University Press.

Rathbone, June. 2001. *Anatomy of Masochism*. Plenum Publishers.

Reimann, Kim D. 2006. “A View from the Top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs.” *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (1): 45- 67.

Richardson, Diane, Janice McLaughlin, Janice, and Mark E. Casey, Mark E. 2006. *Intersections Between Feminist and Queer Theory*. Palgrave MacMillan.

Richter, Hannah .2018. *Biopolitical Governance: Race, Gender and Economy*. Rowman & Littlefield International Ltd.

Ridout, Nicholas and Rebecca Schneider .2012. "Precarity and Performance" *The Drama Review* 56 (4) 5-9.

Roberts, Simon.2006. "The Pure and the Impure? Reflections on Applying Anthropology and Doing Ethnography." In *Applications of Anthropology: Professional Anthropology in the Twenty-first Century*, edited by Sarah Pink. New York: Berghahn Books.

Roberts, Simon.2006. "The Pure and the Impure? Reflections on Applying Anthropology and Doing Ethnography." In *Applications of Anthropology: Professional Anthropology*

Robinson, Tracy .2008. "Gender, Nation and the Common Law Constitution" *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 28 (4): 735-762.

Robinson, Tracy .2011. "Our Imagined Lives." In *Sex and the Citizen: Interrogating the Caribbean*, ed. Faith Smith. University of Virginia Press.

Robolin, Stephane .2015. *Grounds of Engagement: Apartheid-Era African American and South African* University of Illinois Press.

Ross, Mark H. 2009. *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies*: *Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Rowe, Aimee Carillo .2017. "Settler Xicana: Postcolonial and Decolonial Reflections on Incommensurability." *Feminist Studies* 43 (3) 525-536.

Russell, Heather .2009. *Legba's Crossing: Narratology in the African Atlantic*. University of Georgia Press.

S. King, Rosamond. 2002. "Sex and Sexuality in English Caribbean Novels—A Survey from 1950." *Journal of West Indian Literature* 11 (1): 24-38.

Safa, Helen Icken .1986. "Economic Autonomy and Sexual Equality in Caribbean Society." *Social and Economic Studies* 35: 1-3

Said, Edward .1979. *Orientalism.* Vintage Books.

Sandoval, Chela .2000. *Methodology of the Oppressed*. University of Minnesota Press.

Sangari, Kumkum .1995. "Politics of Diversity: Religious Communities and Multiple Patriarchies." *Economic and Political Weekly* 30 (52): 3381-3389

Sanjek, Rojer .2014. *Ethnography in Today's World: Color Full Before Color Blind*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa .2014. *Epistemologies of the South*. Routledge.

Scheffler, Ted L.1981. "The ideology of binary opposition: Subject/ object Duality and Anthropology." *Dialectical Anthropology* 6 (2) 165-169.

Scholte, Jan Aart. 1996. "The Geography of Collective Identities in a Globalizing World." *Review of International Political Economy* 3 (4): 565-607.

Scott, Darieck .2010. *Extravagant Abjection: Blackness, Power, and Sexuality in the African American Literary Imagination*. New York University Press.

Searle, John R. 1981. *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge University Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. 2008. *Epistemology of the Closet*. University of California Press.

Shakhsari, Sima. 2013. "Transnational Governmentality and the Politics of Life and Death." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45 (2): 340-342.

Shohat, Ella. 2001. "Area Studies, Transnationalism, and the Feminist Production of Knowledge." *Signs* (26) 4: 1269-1272.

Shusterman, Richard .2006. "Aesthetic Experience: From Analysis to Eros." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 64 (2): 217-229.

Smelser, Neil J. 2014. *Getting Sociology Right: A Half-Century of Reflections*. University of California Press.

Snorton, C. Riley .2017. *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity*. University of Minnesota Press.

Somerson, Wendy. 1999. "Becoming Rasta: Recentering White Masculinity in the Era of Transnationalism." *The Comparatist* 23: 128-140.

Sommerville, Siobhan .2014. "Queer." In *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, edited by Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler. New York University Press.

Sooden-Baksh, Rawwida .1998. "Issues of Difference in Contemporary Caribbean Feminism." *Feminist Review* 59: 74- 85.

Spivak, Gayatri .1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present.* Harvard University Press.

Spurlin, William J. 2010. "resisting heteronormativity/resisting recolonisation: affective bonds between indigenous women in southern Africa and the difference(s) of postcolonial feminist history." *Feminist Review* 95: 10-26

Stoler, Ann .1997. "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power." *The Gender/ Sexuality Reader*, edited by R. Lancaster and M. di Leonardo. New York: Routledge.

Stoler, Ann Laura .2012. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. University of California Press.

Stoler, Ann Laura .2013. *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*. Duke University Press.

Stychin, Carl F. 2000. "'A Stranger to Its Laws': Sovereign Bodies, Global Sexualities, and Transnational Citizens." *Journal of Law and Society* 27 (4): 601-625.

Surkis, Judith .2010. "Sex, Sovereignty, and Transnational Intimacies." *The American Historical Review* 115 (4): 1089-1096.

Swarr, Amanda lock.2012. *Sex in Transition: Remaking Gender and Race in South Africa*. State University of New York Press.

Sweeney, Shauna J. 2019. "Market Marronage: Fugitive Women and the Internal Marketing System in Jamaica, 1781–1834." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 76 (2): 197-222.

Tambe, Ashwini .2009. *Codes of Misconduct: Regulating Prostitution in Late Colonial Bombay*. University of Minnesota Press.

Tanya L. Shields. 2014. *Bodies and Bones: Feminist Rehearsal and Imagining Caribbean Belonging*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Thomas, Deborah A. 2004. *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica*. Duke University Press.

Thomas, Greg .2003. "Erotics of Aryanism/Histories of Empire: How "White Supremacy" and "Hellenomania" Construct "Discourses of Sexuality."" *The New Centennial Review* 3 (3) 235-255.

Thrift, Nigel .2004. "Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect." *Geografiska Annaler* 86 (1): 57-78

Tierney, Kathleen J.1999. "Toward a Critical Sociology of Risk." *Sociological Forum* 14 (2): 215-242.

Tinsley, Omise'eke Natasha .2011. "What Is a Uma? Women Performing Gender and Sexuality in Paramaribo, Suriname." *Sex and the Citizen Book: Interrogating the Caribbean*, edited by Faith Smith. University of Virginia Press.

Toscano, Alberto .2007. "Always Already Only Now: Negri and the Biopolitical." In *The Philosophy of Antonio Negri, Volume Two: Revolution in Theor*y, edited by Timothy S. Murphy and Abdul-Karim Mustapha. Pluto Press.

Trahey, Erin .2019. "Among Her Kinswomen: Legacies of Free Women of Color in Jamaica." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 76 (2): 257-288.

Tucker, Andrew .2009. *Queer Visibilities: Space, Identity, and Interaction in Cape*. Wiley Press.

Tuhkanen, Mikko. 2013. "Scattering Being: Leo Bersani and Diasporic Modernity." *The New Centennial Review* 13 (3): 53-88.

Villaverde, Leila E. 2010. "Feminist Consciousness, Transnationalism, and the Interruption of Borders." *Counterpoints* 355: 175-187.

Wacquant, Loic .2001. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment & Society* 3: 95-133

Wald, Priscilla.1998. "Minefields and Meeting Grounds: Transnational Analyses and American Studies." *American Literary History* 10 (1):199-218.

Ward, Jane .2016. "Dyke Methods: A Meditation on Queer Studies and the Gay Men Who Hate It." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 44 (3/4): 68-85.

Warren, Calvin L. (2015) "Black Nihilism and the Politics of Hope." *The New Centennial Review* 15 (1): 215-248.

Wedderburn, Judith .2006. "Gender, Trade Liberalization and the CARICOM Single Market and Economy: Challenges and Options for Civil Society." *Caribbean Quarterly* 52 (2/3): 138-155

Weir-Soley, Donna and Opal Palmer Adisa .2011. *Caribbean Erotic: Poetry, Prose & Essays*. Peepal Tree Press.

Weiss, Margot .2016. "Discipline and Desire: Feminist Politics, Queer Studies, and New Queer Anthropology." In *Mapping Feminist Anthropology in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Ellen Lewin and Leni M. Silverstein. Rutgers University Press.

White, Beth-Sarah .2003. "Latter-Day Emancipation! Woman, Dance and Healing in Jamaican Dancehall. *Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 58: 77-83.

Young, Robert JC .2012. "Postcolonial Remains." *New Literary History* 43 (1) 19-42.

Yue, Andrea. 2014. "Queer Asian Cinema and Media Studies: From Hybridity to Critical Regionality" *Cinema Journal* 53 (2): 145-151.

Zabus, Chantal and David Coad. 2014. *Transgender Experience: Place, Ethnicity, and Visibility*. Routledge.

Zanotti, Laura .2013. "Governmentality, Ontology, Methodology: Re-thinking Political Agency in the Global World." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 38 (4): 288-304.

Zinn, Jens O. 2006. "Recent Developments in Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty." *Historical Social Research* 31 (2): 275-286.

VITA

KEMAR MCINTOSH

2009-2012 B.A., Philosophy
John Jay College at CUNY
New York, New York

2014-2017 M.A., African & African Diaspora Studies
Florida International University
Miami, Florida

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

McIntosh, Kemar (2021) Carrying Corporeal Narratives: Weighing the Burden of AntiQueer Representations in Jamaica. Appealing Because He Is Appalling: Black Masculinities, Colonialism, and Erotic Racism. Ed. Tamari Kitossa. University of Alberta Press.

McIntosh, Kemar (2018) Migratory Trans(actions): Cartographies of Jamaican Transwomen's Migration to Geographies of Complete Gender Actualization. Paper presented at the National Women's Studies Association Conference, Atlanta, GA.