

Article

"Transgender" as a Fluid Category: The Racialization of Gender Identity and the Production of Cultural Boundaries from a Queer Theory Perspective

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Abstract: The term "transgender" has achieved significant political visibility in recent decades, yet its consolidation into a seemingly fixed and universal category risks obscuring the diverse ways gender variance is experienced, named, and regulated across cultural and geopolitical contexts. This study critically examines "transgender" as a fluid, contested, and historically situated category, arguing that its boundaries are actively produced and policed through intersecting processes of racialization. Drawing on queer theory, critical race theory, and postcolonial feminism, the paper employs a qualitative case study approach to analyze three key sites: Western media representations, the encounter between global transgender rights discourses and Hijra communities in India, and the racialized rhetoric surrounding bathroom bill debates in the United States. The findings, synthesized in four analytical tables, reveal that race functions as a primary mechanism for constructing a hierarchy of "legitimate" versus "excluded" transgender subjects. Whiteness is consistently centered in mainstream transgender narratives, while racialized gender expressions are erased, exoticized, or pathologized. Four mechanisms of boundary production are identified: differential visibility, implicitly white normative standards, the translation of racial anxiety into regulatory policing, and differential material consequences in law, policy, and everyday life. The study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of identity politics by demonstrating that gender fluidity is not absolute but significantly constrained by racial and cultural power dynamics, challenging universalizing conceptions of "transgender" and foregrounding the complex production of cultural boundaries that determine whose gender variance is recognized and whose is not.

Keywords: transgender; queer theory; racialization; cultural boundaries; gender identity; critical race theory; postcolonial feminism

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1. Introduction

The term "transgender" has achieved significant visibility in contemporary social and political discourse, representing both a category of identity and a site of advocacy for gender variant individuals [1]. This mainstreaming has been essential for advancing legal protections and social recognition [2]. However, research on transgender health and identity development demonstrates that the experiences of transgender individuals from diverse racial backgrounds are shaped by distinct cultural influences and structural conditions that cannot be captured through a singular framework.

Queer theory has long critiqued the stabilization of identity categories, advocating instead for understanding gender as fluid, performative, and context dependent. This creates a fundamental tension between the political utility of a unified transgender category and the theoretical recognition that identities are never fixed but continuously produced through regulatory practices. This tension becomes particularly significant when race is introduced into the analysis [3].

Recent scholarship examines how economic and social systems shape the experiences of queer and transgender individuals from diverse racial backgrounds, revealing the material conditions that produce differential recognition and exclusion [4, 5]. A universalizing conception of "transgender" implicitly centers specific narratives of trans experience, often those associated with Western and white subjects [6]. Critical analyses of nonbinary gender identities challenge binary frameworks and emphasize the importance of attending to the multiplicity of gender expression across cultural contexts. When diverse gender variant traditions are forced into a single category, their specificity is erased, and a hierarchy emerges wherein some forms of gender variance are deemed legitimate while others are rendered unintelligible [7].

Despite these advances, there remains a gap in integrated analysis examining how racialization functions as a primary mechanism for producing cultural boundaries within the already fluid category of "transgender." This study aims to investigate "transgender" as a fluid and contested category whose meanings and boundaries are continuously produced at the intersection of race and culture [8, 9]. Drawing on theoretical frameworks such as queer theory, critical race theory, and postcolonial feminism, this research employs a qualitative case study approach to examine how racialized discourses construct different subject positions, from the legitimate and assimilable transgender subject to the excluded and pathologized other. The paper argues that gender fluidity is not an abstract unbounded freedom but is always navigated within the constraints of racial and cultural hierarchies.

The paper is structured as follows. Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature on queer theory, transgender studies, and intersectional scholarship [6, 10]. Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework and methodology [11]. Chapter 4 presents findings from three case studies. Chapter 5 concludes with contributions and implications [9, 12].

2. Literature Review

The exploration of "transgender" as a fluid category influenced by racialization and cultural boundaries necessitates an integration of theoretical perspectives from various scholarly traditions [13]. This section examines relevant literature across three interconnected areas: the foundational critique of fixed identities within queer theory, the interplay between race and transgender identity, and the cultural construction of boundaries through discourse and institutional practices [12, 14].

2.1. Queer Theory and the Critique of Fixed Identities

Queer theory provides a foundational framework for understanding gender as performative and anti-foundational rather than expressive of inner essence [15]. This perspective challenges the stabilization of identity categories and emphasizes the importance of examining the regulatory norms that determine which gender expressions are deemed intelligible within specific contexts [9, 16]. Colonial histories have significantly influenced contemporary gender categories, as the imposition of binary gender norms during colonial periods disrupted indigenous understandings of gender variance. These legacies continue to shape how non-Western gender traditions are positioned in relation to broader frameworks of gender identity.

Queer theory has faced critiques for its tendency toward abstraction and occasional neglect of material conditions [17]. Recent academic discussions advocate for integrating queer theory with intersectional approaches to better analyze how race, class, and geography influence experiences of gender and sexuality. Such integration is crucial for understanding how processes of racialization impact differential recognition within transgender communities [16].

2.2. The Intersection of Race and Transgender Identity

Understanding how race shapes transgender identity requires frameworks that conceptualize race and gender as interconnected and mutually influential. Media

representation serves as a critical platform for shaping cultural perceptions [7]. The portrayal of transgender individuals in mainstream narratives is often implicitly centered on whiteness, creating a visual framework where transgender identity is predominantly associated with white individuals. In contrast, transgender individuals of color are frequently depicted as either victims or exoticized figures. This disparity in representation significantly influences public perceptions of who is recognized as a legitimate transgender subject.

Studies on transgender health indicate that experiences related to healthcare access, discrimination, and social support are deeply influenced by the intersection of racial and gender identity, resulting in unique patterns of marginalization for transgender individuals of color [6, 7]. Evaluations of transgender rights discourse highlight how civil rights frameworks can themselves perpetuate racial biases, positioning certain transgender individuals as worthy of protection while rendering others invisible or portraying them as problematic [12].

2.3. Cultural Production of Boundaries

Legal and policy frameworks establish boundaries around transgender identity [2, 3]. Analyses of asylum claims based on gender identity demonstrate how legal recognition often necessitates presenting experiences in ways that align with Western legal systems, potentially marginalizing individuals whose gender variance does not conform to expected narratives. Trans theoretical approaches highlight that gender identity is deeply interconnected with other dimensions of social context [3]. Similarly, medical and educational institutions perpetuate normative standards that may fail to accommodate diverse expressions of gender.

2.4. Research Gap

The reviewed literature highlights substantial focus on critiques of identity, the intersection of race and gender, and the formation of cultural boundaries [16]. Nevertheless, these areas largely remain disconnected, with limited research attempting a unified analysis of how racialization serves as a central mechanism in shaping cultural boundaries within the fluid category of "transgender." This study seeks to address this gap by integrating these theoretical perspectives and applying them to specific case studies that illustrate the processes through which racialized cultural boundaries are constructed.

3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and methodology used to examine "transgender" as a dynamic category influenced by racialization and the construction of cultural boundaries. The research employs a qualitative, theory-driven case study approach, incorporating perspectives from critical theories addressing identity and intersectionality. A method flowchart is provided to depict the primary stages of the research process [1].

3.1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation integrates three interconnected scholarly traditions: queer theory, critical race theory, and postcolonial feminist theory [14]. These frameworks are synthesized into a cohesive analytical lens that examines the fluidity of gender, the constitutive influence of race, and the enduring impacts of colonialism in shaping contemporary identity categories [6, 9].

Queer theory provides the foundational understanding of identity as performative. Gender is conceptualized not as an expression of inner essence but as the effect of repeated performances that create the illusion of a stable core [13]. This perspective challenges the assumption of a single authentic way of being transgender, focusing instead on the norms that determine which gender performances are deemed legitimate within specific contexts

[13]. The concept of performativity highlights how boundaries are maintained, with certain performances being recognized while others are marginalized. This framework facilitates the examination of how racialized expectations influence which transgender performances are culturally visible and valued.

Critical race theory offers tools for understanding race as a structuring principle of social life [17]. The concept of intersectionality emphasizes that race and gender are mutually constitutive rather than separable [13]. Intersectionality demonstrates that transgender individuals of color experience distinct forms of marginalization arising from the intersection of these systems. Additionally, critical race theory's focus on racial formation provides a lens for analyzing how meanings of race evolve across contexts and interact with understandings of gender. This framework enables exploration of how race influences the construction of transgender boundaries.

Postcolonial feminist theory adds historical and geopolitical dimensions, emphasizing that contemporary gender categories cannot be understood apart from colonial history, which imposed binary gender norms as part of racial domination. The concept of the coloniality of gender reveals that the universal transgender category is shaped by Western modernity, carrying specific assumptions about personhood and identity [8]. This perspective is essential for analyzing interactions between Western transgender discourses and non-Western traditions, such as the Hijras in India, highlighting the power imbalances that structure these encounters [4, 9].

The integration of these traditions forms a lens through which transgender identity can be understood as a site of ongoing contestation, with its boundaries continually shaped by racializing discourses and culturally specific norms [15].

3.2. Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative case study approach, emphasizing that the intricate processes involved in boundary production are not effectively captured through quantitative methods alone. The case study method facilitates an in-depth examination of specific instances while enabling comparisons across cases to discern broader patterns [16].

The research adopts a multiple case study design, analyzing three distinct sites [6]. Each case highlights a unique aspect of how racialization influences the formation of cultural boundaries within the concept of "transgender." This design supports both detailed within-case analysis and comprehensive cross-case synthesis [16].

3.2.1. Case Study Selection

The first case study examines the representation of transgender individuals in Western media, focusing on the contrast between portrayals of white subjects and subjects of color [6, 9]. Media representation significantly influences public perceptions of transgender individuals and determines which lives are deemed visible and worthy of recognition. This analysis explores mainstream film, television, and news coverage to identify patterns in the framing of transgender subjects, with particular attention to whether race influences media visibility.

The second case study explores the interaction between global transgender rights discourses and the Hijras of India. This case provides an in-depth examination of how Western categories intersect with non-Western gender systems. Hijras possess a long-established history with unique social roles and community structures [8, 17]. With the globalization of LGBT rights frameworks, Hijras have increasingly been redefined as transgender or third gender. This analysis reviews legal documents, activist narratives, and ethnographic accounts to understand how this reframing establishes boundaries between Hijras who conform to global norms and those who do not [8].

The third case study investigates the discourse surrounding "bathroom bills" in the United States, focusing on how these debates employ racialized rhetoric and create varying impacts on transgender individuals of color. Bathroom bills impose restrictions on access to public facilities based on sex assigned at birth. This analysis examines

legislative debates, media narratives, and activist responses to trace how the figure of the threatening stranger is racially coded and how this coding influences material outcomes [9].

3.2.2. Data Collection

Data for each case study is gathered from diverse sources to ensure comprehensive analysis. For the media case, materials include films and television series featuring transgender characters, coverage from major newspapers and magazines, and content from digital media platforms. Efforts are made to ensure representation across different racial backgrounds [11, 13].

For the Hijra case, data sources encompass legal documents, activist materials, ethnographic research, and media coverage from both domestic and international outlets [7, 12].

For the bathroom bill case, data is derived from legislative texts and debates in relevant states, news reports from various outlets, advocacy materials representing differing perspectives, and academic evaluations of the associated impacts [16].

3.2.3. Data Analysis

Data analysis follows a multi-stage process guided by the theoretical framework [10]. The initial stage involves thematic analysis of each case individually. For the media case, the analysis focuses on identifying narrative patterns and framing devices associated with subjects of different racial backgrounds. For the Hijra case, the analysis examines how various actors define Hijra identity in relation to broader transgender categories. For the bathroom bill case, the analysis explores rhetorical strategies used to justify exclusion and their underlying racial implications.

The subsequent stage involves cross-case synthesis, comparing findings to uncover shared mechanisms in the construction of racialized boundaries [8, 13]. This synthesis examines how performativity varies across racialized subjects, how intersectionality contributes to unique forms of marginalization, and how historical influences shape contemporary interactions [7].

3.2.4. Validation and Comparison

To ensure validity, this study utilizes triangulation across multiple data sources within each case [17]. The application of established theoretical frameworks enhances analytical rigor. Findings are evaluated against existing empirical research to determine consistency and contributions to the broader knowledge base [9].

3.2.5. Method Flowchart

The method flowchart outlines the stages of the research process, encompassing theoretical framework development, case study selection, data collection, analysis, and synthesis [5, 12] (As shown in Figure 1).

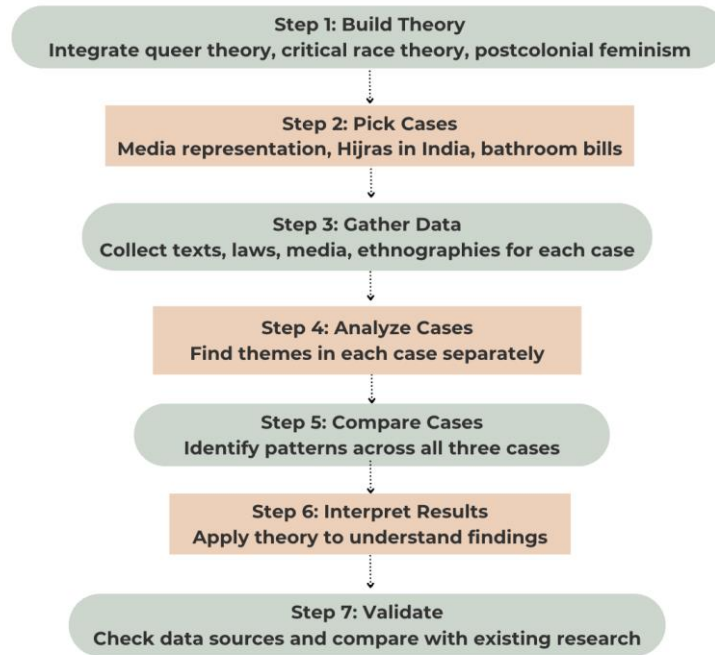


Figure 1. Research Methodology Flowchart

4. Findings and Discussion

This chapter presents findings from three case studies examining how racialization influences cultural boundaries within the concept of "transgender." The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for understanding the mechanisms through which race shapes legitimate and excluded transgender subject positions [3]. Four analytical tables summarize the data [3].

4.1. Case Study 1: *Whitewashing Transness: Media Construction of the Ideal Transgender Subject*

The first case study analyzed portrayals of transgender individuals in Western mainstream media from 2010 to 2025, comparing narrative patterns associated with white subjects and subjects of color [16].

White transgender subjects are predominantly depicted through narratives of successful transition, personal authenticity, and social integration [17]. These portrayals highlight journeys toward self-realization, culminating in acceptance from family and society [16]. The tone is empathetic and humanizing [14]. White characters are more frequently portrayed by transgender actors, receive detailed character development, and are positioned as central protagonists.

Transgender subjects of color are less frequently represented and are framed through significantly different patterns, often emphasizing victimhood, violence, and tragedy [8]. These narratives focus on themes such as murder, discrimination, and suffering, rather than agency or accomplishment. Alternatively, they may be exoticized or relegated to peripheral roles. They are rarely depicted as complex protagonists and are seldom portrayed by transgender actors from similar backgrounds.

News media perpetuates these patterns. Stories about violence disproportionately feature victims of color, portraying them as passive subjects [7]. Profiles of successful transgender individuals disproportionately highlight white subjects [6]. Whiteness is associated with legitimate transgender identity, while racialized identity is linked to suffering and marginalization [8].

Table 1 provides a summary of the comparative patterns identified [1, 7].

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of Media Portrayals of White Transgender Subjects and Transgender Subjects of Color

| Representation Dimension | White Transgender Subjects | Transgender Subjects of Color |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Narrative Focus | Successful transition, authenticity, social integration | Victimhood, violence, tragedy, exoticization |
| Character Role | Protagonist, fully developed character | Peripheral, supporting, stereotyped roles |
| Thematic Emphasis | Personal journey, self realization, acceptance | Suffering, discrimination, criminality |
| Resolution | Acceptance, happiness, social belonging | Death, marginalization, unresolved trauma |
| Casting | More likely played by transgender actors | Less likely played by transgender actors |
| News Framing | Profiles of success, achievement, advocacy | Reports of violence, crime, victimization |
| Cultural Association | Legitimate, recognizable transgender identity | Invisible or hypervisible as spectacle |

4.2. Case Study 2: *The Global Hierarchy of Genders: When Western "Transgender" Meets Indian "Hijra"*

The second case explores the interaction between global transgender rights discourses and Hijra communities in India [7].

The 2014 Indian Supreme Court judgment recognizing a third gender marks a pivotal moment. This judgment incorporates international human rights frameworks, conceptualizing third-gender identity through legal recognition influenced by global perspectives [2]. While this provides certain benefits, it imposes a framework that may not fully align with the self-understandings of Hijra communities [16]. The judgment prioritizes individual rights, which contrasts with the traditional Hijra emphasis on community belonging and collective identity [9].

Activist narratives highlight underlying tensions [17]. Some organizations position Hijras as part of a global transgender community, fostering international connections but potentially overlooking cultural specificity [8]. Conversely, other activists resist this framing, emphasizing the distinctiveness of Hijra identities [3].

Ethnographic studies indicate that younger, urban, English-speaking Hijras are more inclined to adopt transgender identification, whereas older, rural Hijras tend to uphold traditional structures [14]. This dynamic creates generational divides, with some individuals gaining global recognition while others remain rooted in traditional frameworks [2].

International media often portray Hijras either as exotic figures or as victims of human rights violations, oversimplifying their experiences and diminishing the agency of their communities [4, 13].

Table 2 outlines the tensions and mechanisms involved in the negotiation of boundaries [12].

Table 2. Tensions in the Encounter Between Western Transgender Discourses and Indian Hijra Identities

| Domain | Western Transgender Framework | Traditional Hijra Framework | Boundary Produced |
|----------------------|---|--|---|
| Identity Basis | Individual identity, inner truth | Community membership, ritual role | Legitimate identity vs traditional practice |
| Rights Conception | Individual rights, anti discrimination | Collective belonging, social recognition | Modern rights bearing subject vs traditional community member |
| Activist Orientation | Global solidarity, human rights frameworks | Local specificity, cultural preservation | Cosmopolitan vs traditional leadership |
| Generational Pattern | Younger, urban, English speaking adoption | Older, rural, non English speaking retention | Recognizable modern vs invisible traditional |
| Media Framing | Human rights victim or global success story | Exotic curiosity or traditional spectacle | Intelligible global subject vs exotic other |
| Legal Status | Recognized third gender citizen | Historically existing but legally unrecognized community | Codified legitimacy vs informal existence |

4.3. Case Study 3: Gendered Spaces, Racialized Fears: The Discourse of Bathroom Bills

The third case examines the discourse surrounding bathroom bills in the United States, focusing on how debates utilize racialized rhetoric [1, 11].

The primary rhetorical figure is the threatening stranger exploiting nondiscrimination protections [9]. Although rarely explicitly racialized in legislative texts, analysis reveals consistent racial undertones [1, 10]. The threatening stranger is often implicitly portrayed as a predatory individual of color, drawing on harmful stereotypes that depict men of certain racial backgrounds as threats [3]. This narrative activates racial fears, amplifying the emotional appeal of exclusionary arguments.

Media coverage reinforces these racial undertones through visual imagery and selective reporting [5, 7]. News stories often pair coverage with images of individuals of color or urban disorder [11, 12]. When incidents are used to justify restrictions, alleged perpetrators are disproportionately identified as individuals of color, while similar actions by others are framed as isolated or exceptional cases [9].

This rhetoric has tangible consequences [8]. Transgender women of color experience increased surveillance and harassment in public facilities [2]. They are more frequently profiled, challenged, and subjected to violence. The fears invoked by such narratives contribute to everyday exclusion, disproportionately affecting those at the intersection of transphobia and racial discrimination.

Advocacy responses also highlight racial dynamics [14]. Some mainstream organizations within the LGBT community focus their messaging on reassuring audiences by emphasizing the respectability of certain individuals, often white transgender persons

[6]. This approach inadvertently marginalizes those who do not conform to these narrow representations [9, 16].

Table 3 provides a summary of the racialized dimensions and the varying impacts of bathroom bill discourse [3].

Table 3. Racialized Dimensions of Bathroom Bill Discourse and Differential Impacts

| Discourse Element | Manifestation | Racial Coding | Differential Impact |
|--------------------------|---|--|--|
| Threat Construction | Predatory stranger exploiting access | Implicitly or explicitly racialized as man of color | Transgender women of color profiled as threats |
| Visual Imagery | News coverage, advocacy materials | Images of people of color, urban disorder | Reinforces association between race and danger |
| Incident Reporting | Cases cited to justify restrictions | Perpetrators disproportionately identified as men of color | White perpetrators framed as isolated exceptions |
| Safety Rhetoric | Protection of women and children | Appeals to protect white femininity | Ignores safety needs of transgender women of color |
| Advocacy Messaging | Reassurance of transgender respectability | Centers white, normative transgender subjects | Marginalizes those who cannot perform respectability |
| Surveillance Outcome | Profiling, harassment in facilities | Disproportionate targeting of transgender people of color | Heightened violence risk for Black and Brown transgender women |

4.4. Cross Case Analysis and Discussion

Synthesis across cases reveals consistent patterns in how racialization shapes cultural boundaries within the concept of "transgender."

The first common mechanism is differential visibility and recognition [2]. Across all cases, individuals from dominant racial groups achieve recognition as legitimate. In media, they are often portrayed as protagonists. In global discourses, dominant cultural frameworks set standards. In public debates, they are positioned as respectable. Transgender individuals from marginalized racial groups are often rendered invisible or hypervisible, portrayed as victims, exoticized, or perceived as threats.

The second mechanism involves the establishment of implicitly dominant normative standards. Media narratives of successful transition often align with experiences of individuals from dominant racial groups [3]. Dominant cultural frameworks establish norms against which other gender identities are measured [9]. Respectability politics tends to favor performances aligned with dominant racial norms [9]. These standards act as gatekeeping mechanisms.

The third mechanism involves the translation of racialized anxieties into practices of boundary policing [2]. Exclusionary practices draw upon stereotypes, historical fantasies, and assumptions about modernity and tradition [12].

The fourth mechanism results in differential material consequences. Transgender individuals from marginalized racial groups face higher rates of violence, greater barriers to accessing healthcare and employment, intensified surveillance, and reduced access to protection [3, 15].

Table 4 synthesizes these common mechanisms, highlighting the processes through which racialized cultural boundaries are produced [5, 14].

Table 4. Cross Case Synthesis of Mechanisms Producing Racialized Cultural Boundaries for Transgender Identities

| Mechanism | Case Study 1: Media | Case Study 2: Hijra Encounter | Case Study 3: Bathroom Bills | Common Pattern |
|----------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| Differential Visibility | White subjects as protagonists; subjects of color as victims or erased | Western transgender framework as universal; Hijra specificity as traditional | White subjects as respectable face; subjects of color as threats | Race determines who is seen and how they are seen |
| Normative Standards | Successful transition narrative implicitly white | Global human rights framework centers Western conceptions | Respectability politics favors white performance | Whiteness sets standard for legitimacy |
| Anxiety Translation | Exoticization of racialized subjects | Anxiety about tradition versus modernity | Racialized threat rhetoric justifying exclusion | Racial fear mobilizes boundary policing |
| Material Consequence | Reduced access to authentic representation | Divided communities; generational hierarchy | Heightened violence and surveillance | Differential outcomes produced at intersection |

The findings across these cases demonstrate that the fluidity of "transgender" as a category is neither absolute nor unbounded [6]. While theoretical perspectives emphasize the performative and contested nature of gender identity, this fluidity operates within constraints shaped by race and culture [13]. The category expands to include certain individuals while contracting to exclude others, with these movements structured by racial hierarchies and cultural boundaries. Understanding "transgender" as a fluid category requires examining the specific mechanisms through which fluidity is constrained and directed, including visibility, normativity, anxiety, and material consequences.

These findings also highlight the limitations of universalizing approaches to transgender identity. The assumption that "transgender" represents a singular phenomenon comprehensible through a unified framework is challenged by evidence of differential recognition, normative standards, and material consequences [7]. For instance, the experiences of a Hijra in rural South Asia, a Black transgender woman in the United States, and a transgender celebrity in Western media differ profoundly in terms of the meaning of the category, the recognition it affords, and the consequences it entails, shaped by the intersection of race and culture.

The discussion of these findings underscores the need for theoretical frameworks that accommodate both the fluidity of gender and the structuring force of race. Insights into performativity and the instability of identity categories remain essential, but they must be complemented by critical perspectives that address the material and institutional processes through which race organizes social life. Historical analyses of gender systems and the legacy of colonialism further enrich this framework, enabling a deeper understanding of how contemporary boundary production reflects longer histories of racial domination. Integrating these perspectives provides a more comprehensive understanding of how "transgender" operates as a racialized and fluid category in contemporary social contexts [15].

5. Conclusion

This study examined "transgender" as a fluid category shaped by racialization and cultural boundaries through three case studies: Western media representations, Indian Hijra identities, and debates surrounding public restroom access.

The findings indicate that while "transgender" functions as a fluid category, this fluidity is limited by racial hierarchies. Across all cases, individuals identified as white transgender subjects are more likely to gain recognition as legitimate, whereas transgender individuals of color often experience invisibility, hypervisibility as either victims or perceived threats, or exclusion through normative standards. Four mechanisms contribute to these boundaries: differential visibility, white normative standards, the translation of racial anxiety into policing practices, and unequal material consequences.

This study advances queer theory by illustrating how racialization fundamentally shapes gender fluidity. It critiques universalizing approaches to transgender identity and highlights that inclusion within existing categories remains inadequate without addressing the racial hierarchies that underpin these categories.

The study's limitations include reliance on secondary data and a focus on three specific contexts. Future research should prioritize direct engagement with diverse transgender communities and explore additional areas such as healthcare, employment, and immigration.

Recognizing how race constructs boundaries within "transgender" is crucial for achieving both theoretical precision and meaningful political change.

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