

“Trans-Polish Your-Self! The Ultimate Manual of Kapital Feelings for effective boiz&grrls”. Transgender Selves for elite (e) communities based in Wroclaw. Ethnography of a (trans) gendered post communist transition.

My paper looks at the governmental impulse to construct transsexual persons who sell sex as prostitutes, patients, therefore victims and the self-reflexive discourse of an e-activist transsexual group of sex workers named "**boiz&grrls**". The anxious debate should be seen as a governmental exercise carried out by social actors whose own identities are at stake. The construction of transsexual individual selling sex as patient, victim in general, the disqualification of other elements of their identity, the obsession with certain of their sexual practices to the exclusion of everything else about their lives, the difficulty on the part of many feminists to accept the agency of working-class transgendered persons selling sex add to the voluminous quantity of interventions designed to help, save and control them. All these preoccupations and apparatuses provide employment for large numbers of people. These health and social-sector jobs are considered dignified, sometimes prestigious and may even be tinged with a patriotic brush.

Medical system in post-communist Poland - in respect to its primary and surgical care - is still supported by the state through its taxpayers, therefore, for patients suffering of “state” recognised diseases or needing "state" labelled surgical procedures there is no financial patient's contribution to their own treatments.

Major sex reassignment and hormonal treatment for male to female transsexuals in Wroclaw are delivered free at the Municipal Hospital only for those who are successful in passing the 6-9 months psychological experts' survey and a battery of tests having as result the accepted label of 1st degree transgender dysphoria. This diagnostic does not allow the transsexual patient to have an image or self improvement project. Those transsexuals who have such self image projects are labelled with the diagnostic of 2nd degree transgender dysphoria. This latter implies further plastic surgery and psychological care, which are not supported by Polish taxpayers' contributions. Parallel, private medical cabinets from Wroclaw offer besides regular basic treatments breast implants and facial feminisation surgery.

These already implemented governmental forms are at stake with emergent tendencies and alternative subjectivities at play: parallel to the state system and its 1st degree transsexual patient without preoccupations for her/his appearance, the "non-victimised" transsexual offering sexual services and developing an entertainment activity claims to have access to low costs or even free major state supported sex reassignment surgery. "Minor repairs" which made them "look" as the "state" wanted them to be – "2nd degree transsexuals" – have been undergone "in the private medical sector" (where the same specialists from the state medical system are active). The income earned as "state labelled prostitutes" have been spent then on the procedures within the private medical system delivering "services" as "sex workers" do. But as "sex workers" 2nd degree transsexuals do not have access to sex reassignment surgery, only as patients, therefore, only as 1st degree transsexuals. The argument (1st degree transsexual equals patient, 2nd degree transsexual equals prostitute) is discussed since last year in the Polish Parliament. Competing discourses from human rights advocates and specialist opinion groups debated extensively on medical experts' mobility, on 1st and 2nd degree of gender dysphoria on one hand, and on 1st and 2nd degree transsexuals' identity (required) features, on the other. The debates were constructed according to classical nationalistic rhetorical devices:

Metaphors as "Mother Poland" "dismantled" by enemies and "crying after" its allegedly infected body parts, in danger to be re-assembled and materialised instantly in

the monstrous anti patriotic perverted transsexual individual, who seeks cheap cosmetic surgery to enhance his ability in finding clients, Polish naïve, unpolished citizens.

Since couple of years, this debate is parallel with the emergence on the local youth culture scene of "**boiz&grrls**", transgender sex workers' Wrotzklaw based group, supported by private and EU funded NGOs and active in the domain of human rights and equal opportunities in "private and public spheres". Very present on line and in clubs, "**boiz&grrls**", develops an extended interactive network combining blogs, artwork, activist or theoretical articles (since some of the co-opted members are students or young academics at the Wrotzklaw University gender studies department). In the "handy manualz" section of their site list administrators and web editors invite or interview often "the other side" - psychologists, psychiatrists, GPs and surgeons - to express their opinions regarding the borderline between 1st and 2nd degree transgender dysphoria and other transsexual diagnosis procedures.

In other section of their site, "**boiz&grrls**" present a series of humorous "manualz" where established psychiatric expertise lists of transsexual alleged played out "self" features are combined with group's members "self" features as experienced and written on their "matching" or seeking partners sites. Therefore, classical human resources type of questionnaires and their interpretative keys are applied to "**boiz&grrls**"'s partner "hiring" techniques, together with "effective" feelings to be "lived accordingly and played out" by the "succesful boi or grrl". The essential personal qualities of the post-fordist "worker" from the well-known experiments of Elton Mayo at Western Electric Company in Hawthorne from 1924 to 1927 are detailed and each "effective" feeling connected to produced "ay!ffeckt" in the "**boiz&grrls**" experience on intersubjectivity. The right played out feeling is the right action in the right situation, stipulates Oly Szeverinyi, 21, and can change even a "boi" into a "grrl". The corporate imaginary Mayo has combined with his own time psychoanalytical ethos is adapted to "our late Victorian Kapital: liability and fidelity (to your imaginary attachment figure)". More, active listening techniques are also exemplified: "Communicating effectively is making the other feel what you want him to feel. When you have noticed it is done, you are free to feel: run!"

Spivak (1988a and b) who writes about subaltern groups rather than elites, distinguishes between two modes of representation: Vertretung (proxy) and Darstellung (portrait). This distinction can help us to locate the work of the "**boiz&grrls**" on the self-representation: Vertretung, understood in the sense of political representation, is 'speaking for' or in the interests of another person or group; while Darstellung is understood as 'placing there', or portraying. Subaltern groups, unlike elites, do not fully control the representation of their community; rather they rely widely on proxy representation provided by political activists and sometimes anthropologists who may represent their otherwise unheard voices. Dominant groups on the other hand, are not in need of such Vertretung (proxy) as they create numerous self-representations in a kind of distanced self-Darstellung (portrait). The movement of "**boiz&grrls**" toward an e-lite group discourse, self-conscious of its own agency puts at odds those attendant proliferated technologies, including rehabilitation programmes, outreach projects, drop-in centres, academic research, harm-reduction theory and a whole domain of 'psy' theories and interventions concerning the causes and effects of selling sex on individuals. People positioned as experts on the subject constantly lobby governments, write and speak at conferences on the subject, with the result that (trans)people who sell sex are pathologised as victims daily. My paper will conclude by drawing on Badiou's ethics of presence and action.

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