ANNA M. KŁONKOWSKA
University of Gdansk

Racially-Profiled Masculinities:
A Comparison of Trans Men's Experiences
in a Mono- and Multiracial Society

Abstract: The article presents results of a research project concerning trans men's conceptualizations of masculinity in a mono- and multiracial/ethnic society. Drawing from 60 in-depth interviews carried out in Poland and in the US, the conclusions show that, despite different degrees of racial/ethnic diversity of their societies, the research participants tend to use a similar cognitive mechanism, depicting a model of masculinity represented by the majority group in their country, as the reference point of "just-right" masculinity, and positioning other models as "insufficiently" or "overly" masculine. However, in case of lack of racial/ethnic diversity in a country, it is the neighboring nationalities that serve as the comparative masculinity models. Also, the awareness of the stereotyping behind the schema differs between the two research groups, and while the grouping of masculinities refers to power relations in the US, in Poland it seems to be more related to the idea of compensation.

Keywords: Trans masculinities, monoethnic society, multiethnic society, racial/ethnic profiling, Poland, USA

Introduction

The issue of trans masculinities in social research on gender is an example of a rapidly developing research area. In the 1990s, it was undertaken by, e.g., Devor (1997), Cromwell (1999), Hale (1998), and Rubin (1998). Also, until late 1990s/early 2000s, as Green (2005: 291) or Ekins and King (2005: 380) noted, trans masculinities *per se* had not been included in publications on masculinities in general—except for a few mentions (e.g. Connell 1995; Petersen 1998). Until that time, "To state that masculinity studies have paid little attention to trans masculinity, and/or transing bodies in general is unfortunately not an exaggeration" (Gottzén and Straube 2016: 219). Only a few years later was this subject discovered and explored more broadly (e.g. Vidal-Ortiz 2002; Kotula 2002; Rubin 2003; Noble 2006; Schilt 2006, 2010), and further developed in the subsequent years (e.g. heinz 2016; Aboim 2016; Pearce and White 2019; Abelson 2014, 2019; Abelson and Kade 2020; Kade 2021; Jeanes and Janes 2021; Anzani, Decaro and Prunas 2022).

Among studies at the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender, many relate to racially- or ethnically-profiled masculinities (e.g. Fine at al. 1997; Ferguson 2001; Eng 2001; Thangaraj 2015; Bristol-Rhys and Osella 2016; Mora 2016; Neal 2016; Bederman 2016; Lin 2017; Silva 2021; Unnever and Chouhy 2021). Recently, more attention has also been paid to the intersectional research on transgender/gender diverse and racial/ethnical

identities (e.g. Chan 2018; Greene 2019; de Vries and Sojka 2022; Galupo and Orphanidys 2022; Millar and Brooks 2022). These studies help to:

reveal the intersectional fluidity of social categories, explicate how social understandings of one category (e.g., race) influence another category (e.g., gender), demonstrate that the meanings associated with racialized gender are based in relations of power, and show that, in transgender studies particularly, we must attend to the ways that the concept of transition implicates not only gender, but also other categories such as race and nationality (de Vries and Sojka 2022: 97).

Within these studies, research demonstrates that trans masculine identities are anchored in multiple social circumstances and should be perceived as transitioning into culturally-marked masculinities (e.g. Sander 2006; Yuen 2020; Rogers 2019, 2022; Saeidzadeh 2020; Monakali and Francis 2020; Phillips and Rogers 2021; Aboim and Vasconcelos 2022), which are perceived and constructed with regard to the individual's racial/ethnic identity (e.g. Guasch and Mas 2014; Snorton 2017; White et al. 2020; Jourian and McCloud 2020), where "various axes of power and inequality (…) intersect to constitute masculinities in different ways" (Pascoe and Bridges 2016: 223).

Regarding the Polish transgender studies, there are very few publications on trans masculinities (e.g. Bieńkowska 2012: 132–149; Kłonkowska 2018) or comparative inter-cultural studies involving Polish trans men (Kłonkowska 2021), as well as there is a lack of research relating to the intersection of gender identity and racial/ethnic identity in Polish trans men or Polish men in general.

The study presented in this article was meant not only to fill the aforementioned gap in the Polish studies on trans masculinities, but also to provide a comparison of the significance and dynamics of superimposing racial/ethnic identity and gender identity in trans men in a mono- and multiracial/multiethnic society, based on the examples of Poland and the USA. The research was focused on the following elements: the general impact of socialization to racial/ethnic identities on embracing certain notions of masculinity; the attitude toward meeting the socially-constructed racial/ethnic identities and/or stereotypes in constructing personal notions of masculinity by trans men; the comparison of the perceptions of the complexity and plurality of masculinity models among trans men living in a relatively monoracial/ethnic and multiracial/ethnic society.

The reason behind interviewing trans men is their potentially more conscious—than in case of cis men—development of gender roles and performativity. Trans men—due to their histories of being socialized to femininity for a part of their lives, and having the experience of transition—are in a unique position to concurrently embrace the socially-uncontested concepts of masculinity, as well as distance themselves from them (Abelson 2019: e-book; Kłonkowska 2021: 28).

The choice of Poland and the USA has been driven not only by the conspicuous difference in the racial/ethnical diversity of both countries, by also by the specific placement of Poles in the European perception of racial/ethnic groups, and the author's personal experience of living and working in both countries. In the USA, within the population of 331,449,281 people, 204,277,273 identify as White, 41,104,200 as Black or African American, 19,886,049 as Asian, 3,727,135 as Native American and Alaska Native, 689,966 as Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, 27,915,715 as some other race, 31,890,339 as two-racial, and 1,958,604 as multiracial (USCB 2020a). Also, 62,080,044 people

identify as Hispanic and 269,369,237 as Non-Hispanic (USCB 2020b). A much smaller population of Poland—indicated in 2021 as 38,036,100 people (GUS 2022)—is very homogenous both racially (predominantly White) and ethnically (predominantly Slavic). Racial and ethnic homogeneity is also taken for granted in public awareness and social policy. Of note is that National Censuses are perceived as major sources of political identity recognition and legitimation, whether it is racial/ethnic or gender identity (Schilt and Bratter 2015). Yet, in Polish National Censuses the information about race is not being collected. Only data regarding ethnic identity (in terms of e.g. different Slavic sub-groups, Roma people, and Jewish people) and national origin/ancestry is available.

It should also be noted that Poles, whose racial or ethnical identity may be unrecognized and taken for granted in their country of origin, are highly stereotyped due to their Polish nationality or Slavic ethnicity in other European countries. They are perceived through "controlling images" (Collins 1990) referring to established stereotypes, and situating them low in the social hierarchy. Research shows that these stereotypes are in force in the Western and North European countries, where Poles constitute a significant group of labor migrants, invisible in public places, doing "Polish jobs" (Kawecka et al. 2011; Friberg 2012; Sadurska-Duffy 2013; Bye et al. 2014; Rożewska 2015; Opsahl 2021; Sapieżyńska 2022).

Methods

The research was based on in-depth, intensive semi-structured interviews carried out in Poland and in the USA. In both cases, the same methods were used, inspired by grounded theory in its constructionist approach (Charmaz 2006). Therefore, no hypotheses had been put prior to data collection and analysis; the purpose was to let the concepts gradually emerge from the data without adopting any anteceding assumptions. Using snowball and convenience sampling to recruit the research participants, a total of 60 interviews—30 in Poland and 30 in the USA—were collected.

The research participants were trans men who identified within the gender binary. By the identification within the gender binary, I mean people who were assigned female at birth and identify as men (or trans men) rather than within non-binary trans masculine identities. Since this is still the most prevalent identity among trans men in Poland, and this characterized the Polish research participants, I was looking for a corresponding research group in the USA. I used snowball and convenience sampling to reach out to the research participants. The interviewees' age varied from 19 to 57 years of age. They came from different social classes and different regions of each country: the Pomeranian Voivodeship and the Masovian Voivodship in Poland as well as the following states in the USA: New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Texas, and New Mexico. According to my interviewees' self-identification, all of the Polish research participants were White (Caucasian)—which reflects the ethnic/racial homogeneity of the Polish society (see: GUS 2015: 29–32). Among the US participants, 2 persons were Asian, 3 were Black (1 Hispanic, 2 non-Hispanic), 1 identified as Native American, 3 identified as biracial or multiracial, and 21 as White (amidst them 9 were Hispanic and 12 non-Hispanic). Since the US research

participants described their ethnic/racial identity in diversified ways, original categories of description have been used in the article.

The study's limitation lies in its convenience sample, as in both countries the chosen regions do not represent the characteristics of the whole country. None of the trans men from the USA came from the Southeast or the Midwest (and only two persons grew up in this area), and research shows that masculinity models in the US depend on location (Abelson 2019; Phillips and Rogers 2021; Rogers 2019, 2022). Also, none of the trans men from Poland came from its Southeastern or Southwestern part (however, six research participants grew up there). The US sample is also limited in its racial/ethnic diversity, as among 30 research participants, 21 were White, among whom 12 identified as non-Hispanic.

The interviews were collected personally by the author of this article, in places chosen by the research participants. Accordingly to a few research participants' wish—6 of the interviews collected in the USA were conducted via online meetings on Skype instead of during personal meetings. All of the interviewees were informed of the scope and purpose of the study. All the interviews were recorded upon the consent of the research participants. The interviews collected in the USA were conducted in English, while the Polish interviews were conducted in Polish, with selected citations translated into English. The interviews were then personally transcribed by the author of this article, as many of the research participants would not have felt secure about third-party access to the recordings. In accordance with the methodological assumptions, transcriptions were done on an ongoing basis so that interviews which had been conducted earlier could serve as a reference for subsequent interviews. Once the interviews had been transcribed, the original recordings were destroyed. The transcripts have been anonymized, including the changing of the respondents' original names.

The transcripts were coded and analyzed for common themes. It was a cross-case analysis. The Polish and the USA interview data were first analyzed independently of one another, and only then in comparison. Representative quotations were selected for presentation in the section on results.

Research Results

In the course of the interviews, many of the US research participants paid much attention to the socially-attributed "labels" of expected masculinity models, dependent on one's ethnic or racial sense of belonging. Some of the expressed opinions highlighted the fact that—regardless of the attributed labels—the actual masculinity model is dependent on one's ethnicity mostly in the first generation of immigrants:

It's not highly dependent on one's ethnicity, unless they are 'first generation'. (…) I only can imagine this pressure (…) to live up to the traditional expectations. [Ted, USA, Caucasian]

The next generations just merge with the rest of the society:

Immigrants probably try to adapt, as sometimes it's the only way to survive. To take on the social expectation, to mold yourself to the dominant culture. In US there is almost this pressure to adapt and to take on this version of

masculinity that they see around them, that is different from their culture. [Daniel, USA, White American—from a White Hispanic (Puerto Rican) and Greek family].

US Hispanic Men

The aforementioned "blending in" attitude in the second and subsequent generations of immigrants could be a strategy developed to position oneself within the complicit instead of marginalized masculinity (see: Connell 1995).

According to Mateo, who is a second-generation Mexican-American, the traditional Hispanic notion of masculinity is—to some extent—convergent with the WASP American model. Thus, in his opinion, blending in the majority model is relatively easy for Mexican men, provided one was born in the USA and is a native English speaker.

Mexican masculinity falls in very, very well with White masculinity, because it's all about physiologically very strong man, who makes money and provides for his family. And then Mexican men have an additional layer of being hardworking, because the American men are not expected to be hardworking, only to make money. [Mateo, USA, Mexican-American]

Asian American Men

However, "Connell's patriarchal dividend begins an important conversation about inter-sections between gender and other categories of identity" (Pascoe and Bridges 2016: 224), such as race or ethnicity, as not all men benefit in the same way or to the same degree, and some masculinities—especially if stigmatized as effeminate—are less likely to be po-sitioned as complicit with the socially-dominant model (see: Eng 2001; Bristol-Rhys and Osella 2016).

For Yǔchén, who comes from a Chinese-American family, an East-Asian model of masculinity—which he perceives as prevalent also among Asian-Americans—is not quite complicit with the dominant American model, except for the role of a breadwinner. However, even this role is defined a little differently here:

In the Eastern Asian culture (…) it seems like a man has to make the money, he's expected to be stronger, but, I mean, not to the American extend, obviously, but… the big emphasis is on money. A man should be making more money and be able to support people: support the family, support the wife. (…) Sometimes [Asian men—author] are supporting their parents, maybe their brothers and sisters as well (…). That is not an American thing, definitely. [Yǔchén, USA, Chinese-American]

James, who self-describes as "Americanized in spite of identifying as Asian," comes to similar conclusions. According to him, the Asian model of masculinity—in comparison with the American White one—is less focused on physical strength, yet still focused on earning money.

While transitioning, both Yǔchén and James experienced changing expectations from their families. Once the family members finally accepted the fact that they had sons and not daughters, both of them were supposed to meet particular male-role expectations. What Yǔchén welcomed with contentment, James found frustrating in some aspects:

the expectations that my Chinese-American family had… you know. So, when I started transitioning and everything, my Grandfather started teaching me how to repair a car and how to fix a house… and them… also:

'you've got to get a job and support your family' (…). I though, you know, him taking an interest in teaching me those traditionally masculine jobs: o, wow, I'm excited, I'm gonna learn this! Because he is the only man in the family. (…) We've always been close, but that really brought us closer. [Yǔchén, USA, Chinese-American]

That's a point of contention, because I don't have this lustrous career that's expected of a typical Asian guy, so I'm feeling less masculine, because I'm not making enough money. [James, "Americanized in of spite identifying as Asian," with East-Asian, South-Asian and West-European ancestry]

Regarding the social expectations outside his family, James experiences divergent presumptions of the masculinity model that he should comply with, depending on how people profile him racially:

I think they see an ethnically ambiguous individual. Well, I don't look distinctly Asian, and I don't look distinctly White either. So, physiologically I don't really fit anywhere. So that's why… people probably don't recognize that I'm Asian or that I culturally identify as Asian. It is a part of living in a multicultural society that you want to group and classify people. (…) But as long as they don't use that sort of classification system as a justification or some means for like racism or prejudice or some sort of negative hostile outcome, I don't care how they psychologically group me. [James, "Americanized in spite of identifying as Asian," East-Asian, South-Asian and West-European ancestry]

However, in his experience, prejudice often follows classifications. James made an observation that—by the majority of the society—Asian men are perceived in the USA as "less masculine" than the socially-dominant model:

I think that White American culture at large always views Asian men as, you know, weak, feminine, submissive, (…) there is this… this negative sort of quashing off them, because they're… they don't match up to the White idea of masculinity and therefore they attach like feminine qualities, or like feminine job… you know, this whole big racism thing that happens. [James, "Americanized in spite of identifying as Asian," with East-Asian, South-Asian and West-European ancestry]

As Abelson aptly points out, "assigning race and gender to others (…) sets the basis for the interaction that follows because that categorization carries with it a set of cultural scripts" (Abelson 2019: e-book). Yet, James expressed an ambivalent attitude toward this racial profiling. On the one hand, he was aware that this kind of stereotype belittles Asian men, but on the other hand, this stereotype ensures him—as a transgender men—easier passing:

it's expected that an Asian man would not match up to the White masculinity, so there's like… I kind of pass. (…) So if people categorize me as Asian, I believe that… that kind of goes with that sociological grouping in their mind, like: 'oh, this guy is like that because he's conforming to the Asian masculinity stereotype'. If people are trying to group me into like 'all-white American' model of masculinity, I think they're going to be very confused and probably not even accept that I identify as man. Because I'm just so not that white American definition of masculinity. [James]

Black American Men

This influence of racial stereotyping on male gender-roles-related expectations experienced by transgender men was also noticed by John, who self-defines within a general category of a White American:

In my culture, men are expected to be more stoic, while in some other that's not necessarily a requirement. Where I come from… you know—I'm very WASPy… my family is from mid-West, from Iowa, very middle-American,

very farm… farm family—you know, whatever your emotions are, you've got to keep them in check (…). And then, for me, I think that Asian men are allowed to be more vulnerable. (…) Black men have more… it's harder for… probably for Black men than other men. (…) I would think that the Black men have the highest expectation to be the toughest, or the most masculine, the most… again, those factors that… the least vulnerable. [John, USA, White American]

The above-mentioned topic of hyper-masculinity being attributed to Black men in the USA was also taken up by Jaden, whose family moved to the USA from Trinidad before he was born:

it's racial profiling, but it's also what your own family expects from you, you know, at least in my family [Jaden, USA, Black (Trinidadian)]

Thomas, in turn, notices many social disadvantages that Black people experience in the USA:

in US it's generally a way harder for Black people to get jobs and education, to get like the resources that they deserve [Thomas, USA, Caucasian (Irish and Italian)]

He further points to additional difficulties that Black transgender individuals face: certain male-gender-role-related expectations and greater pressure on heteronormativity:

In the Black community it would be even more… so you have to be very strong and… I guess it all depends on like how you grow up and stuff… but, from my experience, like I know, I've seen… it's like harder for Black people to come out as a gay or trans. [Thomas USA, Caucasian (Irish and Italian)]

The gender-related racial profiling became very clear for Brian once he started the medical transition and his looks became indubitably male:

When I was transitioning, (…) I was transitioning to a male, but I didn't really think I was transitioning to an African-American Black man, and, I really didn't think about on a day-to-day basis, what do they go through on a day-to day basis… racially profiled, and things like that, so… I already experienced that. Like, my first month, when I was transitioning, my mustache and beard started growing, and then, like, in a couple of months after I started taking testosterone, I was getting pulled over a lot. I mean a lot! Man, I wasn't understanding why I get pulled over six times in two weeks! So I wasn't understanding why, and, you know, it really got to me, like I was being racially-profiled. [Brian, USA, African-American]

Based on comparisons to his pre-transition life, Jaden came to a conclusion that Black men in the USA are racially-profiled to a larger extent than Black women:

some people just look at you differently, cause you're a Black male, you know. (…) Being a Black female is a little bit easier, because you're a woman. Black men, you know, they have it worse than Black women. Because they are women, they get their advantage, you know, they can win somebody over with a charm or whatever. While the Black men, you know, you have to work hard and show the like, 'hey, I'm worthy of this job', or whatever stuff. [Jaden USA, Black (Trinidadian)]

The hyper-masculinity attributed to Black men in the USA—and the related race-based gender profiling—appears to be a relic of the 19th-century racist discourses. As Bederman shows, Victorian "middle-class white men (…) linked powerful manhood to the 'savagery' and 'primitivism' of dark-skinned races" (Bederman 2016: 59). Through the lens of the sociocultural evolution theory, "masculinity (…) was usually not associated

with civilization (…). Manliness, in contrast, dealt with moral achievements which only the most civilized men could attain" (Bederman 2016: 62). In consequence, Black men have been depicted "not as an exemplar of advanced civilization and high-minded manliness, but as a paragon of violent, primitive masculinity" (Bederman 2016: 63).

One on the Black research participants—Steve—did not experience such a racial profiling upon his transition. However, as he notices:

I grew up in an all-White neighborhood and got a White middle-class upbringing. [Steve, USA, Black Hispanic (Black Puerto Rican and White American parents)]

In his opinion, this fact, along with his rather light skin tone could have located him outside of the "Black male box" in the social perception.

Native American Men

Similarly, Chris—who identifies as a Native American, with Navajo father and White American mother—said that because of his ambiguous looks and the upbringing which he received, people in his social environment fail to recognize him as a Native American man:

I hardly remember my dad, they [his parents—author] split up when I was little and my mom married my stepdad, who's also White. So I am Navajo, but people don't see me as a Native American—they see me as White, maybe sometimes as biracial. [Chris, Native American with Navajo and White American parents]

Chris also brought up the subject of a potential advantage of transitioning as a member of a minority group, whose traditional culture recognized more than two genders. While regretting his lack of connection to the Navajo cultural background, Chris draws on the recognition of more than two genders and the category of *nádleehí* in Navajo traditions:

I know very little about my culture, cause my mom… she never cared. (…) And my transitioning could have been so… just could have been easier. You know, the Navajo thinking beyond the binary… [Chris, Native American with Navajo and White American parents]

White American Men

Generally, almost all of the US research participants claimed that in their country there was a noticeable disadvantage at the intersection of being transgender and being a person of color or an ethnic minority member:

Trans men… it bothers me a lot that they can't be seen as men first, before being trans, as they try so hard to fit the mold of cisgender men. (…) But a White trans man is a trans man, while a Black trans man is a Black trans men. (…) Not noticing my ethnicity is probably a White privilege, so I don't see my skin color. (…) I never think about my background, my ethnical background, I see just "trans." (…) In every situation when you are not a majority, you start seeing different pieces of your identity. [Daniel, USA, White American—from a White Hispanic (Puerto Rican) and Greek family]

Rick noticed that people of color remain a minority even within a trans community:

There is a lot of like… how do I say… like segregation even within, like, the trans male community. Like, based on other parts of people's identities, that form a minority outside of being trans, like Black trans men, you can see

that there is like… they sort of like stick together and, like… (…) I don't know, I guess they still feel like they are a minority even within like a group where they are supposed to fit in. Like that one part of their identity is still… like segregating them in a way. [Rick, USA, White Hispanic]

Only one of the US interviewees, Jared, did not share this opinion:

Black people are always playing the race card. They [people — author] don't see race, they see transgender! [Jared, White American (Italian and Jewish)]

Other US research participants were aware of the invisibility of whiteness. In my respondents' opinions, it was co-related with the cultural domination of the White-American masculinity model:

But you know, when you look at the society at large, you're mostly talking about White, cisgender, heterosexual criteria of masculinity. That's what we're all supposed to be aiming for. [Michael, USA, White]

Since "in societies structured by inequality, privilege is largely unrecognized, taken for granted" (Pascoe and Bridges 2016: 224), what follows is that the minority groups were socially perceived in reference to this model: presenting the Hispanic masculinities as "complicit" and aiming toward the White masculinity model, Asian as "insufficiently masculine," and Black as "overly masculine." Regardless of their own racial/ethnic identity, all the US respondents, except for Jared, noticed the cultural favoring of the White masculinity model, encoded to be perceived as generic and "just right" (cf. Abelson 2019).

Polish Men

Contrary to the image created by the above-mentioned facts and statements by the US interviewees, the Polish research participants, in turn, at first did not seem to notice their race/ethnicity. When directly asked about this, they usually gave me answers such as:

actually, I never thought about this… [Ireneusz, PL]

Kazimierz made a witty remark, comparing a situation of a White person—one unaware of being White because of living in a homogenous White society—to Monsieur Jourdain's (a character from Moliere's drama) revelation that he has been speaking prose all his life without knowing it:

I think, it's like this famous citation… that someone is not aware that they are speaking prose. I guess it's exactly like that… [Kazimierz, PL]

Similarly, the Polish interviewees did not recall any social expectations of certain masculinity models being dependent on one's race/ethnicity, which is in contrast to the statements of the US research participants.

I guess that if I were in a more diverse society, in a more diverse group of people, I could notice some differences. But here every man faces exactly the same expectations. [Maciej, PL]

When asked about differences among men of different ethnic/racial groups, the Polish respondents focused more on physical differences:

For me, it doesn't matter. I mean I am aware of the differences. I've been to Asia, and those men look differently. [Franek, PL]

Black people that I've met, these were people who came here from African countries, from different cultures. Women always noticed them—well, that what…—because they were handsome, because they were beautiful men. And if women expected something of them, they had the same expectations as for Polish men. [Marek, PL]

However—even though they did not make any race- or ethnicity-based comparisons, the Polish interviewees compared the dominant notion of masculinity they knew from Poland to other European nationalities:

In the West, there are no such gentlemen-like behaviors, like letting a woman through a door. Polish women who live there, they must miss this, for sure. Something that is a natural impulse for a Polish man, e.g., if a woman drops something—he will pick it up, or he will help if she can't lift something heavy…—this is not a patronizing behavior—but you can't find it in the West. [Marcin, PL]

The Ukrainian men… their masculinity is also like: 'show off at any cost' [Pol. 'zastaw się a postaw się'—author], very Cossack like. Yet, I would say, with a greater Russian influence, fiercer… this masculinity. I think so. (…) And this 'culture of honor' should be stronger there. You know, that if someone offences me—I don't quarrel, just get into a fist-fight. In Poland it's to a lesser extent (…). But I have this impression that in the West it's non-existent. [Bartek, PL]

This draws attention to the fact that the US interviewees expressed critical attitudes toward the privileged position of the construct of White masculinity, which is socially presented as "just right," whereas minority masculinities are stereotyped as "insufficiently masculine" (Asian) or "overly masculine" (Black). At the same time, most of the Polish research participants perceived the Polish masculinity as "just right" in comparison to the Western European model of masculinity ("not enough") or further East European masculinity ("too much").

Also, for the majority of the Polish respondents, a characteristic feature of Polish masculinity was "chivalry." Many among the interviewees cultivate this feature themselves:

I have a need to be a knight. I have a need to be a knight to such an extent that… it's toxic in a way. To such an extent… that even when I was on a train, going home after the first surgery [gender affirming chest reconstruction—author], and a women with a heavy suitcase entered (…), I lifted her suitcase to put it on a shelf— even though I had my chest like mangled! [Krzysztof, PL]

Emphasizing chivalry in their daily practices may have been a trait of the "compensatory masculinity" model (Pyke 1996) in reference to the Western-European men of higher socioeconomic status in the EU, or an attempt to alter the Western and North European controlling image of Polish men as lower-class blue-collar workers (see: Introduction).

However, several of the research participants expressed their critical—if not ironic— attitudes toward the chivalry of Polish men and the comparisons between Western and Eastern European masculinity models, with Polish men as a reference point:

If a Polish man wants to distinguish himself, the very first thing that he does—is accentuating how wonderfully he treats women. This is—in my impression—the first bidding card, and the first proof that he is Polish. Because he opens a door, because he is chivalrous, because he is a gentleman… and so on. Because in this 'rotten West' no one helps anyone, and in the East they are savage [Pol. 'dzicy'—author]. Sometimes I have an impression that it's like… that here they think that we are the last bastion of normality, while the East is savage and the West is so equal that no one helps anyone, no one cares for anyone, and everyone is identical. [Kamil, PL]

Similarly to the migrations of sexual and gender minorities within the USA to big cities (Halberstam 2005), many Polish people who identify within the LGBTQ minority plan to migrate to the West or North of Europe due to the hostile political circumstances in Poland (ILGA 2020). Yet, some among the Polish interviewees who had some international experience—like Kamil—were afraid of being recognized as Polish while being abroad, or of being perceived through a generalized picture of a White man:

Generally, abroad, a White man is expected to be a right-wing extremist, he is expected to fight for 'the one and only social order' that others want to take away from him. And I have an impression, that—if someone sees a White man—this is what is expected. (…) A Polish man got an additional 'label' — thanks to our politicians—so I won't be surprised if one day—while being abroad—I will hear: 'oh, you are from Poland? So get lost!' (…) So if I ever hear something (…)—I won't be even surprised. [Kamil, PL]

Unaware of their race or ethnicity while living in a homogenous society, the Polish interviewees became aware of it when falling under the controlling image of a "Polish worker" while living abroad. They also feared being generalized to a picture of a privileged White man—that they did not want to identify with—while changing their spatial location. This aligns with Abelson's observation that "men's experiences of gender, race, and sexuality are shaped by the various spaces they inhabit and move between throughout their lives" (Abelson 2019: e-book).

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Rather than being unwittingly brought to them, a conscious acquiring of male gender roles has given my respondents a unique perspective toward social constructions of masculinities. Additionally, as members of a certain underprivileged group (transgender minority), they seemed to be more likely to express awareness of social disparities related to other aspects of one's identity which position them as members of a minority group. In this case— provided they have had an experience of multiracial/ethnic social groups—the interviewees pointed to the inequalities associated with being recognized as belonging to a racial/ethnic minority.

The US research participants paid much attention to their own ethnic/racial identities and expressed a high level of awareness of socially-constructed racial/ethnic categories and related disparities. Having had a dual-gender-role experience, they have also noticed that the stereotyping and profiling of racial/ethnic minority group members was gender-related. Also, it could be an urge to distance oneself from the White privilege and an associated sense of guilt (Iyer et al. 2003) that has led some of the US interviewees—those with a mixed ancestry background—to identify with the minority group heritage primarily.

The presumed lack of attention paid to one's own ethnic/racial identity among the Polish respondents is not surprising, as being brought up and living in a monoracial society positions them beyond any experience of being racially-profiled. Yet, the Polish interviewees implemented a similar cognitive schema in categorizing models of masculinity as their US counterparts, only—instead of different racial/ethnic groups—they referred to other European nationalities.

Among the Polish interviewees, the reflection on being categorized as White men came from those research participants who have had some international experience. Similarly to the White US respondents, these interviewees wanted no part in the category of a privileged White man. In a study of trans masculinities across the US, Abelson argues that this kind of "distancing oneself from culpability in continuing inequalities works to further legitimize social dominance" and that "regular guys narrate their own innocence while they participate in, or at least complicit in, the perpetuation of social disparities" (Abelson 2019: e-book). And even though conclusions from the interviews that I have collected, similarly to those in Abelson's study, suggest that many interviewees "truly wanted to be good men" (Abelson 2029: e-book) and were critical toward taking advantage of the White privilege, nevertheless the White US trans men—just like Polish trans men living in their country—were transitioning simply into masculinity as such. Meanwhile, the US trans men of color/ ethnic minority members were not transitioning into masculinity as such, but into Black masculinity, Asian masculinity, etc. In the social reception, their masculinities were being racially-profiled and often stigmatized. Worth noting is the fact that this racial/ethnic profiling of minority-group members was not dependent on their personal identities, but on their social perception: if recognized as White and/or if brought up as White middle-class members, individuals with ambiguous appearance had different experiences than those unambiguously recognized as persons of color/ ethnic minority members. However, those Polish respondents who lived in the West- and North European countries also experienced the attribution of profiled and stigmatized masculinities—based on their nationality.

Another observation is a similar cognitive schema used by men interviewed in both the US and Poland. In both countries, the dominant model of masculinity seemed to be perceived as "just right," and served as a "reference point" for other masculinities. What Abelson describes as "Goldilocks masculinity" is perceived as the "right spot in the middle of the continuum of masculine ideals, which marks the people at each end as lacking the positive traits of rationality, control and situationally appropriate flexibility that form this contemporary ideal of the regular guy" (Abelson 2019: e-book). Similarly, the research participants pointed out that—by comparison—other masculinities were socially-recognized as "less adequate," i.e. either "overly masculine" or "insufficiently masculine."

In the USA, it was the White masculinity model that served as a reference point for minority groups' masculinities. According to the US interviewees, Asian men were attributed a label of "insufficiently masculine," while Black men were stereotyped as "overly masculine." If perceived as possibly complicit with the dominant White masculinity in their displayed gender roles (e.g. Hispanic men), minority-group members were expected to take an effort to assimilate.

Similar distinctions have been made by the Polish research participants. The masculinity model which they depicted as dominant in their country served as a "reference point" for a "just right" masculinity. However, the compared models of masculinities did not refer to racial/ethnic minorities, but to citizens of other European countries. The dividing line seemed to go roughly between the Western and Eastern part of Europe, or follow the borderline between countries of the former Eastern Communist Bloc and the rest of Europe. Men from the Western European countries were perceived as "insufficiently masculine," while those on the Eastern side of the Polish border were seen as "overly masculine" in their gender roles.

As Abelson words it: "Men do not want to be hypermasculine, but neither do they want to be too feminine. Instead, the ideal is somewhere in between" (Abelson 2019: e-book). This normative "Goldilocks" ideal of masculinity "prescribes an in-between masculinity that is not too masculine and not too feminine or effeminate and, in turn, shapes what people actually do in interaction. This masculine model is relational, meaning it is not just about how to be but about how or who not to be." (Abelson 2019: e-book).

However, there are some visible differences between the US and the Polish respondents' attitudes toward the above-mentioned grouping of masculinity models. First of all, the US respondents—all except for one—clearly distanced themselves from the socially-shared stereotypes regarding different racial/ethnic groups' masculinities. Among the Polish interviewees, in turn, some also expressed critical attitudes toward the stereotyping perception of Eastern and Western European masculinities. Yet, other Polish research participants seemed to share these opinions.

Another difference worth noticing is that in the USA, the grouping of masculinities as "just right" versus "insufficiently masculine" and "overly masculine"—with the imperative to assimilate and comply if possible—seems to be based on *power relations*. It corresponds with a hierarchical division, placing the "just right" masculinity in a position of a hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995), or rather a hybrid masculinity (Bridges and Pascoe 2014) which responds to contemporary feminist challenges to further legitimize social dominance. Meanwhile, in Poland, a similar grouping of masculinities does not refer to power relations. It seems to be more related to the idea of *compensation*. With the Western European societies being perceived in Poland as the privileged ones and in a position of power, presenting the Western masculinities as "insufficiently masculine" and in contrast to the less influential yet "highly masculine" East could act as a self-valorizing factor for Polish men. Being definitely non-Western—and at the same time a bit more balanced in their constructs of masculinities than Eastern men—the Polish trans men tend to present themselves as the "adequate" in their masculinities.

References

Abelson, M. J. 2014. Dangerous Privilege: Trans Men, Masculinities, and Changing Perceptions of Safety, *Sociological Forum 29*(3): 549–570, doi:10.1111/socf.12103.

A b e l s o n, M. J. 2019. *Men in Place: Trans Masculinity, Race, and Sexuality in America*. E-book. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

A b e l s o n, M. J., and K a d e, T. 2020. Trans Masculinities, in: L. Gottzén, U. Mellström, T. Shefer (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies*. London: Routledge.

A b o i m, S., and V a s c o n c e l o s, P. 2022. What does it Mean to be a Man? Trans Masculinities, Bodily Practices, and Reflexive Embodiment, *Men and Masculinities 25*(1): 43–67, doi: 10.1177/1097184X211008519.

A b o i m, S. 2016. Trans-Masculinities, Embodiments and the Materiality of Gender: Bridging the Gap, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies 11*(4): 225–236, doi:10.1080/18902138.2016.1259848.

A n z a n i, A., P a v a n e l l o D e c a r o, S., and P r u n a s, A. 2022. Trans Masculinity: Comparing Trans Masculine Individuals' and Cisgender Men's Conformity to Hegemonic Masculinity, *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, doi:10.1007/s13178-021-00677-5. Retrieved from https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13178-021-00677-5?utm_source=getftr&utm_medium=getftr&utm_campaign=getftr_pilot

B e d e r m a n, G. 2016. Remaking Manhood through Race and 'Civilization,' in: C. J. Pascoe, and T. Bridges (eds.), *Exploring Masculinities: History, Reproduction, Hegemony, and Dislocation*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 50–66.

B i e ń k o w s k a, M. 2012. *Transseksualizm w Polsce. Wymiar indywidualny i społeczny przekraczania binarnego system płci*. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku.

B r i d g e s, T., and P a s c o e, C. J. 2014. Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities, *Sociology Compass 8*(3): 246–58.

B r i s t o l - R h y s, J., and O s e l l a, C. 2016. Neutralized bachelors, infantilized Arabs: between migrant and host— gendered and sexual stereotypes in Abu Dhabi, in: A. Cornwall, F. G. Karioris, and N. Lindisfarne (eds.), *Masculinities Under Neoliberalism*. London: Zed Books, pp. 111–124.

B y e, H. H., H e r r e b r ø d e n, H., H j e t l a n d, G. J., R ø y s e t, G. Ø., and W e s t b y, L. L. 2014. Stereotypes of Norwegian social groups, *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 55: 469–476, doi:10.1111/sjop.12141.

C h a n, Ch. D. 2018. Families as Transformative Allies to Trans Youth of Color: Positioning Intersectionality as Analysis to Demarginalize Political Systems of Oppression, *Journal of GLBT Family Studies 14*(1–2): 43–60, doi:10.1080/1550428X.2017.1421336.

C h a r m a z, K. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

C o l l i n s, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: HarperCollins.

C o n n e l l, R. 1995. *Masculinities*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

C r o m w e l l, J. 1999. *Transmen and FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders and Sexualities*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

D e v o r, A. 1997. *FtM: Female to Male Transsexuals in Society*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

E k i n s, R., and K i n g, D. 2005. Transgendering, Men, and Masculinities, in: M. Kimmel, J. Hearn, R. Connell (eds.), *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks, CA, and London: Sage Publications.

E n g, D. L. 2001. *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America*. Durham: Duke University Press.

F e r g u s o n, A. A. 2001. *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

F i n e, M., W e i s, L., A d d e l s t o n, J., and M a r u s z a, J. 1997. (In)secure Times: Constructing White Working-Class Masculinities in the Late 20th Century, *Gender and Society 11*(1): 52–68.

F r i b e r g, Jon Horgen. 2012. Culture at work: Polish migrants in the ethnic division of labour on Norwegian construction sites, *Ethnic and Racial Studies 35*(11): 1914–1933, doi:10.1080/01419870.2011.605456.

G a l u p o, M. Paz, and O r p h a n i d y s, Jaymie Campbell. 2022. Transgender Black, Indigenous, and People of Color: Intersections of Oppression, *International Journal of Transgender Health 23*(1–2): 1–4, doi:10.1080/26895269.2022.2020035.

G o t t z é n, Lucas and S t r a u b e, Wibke. 2016. Trans Masculinities, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies 11*(4): 217–224, doi:10.1080/18902138.2016.1262056.

G r e e n, Jamison. 2005. Part of the Package: Ideas of Masculinity among Male-Identified Transpeople, *Men and Masculinities 7*(3): 291–299, doi:10.1177/1097184X04272116.

G r e e n e, Joss T. 2019. Categorical Exclusions: How Racialized Gender Regulation Reproduces Reentry Hardship, *Social Problems 66*(4): 548–563, doi:10.1093/socpro/spy023.

G u a s c h, Óscar, and M a s, Jordi. 2014. Bodily, Gender, and Identity Projects in Spain: From the Transvestite to the Transsexual, in: Rafael M. Mérida-Jiménez (ed.), *Hispanic (LGT) Masculinities in Transition*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 51–64.

G U S (Główny Urząd Statystyczny). 2015. *Struktura narodowo-etniczna, językowa i wyznaniowa ludności Polski — Narodowy Spis Powszechny 2011*. Warszawa: Zakład Wydawnictw Statystycznych.

GUS (Główny Urząd Statystyczny). 2022. *Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań. Informacja o wstępnych wynikach Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego Ludności i Mieszkań 2021*. Retrieved from https://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/nsp-2021/nsp-2021-wyniki-wstepne/nsp-2021-wyniki-wstepne-informacja-sygnalna,7,1.html

H a l b e r s t a m, Jack. 2005. *In a Queer Time and Place Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York: New York University Press.

H a l e, C. Jacob. 1998. Tracing a Ghostly Memory in My Throat: Reflections on the Feminist Voice and Agency, in: T. Digby (ed.), *Men Doing Feminism*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 99–129.

h e i n z, m. 2016. *Entering Transmasculinity: The Inevitability of Discourse*. Bristol and Chicago: Intellect Ltd.

I L G A (International Lesbian and Gay Association). 2020. *Annual Review of the Human Rights Situation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transexual and Intersex people in Europe and Central Asia*. Brussels: ILGA. Retrieved from https://www.ilga-europe.org/report/annual- review-2020/

I y e r, A., W a y n e L e a c h, C., and C r o s b y, F. J. 2003. White Guilt and Racial Compensation: The Benefits and Limits of Self-focus, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 29* (1) : 117–129, doi:10.1177/0146167202238377.

J e a n e s, E., and J a n e s, K. 2021. Trans men doing gender at work, *Gender, Work & Organization 28*(4): 1237–1259, doi:10.1111/gwao.12675.

J o u r i a n, T. J., and M c C l o u d, L. 2020. 'I Don't Know Where I Stand': Black Trans Masculine Students' Re/De/Constructions of Black Masculinity, *Journal of college student development 61*(6): 733–749, doi:10.1353/csd.2020.0072.

K a d e, T. 2021. 'Hey, by the Way, I'm Transgender': Transgender Disclosures as Coming Out Stories in Social Contexts among Trans Men, *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 7: 1–12, doi:10.1177/23780231211039389.

K a w e c k a, A., C z a p k a, E., and M e i s i n g s e t, K. 2011. *Polakk—de er kommet for å bli*. Frekk Forlag.

K ł o n k o w s k a, A. 2018. Masculinity: Assigned—Reassigned—Socially Constructed: The Social Reception of Trans Masculinity in Poland, *Men and Masculinities 21*(2): 210–229, doi: 10.1177/1097184X16658760.

K ł o n k o w s k a, A. 2021. Negotiated Masculinities. Polish and US Trans Men On Social and Personal Aspects of Masculinity, *Society Register 5*(1): 27–44, doi:10.14746/sr.2021.5.1.02.

K o t u l a, D. 2002. *The Phallus Palace: Female to Male Transsexuals*. Los Angeles, CA: Alyson Publications.

L i n, X. 2017. Single Male Rural-Urban Migrant Workers and the Negotiation of Masculinity in China, in: X. Lin, Ch. Haywood, M. M. an Ghaill (eds.), *East Asian Men: Masculinity, Sexuality and Desire*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 13–30.

M i l l a r, K., and B r o o k s, C. V. 2022. Double jeopardy: Minority stress and the influence of transgender identity and race/ethnicity, *International Journal of Transgender Health 23*(1–2): 133–148, doi:10.1080/26895269.2021.1890660.

m o n a k a l i, e., and F r a n c i s, D. A.. 2020. 'I Get Fire Inside Me That Tells Me I'm Going to Defy': The Discursive Construction of Trans Masculinity in Cape Town, South Africa, *Men and Masculinities 25*(1): 3–23, doi:10.1177/1097184X20982025.

M o r a, R. 2016. Latino boys, masculinity, and puberty, in: C. J. Pascoe, and T. Bridges (eds.), *Exploring Masculinities: History, Reproduction, Hegemony, and Dislocation*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 235–244.

N e a l, M. A. 2016. 'My Passport Says Shawn': Toward a Hip-Hop Cosmopolitanism, in: C. J. Pascoe, and T. Bridges (eds.), *Exploring Masculinities: History, Reproduction, Hegemony, and Dislocation*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 245–257.

N o b l e, J. B. 2006. *Sons of The Movement: FtMs Risking Incoherence on a Post-Queer Cultural Landscape*. Toronto: Women's Press.

O p s a h l, T. 2021. Invisible presence? Polish in Norwegian public spaces, in: R. Blackwood, and D. A. Dunlevy (eds.), *Multilingualism in Public Spaces: Empowering and Transforming Communities*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 111–136.

P a s c o e, C. J., and B r i d g e s, T. 2016. Navigating Masculinities—An Introduction, in: C. J. Pascoe, and T. Bridges (eds.), *Exploring Masculinities: History, Reproduction, Hegemony, and Dislocation*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 223–234.

P e a r c e, R., and W h i t e, F. R. 2019. Beyond the pregnant man: representing trans pregnancy in a deal with the Universe, *Feminist Media Studies 19* (5): 764–767, doi:10.1080/14680777.2019.1630925.

P e t e r s e n, A. R. 1998. *Unmasking the Masculine: "Men" and "Identity" in a Sceptical Age*. London: Sage.

P h i l l i p s, M. Y., and R o g e r s, B. A. 2021. Brotherhood and sexism as manhood acts for trans men in the South-eastern United States, *Sociological Spectrum 41*(4): 322–337, doi:10.1080/02732173.2021.1919578.

P y k e, K. D. 1996. Class-based masculinities: The Interdependence of gender, class, and interpersonal power, *Gender and Society 10* (5): 527–549.

R o g e r s, B. A. 2019. 'Contrary to all the other shit I've said': Trans men passing in the South, *Qualitative Sociology* 42: 639–662, doi:10.1007/s11133-019-09436-w.

R o g e r s, B. A. 2022. Trans manhood: The intersections of masculinities, queerness, and the south, *Men and Masculinities 25*(1): 24–42, doi:10.1177/1097184X20927058.

R o ż e w s k a, A. 2015. Obraz Polaka-imigranta przedstawiony na łamach Dialy Mail i The Sun podczas kampanii wyborczej w Wielkiej Brytanii w 2015 roku, *Refleksje* 12: 181–193, doi:10.14746/r.2015.12.

R u b i n, H. 1998. Reading like a (transsexual) man, in: Tom Digby (ed.), *Men Doing Feminism*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 305–324.

R u b i n, H. 2003. *Self-made Men: Identity and Embodiment Among Transsexual Men*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

S a d u r s k a - D u f f y, E. 2013. Wizerunek Polaka-imigranta zarobkowego w prasie brytyjskiej w latach 2004–2006, in: Marta Makowska (ed.), *Analiza danych zastanych*.Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, pp. 161–194.

S a e i d z a d e h, Z. 2020. Are trans men the manliest of men? Gender practices, trans masculinity and mardānegī in contemporary Iran, *Journal of Gender Studies 29*(3): 295–309, doi:10.1080/09589236.2019.1635439.

S a n d e r, J. H. 2006. Agency under social structure: How much room does an FTM have?, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies 7*(2): 196–197, doi:10.1080/14649370600673771.

S a p i e ż y ń s k a, E. 2022. *Jeg er ikke polakker din*. Forlaget Manifest.

S c h i l t, K. 2006. Just One of the Guys? How transmen make gender visible at work, *Gender and Society 20*(4): 465–490, doi:10.1177/0891243206288077.

S c h i l t, K. 2010. *Just One of the Guys? Transgender Men and the Persistence of Gender Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

S c h i l t, K., and B r a t t e r, J. 2015. From multiracial to transgender? Assessing attitudes toward expanding gender options on the US Census, *Transgender Studies Quarterly 2*(1): 77–100, doi:10.1215/23289252-2848895.

S i l v a, T. 2021. Masculinity attitudes in the United States Across Intersections of Race/Ethnicity, Immigration Status, and Education, *Journal of Gender Studies*: 1–17. doi:10.1080/09589236.2021.1963918.

S n o r t o n, C. R. 2017. *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

T h a n g a r a j, S. 2015. *Desi Hoop Dreams: Pickup Basketball and the Making of Asian American Masculinity*. New York: New York University Press.

U n n e v e r, J. D., and C h o u h y, C. 2021. Race, racism, and the cool pose: Exploring black and white male masculinity, *Social Problems 68*(2): 490–512, doi:10.1093/socpro/spaa010.

U S C B (United States Census Bureau). 2020a. *Decennial Census*. Race and Ethnicity, P1. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?g=0100000US&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P1

U S C B (United States Census Bureau). 2020b. *Decennial Census*. Race and Ethnicity, P2. Retrieved from https://data.census.gov/table?g=0100000US&tid=DECENNIALPL2020.P2

V i d a l - O r t i z, S. 2002. Queering sexuality and doing gender: transgender men's identification with gender and sexuality, in: P. Gagné and R. Tewksbury (eds.), *Gendered Sexualities* . Bingley: Emerald, pp. 181–233.

V r i e s d e, K. M., and S o j k a, C. J. 2022. Transitioning gender, transitioning race: Transgender people and multiracial positionality, *International Journal of Transgender Health 23*(1–2): 97–107, doi:10.1080/26895269.2020.1838388.

W h i t e, M. E., C a r t w r i g h t, A. D., R e y e s, A. G., M o r r i s, H., L i n d o, N. A., S i n g h, A. A., and M c K i n z i e B e n n e t t, C. 2020. 'A Whole Other Layer of Complexity': Black Transgender Men's Experiences, *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling 14*(3): 248–267, doi:10.1080/15538605.2020.1790468.

Y u e n, Sh. M. 2020. Unqueer Queers—Drinking Parties and Negotiations of Cultural Citizenship by Female-to-Male Trans People in Japan, *Asian Anthropology 19*(2): 86–101, doi:10.1080/1683478X.2020.1756073.

Biographical Note:

Anna M. Kłonkowska (Ph.D.), is an associate professor in the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Gdansk; Deputy Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the UG, and a Deputy Director for Science and Research at the Institute of Sociology. She is a sociologist, psychologist and philosopher. She has authored

and co-authored numerous English and Polish publications in the field of transgender studies and masculinity studies. She has founded (in 2009) and facilitated for over 10 years a support group for transgender and gender diverse persons. Anna Kłonkowska is a recipient of the Chair in Transgender Studies Research Fellowship for Visiting University-based Scholars and Professionals (The Transgender Archives, University of Victoria), the Fulbright Foundation Senior Research Award (Stony Brook University), NAWA Bekker Program Research Award (Stony Brook University), Kosciuszko Foundation Fellowship (Stony Brook University), Bednarowski Trust Fellowship (University of Aberdeen), and the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst Fellowship (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg). A Visiting Scholar in the CSMM at the State University of New York in 2013, 2016–17, 2019–20.

ORCID iD: 0000-0001-5065-4975

E-mail: anna.klonkowska@ug.edu.pl