## The Brain-Sex Binary in Law:

The influence of neurological theories of sex and gender on legal decision-making for trans and intersex minors

## by Aileen Kennedy

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

## **Doctor of Philosophy**

Under the supervision of Distinguished Professor Isabel Karpin and Associate Professor Karen O'Connell

University of Technology Sydney Faculty of Law

#### CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Aileen Diana Kennedy, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution. This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

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## Acknowledgements

I have been helped and supported in the writing and completion of this thesis by many people. I would like to offer my sincere gratitude and thanks to Distinguished Professor Isabel Karpin, and Associate Professor Karen O'Connell, both of whom have been patient, supportive, insightful, and stimulating in their supervision. They have consistently helped me and pushed me to scrutinise my assumptions, and to strive for accuracy and originality in my work. A significant drawback of finishing this thesis will be that I no longer have an excuse to interrupt their busy schedules to meet with me. I have come to greatly value their insights and appreciate their warmth, humour, and kindness over the last ten years.

My experiences as a post-graduate student at UTS Law Faculty have been very positive, and I thank the Faculty for providing grants to attend methodology and writing workshops and to have the thesis proofread. I would also like to thank Professor Lesley Hitchens and Distinguished Professor Jenni Millbank, both at UTS Law Faculty. Lesley and Jenni have been involved with my thesis from its original inception and I owe them both thanks for their continued support. Jenni has read and provided valuable commentary on early drafts of thesis chapters in her role as my co-supervisor when my principal supervisors were on leave.

I would like to thank Kathryn Abrams, Distinguished Professor of Law at Berkeley, who, as a UTS visitor, generously spent time reading and providing helpful and constructive comments on chapter 6. Professor Michael Thompson also generously provided me with comments on earlier drafts of chapter 7, and his insights have been valuable and instructive.

A number of colleagues at UNE have given me both personal and academic support over the years. Their contributions are too numerous to mention individually, but include everything from listening to my questions and complaints with patience and endurance, to reading different chapters and articles and providing their insights and responses. First and foremost are Eric Ghosh, Amanda Kennedy, and Karen Lee, all of whom have been sometimes literally and always metaphorically by my side this entire journey, providing help, advice, knowledge, and a soft shoulder on which to cry. All have read and commented on previous chapter iterations, and more recently Eric provided perceptive feedback on the introductory chapter. Mark Lunney has been a valued mentor and friend who has always had something relevant and interesting to say. I have also benefitted from help and support from Marcelle Burns, Monique Cormier, Lillian Corbin and Stephen Norris. Stephen has generously spent time reading and giving feedback on Chapter 2.

I would like to thank my friend Jan Hall, who kept me sane over the years by bringing my mind back to the important things in life, like quilting and fabric. Jan has been a rock-solid support in the final weeks of my thesis writing.

I thank my fellow Board Members at Intersex Human Rights Australia for their support and friendship. Thank you to Morgan Carpenter, Tony Briffa, Candice Cody, Agli Zavros-Orr, and Stephanie Lum for your dedicated advocacy of intersex rights and for your friendship and guidance.

Donna West has been a kind and patient proof-reader, as well as a wonderful friend and sister-in-law. Her work polishing and correcting my expression has been tireless and dedicated. Any and all errors that remain are entirely due to my oversight in implementing her corrections.

This brings me to my wonderful family who have supported me in this endeavour and who gave me emotional and practical sustenance, succour, and much-needed love during my illness and hospitalisation in 2019. I am very lucky to have family like Eric, Donna, Mark, and Carmel, and such a beautiful, talented, and loving daughter as Fran.

Finally I would like to thank my mother Celia. I can never fully express my thanks for her support and love over these years. She and my father Ted always supported my academic ambitions and taught me to value and love education and learning. She has translated her enthusiastic theoretical support into very concrete help by doing my washing and cooking over the last month of the thesis-writing. She is an inspiration and a wonderful friend.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my brother Gunnar, an unconventional thinker who loved learning about the world in all its complicated splendour.

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## **Abstract**

The brain is the latest candidate in an historical search for a reliable and fixed biological marker of 'true sex' that has permeated every aspect of Western culture, including law. Different physical characteristics, from gonads to hormones to chromosomes to genitals, have previously been candidates for a fixed, universal, and authentic marker of sexed identity. Each of these has, in its time, done the work of configuring binary sexed biology as normal, natural, and pre-cultural. Each, in turn, has faltered or failed as a convincing biological anchor for the binary sex categories of male and female. Attention has most recently turned to the identification of a brain sex binary in the discipline of neuroscience. This thesis critiques this most recent turn as well as the sometimes uncritical endorsement of this perspective by law and legal actors.

Law, alongside medicine, has been an integral part of the quest for a biologically-fixed gender binary. It is a primary means of drawing regulatory and definitional boundaries of sexed identity. In this thesis I examine how law determines and differentiates 'male' and 'female' in a series of contested areas of sexed identity, namely those cases authorising medical interventions to alter the embodied sex characteristics of transgender and intersex minors. Ultimately I argue that law's reliance on neurology's 'brain sex binary' is no more helpful than earlier biological measures in ensuring just outcomes. Rather I argue that what is needed is greater acceptance of dynamic complexity and diversity in the domain of sex/gender. Law must retreat from its aspiration to create, define, and regulate artificially bounded sex categories of male and female which can lead to violations of embodied integrity and a betrayal of autonomous rights of intersex minors. Instead, law must allow liminal embodiment and identity to be normalised and accepted. That is not to argue that all intersex or transgender people have to remain 'liminal', but rather that law should support diversity of identity and embodiment and allow people to work out their own needs.