

Janice Raymond

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Semantic Summary

American radical feminist scholar, "the original TERF." Author of *The Transsexual Empire* (1979) — the foundational anti-trans feminist text arguing trans women are male infiltrators. Her work directly caused Reagan-era exclusion of trans healthcare from Medicare/Medicaid. Influenced by Mary Daly's radical feminist theology. Intellectual grandmother of UK gender-critical movement: her framework directly informs LGB Alliance, Sex Matters, Fair Play For Women. Connected to Germaine Greer (same 1970s radical feminist tradition). Represents the academic-to-policy pipeline: scholarly publication → government report → material harm → later repositioned as "free speech martyr."

Overview

- **Full Name:** Janice G. Raymond
- **Role:** Feminist author, academic, professor emerita at University of Massachusetts Amherst
- **Nationality:** American
- **Known For:** *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male* (1979) — the foundational anti-trans feminist text; described as "the original TERF"; influence on Reagan-era healthcare policy excluding trans care

Background

Janice Raymond is an American radical feminist scholar whose 1979 book *The Transsexual Empire* is widely considered the original text of anti-trans feminism. The book argued that trans women are not women but rather male infiltrators of women's spaces, and that the medical establishment creates trans people through surgery and hormones as a patriarchal project. Raymond's work directly influenced US federal policy: her report to the National Center for Health Care Technology led to the exclusion of transition-related care from Medicare and Medicaid coverage in the 1980s — a policy that lasted decades.

Timeline

- **1979:** Published *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male* — originally her PhD dissertation supervised by radical feminist theologian Mary Daly
- **1980:** Contracted by the National Center for Health Care Technology to produce a report on trans healthcare — recommended against public funding
- **1981:** Reagan administration excluded transition-related care from federal health programmes, citing Raymond's report
- **1994:** Second edition of *The Transsexual Empire* published
- **2000s-2020s:** Professor emerita at UMass Amherst; continued writing and activism against trans rights, sex work, and pornography
- **2021:** UnHerd profile — "Meet the original TERF" — described decades of abuse she's faced for her views

Ideology & Positions

- Radical feminist trans-exclusion: trans women are male-bodied people who appropriate female identity; transsexualism is a medical industry project that reinforces gender stereotypes
- Opposition to trans healthcare: argued transition is medically harmful and should not be publicly funded
- Sex work abolition: co-authored anti-sex work legislation and activism alongside anti-trans work
- Theological dimension: influenced by Mary Daly's radical feminist theology

Key Works

- *The Transsexual Empire: The Making of the She-Male* (1979, 2nd ed. 1994) — foundational anti-trans text
- *A Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection* (1986)
- *Women as Wombs: Reproductive Technologies and the Battle Over Women's Freedom* (1993)

Influence on UK Gender-Critical Movement

- Raymond is the intellectual grandmother of the UK gender-critical movement

- Her framework — trans women as infiltrators, transition as a patriarchal medical project — directly informs contemporary UK groups (LGB Alliance, Sex Matters, Fair Play For Women)
- The Reagan-era policy impact demonstrates the real-world harm of anti-trans feminist scholarship: decades of trans people denied healthcare
- Her 2021 UnHerd profile ("original TERF") explicitly connects her legacy to the UK movement
- Raymond's trajectory shows the pattern: academic feminist publication → policy influence → material harm → later repositioning as "free speech martyr"

Sources

- [UnHerd — "Janice Raymond: the original TERF" \(Nov 2021\)](#)
- [Boston Review — "Toward a Trans* Feminism" \(Jan 2018\) — Jack Halberstam on Raymond's legacy](#)
- [OutSmart Magazine — "TERF Battles" \(Dec 2013\)](#)
- Web search: "Janice Raymond Transsexual Empire anti-trans" (Jul 2026)

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