



## SOCIAL INJUSTICE TOWARD THE CROSSDRESSER IN ROBERT GALBRAITH'S TROUBLED BLOOD

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**ABSTRAK:** Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui permasalahan ketidakadilan sosial yang dialami oleh crossdresser—yang berbentuk diskriminasi dan stigma atau stereotype—pada novel *Troubled Blood* karya J.K. Rowling yang memakai pseudonym Robert Galbraith. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Sedangkan teori yang digunakan adalah beberapa teori yang berhubungan dengan gender, seperti teori gender itu sendiri, teori queer, dan teori crossdressing. Selain itu, digunakan juga teori identitas dan keadilan sosial untuk menganalisis tindakan ketidakadilan sosial yang berhubungan dengan identitas crossdresser di masyarakat. Buku *Gender Trouble* karya Judith Butler juga menjadi referensi pendukung mengenai pandangan sosial membentuk identitas gender, sehingga menyebabkan keterbatasan pada kelompok non-binary. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa karakter Dennis Creed pada novel *Troubled Blood* karya Robert Galbraith merepresentasikan adanya ketidakadilan sosial yang diterima oleh crossdresser, serta dampak nyata bagi crossdresser dan kelompok non-binary lainnya dari penggambaran crossdresser sebagai pelaku kriminal di beberapa novel.

**Kata kunci:** *crossdresser, gender, ketidakadilan sosial, stigma, troubled blood.*

**ABSTRACT:** This research aims to determine the problems of social injustice experienced by crossdressers—in the form of discrimination and stigma or stereotypes—in the novel *Troubled Blood* by J.K. Rowling, who uses the pseudonym Robert Galbraith. This research was conducted using qualitative descriptive methods. Meanwhile, the theories used are several theories related to gender, such as gender theory itself, queer theory, and crossdressing theory. Apart from that, identity and social justice theories are also used to analyze acts of social injustice related to the identity of crossdressers in society. The book *Gender Trouble* by Judith Butler is also a supporting reference regarding social views that shape gender identity, thereby causing limitations for non-binary groups. The results of this research show that the character Dennis Creed in the novel *Troubled Blood* by Robert Galbraith represents the social injustice received by crossdressers, as well as the real impact for crossdressers and other non-binary groups from the depiction of crossdressers as criminals in several novels.

**Keywords:** *crossdresser, gender, social injustice, stigma, troubled blood.*

### INTRODUCTION

Identity is an important thing for every human being. Identity relates to the question "Who are you?" addressed both to others and to oneself. However, describing identity is quite complex. Identity can be used to describe who a person is, but can also be used to describe a person when acting or behaving as a person (Schwartz, Luyckx, & Vignoles, 2011, p. 2). Various things can affect a person's identity and how s/he defines her/himself as a person. In addition, identity can also be formed from a person's self, as well as an identity formed by other people towards that person, based on such things as appearance, behaviour, way of speaking, and many more.



Although identity is used to define a person, the definition of identity is not just a characteristic that is used to describe or explain a person's identity. Various aspects can affect the formation of identity. Schwartz et al. explained, in popular and academic discourse, the term 'identity' can be used for various fields, such as biological, psychological characteristics, to socio-demographic positions.

Identity can be divided into self-identity and identity formed by others. Self-identity is formed by two universal processes, namely assimilation-accommodation and evaluation. According to Breakwell in Jaspal (2014, p. 4), the assimilation-accommodation process refers to how new information is absorbed into the identity structure. One of the examples of this process is when someone coming out to public as gay. Therefore, evaluation is the process of giving value and meaning on the identity's contents. The example from this process is when someone thinks that being a gay is fine and sees it as something positive, but sees the religious identity negatively.

The identity possessed by a person can be seen or known from various things or aspects that that person has. For example, from appearance, way of dressing, voice, way of speaking, way of walking, or other judgments from people who know and know about it. However, the identity that has been attached to a person can be changed, if there are things that characterize his identity are also changed, one of which is the way of dressing as their identity.

This also happens to people who do crossdressing, or also known as transvestism. Transvestism is actually an impersonation, *cambridgedictionary.org* defines it as "the act of copying another person's characteristics: from behaviour to appearance." The practice of transvestism, which is also known as crossdressing, for example, is a man who dresses like a woman, or vice versa, then appears in public with an appearance that causes his identity to look different.

One person can be considered as a crossdresser and called as an actual transvestite if it involves an effort to hide or conceal their identity of the sex and appears as someone else in different sex identity (Cauldwell, 1956, p. 13). The changing in appearance can be seen from the clothes that she or he wears, for example a man who wears a dress in public and does not look like a man.

As someone wears different clothes from their sexual identity, many associate this transvestism or crossdressing with abnormalities in that person's sexual orientation, for example homosexuality. Dressing as other people and different genders, will allow them to hide their identity and make other people with the same gender as the crossdresser identity actually like them. Actually, transvestism or crossdressing is not always related to homosexuality or liking the same sex.

Cauldwell states that transvestism does not always have connections with homosexuality or the sexual orientation, even though there are some crossdresser are homosexual (1956, p. 14). Moreover, public's judgement of people who do crossdressing has increased since the emergence of various issues and movements regarding Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) in various countries. The public judgements then can lead to the social injustice to crossdresser. According to Urwin (2018, p. 6) justice can be defined that every person must question and interrogate on how justice is perceived by those people who apply it, not only the application of justice.

Apart from the term LGBT which developed after the movements, the term was later updated to LGBTQ+ that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and many other terms for describing other gender variants. The '+' sign in this term represents other terms that are not included in the LGBT term. The addition of the queer version to this term is as an 'umbrella' or general term for people with gender and sexual confusion. However, for older



LGBT people, the use of the term queer is controversial because of the history of the term, which was initially used as a slur and separated the group from society.

Meanwhile, social justice requires a more detailed explanation, related to its application in certain contexts. The concept of social justice has existed since the early 19th century, during the Industrial Revolution that took place. The purpose of this social justice to improve the exploitation of human labour by capitalists. In 20<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of social justice became broader and not only focused on the economic aspect, but also in the aspects of environment, race, gender, and other causes of inequality in society. This means that people who crossdressing can also affected by the social justice around the society.

The practice of cross-dressing also appears in several literary works from ancient times to the present, from play scripts to novels. An example of a crossdresser in literature is in the play entitled *Twelfth Night*, which was written by Shakespeare around 1601–1602. The existence of this writing by Shakespeare shows that the crossdresser character in literature can be said to be quite old. The existence of this crossdresser practice is then linked to the progress narrative, where crossdressers, especially female-to-male, change their identities to gain various benefits that they do not have, for example, a higher income or salary compared to when they show their identity as a woman. Another goal of female crossdressers is also to obtain security; for example, when they travel long distances, women will dress like men to avoid crime. Meanwhile, for male crossdressers, this is somewhat different, as explained by Boag (2011, pp. 61-63), that male crossdressers can be caused by other people. An example is a mother who wants a girl but instead gives birth to a boy. In the end, the child will be dressed like a girl, and this will carry over into adulthood.

This difference between the two causes differences in the depiction of female and male crossdressers in the literature. Female crossdressers in literature are described as strong and heroic women. Meanwhile, male crossdresser characters are associated with comedy, crime, or other negative depictions of feminization. Apart from that, female crossdresser characters in literature are also easier to find compared to male crossdressers (Imhof, 2016, pp. 241-243).

This study focuses on the figuration of characters who do the crossdressing in Robert Galbraith's *Troubled Blood* to see if the characters experience social injustice from their surroundings. *Troubled Blood* tells the story of a murder case committed by a serial killer. One of the serial killers suspected of being the murderer of the case handled by Cormoran Strike is Denis Creed, who in the novel is told to be at Broadmoor Hospital. In *Troubled Blood*, Denis Creed the heinous serial killer is described as an unstable figure—who often steals women's clothes, dresses like a woman, and wears women's wigs and clothes. This method is done by Creed to lure his victims, all of whom are women, then kill his victims viciously.

The research is to find out what kind of social injustice is experienced by crossdressers in the novel *Troubled Blood*. Published by Sphere Book in September 2020, *Troubled Blood* is the fifth novel in the *Cormoran Strike* series. Cormoran Strike is a veteran army in Afghanistan and now worked as a private detective in England, along with her ex-secretary, Robin Ellacott.

*Troubled Blood*, which is a detective novel, not only raises the issue of crime but also about how a man who has characteristics or dresses like a woman gets a bad stigma in the eyes of society and even experiences discrimination. These two things show how someone who has a gender identity that is different from their sexual identity experiences social injustice from the surrounding community. This can also show how crossdressers and other trans people receive unfair treatment in society. *Troubled Blood* has many gaps that can be explored regarding identity, sex, gender, and what is behind the traits displayed by these characters.



## RESEARCH METHODS

This study used the descriptive qualitative method by Creswell (2014, p. 32) that said, qualitative method is an approach that used not only for exploring, but also to understanding the meaning of individuals or groups to a social or any human problems. Qualitative method uses text or image as the main source in the analysis. In this study, data taken from the novel *Troubled Blood* by Robert Galbraith that has 852 pages, divided into seven parts and 73 chapters. *Troubled Blood* is the fourth novel from the Cormoran Strike series and was published in 2020.

In collecting data, the writer uses some steps, starting from reading the novel, finding out the quotes that have the right context to the study, collecting words, quotes, and sentences from the novel. After finishing collecting data, this study applies several steps to analyze the data collection using the relevant theories and conclusion then made based on the result of the data analysis.

## ANALYSIS

### Social Injustices Toward Dennis Creed as A Crossdresser

#### Social Injustice Towards the Crossdresser

##### 1. Bully and Abuse: Creed's Childhood Injustice

Family background can be used to define someone's identity because family plays the acquisition of social understanding, caregiving, health, and wellbeing (Scabini & Manzi, 2011, p. 656). It means if the family not binds together or one role is missing, it will affect someone's identity and personality. Dennis Creed described as a child who raised in an incomplete family, because he doesn't have a father, his mother left home and not allowed to bring Creed, and because of those factors, Creed was raised by his grandparents.

Meanwhile, Creed's past that made him a serial killer can be seen as follows.

Awdry took a particular satisfaction in humiliating Dennis for his persistent bedwetting. His step-grandfather would pour a bucket of water over his bed, then force the boy to sleep in it. Creed recalled several occasions on which he was forced to walk to the corner shop without trousers, but still wearing sodden pajama bottoms, to buy Awdry cigarettes. (Galbraith, 2020, p. 73).

This part explains the abuse and humiliation he received from his step-grandfather, Awdry, when he was a child. Bedwetting is one of the processes experienced by children in their growth period. Most children will know that bedwetting in certain ages is a disgrace and it will be even more embarrassing if someone else scolds or deliberately embarrass the children for their bedwetting habits. This is what Awdry, Creed's step-grandfather did to Creed when he was little. To humiliate Creed even more, Awdry force Creed to go outside and still wet pajama and let other people see and know that Creed is still bedwetting at that time.

The influence of family behaviour on someone then affects the formation and development of a person's character, especially child. Not only family behaviour, the symbolic qualities of family bonds also affects the identity development.

To conceal his true identity, that is a person with psychological disorder, Creed then made himself look as if he is a crossdresser by wearing woman's clothes, even being referred to as queer by his co-workers. Creed's crossdressing behaviour is in accordance with the explanation written by Benjamin on *Transvestism... Men in Female Dress* (2009), that transvestism or crossdressing does not connected to homosexuality (p. 14).

In *Troubled Blood*, this is evidenced by the explanation that Creed practices crossdressing with the aim of kidnapping women, which he then kills, not because he had



sexual disorientation, like homosexuality. By dressing as woman, it makes him easier to approach women—especially those who are drunk—who then become his victims.

## 2. Creed's Womanly

The crossdresser character in *Troubled Blood*, namely Dennis Creed, experiences social injustice in the form of discrimination and stigma.

“There was little Dennis, belting out ‘Wheel of Fortune’ in Jenny’s coat,” an anonymous workmate told the press after Creed’s arrest. “It made some of the older men uncomfortable. A couple of them thought he was, you know, queer, after.” (Galbraith, 2020, p. 50).

According to Jackson in Watts & Hodgson (2019), discrimination is defined as the different treatment of groups or individuals among members of that group. while stigma relates to stereotypes given to certain groups by people. In the quote above, Creed's co-worker's treatment, which is written as feeling uncomfortable, indicates an act of discrimination, because of the discomfort they felt, Creed's co-workers started to distance themselves from him and treat Creed differently from other workers who were considered 'normal' and not crossdressers. The form of social injustice that Creed experiences from his co-workers can also be seen in the choice of the word 'queer' used to describe Creed.

According to Pilcher & Whelehan (2004) the term queer, which emerged in the 1980s, is usually used to demean and refer to homophobic actions (p. 129). Apart from that, the term queer is also usually used as another term to say someone is gay and is used to demean someone. This indicates that Creed's co-workers who shun him and call him a queer are demeaning to Creed.

Not only do they experience discrimination, but people who practice transvestism or crossdressing also often experience stigma in the form of stereotypes that crossdressers are gay. Benjamin in Cauldwell (1956) explains that crossdressers or transvestism are often associated with or included in the transsexualism group, but the two have striking differences. As Benjamin explains in Cauldwell (1956), trans-sexualism is more than just role-playing; a trans-sexual person even has the desire to change their sexual status, including their body structure. Meanwhile, crossdressing is the act of imitating another person, including the way they dress, and is usually done as role-playing, for example, in a drag queen show (p. 23).

Creed's relationship with his co-workers shows the process of identity identification, namely relational identity, where Creed, who is considered to be an entertainer for his co-workers by playing roles and cross-dressing, is then considered and defined by some of his co-workers as queer. This is what then causes social injustice for Creed, in the form of discrimination, stigmatization, or stereotyping.

## 3. Stereotypes in Creed's Residence

Even though there are various purposes for someone to become a crossdresser, this act is still uncommon by society and is associated with a person's sexual orientation. The most common stereotype attached to crossdresser is the assumption that a crossdresser is a gay. In *Troubled Blood*, Creed is said to be gay.

“I thought he was a pansy,” Cooper says today. “I'd seen a bit of it in the theatre. I felt sorry for him, that's the truth.” (Galbraith, 2020, p. 68).

Thus far, Creed's relationship with landlady Violet Cooper had been key to his continuing safety. Violet herself admits that for the first five years of his tenancy, she'd never have believed harm of “Den,” who she saw as a lonely and gentle soul, fond of their singalong evenings, and probably gay. (Galbraith, 2020, p. 437).



This part shows that Creed's landlady, Violet Cooper, believes that Creed is gay only based on the behaviour shown by Creed. The reason why Cooper said that Creed is gay was apparently because of stereotypes that she already knew from the theatre where she previously worked. In fact, Cooper not only once mentioned her opinion that Creed was gay.

Cauldwell states that a crossdresser is not always associated with homosexuality or gayness. However, it should be noted that there are a number of crossdressers who are homosexuals or gay, for example actors who play in stage or theatre, where the female character is played by male who is gay (1956, p. 14). This also explains why Cooper, Creed's landlady, stated many times that she thought Creed was gay, because of her experience seeing actors in the theatre who were 'pansies'.

"We've all got a tendency to generalize from our own past experiences. Look at Violet Cooper. She thought she knew who Creed really was, because she'd met a couple of men who behaved like him, in her theater days."

"Soft-spoken, apparently gentle, slightly feminine. Creed liked putting on her feather boa, and he pretended to like show tunes, so she thought he was a gay man. (Galbraith, 2020, p. 559).

The statement made by Ellacott about Cooper thinking that Creed was gay explained that her experience of seeing people who behaved and looked like Creed at the theater made him think that men who were female and crossdressing were gay. According to Cooper, a gay person behaves like Creed, who speaks softly, looks feminine, and likes slow music. This shows that stereotypes in one group or group can be created from the habits of one or more people in that group. This will ultimately result in stereotypes being attached to the group, even though they are not always completely true.

#### 4. Mentally Unstable Label Towards Crossdresser

Mental health problems are one of the concerns related to social injustice due to the types of stigma and stereotypes that crossdressers often receive.

"Proper mental breakdown. He'd been going funny before he took on the case, but you know, it was the seventies—looking after the workforce's mental health was for poofs." (Galbraith, 2020, p. 45).

Prior (1999) writes that there are differences between women and men in handling the mental issues they experience, namely that women are more concerned with mental health and mental disorders, so that it is easier for women to receive related professional treatment. This is because women want to protect themselves and their children; one way is through good mental health. However, this is different from the data on men who receive less treatment for mental health issues because of the perceived macho image of men, so that treatment or treatment related to mental health in men tends to be lower than in women.

This turns out to be no different from what is experienced by crossdressers, who also have difficulty accessing mental health facilities. According to Psych Central (Solis-Moreira, 2021), the condition experienced by crossdressers is not a mental disorder but is part of a sexual disorder, namely paraphilia, a mental disorder that develops from certain sexual behaviours. Because it is not considered a mental disorder and is instead considered a deviation, this means that crossdressers cannot receive adequate mental treatment.



Based on this case, the quote above explains why mental health was for poofs. Because crossdressers are considered to be the gender group most vulnerable to mental disorders because they do not receive medical treatment regarding their mental health.

#### Crossdresser's Reinforcements

##### 1. Social Injustice Reinforcement

Social injustice and inequality have long been a concern for crossdressers and trans people. This can be seen from the regulations in the United States in the 1970s that restricted freedom of expression, namely the prohibition on men wearing clothes that did not fit their female type in public. This rule is based on medieval European legislation that regulates public clothing by job, class, and gender.

Apart from the law in the United States in 1970, there are various similar laws or punishments in modern times that are implemented in various countries. For example, the enactment of Article 152 as a part of the 1991 Criminal Act in Sudan, which contains the rules of punishment for those who wears something immoral which causes annoyance to public feelings. In the United States, in March 2023, the governor of Tennessee, Bill Lee, signed a ban on drag shows held in public spaces. According to Wabe.Org, this policy is thought to force drag shows in Tennessee to be held underground.

The release of *Troubled Blood*, written by J.K. Rowling under the pseudonym Robert Galbraith, turns out to be considered trans, and activists will reinforce the social injustice that has been inherent and experienced by crossdressers and trans people. One is the ban on the use of public bathrooms or restrooms in the UK and US for trans people. Over the last few years, this has been a controversy, rooted in the fear of the bad guys who are not dressed up for their female type. As a result, anti-trans laws have emerged in some countries, one of which is regulating that trans people do not use public bathrooms according to their gender identity (Bradley, 2020).

Pro-anti-trans laws say that if trans people are allowed to use public bathrooms according to their gender identity, it will increase the number of crimes and attacks against women and children in public toilets, but this is contested by data from the U.S. state that allows trans people to use gender-sensitive public restrooms, which shows no increase in sexual assault or targeted assaults on children and women.

##### 2. Stigma Reinforcement

Non-binary people, including transgender, transsexual, and crossdressers, often face a variety of stigmas or stereotypes related to their sexual orientation or decisions taken to change their sexual identity. Examples are male crossdressers, often called gay, because they look like women. Not only that, crossdressers are often associated with evil people because there are crimes committed by men dressed like girls. These are some examples of the stigma on the crossdresser that raise concerns, even the fear of LGBTQs, crossdressers, and activists of the increasing stigma of the 'bad man' on their people, following the release of *Troubled Blood*, written by Rowling.

The re-emergence of this fear is inseparable from the history of non-binary people fighting for justice for their people. Approximately since 1910, people with different sex orientations have been separated from society. Until the 1990s, the term 'queer' began to be used by gay people and started to be added to the umbrella of this community, thus becoming LGBTQ. According Blackmore, the addition of the abbreviation Q is still seen by some people, who say that the letter Q is an acronym for 'questioning', which refers to how people with different orientations are confused with their own sexual identity and their sex identity is still in question (2021). This is why the term queer is sometimes embedded in different gender groups. Even the Creed character in *Troubled Blood* is also



called a queer by his co-workers when Creed wears a costume that resembles a female singer.

Creed's portrayal of a murderer who became a crossdresser while committing this crime turned out to be a scare for trans people, crossdressers, and even gays. The fear that is meant is the fear of the stigma that the people of the sloth are 'bad men' because of the portrayals that a crossdresser can commit the crime of kidnapping, torture, or even killing his victim, who is a woman.

#### Crossdresser's Challenges

##### 1. Social Injustice

The challenges in terms of social injustice experienced by crossdressers are also widely experienced by trans people, or people who want to undergo health procedures related to gender or gender-affirming care. The challenges for crossdressers and trans people in trying to get health facilities are considered by LGBTQ+ activists to be even greater, especially after Rowling published *Troubled Blood*. Dennis Creed's character as a man who cross-dresses to commit crimes is considered one of Rowling's ways of expressing that trans people or crossdressers are destroying 'women's space'. Rowling is considered to be hiding behind the concept of a twisted version of feminism, which considers that trans women are a threat to women, when in fact what she writes shows how trans women and crossdressers face various challenges in society, especially the challenges of increasing violence and various social injustices (Bradley, 2020).

##### 2. Stigma or Stereotype

LGBTQ+, including crossdressers, is a group that is stuck with various stigmas or stereotypes. Some stigma is inherent in crossdressers; for example, crossdressers are transgender, gay, or people with sex identities that are still questionable to be considered dangerous people. But the stigma is not entirely true. As written by Cauldwell (1956, p. 14), the practice of crossdressing is not always or has nothing to do with homosexuality, even though there are some crossdressers who are either gay or lesbian.

In addition to stigma about sexual orientation, stigma or other stereotypes that are strongly inherent in crossdressers is how they are viewed as bad people by others. These two groups are considered bad guys who use their identity as crossdressers or transgender people to commit crimes, one of which is sexual crimes. The portrayal of Dennis Creed as a serial killer who also commits sexual assault on his female victim, using her identity as a woman, raises concerns among crossdressers and transgender people.

The fear that emerged was about the challenge of facing the negative stigma that was thought to be increasingly inherent in crossdressers and trans people. These challenges can later affect the reinforcements that both groups or larger groups are also facing, namely how limited public facilities can be obtained, laws that increasingly restrict freedom of expression, and the increasing social injustice and violence they gain.

#### Galbraith's Representation of The Crossdresser Toward Gender Complexity and Social Injustice

##### 1. Practical Consequences of Social Injustice

Social injustice in the form of discrimination and stigmatization or stereotypes for certain gender groups can be easily seen, such as for trans people, including transvestites or crossdressers. This is what gave rise to various activist movements demanding social justice and the involvement of trans people in society.

Another social injustice that is often accepted by crossdressers is restrictions on expression in terms of clothing. This can then continue into the realm of law, where crossdressers are considered criminals for violating dress codes. As a result, the stigma





that crossdressers are criminals has become attached to crossdressers and other trans people.

Various stereotypes are attached to trans people, such as assumptions regarding their tendency to carry out criminal activities or being paedophiles. Not only that, trans people, such as transwomen and crossdressers, are also considered dangerous, and trans women are considered a threat to other women. In *Troubled Blood*, this is clearly written by Rowling:

Creed usually picked them off when they were drunk. Having said that, it was a dark evening and rainy. He'd pulled that trick before. And he was good at lulling women's suspicions and getting their sympathy. A couple of them walked into his flat of their own accord. (Galbraith, 2020, p. 46).

Rowling describes the stigma that states that a crossdresser is a criminal, not only from the big crimes he commits, but also from the small things he does, namely stealing clothes used to disguise himself as a crossdresser.

He soon progressed to stealing women's underwear from neighbors' washing lines and even from his grandmother, Ena. These he enjoying wearing in secret, and masturbating in... (Galbraith, 2020, p. 50).

This depiction is then considered by trans groups to mean that Rowling confirms various stereotypes and stigmatization that crossdressers and other trans people receive in their daily lives. In *Troubled Blood*, Rowling shows that the crossdresser character she created shows two sides, where this character experiences social injustice in the form of stigmatization and discrimination from the people around him. However, Creed as a crossdresser in *Troubled Blood* also makes the stereotype of crossdressers being criminals even more real.

Unfortunately, the stereotype of a crossdresser as a criminal considered dangerous to other women is used by some people to do evil. The practical consequence that occurs is that there are men who disguise themselves as women to enter public bathrooms specifically for women and secretly record women. This then has an impact on male crossdressers who dress like women for other things, one of which is to work as a drag queen or in the theatre, as well as trans people.

## 2. Feminism, Gender, and Social Injustice: Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* Revisited

In explaining gender and sexuality, Butler writes that gender can be made into an ambiguous concept without disturbing the concept of normative sexuality. Sometimes this ambiguity in gender can even function to keep the normative concept of sexuality intact. This means no correlation can be drawn or concluded; for example, the relationship between drag or transgender people and sexual practices and the distribution of hetero-, bi-, and homo-inclinations cannot be a reference for gender change (1999, p. xiv). In *Troubled Blood*, Ellacott has this to say:

"We've all got a tendency to generalize from our own past experiences. Look at Violet Cooper. She thought she knew who Creed really was, because she'd met a couple of men who behaved like him, in her theater days."

"Soft-spoken, apparently gentle, slightly feminine. Creed liked putting on her feather boa, and he pretended to like show tunes, so she thought he was a gay man (Galbraith, 2020, p. 559).

Further, Ellacott explained thus:



“But if the only gay man she’d met had been Max, my flatmate...”

“He’s gay, is he?” said Strike, whose memories of Max were indistinct.

“Yes, and he isn’t remotely camp, and hates musicals. Come to that, if she’d met a couple of Matt’s straight mates down the rugby club, who couldn’t wait to shove oranges up their T-shirts and prance around, she might’ve drawn a different conclusion, mightn’t she?” (Galbraith, 2020, p. 559).

This part shows that Violet Cooper experiences gender ambiguity in men, which is caused by actors in the theater who play female characters who have a gentle nature and are considered gay. This is what then makes him assume that Creed, who has the characteristics of an actor who works in the theater where Cooper works, is gay too. However, this assumption was later shattered by Ellacott, who also had a gay friend, Max. Despite being gay, Max has traits that are very different from what Cooper describes as a gay person. Apart from that, Creed's nature and appearance, which display gender ambiguity for Cooper, also show that the gender concept presented by Creed does not change the normative concept of sexuality, where Creed still has an attraction to women, like how in social culture, men are attracted to women.

One of the key words that Butler uses in *Gender Trouble* is gender performativity, which explains that the gender a person has is a performance, but it is different from the performance performed by an actor on stage. Gender performativity referred to by Butler is accompanied by a number of actions that accompany speech or acts regarding the person's gender. Actions that can be carried out in gender performativity include body movements that show gender identity or more extreme ones, such as hallucinatory effects from body movements (1999, p. xv).

Dennis Creed had been a meticulous planner, a genius of misdirection in his neat little white van, dressed in the pink coat he’d stolen from Vi Cooper, and sometimes wearing a wig that, from a distance, to a drunk victim, gave his hazy form a feminine appearance just long enough for his large hands to close over a gasping mouth. (Galbraith, 2020, p. 604).

This quote shows the existence of gender performativity carried out by Creed, namely through various actions, movements, and the nature of the people around him. Regarding gender performativity, Butler also explained that this is not an action that is done just once but is done repeatedly so that it has a natural movement effect on the person's body (1999, p. xv).

Creed performs actions that show repeated actions that make him considered to have a different gender than the one he belongs to. By carrying out several sets of acts, this seems to be done by Creed to show his internal gender, not as a man, but to show his feminine side, which then helps him when exploring his role as a crossdresser when committing crimes against his victims.

Butler in *Gender Trouble* also presents an analysis of how women become subjects of feminism and feminists' efforts to make women have a role in society and political representation (1999, p. 2). However, according to Butler, the feminist desire for women to be represented and regulated under the law is ultimately not universal because it will only define femininity and how patriarchy plays a role in different cultures (1999, p. 5). How women become subjects of feminism as considered by feminists then extends to feminist views on gender, which state that gender must be eliminated or made ambiguous because gender is always a sign of women's subordination (1999, p. xiv). This view can ultimately result in discrimination or even the emergence of hatred from women towards those who have a different identity from women, because they will always feel like they are the ones experiencing subordination due to the existence of diverse and different genders.



## CONCLUSION

Social injustice is inherent in people who are considered different from most people, for example, crossdressers, transgender people, gay people, lesbians, and various other groups are considered non-binary. Crossdresser is prone to unfair treatment compared to those considered normal, also called binary. Such unfair treatment is like social injustice, whose forms include discrimination, stigma, and stereotypes.

It's seen in Denis Creed how he got discriminated against by some of his co-workers, who then took him away and called him a queer. Besides, he also got a stigma from the landlady where he lived, who said that Creed was a pansy. The term she used to describe this creed emerged from her assumptions when working in the world of entertainment. She considered actors who played women to be effeminate or gay. Not only that, in *Troubled Blood*, a crossdresser also gets stigmatized as someone with an unstable mental condition from the police officers who investigate cases involving creed.

According to them and the activists, *Troubled Blood* makes social justice and the stigma received by crossdressers stronger. Although the immediate emergence of troubled blood does not affect government decisions, mass protests can influence government decisions.

*Gender Trouble* by Judith Butler is also used to help analyse how society constructs the concept of sex and gender. One of the key keywords used by Butler in her book could help analyse the gender and identity that exist in the novel *Troubled Blood* in relation to its impact on crossdressers or larger communities, such as trans people or LGBTQ+.

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