Avery Dame-Griff, **The Two Revolutions: A History of the Transgender Internet,** New York: New York University Press, 2023, 272 pp., $30.00 (paperback).

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The Two Revolutions: A History of the Transgender Internet explores the history of early digital-based spaces and how they were used by transgender individuals for community building and activism efforts. Dame-Griff argues that much of the modern transgender movement, and even the term "transgender" itself, was established in these early Web-based spaces, and because of that, there is a wealth of knowledge to be gained from compiling and studying them (pp. 3–5). With this book, Dame-Griff aims to close the "generation gap" narrative of the modern transgender movement that views it as a solely modern identity group and reassert that transgender people have always existed by "filling in the historical gaps" of the movement's early digital presence (p. 202).
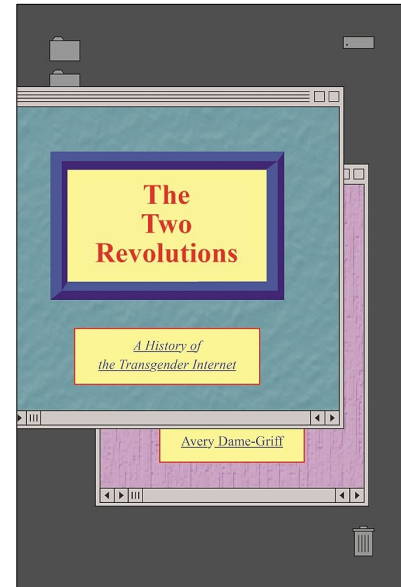
To do this, Avery Dame-Griff conducted his study using what he called "Internet time," by analyzing different online platforms at their peaks, creating an interconnected chronology of the early Internet (p. 21). Dame-Griff compiled his data by employing the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine and practicing what he calls "rabbit-holing," which is following a reference across multiple archives to obtain a more detailed perspective on an issue. He also gathered materials and data from the University of Michigan's National Transgender Library and Archives, as well as digitized documents from the Digital Transgender Archive.

With this data, Dame-Griff focuses on the transformation and growth of the transgender community through digital spaces, unpacking transgender resource author Stephanie Rose's concept of the "two revolutions," which is in reference to the early gender community's overt political revolution and their "more covert computer revolution" throughout the 1990s, asserting how the history of the transgender community in the United States cannot be disentangled from early Internet histories (p. 16). Dame-Griff does so by building off the scholarship of digital historians Kevin Driscoll and Camille Paloque-Bergés (p. 4) on the importance of early Internet social networks, and transgender historian Susan Stryker's work on the early social dynamics of the transgender movement throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Prior to the advent of computers, transgender individuals found community through local periodicals and in-person meetings. By the 1980s, there were national groups with monthly newsletters keeping people apprised of the community. While these were vital resources, many transgender individuals feared that their participation in or subscription to these groups could potentially out them. By the late 1980s, Bulletin Board Systems (BBSes), which are the basis of chapter 1, were gaining popularity

as computers became more prominent. BBSes allowed users with common interests to communicate privately and anonymously, which for transgender users created a space for exploring their identity, sharing resources, and finding community without fear of being outed. It should be noted though, that the early stages of this computer revolution were led by computer literate members of the "gender community," some of whom identified as transgender women, but variations in terminology would not be agreed on until the 1990s. These women made up a small portion of the wider community until the expansion of the Internet onto commercial platforms, like AOL, where local groups could move beyond the bounds of their geographic area and into the expansive space of the digital.

Chapter 2 discusses how AOL and the "domestication of the home computer" created a more inclusive Internet where the transgender movement flourished (p. 56). AOL became a prominent digital home to a large collection of transgender resources, materials, newsletters, and periodicals. While AOL broadened access to the online world, it came with consequences for the transgender movement. AOL's practices were driven by terms-of-service agreements that were upheld by volunteer moderators, who would often flag transgender forums as "adult" content under the guise of keeping children safe on the Internet. To combat this, transgender users crafted a collective identity under the term "transgender" to move away from the sexualized connotations of crossdressing and transsexuals as a practice in respectability politics.

In chapter 3, Dame-Griff discusses another commercial platform in the 1990s: Usenet. He argues that the importance of Usenet lies in the shift toward the adoption of the term "cisgender" within the transgender community's lexicon and how Usenet furthered the term's visibility. Originally, "cisgender" was a term used to denote a person whose gender presentation matched their gender identity, with all other people falling under the umbrella of "transgender." This created an "us/them" discursive dynamic within the community, often among a select and highly active group of users (p. 82). Laura Blake, a highly active user on Usenet and within the broader gender community, was the most vocal proponent of the term "cisgender." While her ideologies on gender were often uncompromising, her definition and usage of "cisgender" brought forth a new, politicized term for the transgender community to employ against stereotypical gender norms.

While the advent of AOL allowed for huge strides in the growth and visibility of the online transgender community, the increased access to the World Wide Web in the mid- to late 1990s also allowed for expanded self-expression and community building. Many users employed the "home page" as their own space to express themselves, but they also acted as a resource for other transgender users, especially transgender youth, who did not connect with the "transition memoir or tabloid talk show" narratives surrounding transgender people in mass media at the time (p. 127). This proliferation of these often-utopic online spaces was juxtaposed by the "cyberporn technopanic" of the era where parents of young children feared their child's participation in the digital gender community would "infect" their children (p. 137). To combat this, many parents installed filtering software on their computers that removed any "adult" content, often barring transgender youth from accessing the transgender users' home pages and resources.

Chapter 5 discusses the infrastructure of the digital transgender community when transgender youth start to create their own spaces online. These online spaces mirrored the benefits of in-person support groups without the need to navigate the complex red tape that participation in in-person groups brought. Unsurprisingly, the sustained and increasing interest in the Internet and the World Wide Web throughout the 1990s and early 2000s caused a decline in the interest of in-person transgender support groups. Furthermore, a generation gap was becoming apparent between the older transgender women who moved their activism and community onto the Internet and the transgender youth that came out and formed their identity online. Because of this, transgender youth struggled to find their place in the offline communities because most groups were composed of older transgender women who did not share the same ideologies and perspectives. Most offline groups also barred youth from joining due to fear of parental legal retaliation, echoing the values of the "cyberporn technopanic" of the era. Out of these growing pains in the transgender movement came the migration toward new social networking websites, like LiveJournal and later, Tumblr.

Dame-Griff opens chapter 6 by discussing the importance of social tagging and "microblogging," which refers to the sharing of small amounts of content on social networking sites like Tumblr (p. 174). Social tags on these sites form a transgender folksonomy, which is the way users classify content into categories, creating a taxonomy of social categories within the transgender community. On Tumblr, this folksonomy offers the transgender community expanded representation of transgender bodies online and normalizes transgender terminology. Dame-Griff then moves toward another form of modern Internet data, Google's Search Engine Results Page (SERP). Many transgender people often rely on Google's SERP to find information about the transgender community, especially when they are first coming into their identity. Dame-Griff argues that the algorithmic system that powers Google's SERP negatively cements implicit biases and oversimplifies complex transgender issues. The system's overreliance on keywords creates associations between legitimate questions about transgender experiences and antitransgender websites and rhetoric (p. 186). Dame-Griff closes by urging for an online space made for and by transgender people that allows for sustainable and safe content preservation and "intersectional community building," highlighting Archive of Our Own as an example of this (p. 207).

Avery Dame-Griff's book does great work at integrating data and materials from a wealth of different archives into a succinct and comprehensive chronology of the digital transgender movement that is a first of its kind, setting it apart from other transgender studies or media studies works. It is also a great introduction for anyone doing research focused on Internet histories or the history of the transgender community in the United States. The inclusion of screenshots from digital archives interspersed throughout the chapters complement readers' understanding of the pages and forums Dame-Griff is describing. Shifting toward the contents of the book, Dame-Griff's research about the period from the 1960s–2016 offered a powerful historical narrative but left the reader wondering how and why that periodization was chosen. This leaves the reader hungry for further research from Dame-Griff and explanation as to what has happened since the late 2000s Tumblr and Google's SERP but also sets the stage nicely for future research to build on his work. To strengthen this, future research could be done to better cement and periodize the concept of the "two revolutions" and how they intersect with or even complicate other narratives about queer digital spaces.