

GenderPAC

First National Survey of Transgender Violence

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Data Summary

Sample size=402

Number of incidents reported=403

59.5% report being a victim of harassment or violence.

95% of the worst incidents involved 2-3 perpetrators.

	<u>30 Days</u>	<u>12 Months</u>	<u>Lifetime</u>
Street Harassment/Verbal Abuse	17.9%	33.6%	55.5%
Being followed or stalked	3.0%	9.2%	22.9%
Assaulted without a weapon	1.7%	6.5%	19.4%
Objects thrown at you	2.2%	6.5%	17.4%
Rape/Attempted Rape	0.5%	2.7%	13.7%
Assaulted with a weapon	1.2%	3.0%	10.2%
Robbed (by one person)	0.5%	1.7%	9.2%
Unjustified Arrest	0.7%	2.0%	7.7%
Robbed (by a group of people)	0.2%	1.2%	4.7%

Worst Incidents

Verbal harassment	78.2%
Sexual harassment	23.3%
Assault without a weapon	19.1%
Assault with a weapon	11.2%
Attempted Assault	9.2%
Sexual Assault	9.2%
Rape	8.7%

Setting		Perpetrator	
Street or public area	34.5%	Stranger	50.6%
Private residence	16.6%	Employer or co-worker	13.2%
Workplace	13.2%	Acquaintance or friend	8.4%
Business or bar	8.9%	Law enforcement officer	6.0%
School or College	7.4%	Landlord/tenant/neighbor	5.0%
Store or restaurant	6.9%	Relative or family	5.0%
Police	5.0%	Ex-lover/partner	3.7%

Overall, experience with any type of violent incident is significantly associated with one's income and experience with economic discrimination. Low income and experiencing economic discrimination are associated with an increased likelihood of experiencing some type of violent activity.

Introduction

You hold something unique in your hands. Not because it's a study about transpeople. On the contrary, there have been scores of studies on us. In the early days, it was usually 18 people in a rehab somewhere, and the mental health workers who wrote them studied our "fetishes," "fixations" or "gender confusions" and relayed their results in the obscure language of cathexis, dysfunction and derangement.

Lately trans-studies have witnessed a shift, as studying "transgressive genders" has become an academic hot topic and a quick ticket to a grant. These are carried out by researchers who study us just exactly as if we were some isolated and inexplicable tribe or worse yet as a sub-group of people in need of medical intervention to cure us of our "deviance". Their gaze is generally fixed on such pressing concerns as what we call ourselves, how we dress, the extended kinship structures we've effected, or how medical procedures form the basis of our existence. Such studies typically employ the nuanced language of ethnography to relate their findings, or superficial readings of articles written by "experts" in the field.

What is common to most studies of trans-people is their staggering irrelevance to the community at issue. After all, when you're laying stretched out with the evening pavement scraping against your cheek, trying to figure out what just happened to you it isn't too important if someone's plotted the standard deviation of when crossdressers first try on women's clothing, or if transexual men want testosterone because they had distant fathers and overprotective mothers.

The "war between the sexes" is anything but a metaphor: there is a real war, with real wounds and casualties and they bleed real blood, and all too often we're among them, trapped as we are in some no-man's land between two warring sides and in harm's way wherever we turn. But this doesn't get studied, and so the fear and violence and socialized bigotry which stalks so many of our lives has gone unresearched and unstudied, much less by trans-people themselves.

Until now, that is. The 1st National Study on Trans-violence is not only a groundbreaking effort to study hate crimes and bias incidents in our community, it is also the first such study done for and by transpeople themselves. And we chose violence because we are not some isolated tribe, which needs a swarm of anthropologists and shrinks to map both the outer reaches of our kinship structures and the inner badlands of our deepest psyches, but because we *are* real people engaged in living complex lives, and violence -- or the fear of violence -- is one of the most profound effects with which we have to contend.

This study grew from an idea proposed in the summer of 1994 by the NY Anti-Violence Project (AVP) proposed to Dr. Barbara Warren, head of the Gender Identity Project of New York's Gay & Lesbian Community Center. It marinated for a few years, and was finally launched in 1996 when Matt Foreman (AVP's outgoing Executive Director) and I met to discuss how to move the project to fruition. Matt contributed a visual design, brilliantly clear and simple in a manner AVP has perfected over the years, along with much well-founded advice. AVP's Bea Hanson has also helped us in the writing and producing of this summary.

Over the past year, hundreds of studies were distributed across the country, including a Web site version specially developed and tended by Tasha Richards. Special thanks must be given to Tasha and many others who volunteered to distribute the surveys in their area. It was their help that made this project the success that it is. I suspect that for so many of us involved in it, this project was what is often referred to as a "heart issue."

We realize that this study is far from the final word on the matter of transviolence. Our primary objective was not to plot a scientific sample which could be published in a research journal, but rather to at least begin to document the existence of a serious problem, and establish an initial baseline. Too often we have lobbied Congress or local legislatures on trans-inclusion in Hate Crimes bills, only to be asked, "Do you have any data? How can we be sure this is a real problem?"

In the past we had only the terrible specificity of anecdotal evidence to offer, names from a too-long list which continues to echo in our ears, including Brandon Teena, Debbie Forte, Marsha P. Johnson, Tyra Hunter, Chanel Picket, Richard Goldman, Christian Paige, and Jessie Santiago. That list still continues to grow with a distressing regularity. But at last we have more. This is the largest-scale study of transviolence ever done, and I am confident that local gender activists as well as lobbyists at the next National Gender Lobbying Day will put its results to good use.

I also hope that work like this will stimulate more serious researchers to wade on in to the "deep end of the pool," and grapple with the real problems which plague this marginalized and embattled community. In fact, it is gratifying to note that even now, Dr. Sandra Cole and a team from the University of Michigan Gender Identity Program are doing a landmark scientific study of trans-violence. It is a smaller-scale, in-depth, controlled study, one which will allow much more detailed analysis and conclusions than ours. I hope it is just the start of many more.

There are so many critical issues which need to be studied: employment and health care discrimination, the child abuse and incest of genderqueer children, the incidence of sexual assault on transpeople, child custody law and discrimination against transgender parents in divorce cases, the abuse of trans-prisoners in federal and state custody, to name but a few.

On behalf of Emilia, Dana, Diana, and myself I'd like to thank all the people who participated in this study, as well as all the groups in the transcommunity who took the time to distribute and support it. With that said, we are still well aware that we have too few responses from people of color, and people who are economically disadvantaged. But we are learning, and the next one will be better. Translives are going to change, and documenting the challenges we face is a first step in that direction.

Riki Wilchins
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A Glimpse of the Problem

Transgendered people are people who manifest gender characteristics, behavior, or self-identification typical of or commonly associated with persons of another gender. The

transgendered community includes intersexed persons, transexuals, cross-dressers, transgenderists (i.e., those who live as members of a gender other than their birth sex but do not undergo gender reassignment surgery), and others (depending upon the scope with which "transgendered" is used). Transgendered people can be of any age, race, sexual orientation, economic status, ethnicity, or faith.

Yet throughout their lives, transgendered people at various times, and usually without their consent, become the focus of attention of other persons or groups who are emotionally or financially invested in enforcing gender norms. The following examples demonstrate that this attention is rarely friendly and accepting of diversity. Rather, it often takes the form of outrage at the appearance or the very existence of transgendered people. We do not know how often these incidents occur. What we know is based on anecdotal reports. This study is an initial attempt at establishing the scope of the problem.

Intersexed infants are surgically mutilated for non-medical reasons, arbitrarily assigned usually as females, and left scarred, with diminished sexual sensation, for life. The Intersexed Society of North America estimates that 2,000 intersexed infants, some as young as three weeks old, undergo genital surgery annually in the United States.

Young and preteen children who manifest gender-variant or "pre-homosexual" behavior are diagnosed by psychiatrists with "Gender Identity Disorder." Phyllis Burke's recent book, *Gender Shock*, documents how these innocent children are forced to undergo "treatment" which may include psychotherapy, behavior modification, drug treatment, and/or confinement in locked psychiatric wards.

Transgendered young adults who disclose their experience are scorned, attacked, locked into or thrown out of their homes, and if homeless, may have little alternative to sex work and all the risks to life and health associated with it. It is unknown how many young adults are treated this way.

Working adults who disclose their transgendered experience, or request reasonable accommodation to it, are fired, or harassed, intimidated and assaulted by supervisors and coworkers, their privacy violated, their property defaced and destroyed; some have been tracked down and murdered at home. Workplace discrimination is so rampant that it is the norm among transgendered people.

Outside the workplace, visibly transgendered people are harassed, intimidated and assaulted in public places. Such incidents are common, an everyday occurrence.

Transgendered people inevitably run afoul of gender-based laws and ordinances concerning identification, presentation or dress, and/or access to gendered services or facilities. Such incidents are believed to be common.

Closeted transgendered people who are unlikely to file police reports are targeted for robbery. It is unknown how often this occurs.

About every 4-5 months for the past few years, GenderPAC has learned of a fairly unambiguous transgender hate crime somewhere in the U.S. The most recent murders include those of Brandon Teena (1994), Debbie Forte (1995), Chanel Pickett (1995), and Christian Paige (1996). These murders tend to be distinguished by multiple deep stab wounds to the victim's head and breast. Many victims are beaten, strangled, and stabbed.

Despite this violence, due to widespread stereotyping and ignorance about transgendered people, there is little sympathy for them as victims and virtually no call for action. Consequently, potential assailants may correctly identify transgendered people as targets about whom society cares little.

The Standard Responses Haven't Been Tried.

Violence which is motivated by hatred of or bias against a particular group or characteristic -- and as to which a consensus exists that such violence should be suppressed -- often is dealt with legislatively in the following ways: (1) the incidence of violence is statistically tracked so that it can be better understood; (2) educational efforts are designed and implemented so that law enforcement, social services, and other involved professionals can recognize it; and (3) penalty-enhancement legislation is enacted so that those who commit such violence are singled out for particularly severe treatment. None of this yet has been done with respect to violence against transgendered people.

Federal Data Gathering -- The Hate Crimes Statistics Act

During the 104th Congress, 2d Session, the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, 28 U.S.C. e534 note, was re-authorized and funded through 2002. The HCSA facilitates data gathering about hate crimes that involve bias against race, religion, sexual orientation and/or ethnicity. The HCSA does not, however, specifically identify hate crimes based on bias against transgendered persons (although some likely are counted under sexual orientation). An initial step toward understanding the extent of hate violence against transgendered Americans would be to add "gender" to the HCSA, with the understanding that gender should be construed to include gender characteristics, expression or identity.

Compliance Advocacy and Training

Adding gender (construed in the manner described above) as an additional category to the HCSA would be futile unless law enforcement agencies participate in the data gathering effort and understand how to recognize incidents covered by the category.

Participation

The HCSA data gathering effort currently suffers from a lack of participation. Many agencies do not wish to emphasize the hate crimes problems in their jurisdictions by collecting data recording their frequency. In other agencies, officials may not believe data collection is the best use of limited personnel resources. Officials in some jurisdictions likely do not believe

the affected groups deserve protection. This is an area in which the Department of Justice could make a difference by devoting additional resources to compliance advocacy.

Education

In addition to being encouraged to participate in the HCSA data gathering effort, law enforcement agencies would need assistance in training their personnel to recognize hate crimes against transgendered people. This is an area in which the transgendered community itself could be of some use, by developing training programs and offering in-service training sessions to law enforcement personnel.

Penalty Enhancement for Hate Crimes Against Transgendered People

The commonly accepted response to hate crimes is to increase the penalty for committing them. For hate crimes falling within federal jurisdiction, federal law already provides a means to increase penalties for hate crimes that are based on bias against transgendered people. Section 280003 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, Pub. L. No. 103-322, 108 Stat. 1796, 2096 (Sept. 13, 1994), directed the federal sentencing commission to "provide sentencing enhancements of not less than three offense levels for [an offense] that the finder of fact at trial determines beyond a reasonable doubt" to be a "crime in which the defendant intentionally selects a victim, or in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived . . . gender . . . of any person." If the concept of gender were construed to include the entire ensemble of characteristics, expression and identity which makes up gender, this provision might provide a useful predicate, at least in the federal criminal system, for sentencing enhancement in connection with hate crimes against transgendered people.

This sort of construction would not be a large leap into the unknown. In Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, 490 U.S. 228 (1989), a plurality of the Supreme Court accepted the proposition that reliance upon sex-based stereotypes about personal traits like aggressiveness and demeanor, in connection with decision making concerning the privileges accorded to employees, violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. e 2000e. Thus "sex" -- the term used in Title VII -- was construed broadly enough to reach sexual characteristics.

An analogous construction of "gender," where that term is used in connection with hate crimes legislation, would be enormously beneficial in combating violence against transgendered persons. It would give prosecutors the ability to attack such violence as gender-based violence -- which it is, for it is violence used to enforce perceived gender norms.

Individual State Efforts

The above discussion examines federal law, but we believe the model suggested--(1) track the violence; (2) educate law enforcement, social services, and other involved

professionals to recognize it; and (3) enact penalty-enhancement legislation to deter it -- could be applied productively in individual states as well.

Conclusion

Until or unless steps are taken to track and curb gender-based violence, it will continue. Moreover, as more and more transgender-identified people come out of the closet, we face the prospect of a dramatic escalation in such violence, yet a grossly inadequate social response.

Methods used for this Study

The questionnaire used for this study was developed by Riki Anne Wilchins in conjunction with the New York Anti-Violence Project (with some assistance from the University of Michigan Comprehensive Gender Services Program). The questionnaire was based upon the format used by the Anti-Violence Project (AVP) in their measurement of people's experience with violence. However, unlike AVP, which measures recent experiences, the Transgender Violence Study measures people's lifetime experiences of violence. We ask if they have ever been a victim of violence or harassment because of their status as a transgendered person. If they answer yes to this question they are then asked to proceed and give more details about their experiences including information about their worst two incidents of harassment or violence. If they answered no they were then finished with the survey.

The study questionnaire was distributed either directly to transgendered people during events like conventions, or they were distributed to volunteers across the country who then distributed the questionnaires to the relevant people in their area. Another method that was used to reach people was by formatting a copy of the questionnaire on the World Wide Web. This was done in order to help us reach people who have little if any contact with other Trans-people. The web survey was primarily a supplement to the hard copy version of the questionnaire.

This was not nor was it intended to be a random sample of trans-people, the reasons being the limited resources available for this study and the dispersed distribution of trans-people across the country. A truly random sample would first involve creating a sub-population of trans-people taken from the overall U.S. population and then randomly choosing a sample from that population. This format would have been very expensive and very time consuming to carry out. An alternative method would have been to contact TG organizations that are listed within National TG magazines, newsletters, and electronic media. A problem with this method was that past studies that have used TG organizations as a sampling frame tended to have a sample that was primarily white, middle-classed, MtF crossdressers and transexuals. Minorities, people with low incomes, and FtM transexuals as well as any other transgendered person who fell outside the MtF crossdresser and transexual model exist in very small numbers, if at all, within these organizations. Utilizing volunteers and the WWW to distribute these questionnaires allowed us to go after those individuals who are often times neglected by scientific studies of Trans-people.

Definition of terms

1. **Case:** A person who filled out a questionnaire.
2. **Incident:** An occurrence of harassment or violence that a person reports experiencing.
3. **Violence:** Assault with a weapon, assault without a weapon, attempted assault, rape, or sexual assault.
4. **Harassment:** Either verbal, sexual, telephone, or mail harassment.
5. **Crossdresser, Drag Queen, Drag King:** A person who is identified as a male (or female) at birth but desires to present themselves as female (or male) on different occasions.
6. **Stone Butch, Nellie Queen:** A masculine lesbian, a feminine gay man.
7. **MtF Transsexual:** A person identified at birth as male, but later self-identifies as a female usually seeking medical intervention to physically change their body.
8. **FtM Transsexual:** A person identified at birth as female, but later self-identifies as a male usually seeking medical intervention to physically change their body.
9. **Transgendered Male:** An over-arching category which can range from those who were identified at birth as male and who later have nontraditional gender presentation and behavior; to those identified at birth as female who later self-identify as male and do so with little (if any) medical intervention.
10. **Transgendered Female:** An over-arching category which can range from those who were identified at birth as female and who later have nontraditional gender presentation and behavior; to those identified at birth as male who later self-identify as female and do so with little (if any) medical intervention.
11. **Intersexed:** People born with physical characteristics usually associated with both males and females.

Sample Characteristics

A sample of 402 cases was collected over the span of 12 months (April 1996-April 1997). Tables one through six present the demographic information for the sample. Overall, the sample for this study was found to be predominately white (70.9%), employed full-time (61.9%), and over 30 years of age (84.8%). The rest of the demographic variables were found to be more evenly distributed. It is important to note that the numbers of MtF and FtM transsexuals are similar to each other. This is very important in that many surveys in the past have generally under-represented FtM transsexuals. The distribution of income also allows for an analysis by economic characteristics.

Tables 1-6, Demographic Data

Percentages do not add up to 100% because of missing data and excluded categories

Table 1

	Number	Percent	Transgender Orientation		
Age			Crossdresser, Drag Queen, Drag King		
<29	59		FTM	Number	Percent
			MTF	Transexual	81
			Transgendered M	70	19.7%
			Transgendered F	14	6.0%
			Intersexed	5	2.5%
			Stone Butch, Nelly Queen	4	2.0%
			Latina/o	6	1.5%
			Asian/Pacific Islander	4	1.0%
		14.7%			
30-44	179	44.5%			
45+	162	40.3%			

Table 2

	Number	Percent
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	153	38.1%
Bisexual	65	16.2%
Questioning	47	11.7%
Lesbian/Gay	45	11.2%

Table 3

	Number	Percent

Table 4

Table 5

	Number	Percent
Employment Status		
Full-time	249	61.9%
Student	40	10.0%
Part-time	34	8.5%
Retired	29	7.2%
Unemployed	24	6.0%
On Disability	19	4.7%
On Welfare	4	1.0%

Table 6

	Number	Percent
Income Level		
Under \$10,000	69	17.2%
\$10-\$25,000	81	20.1%
\$25-\$40,000	91	22.6%
\$40-\$60,000	79	19.7%

More than \$60,000	66	16.4%
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Overall Experience of Harassment or Violence

The most common experience is verbal abuse.¹ Over half the sample had experienced verbal harassment for being transgendered sometime in their life. Being stalked is the second most common experience, followed by assault without a weapon (see table 7).

Rape/Attempted Rape

Close to 14% of our sample reported being raped or someone attempting to rape them sometime in the course of their life. A study conducted by Laumann, et al found that 22.4% of the women and 3.9% of the men reported being forced by someone (either a man, a woman, or both) to have sex. Further analysis shows that the rate for both MtF and FtM transsexuals were approximately 21%. The reason transsexuals would have a higher rate than the others may be due to the fact that they interact more within society as a transgendered person than many of the remaining cases within the study. This exposure may create additional opportunity for these trans-people to be targeted.

The rate for the past year is 2.7%. For comparison, the percentage of rape documented within *Crime in the United States*' index of crime for 1995 (the latest data available) was .07% nationwide (women only). The percentages within the 1995 *National Crime Victim Survey*'s preliminary report was .13% (only 31.9% of those rapes were reported to the police).

The *Crime in the United States* defines rape as "the carnal knowledge of a **female** forcibly and against her will," and includes attempted rape. Therefore the numbers reported from governmental sources may give an incomplete picture, which may be why this study's percentage is higher than the Government's. Analysis found no statistical difference between FtM and MtF transsexual's report of rape. In the case of this sample one's gender presentation does not give any protection from rape.

Assault

Over the lifetime, 19.4% of the sample reported being physically assaulted without a weapon, 17.4% reported having objects thrown at them, and 10.2% reported being assaulted

¹ Reports of more than one experience are common. For example, someone could report being assaulted without a weapon in the same time period he or she reported being raped.

with a weapon sometime during their life. Overall, close to half this sample (47%) were assaulted in the course of their life.

In the past year, 16% of the sample reported some sort of assault. The National Crime Victimization Report found that 8.2% of their sample was the victim of some sort of assault. *Crime in the United States* only examined aggravated assault, that is, an "unlawful attack by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury." The report's percentage of aggravated assault was 4.2% in 1995. Comparison with this study is difficult in that assault was not defined as strictly as *Crime in the United States*.

Table 7 Experience with violence or harassment.

			Number		Percent	
Victim of Violence or Harassment (Overall)			239		59.5%	
Percent of Entire Sample Number indicates the number of experiences reported not the number of cases	Past Month		Past Year		Lifetime	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Street Harassment/Verbal Abuse	72	17.9%	135	33.6%	223	55.5%
Being followed or stalked	12	3.0%	37	9.2%	92	22.9%
Assaulted without a weapon	7	1.7%	26	6.5%	78	19.4%
Objects thrown at you (e.g., bottles, rocks)	9	2.2%	26	6.5%	70	17.4%
Rape/Attempted Rape	2	0.5%	11	2.7%	55	13.7%
Assaulted with a weapon	5	1.2%	12	3.0%	41	10.2%
Robbed (by one person)	2	0.5%	7	1.7%	37	9.2%
Unjustified Arrest	3	0.7%	8	2.0%	31	7.7%
Robbed (by a group of people)	1	0.2%	5	1.2%	19	4.7%

Weapons used

Overall, over a quarter of the people who experienced harassment or violence had some sort of weapon used against them (see table 8). Of those who had weapons used against them, the most common weapons used were bricks, bottles, or rocks, followed by knives and other sharp objects, and vehicles. The percentage of those who were attacked with guns was lower than the percentage of firearms used within aggravated assaults² reported in *Crime in the United States*. Approximately 25% of people in this study had guns used against them, while 31% of aggravated assaults in *Crime in the United States* involved the use of firearms. However, the percentage of knives and other sharp objects is higher in this study than the percentage found within *Crime in the United States* (41.3% vs. 24.7%²). Overall, it seems that the most common weapons used were those objects that are easily within reach.

Table 8

	Number	Percent
Have weapons or other objects ever been used against you (Of those who experienced harassment or violence)	63	26.4%
Of the people who had weapons used against them. Multiple weapons are possible:		
Bottles, Bricks, Rocks	32	50.8%
Knives, Sharp Objects	26	41.3%
Vehicles	21	33.3%
Bats, Clubs, Blunt Objects	20	31.7%
Guns	16	25.4%
Ropes, Restraints, etc.	7	11.1%

² Excluding assaults using personal weapons (fists, feet, etc.).

Economic Discrimination

While more than 50% of the sample experienced some form of harassment or violence, 37.1% experienced some form of economic discrimination. More than 20% of the sample reported that they were not hired because they were transgendered.

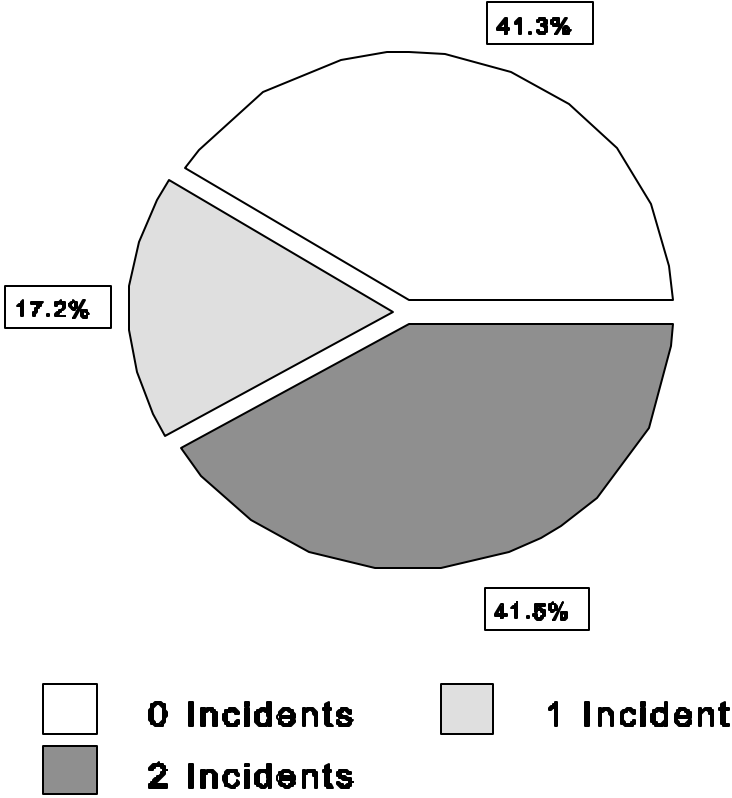
Table 9

	Number	Percent
Experienced Economic Discrimination Percent of Entire Sample. On the average, 2 types of discrimination were reported.	149	37.1%
Not Hired	87	21.6%
Loss of Job	72	17.9%
Unfairly Disciplined	56	13.9%
Loss of Promotion	44	10.9%
Demotion	21	5.2%

Summary of Specific Incidents of Harassment or Violence

Out of 402 surveys collected, information on 403 separate incidents of harassment or violence was collected (233 cases reported specific incidents). Figure 1 shows the breakdown of the number of incidents reported within this study.

Percentage of Incidents Reported



Where did the Incidents Occur

The majority of incidents occurred within public spaces, followed by private residences, and people's workplaces (see table 10). This is very similar to the distribution found within 1995 Anti-Violence Project (AVP) Report in which the two most common places for hate crimes to occur are private residences and public areas. The workplace was found to be among the top five places where victimization occurs.

Table 10

	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
Where did it happen?		
Street or public area	139	34.5%
Private residence	67	16.6%
Workplace	53	13.2%
In or around business or bar	36	8.9%
School or College	30	7.4%
Store or restaurant	28	6.9%
Police Precinct/jail/police car	20	5.0%
Other	20	5.0%
Public transportation	4	1.0%
Cruising area	3	0.7%
Conference or convention	3	0.7%
Public event	2	0.5%

Place of Incident by Age

Table 11 breaks down the location of incidents³ by the age of the victim. Across all ages, the most common area for incidents to occur is the street or public area. However, the second most common area differs considerably across age groups. The most common area for some type of harassment or violence to occur for those age 29 or younger is school or college, while those between 30-44 years of age are at risk within private residences and those over the age of 45 are at risk within their workplace. The third most common area for an incident to occur for those under age 29 and 45 years and older is within private residences, while those between 30 and 44 years of age are at risk within the workplace. Other than public areas, home, work, and school represent areas in which incidents are likely to occur.

Table 11. All Incidents

	<29		30-44		45+	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Police Precinct, jail, or police car		0.0%	17	8.7%	3	2.2%
Private residence	13	18.3%	34	17.4%	20	14.6%
Public transportation	1	1.4%	2	1.0%	1	0.7%
Street or public area	25	35.2%	72	36.9%	42	30.7%
Workplace	6	8.5%	24	12.3%	23	16.8%
Store or restaurant	1	1.4%	11	5.6%	16	11.7%
Cruising area		0.0%	1	0.5%	2	1.5%
School or College	16	22.5%	7	3.6%	7	5.1%
business or bar	7	9.9%	16	8.2%	13	9.5%
Public event		0.0%		0.0%	2	1.5%
Conference or convention		0.0%	1	0.5%	2	1.5%
Other	2	2.8%	10	5.1%	6	4.4%

³ Any possible incident like verbal harassment, assault, rape, and robbery are included.

Total	71	100.0%	195	100.0%	137	100.0%
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Place of Violent Incident by Age

Table 12 breaks down location of violent incidents⁴ by the age of the victim. The pattern remains unchanged for those age 29 years and younger; street or public areas, school or college, and private residences were the most common areas for violent incidents to occur.

For those over the age of 30, street or public areas and private residences were more likely places for violent incidents to occur. The differences lie in the third most common areas. For those between the ages of 30 and 44, the third most common area for violent incidents to occur was within a police precinct, jail, or police care. For those 45 years and older the third most common site for violent incidents is school or college.

Table 12. Violent Incidents

	<29		30-44		45+	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Police Precinct, jail, or police car		0.0%	10	12.0%	2	5.1%
Private residence	8	21.1%	18	21.7%	8	20.5%
Public transportation	1	2.6%	2	2.4%	1	2.6%
Street or public area	13	34.2%	33	39.8%	10	25.6%
Workplace	1	2.6%	7	8.4%	2	5.1%
Store or restaurant		0.0%	1	1.2%	3	7.7%
Cruising area		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
School or College	10	26.3%	3	3.6%	7	17.9%
In or around business or bar	2	5.3%	4	4.8%	3	7.7%
Public event		0.0%		0.0%	1	2.6%
Conference or convention		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%

⁴ Only assault with a weapon, assault without a weapon, attempted assault, rape, and sexual assault were used.

Other	3	7.9%	5	6.0%	2	5.1%
Total	38	100.0%	83	100.0%	39	100.0%

What Kind of Incidents Occur

The most common incidents reported were verbal harassment followed by sexual harassment, and assault without a weapon. Assault with a weapon was the fourth most common incident, and attempted assault was the fifth most common incident to occur. Sexual assault and rape are the sixth and seventh most common, but if they were added together they would be fourth.

Table 13

	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
What crimes were committed? Multiple crimes per case are possible. On the average, each incident reports two crimes.		
Verbal harassment	315	78.2%
Sexual harassment	94	23.3%
Assault without a weapon	77	19.1%
Assault with a weapon	45	11.2%
Attempted Assault with a weapon	37	9.2%
Sexual Assault	37	9.2%
Rape	35	8.7%
Telephone harassment	34	8.4%
Unjustified arrest	18	4.5%
Robbery	18	4.5%
Extortion or blackmail	16	4.0%
Mail harassment	13	3.2%
Police entrapment	12	3.0%
Vandalism	10	2.5%
Illegal eviction	8	2.0%
Abduction or kidnaping	7	1.7%

Larceny/burglary/theft	6	1.5%
Police raid	4	1.0%
Arson	1	0.2%

Type of Incident by Age

Overall, those between the ages of 30 and 44 years of age reported more incidents of harassment⁵ and violence⁶. However, that is not surprising because they also make up the bulk of this sample.

Table 14

	Total		<29		30-44		45+	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Harassment	332	82.4%	60	18.1%	157	47.3%	115	34.6%
Violence	161	40.0%	36	22.4%	86	53.4%	39	24.2%

Type of Incident by Income

Table 15 shows that no real pattern exists between people’s yearly income and their experience with any sort of harassment, although most people who were harassed make less than \$40,000 a year.

Income does have a strong influence upon people’s experience with violence. The majority of people who experienced some sort of violence make less than \$25,000 a year with most making less than \$10,000. Further analysis showed that experience with violence and income were significantly and negatively related⁷. Lower income is associated with an increased likelihood of experiencing some sort of violent crime.

Table 15

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⁵ Harassment: Mail Harassment, Telephone Harassment, Verbal Harassment, or Sexual Harassment

⁶ Violence: Assault with weapon, Assault without weapon, Attempted assault, or Rape/Sexual Assault

⁷ F-test between Income and violence= 9.39, p=.000, df=4, controlling for age, race, transgender status, and sexual identity.

	<\$10,000		\$10-\$25,000		\$25-\$40,000		\$40-\$60,000		\$60,000+	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Harassment	77	23.2%	62	18.7%	80	24.1%	54	16.3%	47	14.2%
Violence	66	41.0%	32	19.9%	35	21.7%	13	8.1%	12	7.5%

Economic Discrimination and Violence

Noting the strong relationship between income and violence, further analysis was conducted to see if experience with violence is also associated with any form of economic discrimination. Economic discrimination and violence were significantly associated with each other⁸. Of those experiencing violence and economic discrimination, the most common forms of economic discrimination were not being hired and losing one’s job.

Table 16

	Any Report of Violence	
	Number	Percent
Economic Discrimination (Overall)	73	68.2%
Of those reporting violence and economic discrimination.		
Not Hired	48	65.8%
Loss of Job	38	52.1%
Unfairly Disciplined	29	39.7%
Loss of Promotion	27	37.0%
Demotion	14	19.2%

⁸ Pearson chi-square=60.69, p=.000, df=1.

Injuries and Medical Attention

A little over a quarter of the incidents involved some sort of physical injury with the majority experiencing a minor injury. Of those incidents involving some sort of injury, over half needed some sort of medical attention (see table 17).

Table 17 Injuries and Medical Attention

	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
Were you injured?		
Not injured	292	72.5%
Minor injury	82	20.3%
Serious injury	21	5.2%
Medical Attention for minor and serious injuries:		Percent of those injured
Needed but not received	35	34.0%
Outpatient (Clinic/MD/ER)	21	20.4%
Hospitalization/In-patient	10	9.7%

Perpetrator Characteristics

Approximately 95% of the incidents involved 2-3 perpetrators. Tables 18 through 21 shows the characteristics of these perpetrators. Overall, perpetrators were white, males, age 29 years or younger. The majority of these people were strangers, followed by employers/co-workers, acquaintances/friends, law enforcement officers, and landlords/tenants/neighbors.

Table 18 Age of Perpetrator

	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
Age		
<18	64	15.9%
18-22	84	20.8%
23-29	120	29.8%
30-44	110	27.3%
45-64	46	11.4%
65+	3	0.7%
Unknown	32	7.9%

Table 19 Gender of Perpetrator

	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
Gender		
Female	84	20.8%
Male	339	84.1%
Transgendered Male	3	0.7%
Transgendered Female	1	0.2%
Unknown	5	1.2%

Table 20 Race of Perpetrator

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	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
Race/Ethnicity		
White	274	68.0%
African-American	88	21.8%
Latina/o	25	6.2%
Unknown	24	6.0%
Multi-racial	9	2.2%
Asian/Pacific Islander	5	1.2%
Other	2	0.5%
Native American	2	0.5%

Table 21 Relationship to Perpetrator

	Number of Incidents	Percent of Incidents
Your Relationship to the Offender:		
Stranger	204	50.6%
Employer or co-worker	53	13.2%
Acquaintance or friend	34	8.4%
Law enforcement officer	24	6.0%
Landlord/tenant/neighbor	20	5.0%
Relative or family	20	5.0%
Ex-lover/partner	15	3.7%
Students/School Employees	9	2.2%
Service provider	9	2.2%
Partner or spouse	7	1.7%
Security force/bouncer	4	1.0%
Roommate	4	1.0%
Pickup	3	0.7%

Relationship to Offender and Violence

Strangers are the most likely perpetrators of violence against trans-people, followed by acquaintances/friends, relatives/family, employer/co-workers, and law-enforcement officers.

Table 22 Relationship to Offender and Violence

Your Relationship to the Offender:	Violence	
	Number	Percent
Stranger	68	42.2%
Acquaintance or friend	27	16.8%
Relative or family	14	8.7%
Employer or co-worker	14	8.7%
Law enforcement officer	13	8.1%
Landlord/tenant/neighbor	11	6.8%
Ex-lover	9	5.6%
Students/ School Employees	6	3.7%
Other	4	2.5%
Service provider	3	1.9%
Roommate	3	1.9%
Pickup	2	1.2%
Security force/bouncer	1	0.6%

Deaths

The sample for this study consists of people who survived their violent experiences, but there are those who did not. Below are the summaries of 14 people who died or were killed for reasons relating to their transgendered lives. It is important to note the severity of the manner in which they lost their lives.

CARMEN MARIE MONTOYA, a much liked, beautiful transgender, was found murdered in a West Oakland supermarket parking lot, possibly the victim of a hate crime. She was killed by a blow to the face with a blunt object. There was no evidence of a robbery. According to an account in the San Francisco *Bay Area Reporter* she was 23 and was living full-time as a woman, though she had not yet had gender reassignment surgery. A friend, Alvin Pickett, said "She was a really outgoing person, really sensitive. She loved to dance and read and hang out and she was very supportive of other people regardless of their sexuality, but she was particularly helpful to up-and-coming transgenders". Police have questioned at least one suspect, but there have been no arrests.

MARSHA P. JOHNSON was one of NYC's oldest and best-known drag, transgendered and African American activists. Her work covered 20 years, back to the days of the original Stonewall Rebellion. Three years ago, Marsha was seen being harassed and verbally assaulted by some teenage kids near the Christopher Street piers. Later that same night, she was found floating dead in the Hudson River, not far from that location. The police refused to investigate, stating there was no reason to suspect a bias crime, or even any crime at all.

CARLA D. was born and raised in Texas, later moving to Orange County, CA, where she lived quietly for ten years. She eventually landed a job as a telephone operator with Pacific Bell. In the mid-80s, Carla went through a gender program and underwent surgery. A hard-working and outgoing person, and it was said that she would give the coat off her back if she thought it would help. After failing to show up at her job, a friend stopped by to check in on her and found her body on the floor of her apartment, showing evidence of multiple stab wounds. No suspect was apprehended, and none was ever charged.

RICHARD GOLDMAN was a forty year old transgender man who lived in a Manhattan condo owned by his parents, retired state judge Milton Goldman and his wife, Phoebe. Shortly after Christmas 1991, while on a visit to their nearby Chelsea apartment, Richard was shot to death by his father, who then shot his wife before finally killing himself. Neighbor Sonya Miller said that his parents "were very much against [Richard's crossdressing]. They were very disappointed. I think this is what it was about. There was always a problem there... They wanted him to 'act normal'".

HAROLD DRAPER was a 29 year old transgendered person, employed as a sex worker in Patterson, NJ. On May 30, 1992, Harold's lacerated body was found behind St. Ann's

Church in West Patterson, showing evidence of multiple stab wounds. Investigator Harold C. Pegg, Jr. theorized that the killer was involved in a relationship with the victim: "That kind of murder shows a lot of hatred. It was not just a knife fight."

CAMERON TANNER was a transgendered person living in San Francisco. Active in local affairs, s/he served as Empress of the San Francisco Imperial Court, where s/he was also known jokingly to friends as "Tina Turner." On March 11, 1992, Cameron was assaulted on the corner of Capp and 16th Streets by two men carrying baseball bats. S/he was so severely beaten that s/he lapsed into a coma after being taken to a nearby hospital. After fighting for life for nearly 6 weeks, Cameron finally succumbed to his/her injuries and died on the morning of April 21.

MARY S. was a white, middle-class transsexual woman working as a computer programmer/analyst in Boston, MA. After she began to transition on the job, she was summarily fired. Stuck without an income, she began seeking any type of employment. Unable to find work, and increasingly desperate for income, she finally turned temporarily to sex work to pay for food and rent. Shortly thereafter, the Boston Police pulled Mary's body from the trunk of a car in the Charles River; it was not immediately apparent if she had died from drowning or from multiple stab wounds.

JESSY SANTIAGO was a model living in the Crestwood Avenue neighborhood of the South Bronx. Said counselor Juan Mendez of the Hetrick Martin Institute for lesbian/gay/trans kids: "[Jessy] was beautiful. She had the beauty, brains and determination to make it, but there's not many options for someone like that to survive once they disclose their anatomic gender." On the evening of Feb. 8, 1992, a neighbor heard Augustin Rosado, a local man who had wanted to date Jessy, scream "I'm going to kill that fag." With the police at the door, Rosado attacked Jessy, beating her with an iron bar before stabbing her to death with a box cutter, a screw driver and a knife. The NYPD refused to call the murder a bias crime, and initially the Crime Victims Board even delayed providing financial assistance for her burial. Said Charles Rice of Gay Men of the Bronx: "...because [Jessy] was this gay, Latino transvestite, it's a throwaway case to people like the police...."

PEGGY SANTIAGO, Jessy's sibling, was employed as a transgendered hustler. Peggy was murdered in the same neighborhood by a customer, just three years before Jessy's death.

TYRA HUNTER, a young woman in Washington DC, was struck in a vicious hit-and-run auto accident on August 7, 1995. EMS technicians were called and began ministering to her. Her injuries were already extremely severe and it was doubtful she would survive. In the course of treatment, an EMS technician cut open her pants and discovered that Tyra had a penis. According to witnesses, he began laughing, referred to the prostrate, bleeding woman as a "bitch," and refused to render further medical assistance. The EMS technician allowed Tyra to lay on the pavement for the next 3-5 minutes while others

continued treatment. Finally an EMS supervisor came over and began treating Tyra. She died at a local hospital shortly thereafter. The Fire Department conducted an internal inquiry which refused to accept any testimony. After the inquiry, the Department issued a one-page press release saying that it could not be determined what had occurred, in spite of the availability of eight known eye witnesses.

DEBORAH FORTE Michael Thompson was charged in Lawrence, MA, with the stabbing death of Deborah Forte, whose body was discovered by her roommate on the morning of May 15, 1996. Ms. Forte suffered three stab wounds to the chest, each half a foot deep, and in addition a number of slash wounds across her chest, a smashed nose, multiple severe blows to her head and face, and signs on her throat of partial strangulation. Thompson allegedly confessed to a coworker that he killed Ms. Forte after they went to her residence, began "messaging around," and he had discovered that she had a penis.

CHANEL PICKETT Chanel (aka Roman) Pickett, 23, was strangled to death in Watertown, MA, early on the morning of Monday, November 20, 1995. Arrested in the case was William C. Palmer, 34, a manager of computer programming for Unisys in Somerville. Chanel was found dead in Palmer's room at about 1pm Monday, roughly 8 hours after the murder occurred. Palmer's attorney had called the police to turn him in. Palmer was a reputed admirer of pre-op transsexuals and frequented one of Boston's two transsexual pick-up bars, the Playland. Despite admitting his guilt, Palmer entered a "Not Guilty" plea in Waltham District Court, basing his defense on grounds that he was unaware Pickett was a "he" and that this discovery led directly to his strangling her. Palmer's assertion of ignorance was refuted by patrons of the Playland Cafe.

CHRISTIAN PAIGE, a 24 year old transsexual woman, was found savagely murdered in her apartment on March 22, 1996, at 10 pm. Ms. Paige had been brutally beaten about the head and ears, then strangled, and finally stabbed deeply in her chest and breast area about 15 times. Ms. Paige had recently moved to Chicago from Nashville, TN, and was employed at Chicago's trendy downtown Baton Lounge, where she was well regarded. Prior to fleeing the scene, her assailant set fire to the apartment only a few feet from her body, apparently in an attempt to destroy evidence. Ms. Paige's body was discovered when the Chicago Fire Department responded to reports of arson at her residence at about 10 pm that evening. The premises, which Ms. Paige shared with two friends, was also ransacked and valuables were stolen. She had apparently met her alleged assailant through a telephone dating service only a few days before. She told roommates she had spoken with him twice by phone on the Wednesday and Thursday prior to her murder, eventually making a date with him for March 22. Police are still trying to trace her alleged assailant through the dating service phone records.

BRANDON TEENA On Christmas Day 1993, Brandon Teena was raped and assaulted at a Christmas party by two men in Falls City, Nebraska. He identified his assailants to local police as Marvin Thomas Nissen and John Lotter, despite the fact that they had threatened

to kill him if he reported the incident to the police. However, charges of rape and assault were not filed against Nissen and Lotter until after Brandon's slaying. Nissen, 22, has already been convicted of one count of first degree murder in the death of Brandon Teena and two counts of second degree murder in the deaths of Lisa Lambert, with whom Brandon was living at the time, and Phillip DeVine, a friend who was visiting them on the night of the murder. Lotter has pleaded not guilty to involvement in the murders, claiming that although he was with Nissen on the night they were committed, that he was outside asleep in the car while Nissen was committing the murders.

Conclusions

The study's method of sampling is both its strength and weakness. We cannot say that the sample generally represents the larger population; however, the general trans-population has yet to be determined. Our goal then was to make sure we represented as many types of people as possible. We were partially successful in this regard. We were able to collect information within a wide income range (from low income to high income), and the number of FtM transsexuals is comparable to the number of MtF transsexuals. We were unable to gather a racially diverse sample, or at least a sample that generally represents the racial distribution of the United States. Further studies must make greater arrangements in order to achieve a racially diverse sample.

Another issue is the labeling of trans-people. While this study allowed a much wider range of choices in relation to one's transgender identity, it was still found to be too rigid. In relation to issues of discrimination or violence, the use of identities may not be reliable. What could be the issue is how "out" people are to the larger society, which could allow for more opportunities for violence and discrimination to occur. This will continue to be the case unless there are legal protections in place to prevent such things.

Overall, being harassed by strangers within public areas is the most common incident reported by people. While some people may seek to belittle its seriousness, it should be noted the role such harassment has upon people's emotional distress and as a potential precursor for violence. Generally, trans-people are at risk for violence. The major reason why trans-people are targeted for violence and discrimination is that they do not conform to society's rules concerning the presentation and behavior of gender. In a way, these attacks occur not only upon an individual, but upon the community as a whole as a way of saying "better not let us catch you acting this way or you'll end up the same way." Violence in this regard stifles political and social action, and this is grossly unfair.

Related to this is the association between employment discrimination, low income, and experiencing a violent incident. These are all related issues. People can experience employment discrimination like losing their job, which could then lower their economic status, which would then place them at a greater risk of experiencing violence. What this means is that employment protection as well as hate crimes legislation is needed in order to protect trans-people from experiencing violence.

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