



# Violence against transgender people: A review of United States data<sup>☆</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

Transgender people face many challenges in a society that is unforgiving of any system of gender that is not binary. However, there are three primary sources of data in the United States for discerning the rates and types of violence that transgender people face throughout their lives – self-report surveys and needs assessments, hot-line call and social service records, and police reports. Data from each of these sources are discussed in length, as well as some of the methodological issues for these types of data sources. All three sources indicate that violence against transgender people starts early in life, that transgender people are at risk for multiple types and incidences of violence, and that this threat lasts throughout their lives. In addition, transgender people seem to have particularly high risk for sexual violence. Future research considerations, such as improving data collection efforts, are discussed.

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## 1. Introduction

Transgender people face violence because of their gender nonconformity, and the nature and extent of that violence has been the focus of recent research. Documenting violence is becoming

increasingly important as policymakers utilize these types of statistics to pass more effective and necessary policies at the local, state, and federal levels to protect people based on their gender identity and gender expression. This report summarizes the scant yet diverse research on violence against transgender people in the United States.

Although definitions of the term transgender itself are contested, 'transgender' is coming to represent an umbrella term under which resides anyone who bends the common societal constructions of gender, including cross-dressers, transsexuals, genderqueer youth, drag queens, and a host of other terms that people use to self identify their gender. This term is "gender neutral" in the sense that it includes both people born as males who express or identify their gender as female (male-to-female transgender, or MTFs), and people born female who express or identify their gender as male (female-to-male, or FTMs). Numerous studies have demonstrated that transgender people experience high levels of violence from strangers and known others alike, and that they often face a lifetime of repeated victimization. The number of gender non-conforming people in the United States is unknown, making estimates of victimization risk uncertain (Stotzer, 2007). In addition, assessing the level, extent, and nature of violence against people with non-conforming gender identities and presentations has been challenging for a variety of social and methodological reasons.

One qualitative study paints a picture of what life is like for transgender people. Wyss (2004) interviewed seven transgender high school students and asked about their experiences at school. This study discusses the "full-contact hallways" that seven gender non-conforming youth encounter in high school. Their descriptions of the physical violence are particularly informative considering the details that the youths describe. Many report that not just other students harassed them, but that people they even considered friends would either help or join with assailants during physical attacks. Two of the students were set on fire in school, one after shop class. There were also constant threats of sexual assault, or coercive sex, or physical assault, both verbal threats and notes left in lockers. The hallways were also the place to be grabbed or fondled by anyone in the school.

Despite the growing anecdotal knowledge that violence is a significant problem in the transgender community, data about this issue are not readily available. There are currently three possible sources for information about the violence and harassment that transgender people experience:

#### I. Self-report surveys

Self-report surveys directly ask transgender people about their experiences of victimization, and routinely find a high prevalence of violence. These studies rely on asking transgender people directly about their experiences of victimization, and can include written surveys, face-to-face interviews, and focus groups.

#### II. Hotline calls and social service reports

Advocacy groups, such as the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, publish reports of violence and harassment across the country. These estimates of the incidence of violence against transgender people come from tracking hot-line calls and requests for social services. Other organizations track murders through newspaper reports and word-of-mouth reports.

#### III. Police reports

Currently, only 10 states include gender identity or gender expression in their hate crime laws. These reports come directly from crimes reported to local and state police.

This report identifies available information about violence against transgender people and other gender non-conforming people. Furthermore, this paper discusses the strengths and weakness of the methods employed in self-report surveys, advocacy group reports, and

state reports. Finally, utilizing all three of these sources, the knowledge that is available about the scope and nature of victimization in the transgender community is discussed as it relates to policy implementation and social service provision.

## 2. Self-report surveys

Early efforts at understanding the needs of gender non-conforming individuals came from public health interest in transsexual prostitutes (i.e. Boles & Elifson, 1994; Elifson, Boles, Posey, Sweat, Darrow, & Elsea, 1993). However, there was rarely emphasis on experiences of violence or harassment due to the conflation of gender-identity issues with sex work and the emerging HIV/AIDS crisis. However, the first substantial attempts at discerning the problems with violence faced by those with non-conforming gender-identity was the "First National Survey of Transgender Violence" conducted by GenderPAC in 1997 (and further analyzed in Lombardi, Wilchins, Priessing, & Malouf, 2001). This study found high levels of violence from harassment to physical and sexual assaults.

From that start, surveys targeting gender non-conforming people conducted across the United States (and internationally) have occasionally included questions about violence and harassment, with the most recent and most comprehensive survey of trans-people being the Virginia Transgender Health Initiative Survey (VTHIS) (Xavier, Honnold, & Bradford, 2007). Most large scale self-report surveying has been done in either cities or states, and are needs assessments conducted in part by Departments of Health. These surveys are often based on convenience samples composed of people accessing social services, or through social networks and word-of-mouth. More specifically, the most common type of recruitment is through snowball sampling of a convenience sample of transgender people utilizing identified leaders in the transgender community to serve as recruiters, interviewers, and/or survey administrators (Clements-Nolle, Marx, & Katz, 2006; Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006; Kenagy, 2005; McGowan, 1999; Reback, Simon, Bemis, & Gatson, 2001; Risser et al., 2005; Sugano, Nemoto, & Operario, 2006; Xavier, 2000; Xavier, Bobbin, Singer, Budd, 2005). These convenience samples usually are focused around social service organizations (most often HIV/AIDS clinics or organizations), and bars or other social gathering places for transgender people. However, many studies also targeted specific populations, such as transgender prostitutes doing street work (Valera, Sawyer, & Schiraldi, 2000), or targeting locations, such as sex workers who came in for clinic visits (Cohan et al., 2006). A few others used mixed method designs that employed some mix of face-to-face recruitment, paper surveys and interviews, and/or the use of the internet as a tool for recruiting and surveying (Dang, 2007; FORGE, 2005; Lombardi et al., 2001; Wyss, 2004; Xavier et al., 2007). Topics related to violence commonly addressed three main categories: 1) sexual violence data, 2) physical violence data, and 3) harassment, verbal abuse, and other non-physical violence.

### 2.1. Sexual violence

"In my neighborhood, either they want to beat you up or they want a free blow job." Interviewee (Bockting, Robinson, & Rosser, 1998)

One of the best documented types of violence against transgendered people is sexual assault and rape. This is due in part because most studies on transgender people are linked to Departments of Public Health and focus on sexual behavior, such as condom use, unprotected sex, and anal sex, in order to draw connections with HIV/AIDS status and transmission. As a consequence, this means that there are more reports and greater levels of detail about sexual assault and rape than any of the other types of violence experiences by transgendered people.

What becomes clear from surveys of trans-people is that there is a high prevalence of sexual assault and rape starting at a young

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