Transgender Exclusion within the LGBTQ Movement: An Introductory Analysis

By:
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Abstract: The current LGBTQ movement has achieved impressive political success within the past two decades. Triumphs like the repeal of "Don't Ask Don't Tell" and the overturning of the "Defense of Marriage Act" have significantly advanced the LGBTQ cause of equal rights for sexual minorities. However, such achievements have been conspicuously limited to gay and lesbian issues. Transgender individuals have found the LGBTQ movement less willing to seriously tackle their issues within the political arena. Previously, two theories have been put forward to explain this phenomenon. The first explanation suggests the omission is a political strategy. The members of the LGBTQ movement know that the American public holds a more favorable view of gay and lesbian individuals in comparison to transgender individuals; therefore, by focusing on gay and lesbian issues they are able to attain the most political and social progress. Alternatively, the second hypothesis argues that members of the LGBTQ movement suffer from transphobia, and are thus uncomfortable and unwilling to fight for transgender equality. This study assesses these theories by administering a survey to LGBTQ communities and allies. Based on the results, this paper found that the transgender exclusion is most likely the result of a political strategy.

I.   Introduction

Today's political arena hosts many issues that are debated in the national spotlight. Both

economic and social issues have found themselves thrust to the political agenda forefront.

Socially, one of the most pertinent issues is the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer

(LGBTQ) movement's fight for equality. From placing marriage equality initiatives on state

ballots to the challenging of the "Defense of Marriage Act" in the Supreme Court, any barrier to

achieving equality is currently finding itself disputed by the LGBTQ movement. For the purpose

of this paper, definitions of what it means to be LGBTQ will be borrowed from previous work

addressing trans-theorizing by Sjoberg:

> The term "heterosexual" identifies persons of one "sex" attracted to "the other." People of one "sex"
>
> who sexually prefer people of the same "sex" are termed "gay" or "homosexual." "Bisexual" refers to
>
> persons interested in "both sexes" regardless of their own "sex."… The term "'transgender' refers to

people who do not appear to conform to traditional gender norms by presenting and living genders that were not assigned to them at birth or… in ways that may not be readily intelligible in terms of more traditional conceptions" (2012: 338-339).

The term trans* is used as an umbrella term that incorporates many different transgender identities, such as transsexual, genderqueer, gender noncomforming, and gender fluid identities. These definitions are not mutually exclusive; one can be transgender and heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual.

Significantly, the present momentum of the LGBTQ movement is a result of the recent wave of public support that gay and lesbian individuals have received. Since the 1990's, the once taboo topic of homosexuality has lost the largely negative stigma it once carried. Celebrities, for instance, have been a strong force in garnering acceptance for gay and lesbian individuals. The public "coming out" of Ellen DeGeneres on her television sitcom in the 90's helped change the negative stereotype attributed to many homosexual individuals (Neary 2013). Subsequent shows such as Will & Grace, and more recently Glee, have also helped advance the national dialogue on equality for gay and lesbian individuals.

However, it is important to examine whether the entire LGBTQ community has benefited from these recent gains. While people who identify as gay, lesbian, and bisexual have won many recent battles, transgender individuals have been largely absent from the public spotlight. Issues that are vital for the advancement of trans* equality have not been seriously tackled by the movement. These include a wide variety of discriminatory policies. For instance, the Transportation Security Administration's (TSA) decision to use Whole Body Imaging severely effects the trans* community. This intrusive procedure allows inquiries into an individual's anatomy and whether it agrees with their gender identity. This led to the United Nations Special

Rapporteur voicing his concerns that the new counter-terrorism security measures disproportionately effects transpeople (Sjoberg 2012: 14). Moreover, trans* individuals continue to be excluded from the military despite the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." This illustrates another example where the LGBTQ group is unwilling to fight for trans* rights to the same degree as LGB equality. Thus, while the LGBTQ movement claims to include those who identify as transgender, its actions have not demonstrated an equal commitment for those outside the LGB categories.

Tracing the expenditures of pro-LGBTQ groups also illuminates the disparity faced by the trans* population. While LGBTQ issues have become politically prevalent in the past decade, certain issues have benefitted greater than others from this spotlight. Namely, the fight for marriage equality has taken center stage as other issues have been placed on the back burner. Take, for instance, when President Obama was running for reelection in 2012. After announcing his support for marriage equality, only one of many issues faced by the LGBTQ community, donations to his campaign skyrocketed. In the three days following his announcement, his campaign received three times as many donations compared to the three days prior (Shapiro 2012). In New York during 2011, more than two million dollars were spent over the course of two months to support marriage equality (Kaplan 2011). However, just last year in the same state, the legislature failed to bring the "Gender Expression Non-Discrimination Act," a bill that would have provided legal protection to transgender individuals, to a vote on the Senate floor.

This paper does not seek to belittle the cause of marriage equality but to point out other, arguably more pressing areas, where increased funding is crucial. Trans* individuals face some of the highest rates of discrimination in the country. They are twice as likely to be the victims of assault or discrimination compared to those from the LGB community. They are also more likely

than LGB persons to be seriously injured from an attack but less likely to receive medical care (Hein and Scharer 2012: 85). Of those who have been victims of hate crimes, over 30% felt uncomfortable seeking help from law enforcement, mostly due a history of police assault and harassment (Ibid: 86).

Additionally, while the trans* community has had to fight to be included in the current version of the "Employment Non-Discrimination Act" (ENDA), they have faced the highest levels of workplace discrimination in the country. Survey data has found 90% of trans* individuals have experienced harassment, mistreatment, or discrimination in the workplace and 47% report an adverse job outcome, such as being fired, not hired, or denied a promotion due to their gender identity (Grant et al 2011: 3). Despite these facts, LGBTQ advocacy groups have not always pushed for previous versions of ENDA to include protections on the basis of gender identity. In 2007, the Human Rights Campaign's first (and at the time, only) transgender member of its board of directors resigned because of the organization's decision to remain neutral (and not oppose) a version of ENDA that only protected sexual orientation (Rose 2007).

Why then, has the LGBTQ movement excluded transgender individuals from its current push for equality? This disparity is particularly surprising considering the transgender community was a large factor in spurring the LGBTQ movement. In 1969, police in New York City stormed the Stonewall Inn, a known location where people who identified as LGBTQ would socialize. The actions of the police led to a riot often cited as one of the most important events in the gay liberation movement. Not coincidently, many of these patrons—who played an integral role in the birth of the LGBTQ movement— were trans* individuals. While other sexual minorities are on track to receive greater rights, what internal dynamics within the LGBTQ movement led to the exclusion of trans* individuals from the national agenda? This paper will analyze this

separation using both a theoretical and empirical analysis. First, it will apply collective identity theory to explore the possible disconnect between trans* individuals and other groups in the LGBTQ movement. The historical absence of a strong collective identity between group members is a potential explanation for why the most relevant issues to the transgender community are inadequately represented in the LGBTQ agenda. For the empirical section, a pilot survey was distributed over Facebook that included multiple feeling thermometers that tested the respondents' personal and societal perception of the transgender community. Through these methods, this paper will provide deeper insight into one of the most powerful social and political movements in American history.

II.   Literature Review

The LGBTQ movement presents itself as an interesting subject when analyzed as a social movement. Applying traditional social movement theory provides complicated results. Generally, the majority of social movement inner politics occurs within "protected enclaves" that are not open to the gaze of the public (Chavez 2011: 2). However, some speculation provides valuable insight into the current incarnation of the LGBTQ movement. Exactly what is it that binds these different groups into a single cohesive unit? Obviously, a "strength by numbers" tactic is a compelling incentive to band together. Nevertheless, this does not explain why certain groups come together and others do not. One explanation is that pre-existing social ties tend to facilitate the merging of groups into a single coalition or social movement (Andretta 2012: 244). These ties then turn into dense, informal networks between a multiplicity of actors who share a collective identity and are engaged in a common social or political conflict (Diani and Bison 2006: 283). Therefore, the similar discrimination LGBTQ groups suffered because of their status

as sexual minorities may have brought them together and led to the development of the current social movement.

Delving even further, collective identity theory provides some essential insight into the group formation process of the LGBTQ movement. Collective identity theory attempts to explain why individuals in the same movement feel bonded to each other despite never meeting. A person's collective identity can be defined as an "individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity" (Poletta 2001: 285). It is this sentiment, that an individual is somehow connected to others because of similar life experiences or characteristics, which facilitates the creation of a social movement. This is contrary to claims from previous literature on social movements. Originally, participation was believed to be based on an individual's political or economical interests. Collective identity theory, on the other hand, looks at how individuals in social movements are seeking recognition for new identities and lifestyles (Ibid: 286). By centering the narrative on lifestyles, new social movements have made it significantly more likely that individuals will participate. "A person whose life is intertwined with the group…has a big stake in the group's fate. When collective action is urgent, the person is likely to contribute his or her share even if the impact of that share is not noticeable" (Ibid: 289). If this collective identity is lacking—if members do not feel a strong connection to the cause and those fighting for it—they will be much less likely to take up arms and actively fight for a change of social norms or value systems. The formation of a strong LGBTQ collective identity is hindered by the types of groups it attempts to combine. Although all are considered sexual minorities, the nature of their minority status is dissimilar. Identification as gay, lesbian,

or bisexual is based on an individual's sexual orientation; identification as transgender is based on an individual's gender identity. Both groups undergo significantly different life experiences. If building a collective identity relies on shared experiences, the grouping of these two communities is not an organic combination. Individuals who lack a strong collective identity are less likely to advocate for one another, posing one possible explanation to the trans* exclusion from meaningful participation in the LGBTQ movement.

Even though these groups have merged into one movement, historically, there has been tension between them extending beyond trans* inclusion. Both the gay and lesbian communities have experienced internal conflicts between their members. Individuals within the gay community widely vary in how they perform gender. Some tend to be more masculine, while others tend to be more feminine. This has led to disagreement within the gay movement. Some of those who can be identified as "straight acting" gay men seek to delegitimize the transgressive gender performances by feminine gay men. While gay men have been represented in the media in greater numbers, they have been type-casted as stereotypically flamboyant (Clarkson 2008: 369). Thus, straight acting gay men attempt to "normalize a particular set of gender performances as acceptably gay at the expense of other performances perceived as more transgressive" in an attempt to counter their popular media images (Ibid: 369). The tensions between masculine and feminine men predate the current division of society into straight and gay (Stone 2009: 336). This stems from the hypervisibility of feminine men. From the beginning of the 20th century, effeminate men have been singled out and discriminated against. In fact, the division back then "…was not between "heterosexual" and "homosexual" men, but between conventionally masculine males, who were regarded as men, and effeminate males, known as fairies or pansies, who were regarded as virtual women, or, more precisely, as members of a

"third sex" that combined elements of the male and female" (Chauncey 1994: 48). This distinction survives in the gay community, pitting masculine and feminine men against each other. The attempts by both groups to normalize their set of behaviors results in an environment of hostility rather than acceptance for people with varying gender performances. This hostility extends to the inclusion of trans* individuals in the LGBTQ movement, who obviously transgress gender norms and challenge traditional heteronormative behavior far more than effeminate gay men.

Lesbian women also have a history of trans* exclusion, although for different reason than the gay community. In the lesbian feminist collective, a clear definition of what constitutes a woman is extremely important. Social movements rely on a clear construction of a collective identity. This requires movements to decide not only who they are but also who they are not. Conceivably, the inclusion of trans* women raises the possibility of blurring a concrete definition of what constitutes a woman. Therefore, many lesbian-feminist organizations use a definition that does not leave room for women who were born men (Devor and Matte 2004: 181). "In political systems that distribute rights and resources to groups with discernible boundaries, activists are smart to be vigilant about those boundaries; in cultural systems that devalue so many identities, a movement with clarity about who belongs can better provide its designated members with the strength and pride to revalue their identities" (Gamson 1997: 179). Hence, the history of trans* exclusion from the lesbian community stems from their attempts of self-empowerment and identity legitimization.

There have been multiple documented cases where trans* women were actively excluded from lesbian events. One is the annual Michigan Womyn's Music Festival. The festival historically had a policy of trans* exclusion, asserting that it was only for "womyn-born womyn

[WBW]." The festival's leadership even barred admission of trans* individuals who attempted to enter. In response, the excluded feminists and their allies set up a protest outside the festival under the banner "Camp Trans: ForHumyn-Born Humyns" (Ibid: 179). This protest has occurred in 1994, 1995, and every year from 1999 to 2003. Although they were eventually allowed to participate in the festival, the official policy of trans* exclusion remained in effect. Moreover, the music festival continues to maintain an unfriendly posture towards trans* women. In April 2013, Lisa Vogel—one of the founders of the music festival—put out a statement saying "I reject the assertion that creating a time and place for WBW to gather is inherently transphobic. This is a false dichotomy and one that prevents progress and understanding.... Whatever spaces we carve out in our community to encourage healing and rejuvenation should be accepted, and we should support each other in this endeavor. Nobody should be asked to erase the need for autonomous spaces to demonstrate that they are sisters in struggle" ("Heated debate follows Michigan Fest boycott petition" 2013).

Another case occurred in the 1970's at Olivia Records, a women-only lesbian dominated recording company. Sandy Stone, a trans* woman, was a recording engineer for the company. Stone never concealed her trans* identity from her coworkers. Yet, as more people became aware of it, they became outraged. Some of her colleagues at the recording company felt that she was "...a man who had infiltrated a women-only organization" (Devor and Matte 2004: 181). In 1977, Stone was asked to resign due to the backlash from her trans* identity. Two years later, the issue was further publicized in *The Transsexual Empire,* where Janice Raymond used the incident to support her stance against transsexualism. She claimed transsexualism was hindering the drive to eliminate sex and gender role stereotyping and oppression (Ibid: 181). These conflicts illuminate a common occurrence in social movements, where "[t]he *us* is solidified not

just against an external *them* but also against *thems* inside, as particular subgroups battle to gain or retain legitimate *us* standing" (Gamson 1997: 180).

The reactions of the Michigan Music Festival and Olivia Records are not uncommon. Feminist have a long history of antagonizing trans* individuals (see Sjoberg 2012). Both trans* men and trans* women have found themselves shut out and vilified, as "...trans women are framed as men stealthily infiltrating the last bastions of women's space….trans men… [are framed as] lesbians with a particularly bad case of patriarchy-induced false consciousness" (Shotwell and Sangray 2009:70). Hence, trans* individuals are denied admission and representation in feminist—and consequently lesbian—spaces, despite their attempt to be recognized as meaningful group members. Although feminists have committed themselves to "respecting what the marginalized say about themselves," it would seem they have not extended this pledge to the trans* community (Heyes 2003: 1096). When society sees transpeople excluded by feminists it no doubt furthers marginalizes them from society. If trans* individuals are labeled negatively by traditionally tolerant groups, such as feminists, the American public will find it easier to perpetuate their exclusion without having to acknowledge their transphobic behavior.

The exclusion faced by trans* individuals is not completely unique. The battle over meaningful inclusion into the LGBTQ movement is something multiple minorities have fought over. Gay and lesbian activists of color have often complained about their treatment by their respective communities. In the 1970's, women of color asserted that the "womansculture" being advocated and created in this period was centered on the white middle-class experience. Similarly, men of color challenged the term "gay" as only reflecting the white middle-class homosexual experience (Gamson 1995: 397).

However, to fully understand the current dynamic between LGBTQ groups, we must recognize not only the conflict *within* the gay and lesbian communities, but also *between* the gay and lesbian communities. The combining of lesbians and gays faced a rocky start and began with a very adversarial relationship (Stone 2009: 345). Nonetheless, the ideological alignment between the two factions, their push for equality, and certain precipitating events resulted in the development of a collective identity (Andretta 2012: 245). Researchers have found that stigmatizing attacks and powerful antagonists tend to bond movements made up of individuals with different identities (Van Dyke 2003: 233). A case study of Ohio's lesbian and gay movement from 1960 to 2000 illuminates this theory. During the 1970's, the lesbian and gay movements were fairly separate and had minimal interaction with each other. However, the 1980's saw a significant increase in how often both groups worked together (Van Dyke and Cress 2006: 510). In-depth interviews with over 30 activists revealed two reasons for the increased contact: new political threats and the AIDS epidemic. The Reagan administration was significantly more hostile towards gay and lesbian issues than President Carter. In order to better fight this new political threat, their common sexual identity became a more salient identity marker than the difference between male and female. Many activists also saw AIDS as "…an important factor in bringing gay men and lesbians together within the community" (Ibid: 514). While AIDS overwhelmingly affected the gay community, lesbians felt motivated by the loss of loved ones and the homophobic attacks they faced in response to the disease. Thus, over time, they were able to develop a shared identity (Diani and Bison 2006: 283). This identity was critical in developing a shared commitment to fighting for a common cause. An absence of this shared identity leads to what some scholars refer to as a "coalitional movement" rather than a "social movement," where people are connected through a common goal rather than identity. The

1980's was a crucial period in which lesbian and gay activists developed a strong collective identity based on their sexual orientation. The transgender community, however, was absent from this experience. Trans* individuals were not included in the LGBTQ movement until the 1990's and missed a valuable opportunity for group bonding. This lack of a strong, shared identity between trans* individuals and the other members of the LGBTQ movement provides further insight into why trans* issues have been largely ignored by the alliance.

Furthermore, trans* inclusion shakes the very foundation in which a gay and lesbian collective is built upon. Using sexual identity as a means for political organization assumes that these identities (man, woman, gay, straight) are a fixed, natural, core phenomena (Gamson 1997: 399). Trans* individuals, on the other hand, demonstrate how these identities are fluid rather than static. Forcing people to choose from these socially constructed binary categories (whether it is gay/straight or man/woman) is oppressive and does not provide an accurate representation of how people identify. Regardless of what criteria one uses—anatomy, hormones, or chromosomes—they do not adequately predict ones gender or sex (Ibid: 399).

All this begs the question: given the separation between the trans* community and the larger LGBTQ movement, why were trans* individuals absorbed into the movement at all? Several articles have been published that provide differing explanations for the seemingly artificial inclusion of transgender individuals in the LGBTQ movement. The first involves heterosexual attitudes toward the transgender community. A study found that heterosexual attitudes of transgender individuals correlate with lesbian and gays but are more negative (Norton and Gregory 2012: 12). There are a few possible justifications given for this observed phenomena. First, the perceived gender variance of the trans* community seems to violate "traditional" gender norms more than the other members of the LGBTQ movement. As a result, transgender

individuals are considered more threatening to traditional gender norms. This is compounded by the relative absence of discussion regarding trans* specific issues in national discourse, which leaves much of the public unfamiliar and uncomfortable with these issues (Ibid: 13). As a result, the public's continued negative perception of transgender individuals could hurt the LGBTQ movement's influence if it were to lend too much attention to the trans* agenda.

Accordingly, the LGBTQ community has engaged in vertical compromise in the hopes that they will achieve more progress within the political arena. Vertical compromise is a deliberate compromise by a movement that exclusively leaves out the needs of a particular group of people. This is contrasted with horizontal compromise, which is compromise on certain issues that does not specifically leave out an entire group of people (Wilson 2008: 126). One of the most pronounced cases of vertical compromise was the fight to repeal "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Gay and lesbian individuals celebrate their ability to openly serve in the military, but have not made continued efforts to extend this success to transgender individuals. The silence of the LGB group is detrimental to the transgender fight for equality. Due to the lesser amount of transgender individuals, lesbian and gay activists' support is imperative in ensuring trans* concerns are addressed (Stone 2009: 336). The injustice of this divide is highlighted when analyzed through the recent victimization of the transgender community in security discourse. "Trans-bodies are securitized and made hypervisible by counterterrorism discourses and characterized as dangerous and/or deviant" (Sjoberg and Jazayeri 2013: 15). Coupled with the continued exclusion of transgender individuals from the military, the aggressive use of TSA body scanners and the representation of trans-bodies as deceptive have further marginalized an entire community from the American public.

Thus, in order to appeal to the American public, and by extension, political leaders, the

LGBTQ elite attempted to portray an image displaying the members of the movement as people

"just like you." The problem arises from the fact that many of its members are in fact different,

leading to their misrepresentation within the political and social system (Weiss 2011: 501).

These problems reverberate through both the LGBTQ community and American public. As

transgender individuals are marginalized and unrepresented within the movement, their

exclusion from society is highlighted and they are identified as a group not worthy of protection,

further marginalizing them (Wilson 2008: 137). While this approach may seem like an attempt

to do the most good for the most people within the LGBTQ movement, it has serious

repercussions for LGB communities. A prime example of these repercussions is the proposal of

ENDA. In its first introduction, the bill banned workplace discrimination based on sexual

orientation, but not gender identity (a later bill including gender identity was widely ignored by

both parties, and the current bill protecting both identities is very unlikely to make it through the

House) (Ibid: 130). The LGBTQ movement thought it could get more immediate results in this

battle by excluding protection for the transgender community. This prioritizing of sexual

orientation over gender identity demonstrates the power hierarchy within the LGBTQ movement

and the marginalization of the trans* community (Weiss 2011: 500) However, emphasizing only

sexual orientation ignores the interconnectedness between sexual orientation and gender identity.

Although they are not synonymous, arguments can be made that sexual orientation is an aspect

of gender identity (masculine men go after feminine women and vice versa). Thus by not

fighting to protect gender identity, the LGBTQ movement leaves open the possibility that gay

and lesbian employees will face discrimination due to their sexual orientation while employers

use gender identity as justification to protect themselves from lawsuits (Wilson 2008: 131).

Alternatively, some scholars have suggested that the trans* exclusion has occurred because of transphobia within the LGBTQ movement, rather than an attempt to garner more support with the American public. A case study done on this theory found that lesbian activist tended to display ambivalence toward the inclusion of transgender individuals within the LGBTQ push for equality (Stone 2009: 349). This ambivalence hinders the development of a strong collective identity. Gay activist, on the other hand, were more likely to voice their strong opposition or support to their inclusion (Ibid: 349). This division comes from the contrasting history of gender variance within the lesbian and gay communities. Historically, the lesbian community has included "butch" lesbians who broke gender stereotypes, which may explain their ambivalence— rather than hostility—towards trans* inclusion. The gay community, on the other hand, has had inner conflict between its masculine and feminine members; a conflict that has now extended itself to the inclusion of trans* individuals (Ibid: 349). Hence, even though the trans* community joined the LGBTQ movement because of their marginalization from society, they have subsequently found themselves marginalized from the LGB group as well. No matter what the reason, the exclusion of transgender individuals from the LGBTQ movement raises questions about the long-term sustainability of the movement's progress and success (Ibid: 344).

Despite the studies documented in the literature, no concrete answer has been reached explaining the trans* exclusion from the LGBTQ movement. Is it due to the LGBTQ movement's attempt to make progress in spite of the American public's negative attitude toward transgender individuals? Or rather, is it because of the prevalence of transphobia within the movement? This research project seeks to uncover whether it is one, both, or neither of the above reasons.

III.   Empirical Section

This section of the paper will discuss the methods and results obtained to test the hypotheses previously put forward. A survey distributed over social media was the most feasible way to obtain a high volume of respondents. Primarily, it was distributed on Facebook using the author's account and posted on various groups such as Gainesville Gays, Pride Student Union, and UF Model United Nations. The survey was hosted on the Qualtrics website. The target population was anyone identifying as an ally of the LGBTQ movement, which included gay, lesbian, and heterosexual members. Hence, it focuses on an aggregate unit of analysis. In order to administer the survey, this project utilized a non-random purposive sample to account for the diverse and limited number of subjects who are of interest to this research project. While this method is subject to criticisms of selection bias and unrepresentative results, it was utilized in response to time and resource constraints. Due to the unique nature of this study, a small pilot survey is capable of providing insight into the understudied phenomenon of trans* exclusion. However, future research building upon this thesis that uses a nationwide randomly selected sample would be extremely beneficial.

The survey consisted of 13 questions, most of which were closed response. The decision to include mostly closed questions was made to induce more responses, as closed questions tend to be less time consuming than open questions. The first questions asked "What is your sex?" with "male", "female", and "other" listed as answers. If an individual chose the "other" option the next question allowed them to freely list how they identify. The following question asked "Would you identify yourself as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or straight?" I included this question to analyze whether there are any differences between the four separate groups and aggregate results of the survey. Those who identify as straight were then asked, "Do you consider yourself to be an ally of the LGBTQ movement?" This ensures—or, at least, attempts to ensure—that the

people who completed the survey are actually part of the target population—allies of the LGBTQ movement.

After these questions, survey takers are asked to rate their gender identity. Specifically, they are asked "How would you classify your gender identity on the following scale?" The possible answers were on a Likert scale, with a range of "mostly masculine, somewhat masculine, neutral, somewhat feminine, mostly feminine." This question was used to see whether the individuals who previously identified as "male" or "female" also chose a gender identity which mainstream society has deemed appropriate (female/feminine and male/masculine). This question also tested how often other members of the LGBTQ movement transgressed traditional gender roles.
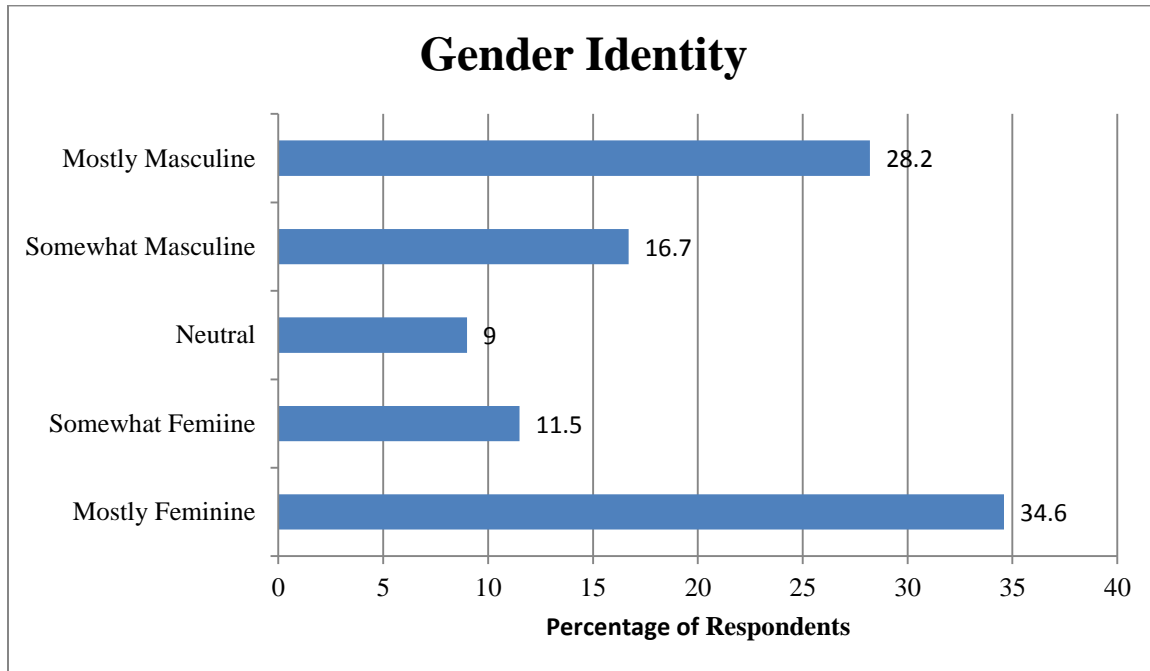
The following four questions were meant to determine the demographics of the respondents. The first asked "Are you Hispanic or Latino? (A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.)." The next question required them to indicate their race, encouraging them to choose all options that applied: "American Indian", "Asian", "African American", "Pacific Islander", or "Caucasian." The subsequent question asked the age of the respondent. The answer choices were given in ranges from 18-24, 25-34, 35-44,45-54, 55-64, 65-74, and 75 or older. The respondent was then asked to list their total household income. If they identified as a dependent, they were instructed to list the income of their primary provider (this was included because many of the respondents were university students, who were not employed or only worked part-time jobs).

The remaining three questions of the survey were very similar to each other. They all involved the use of a feeling thermometer. The first asked, "Using a scale from 1 to 5, please tell

us your personal feelings toward the transgender community. As you do this task, think of an imaginary thermometer. The warmer or more favorable you feel toward the group, the higher the number you should give it. The colder or less favorable you feel, the lower the number. If you feel neither warm nor cold toward the group, rate it 3. For the purpose of this survey, a transgender individual is defined as a person who identifies as a sex or expresses a gender identity different from the one assigned to them at birth. Please feel free to elaborate on your answer in the space provided below." The definition of transgender as pertaining to this paper was included to ensure there was no confusion or variation between respondents. A variant of this question was asked three separate times, each with a different focus. The first, mimicking the question above, asked respondents to rate their personal feelings toward transgender individuals. The subsequent question asked them to rate their opinion of the LGBTQ movement's feelings toward the trans* community. The last variation of the feeling thermometer asked them to indicate how they think the American public feels about transgender individuals. While they were instructed to use a 1-5 scale, the question allowed them to expand upon their answers through a comments section. The feeling thermometers were utilized in determining whether transphobia or political strategy is responsible for trans* exclusion from the LGBTQ movement.

In total, there were 78 useable responses after removing those from heterosexual-identified individuals who did not consider themselves allies of the LGBTQ movement. There was a fairly even distribution of men and women who responded, with 37 (47.4%) males and 41 (52.6%) females. No respondent chose the "other" option. Regarding sexuality, most identified as heterosexual, 54 (69.2%), but there was a sizeable LGB minority, 24 (30.8%). For the

question regarding an individual's gender identity the distribution resulted in the following graph:

Gender Identity

Category	Percentage of Respondents
Mostly Masculine	28.2
Somewhat Masculine	16.7
Neutral	9
Somewhat Femiine	11.5
Mostly Feminine	34.6

Percentage of Respondents

As expected, the results are bimodal centered on the "Mostly Feminine" and "Mostly Masculine" responses (the higher concentration in the feminine category is likely due to the higher number of female respondents). Further analysis of this data revealed respondents overwhelmingly chose the gender identity traditionally assigned to their sex.

For the question asking if the respondent was Hispanic, 19 (24.4%) of respondents answered in the affirmative while 59 (75.6%) reported they were not Hispanic. When respondents were asked to identify their racial identity, the distribution results were as follows:

Respondent's Race

| Race	Percentage
Caucasian	87
African American	7.6
Asian American	2.5
Native American	2.5
Pacific Islander	0

Percentage of Respondents
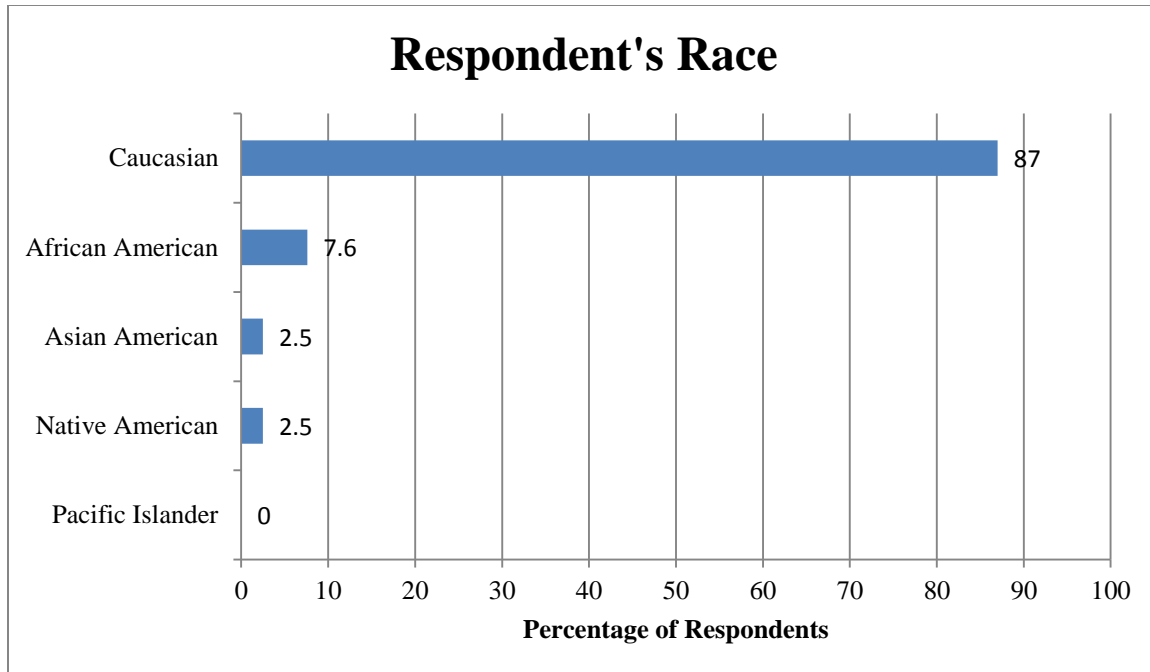
Here, there is an obvious concentration of Caucasian individuals and an underrepresentation of racial minorities. Because this is a pilot study regarding trans* exclusion, the racial makeup of the respondents will not be treated as a problem. However, statistical analyses based on racial differences will be avoided due to the inadequate number of minority respondents

The age of the respondents was heavily skewed toward a younger age range. There were 69 (88.5%) responses for the 18-24 range, 8 (10.3%) in the 25-34 range, and 1 (1.3%) in the 35-44 range. This age distribution was expected considering the survey was dispensed through Facebook. On the other hand, the income of the respondents was fairly spread out and resulted in the following distribution:

Respondent's Income

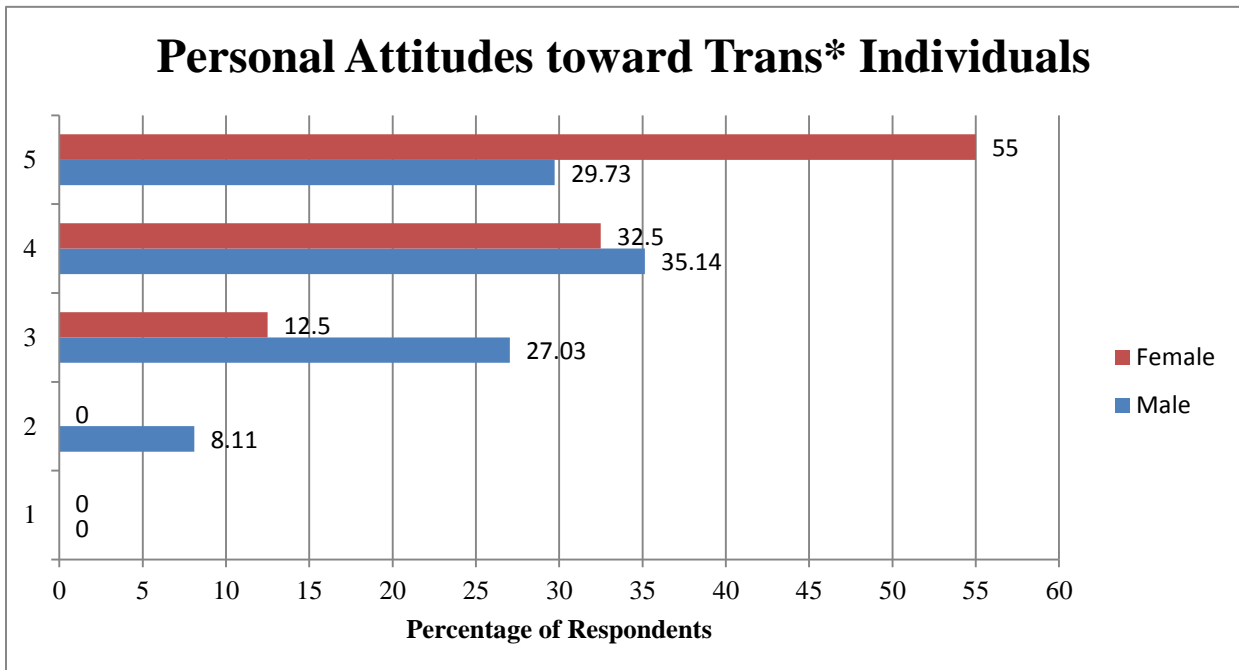| Income	Percentage
$150,000 or more	16.7
$100,000-$149,999	11.5
$90,000-$99,999	5.1
$80,000-$89,999	9
$70,000-$79,999	6.4
$60,000-$69,999	7.7
$50,000-$59,999	6.4
$40,000-$49,999	2.6
$30,000-$39,999	3.8
$20,000-$29,999	10.3
$10,000-$19,999	7.7
Less than $10,000	11.5

Percentage of Respondents
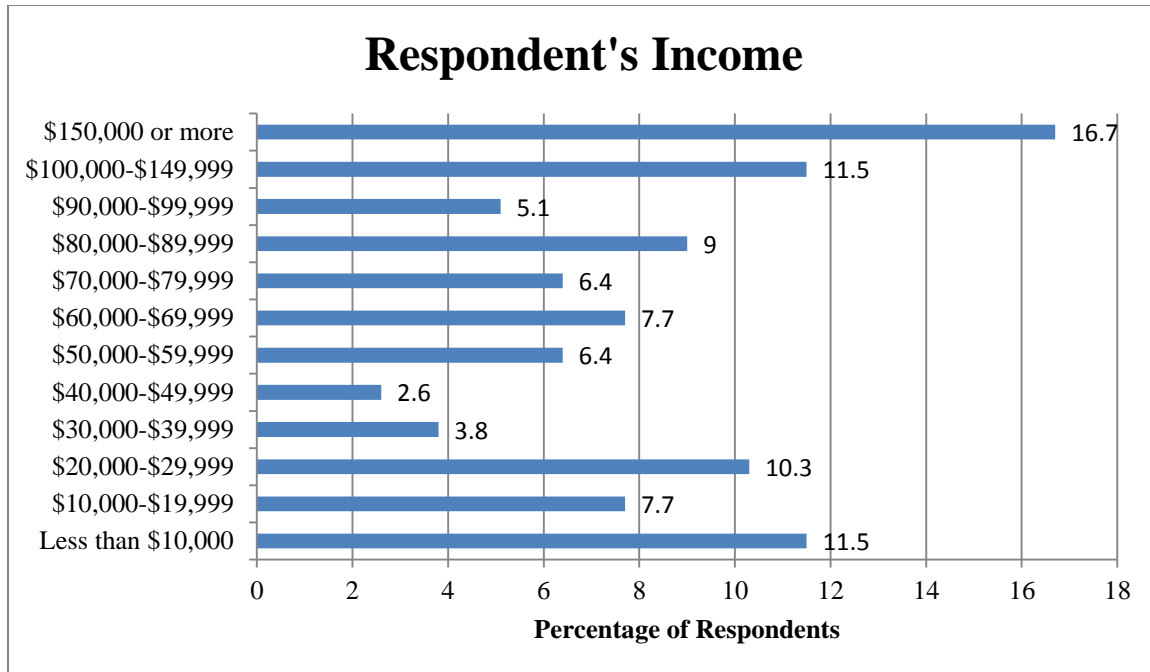
It should be noted that the above frequencies only represent 98.7% of the total data as one respondent chose to withhold reporting their income. While there is a clear bimodal distribution with peaks at both ends of the spectrum, there is a fairly representative sample of all income levels.

For the first feeling thermometer regarding an individual's personal opinion toward trans* individuals, there was a heavy skew toward the upper end of the scale. For these questions, the larger numbers indicate more favorable opinions of transgender individuals.

Personal Attitudes Toward Trans*
Individuals

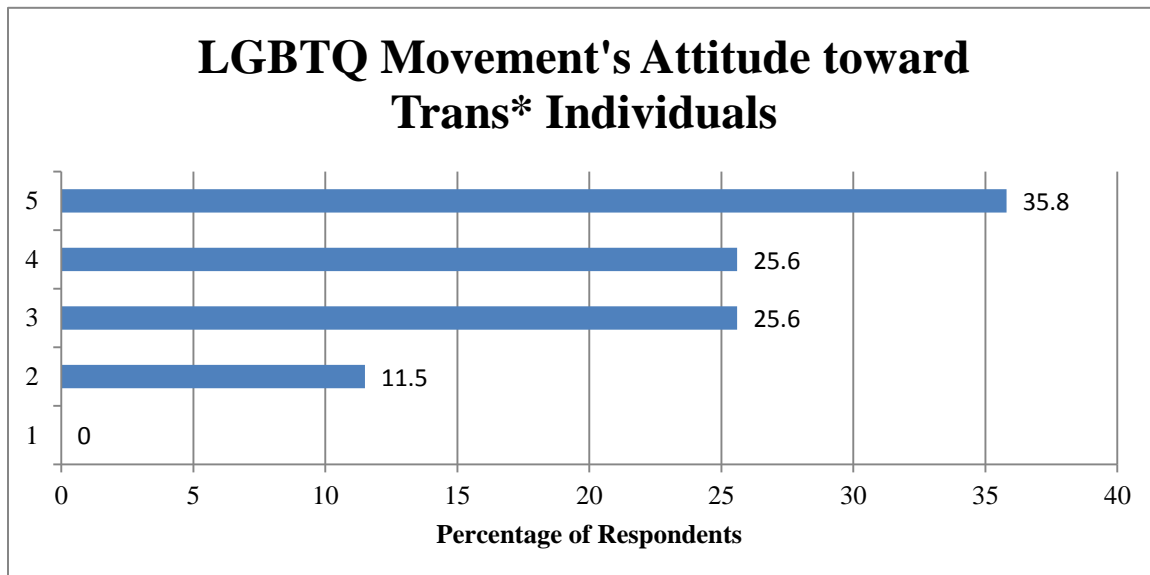| Rating	Percentage
5	42.3
4	33.3
3	19.2
2	3.8
1	0

Percentage of Respondents
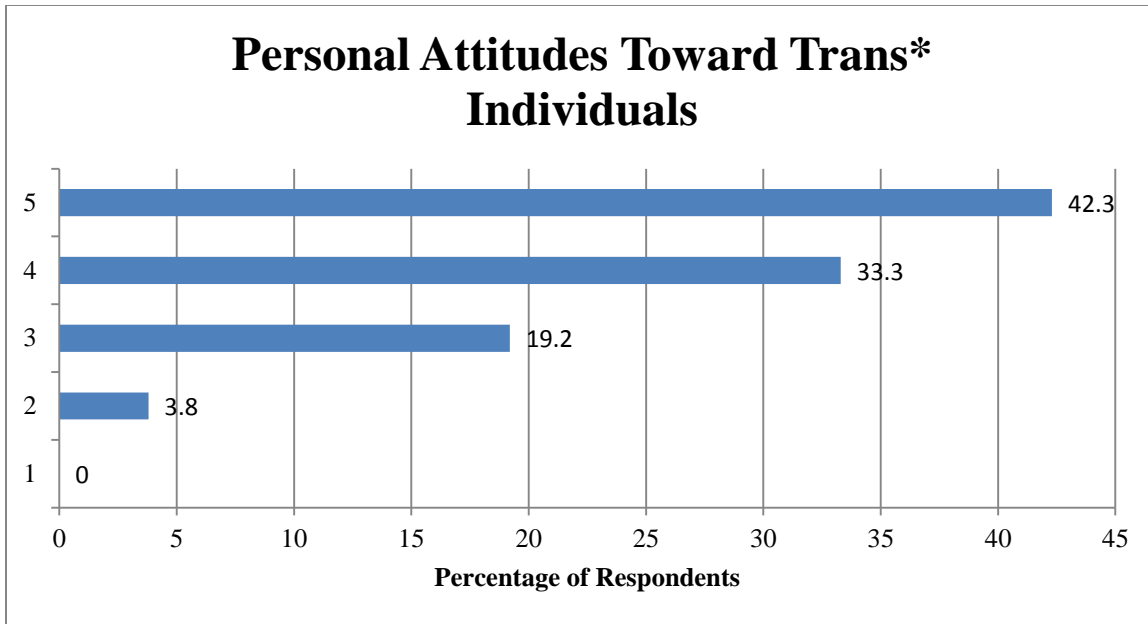
This data shows that for the respondents of the survey, the vast majority held positive opinions of transgender individuals. The distribution was roughly identical when aggregate responses were broken down into heterosexual and LGB identified individuals. However, when the responses were broken down by sex, the data became varied.

Personal Attitudes toward Trans* Individuals

Rating	Female	Male
5	55	29.73
4	32.5	35.14
3	12.5	27.03
2	0	8.11
1	0	0

Percentage of Respondents

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) test, which analyzes differences between means, on the last distribution returned a p-value of .004, indicating a statistically significant difference between responses. Female respondents were more likely than men to respond with positive feelings toward trans* individuals, where male respondents tended to report less favorable feelings.
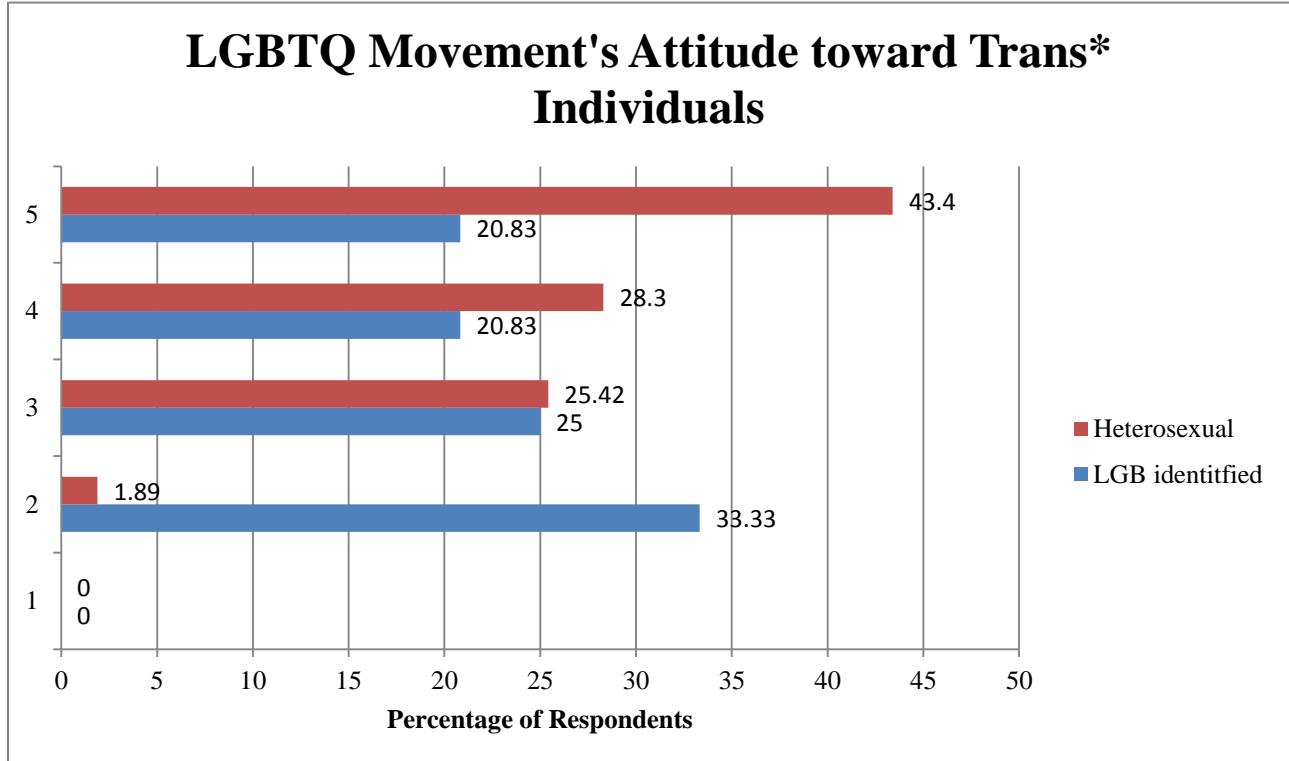
The next feeling thermometer questioned respondents' opinions on how the greater LGBTQ movement viewed trans* individuals. Here, the data still had a slight skew towards the higher end but there is a larger concentration in the middle of the distribution.

LGBTQ Movement's Attitude toward Trans* Individuals

Rating	Percentage of Respondents
5	35.8
4	25.6
3	25.6
2	11.5
1	0

Percentage of Respondents

Generally, most respondents felt that the LGBTQ movement had positive feelings toward the trans* community, with 61.4% of individuals choosing either 4 or 5. However, compared to the previous question many more individuals chose scores of two and three (37.1% vs. 23%). Additionally, unlike the previous question, when the respondents are divided into groups based on their sexual orientation, a new trend emerges: those who identify as bisexual, lesbian, or gay, tend to rate the LGBTQ movement as having more negative views of trans* individuals, where heterosexual individuals are more likely to rate the LGBTQ movement as having positive

feelings toward trans* individuals.

LGBTQ Movement's Attitude toward Trans* Individuals

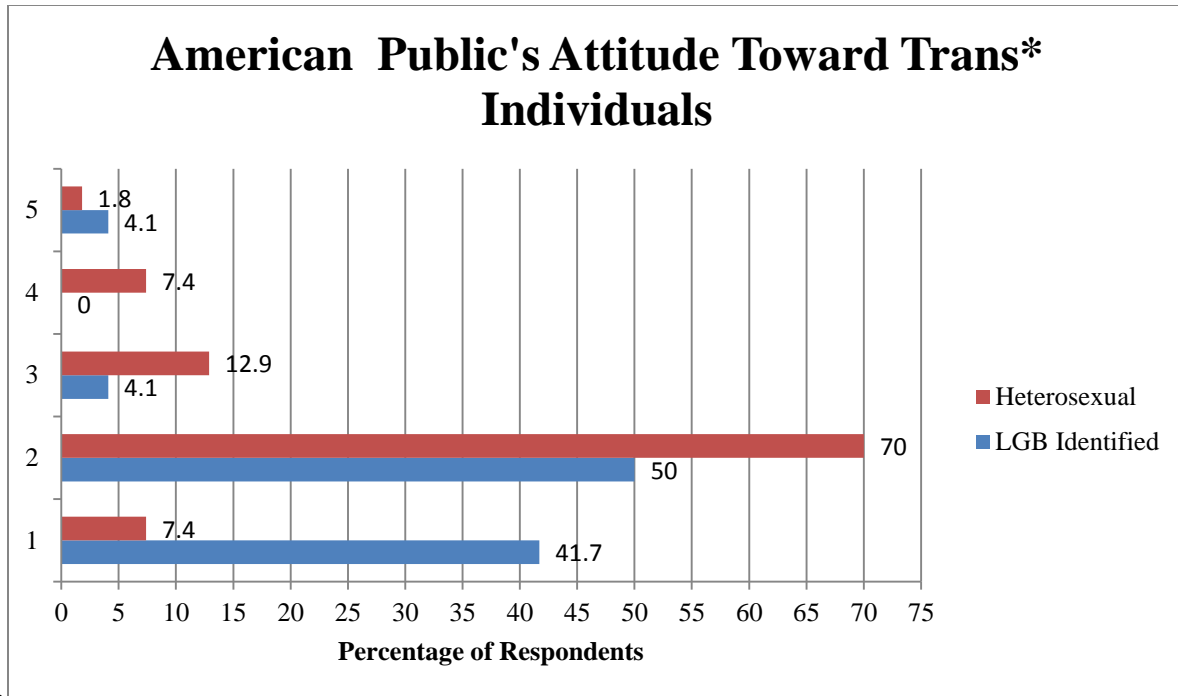| Response	Heterosexual	LGB identitfied
5	43.4	20.83
4	28.3	20.83
3	25.42	25
2	1.89	33.33
1	0	0

Percentage of Respondents

Not only is there a clear visual difference between the responses of both groups but also a statistically significant one. A one way ANOVA test of this data yields a p-value of .001. With such a small significance level, we can conclude that there is a strong statistical difference between the groups. It is likely that individuals who identify as LGB are more involved with the activities of the LGBTQ movement and thus have a deeper understanding of its behavior and of the trans* exclusion. This question elicited responses from LGB-identified individuals who believe that "[t]he queer community is filled of transphobia and biphobia" and "I think the LGBT community often operates with the exception of the letters following and including 'T'. It is a shame that so many members of the LGBT community remain ignorant to the plight of their friends and neighbors, Transgender or not." On the other hand, heterosexual respondents left comments which painted a very different picture, "I think the LBGT movement is accepting of

all people who fall under previously undefined sexual 'categories.'" and "The 'T' in 'LGBT'
stands for transgender. I am sure the LGBT community views the transgender community very
favorably." Hence, heterosexual individuals were more likely to believe that the LGBTQ
movement has favorable opinions of trans* individuals because of its official inclusion in the
movement, where LGB individuals were more critical of such an assumption. Unlike the
previous feelings thermometer, there was no statistically significant difference between
responses when analyzed by the respondent's sex.

The last question gauged how respondents viewed the American public's attitude toward
trans* individuals.

American Public's Attitude Towards Trans* Individuals

Rating	Percentage
5	2.6
4	5.1
3	10.3
2	64.1
1	17.9

Perecentage of Respondents
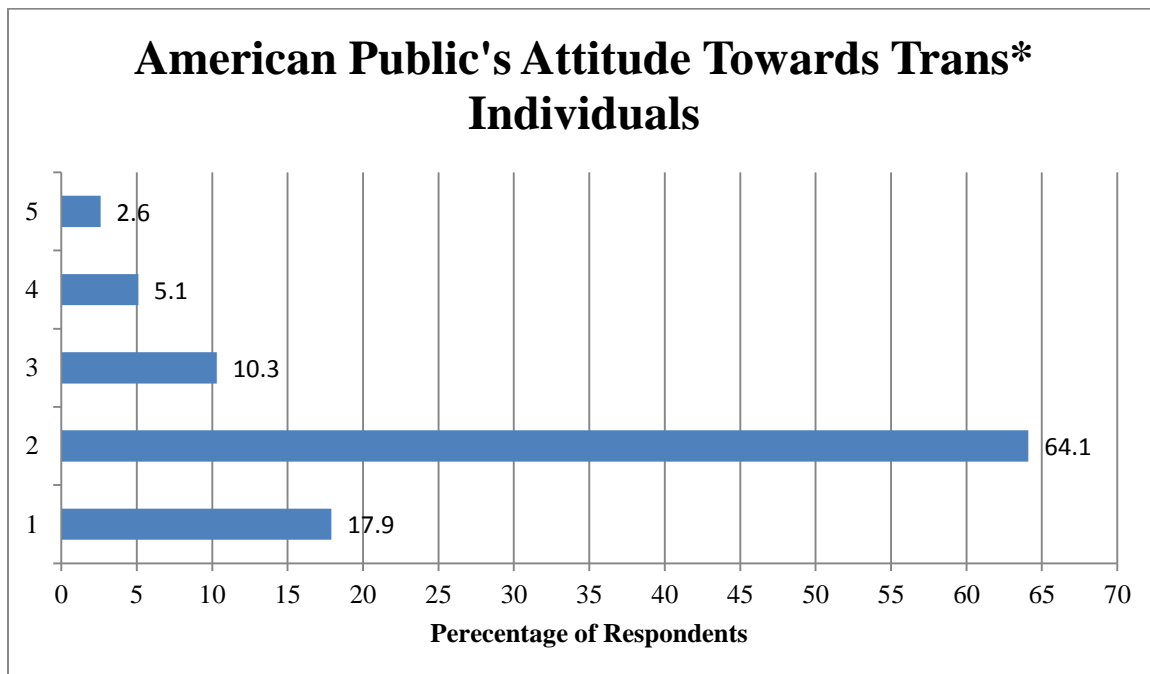
Respondents overwhelmingly rated the American public as having an extremely negative view of
trans* individuals. For this question, there was no statistically significant difference in responses
between male and female respondents. However, an ANOVA test revealed a statistically
significant difference between sexual orientations.

American Public's Attitude Toward Trans* Individuals

A horizontal bar chart showing percentages of respondents by rating scale (1–5) for Heterosexual (red) and LGB Identified (blue) groups. The x-axis is labeled "Percentage of Respondents" ranging from 0 to 75.

- **5:** Heterosexual 1.8, LGB Identified 4.1
- **4:** Heterosexual 7.4, LGB Identified 0
- **3:** Heterosexual 12.9, LGB Identified 4.1
- **2:** Heterosexual 70, LGB Identified 50
- **1:** Heterosexual 7.4, LGB Identified 41.7

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While all the responses are clustered near the lower part of the scale, heterosexual individuals tended to have a wider variety of responses when compared to LGB individuals.

Comparing the means of the three feeling thermometers allows speculation on what may be behind the trans* exclusion from LGBTQ politics. The mean for respondents' personal feelings toward transgender individuals was 4.16, which is extremely high. The mean was identical when calculated by different sexual orientations but not when analyzed by sex. Men had a mean of 3.86, while the mean for women was 4.42. This disparity may be due to the manner in which society strictly regulates the concept of masculinity, arguably more than femininity. Because trans* individuals greatly transgress gender norms, they might be perceived as a larger "threat" by men than women. The mean for how respondents believe the LGBTQ movement feels toward trans* individuals was 3.87. For heterosexual individuals, this mean was 4.13. The mean was 3.87 for LGB respondents. This substantiates previous claims that those in the LGBTQ community are more aware of the ongoing trans* exclusion. The LGB result was

close to neutral, suggesting that LGB identified individuals are less willing to fight to ensure trans* equality. The mean regarding how the American public feels toward trans* individuals was 2.1. Again, separating groups by sexual orientation produced variation: the mean for heterosexual individuals was 2.26 and 1.75 for LGB indentified respondents. This extremely low number (especially among LGB individuals, who have a strong voice in setting the LGBTQ movement's agenda) would suggest that the trans* exclusion is a political strategy aimed not to alienate the majority of American voters. The LGBTQ movement has made incredible progress in increasing public support for gay/lesbian issues and would not want to risk this newfound support by fighting for trans* issues when they believe the American public will be unreceptive. Although the other two indicators were significantly more favorable, this study cannot definitively rule out that transphobia (or other explanations) may be the primary reason for the trans* exclusion.

This study, with its limited scope, prevents generalization of its findings to the LGBTQ movement as a whole. Moreover, the small sample size is not representative of the diversity typically found in the LGBTQ movement. Further research on this subject should aim to target higher percentages of the LGBTQ population and racial minorities. Additionally, attempting to survey a random sample would increase the chances of having a representative study. Nevertheless, this paper provides a solid starting point for future research and interesting trends to be analyzed on a larger sample size.

IV. Conclusion

The LGBTQ movement is one of the most powerful social and political movements in recent history. Some of its characteristics mirror the Civil Rights movement that took place in a

younger America. Yet, why has a group, whose focus is the advancement of equal rights, left out part of its constituency when pursuing issues in the national agenda? The answer to this question is imperative if one is to truly understand the power dynamics occurring between the divisions of the LGBTQ movement. The advancement of equal rights should not ignore the serious discrimination of those who do not conform to society's gender identity. Widespread recognition of trans* exclusion is a crucial first step in assuring that this marginalized group can find its place of acceptance in society.

This project sought to determine the reason for the LGBTQ movement's systematic exclusion of the transgender community. By analyzing past literature, this paper looked to understand previous theories put forward regarding trans* exclusion for not only the movement as a whole, but also the differences that may exist between the gay and lesbian communities. Finding the theories proposed by most researchers claim that the exclusion is the result of either a political strategy or deeply rooted feelings of transphobia embedded within the LGBTQ movement, this project aimed to shed light on which theory is the primary cause of transgender exclusion. To answer this question, the author administered a survey to LGBTQ individuals and allies over Facebook that looked to gauge various opinions concerning the transgender community and trans* individuals. Based on the limited responses to this survey, it seems the trans* exclusion is the product of a political strategy implemented by the LGBTQ movement to capitalize on the recent wave of acceptance for gay and lesbian individuals. Although an important first step, additional research on a broader scale is necessary in order to validate the findings of this paper.

However, despite the exclusion and adversity faced by many trans* individuals, there are reasons to be optimistic about the future. While the LGBTQ movement has not been the fiercest

advocate on behalf of transgender issues, recent developments suggest an imminent change for

transgender rights. California recently enacted the "School Success and Opportunity Act," which

allows students to use the facilities and play on sports teams consistent with their gender identity,

and adds protections against bullying and harassment ("Transgender Issues Follow Path Blazed

by Gay Rights" 2014). Additionally, Connecticut just became the fifth state to require insurance

companies provide transgender medical coverage, which includes transgender-specific care such

as hormone therapy (Ibid). Last year, GLAAD, one of the most prominent LGBTQ organizations

in the country, announced that it was adding transgender equality to its mission in hopes of

advocating more for trans* equality (Clark 2013). Moreover, the recent increased popularity of

trans* celebrities and activists such as Laverne Cox and Janet Mock has given the American

public an opportunity to identify with the trans* community, much the same way heightened

media visibility in the late 90's and early 2000's increased public support for gay and lesbian

individuals. While trans* individuals still face intense discrimination in various facets of life,

these recent gains set the groundwork of future progress for the transgender community.

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