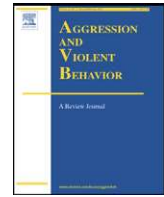


EXHIBIT H



Violence against transgender people: A review of United States data [☆]

Rebecca L. Stotzer ^{*}

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, United States

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 14 December 2007
Received in revised form 31 December 2008
Accepted 20 January 2009
Available online 24 January 2009

Keywords:

Violence
Gender identity
Sexual assault
Physical assault
Hate crimes

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.

© 2009 Published by Elsevier Ltd.

Contents

1. Introduction	170
2. Self-report surveys	171
2.1. Sexual violence	171
2.1.1. Motivation for sexual violence	172
2.1.2. Perpetrators of sexual violence	172
2.1.3. Police and other authorities	173
2.2. Physical violence and abuse	173
2.2.1. Motivation for physical violence	174
2.2.2. Perpetrators of physical violence	174
2.2.3. Violence in the home	174
2.2.4. Feelings of safety	174
2.2.5. Police and other authorities	174
2.3. Harassment, verbal abuse, and other non-physical violence	175
2.3.1. Perpetrators of harassment and verbal abuse	175
3. Hotline calls and social service reports	175
3.1. National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP)	175
3.2. Tracking transgender murders	175
4. Police reports	176
4.1. Social surveys and police reporting	176
5. Methodological limitations of violence and transgender people	176
6. Conclusion	177
References	178

[☆] The author would like to thank the Williams Institute at the UCLA School of Law for their contributions to this paper, as well as Jessica Xavier, Dr. Perry Silverchanz, and Dr. Danielle McCartney for their invaluable insight.

^{*} University of Hawai'i School of Social Work, Henke Hall 1800 East-West Drive, Honolulu, HI 96819, United States.

E-mail address: rstotzer@hawaii.edu.

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

age. While all surveys have found evidence that sexual violence is shockingly common, the proportion of transgender people reporting violence varies from survey to survey. As discussed later, these variations in rates probably result from differences in how researchers conducted their surveys, and we cannot draw firm conclusions on the actual likelihood that a transgender person will experience sexual violence. However, the most common finding across surveys and needs assessments is that about 50% of transgendered persons report unwanted sexual activity. [Clements-Nolle et al. \(2006\)](#) surveyed 515 MTFs and FTMs and found that 59% reported a history of forced sex or rape, [Garofalo et al. \(2006\)](#) also found her/his survey of 51 MTF youths that 52% reported unwanted sexual intercourse, and [Kenagy \(2005b\)](#) found that 54% of participants reported that they had been forced to have sex. The report with the highest percentage of people who reported being either directly involved or secondary victims (i.e., witnesses) of sexual violence was the [FORGE \(2005\)](#) report, which had 66% of their 264 respondents in the mid-west state that they had been the victims or witnesses of sexual violence, and 23% had been the victims or witnesses of five or more incidences of sexual violence ([Tables 1 and 2](#)).

[Kenagy \(2005a\)](#) also found a significant difference between MTFs and FTMs, with 69% of MTFs reported having been the victims of forced sex, where only 30% of FTMs reported a history of forced sex. However, only one other study directly tested this difference. Contrary to the [Kenagy \(2005b\)](#) study, forced sexual activity was a larger problem for FTMs in the [Xavier et al. \(2007\)](#) sample: 35% of FTMs responded they had been sexually assaulted compared to 23% of MTFs.

Other studies sometimes find lower rates of sexual violence between 10% and 15% (i.e., [Xavier, 2003](#), [Witten, 2003](#), and [Lombardi et al., 2001](#)). The report with the highest percentage of people who reported sexual violence is the [FORGE report \(2005\)](#). Results showed that 66% of the 264 mid-western respondents had been the victims or witnesses of sexual violence, and 23% had been the victims or witnesses of five or more incidences of sexual violence.

Not only is sexual violence occurring with a high level of frequency, but this violence starts at an early age. One study found that first rapes often occurred in the early teens, with a median of 14 years old for FTMs and 15 years old for MTFs ([Xavier et al., 2007](#)). The [FORGE \(2005\)](#) report found that young gender-nonconforming persons were particularly vulnerable to sexual violence, with the majority of incidents occurring before the age of 12, and that number steadily declining with age. This claim about younger transgender people being more at risk was also found in [Wyss' \(2004\)](#) study on high school-aged transgendered youth. Wyss, through a mix of surveying

and interviewing, found that 86% of respondents had experienced some type of sexual violence, often perpetrated by other students, because of their gender identity.

2.1.1. Motivation for sexual violence

These studies also provide insights into the motivation for sexual assaults, generating evidence that perpetrators are motivated by hatred or negative attitudes toward transgender people. It is important to keep in mind that in these questionnaires motivation of the perpetrator is determined by the victim and their perception of their victimization rather than any objective or legal determination of motivation. Although this is a common strategy for determining motivation in crime surveys, this method clearly only addresses perceptions of motivation. In [Xavier et al. \(2005\)](#), 13% of the 248 MTF and FTM participants reported being victims of sexual assault or rape, and that 43% of those victims believed that their victimization was because of the perpetrators' homophobia, while another 35% of victims reported that it was the perpetrators' transphobia that led to the assault. [Witten's \(2003\)](#) participants were asked if they believed they had ever been the victims of a hate crime: 23% were classified by the participant as sexual harassment, 15% as sexual abuse or attempted sexual abuse, and 6% had been raped because of their gender identity. In the [Xavier et al. \(2007\)](#) study of transgender Virginians, over half (57%) of the participants reported they felt the reason for one or more of the incidents of forced sex was due to their transgender status, gender identity, or gender expression, with 71% of MTFs attributing that motive to one or more of the incidents, compared to 40% of FTMs.

2.1.2. Perpetrators of sexual violence

Perhaps one of the most disappointing findings from self-report surveys are the findings that the largest percent of perpetrators of sexual violence are people who are known to the victim, including partners and family members. In a study of primary and casual sex partners, [Risser et al. \(2005\)](#) found that 16% of the 67 participating MTFs reported being forced to have sex by a casual sex partner, and 25% had been forced to have sex by their primary partner. Additional evidence for this trend comes from [Xavier et al. \(2007\)](#), who found that among those who had reported incidents of forced sex, 35% involved a person who lived in the participant's household at the time of the assault. In addition, in a survey of 26 MTF prostitutes in Washington D. C., [Valera et al. \(2000\)](#) found that 35% reported being raped since they entered prostitution. The most common perpetrator of these rapes were customers (60%), someone else (40%), and their pimp (20%).

Additional details about the perpetrators of these crimes comes from [Xavier et al. \(2007\)](#), who found that acquaintances were the most

Table 1

Self-report survey reports of the prevalence of violence against transgender people motivated by their gender identity or gender expression (as reported by victims).

	McGowan (1999)	Reback et al. (2001)	Lombardi et al. (2001)	Witten (2003)	Wyss (2004)	FORGE (2005)	Xavier et al. (2005) D.C.	Clements-Nolle et al. (2006)	Xavier et al. (2007)	Dang (2007)
Location	New York	Los Angeles	USA	US and abroad	Not spec.	Mid-west	D.C.	San Francisco	Virginia	USA
Sample										API
MTF	83		84			77	188	392	112	14
FTM	11		81			121	60	123	34	6
Other/not specified		244		174	24	16				52
Sexual assault/rape			13%	15%	86%	28%	^a 10%		^a 15%	
Sexual harassment				23%						
Violence "or crime"	33%		27%				^a 15%			
Physical assault/beaten		47%	20%	39%	86%			36%	^a 28%	49%
Robbed			14%	^b 29%						
Objects thrown at you			17%							
Assaulted w/a weapon			10%							
Followed/stalked			23%	41%						
Harassment			56%	48%						^c 69%
Verbal abuse		80%						83%		

^a Reflects the fraction of the entire population.

^b [Witten \(2003\)](#) reported "muggings" specifically, but this statistic was counted into the "robbery" category.

^c [Dang \(2007\)](#) included 'discrimination or harassment' together.

Table 2
Needs assessments and academic survey reports of the prevalence of general violence against transgender people (no particular motivation associated with victimization).

Location	McGowan (1999)	Valera et al. (2000)	Xavier (2000)	Witten (2003)	Kenagy (2005a)	Kenagy (2005b)	Kenagy and Bostwick (2005)	FORGE (2005)	Risser et al. (2005)	Xavier et al. (2005)	Cohan et al. (2006)	Garofalo et al. (2006)	Clements-Nolle et al. (2006)	Sugano et al. (2006)	Xavier et al. (2007)
Sample	New York	D.C. Sex workers	D.C.	US and abroad	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	Chicago	Mid-west	Houston	D.C.	San Francisco Sex workers	Chicago Youth	San Francisco	San Francisco Racial Minorities	VA
MTF	83	26	180		49	113	78	77	67	188		51	392	332	112
FTM	11		60		32	69	33	121		60			123		34
Intersex			4												
Other/not specified				174				16		43%					
Violence / "crime"			43%		51%		60%								
Physical assault		65%	16%	45%	51%										
Emotional abuse			67%	26%											
Neglect			8%												
Exploitation															
Assaulted w/a weapon		88%	17%												
Sexual assault/rape		35%	14%	19%	53%			66.0%	^16/25%			52%	59%		27%
Threatened		88%													
Harassment			26%												
Robbed			14%												
Intimidation			18%												
Vandalism			4%												
Blackmail			2%												
Abduction			2%												
Bombing			1%												

Witten (2003) reported "muggings" specifically, but this was collapsed into the "robbery" category.
 ^Risser et al. (2005) separately reported casual sex partner sexual violence, and primary partner sexual violence (casual partner/primary partner).
 **McGowan asked "Have you ever been a victim of domestic violence or rape?", and we are unable to determine what percent is rape vs. other forms of domestic violence.
 ++Cohan et al. (2006) reported specifically on sex work related violence, without specifying what type of violence.
 ^Sugano et al. (2005) separated prevalence by age, during childhood/during adulthood.

common perpetrators of sexual violence (48%), followed by complete strangers (26%), father or stepfather (16%), a former spouse or partner (14%), current spouse or partner (12%), and a brother or sister (12%). According to the FORGE (2005) report, amongst those who had identified the genders of the perpetrators of sexual assaults, 90% of victims said they had at some time been assaulted by a male perpetrator, 30% of victims had been assaulted by a female perpetrator, and 12% had been assaulted by a transgender perpetrator (totals do not add up to 100% because a single victim could have been a victim in one assault by a male perpetrator and in another assault by a female, etc.). In addition, they found that the most common relationship to the victim that the perpetrator had was as a family member (39%), an acquaintance (35%), an intimate partner (29%), a stranger (25%), a date (20%), or an individual in a helping profession such as police or healthcare/social service providers (11%).

2.1.3. Police and other authorities

Within the transgender community it is common knowledge that interacting with authorities invites a certain level of possible victimization, or revictimization for transgendered people. Only two studies directly ask about reporting sexual assault to the police. The Xavier et al. (2007) found that 83% of victims of sexual assaults did not report any of the incidences to the police. The FORGE (2005) report found a similar statistic – that only 9% of victims reported their sexual assaults to police, and that 47.5% did not tell ANYONE about their sexual assault. However, an interesting finding that might elucidate the lack of reporting to authorities was the fact that victims reported that 4.9% of incidences of sexual violence were perpetrated by police, and in 5.9% of cases the perpetrators was a social service or health care provider.

In summary, studies conducted since 1999 have shown that transgender people are the victims of a great deal of sexual violence, specifically sexual assault, attempted sexual assault, rape, and attempted rape. In addition, this violence is often being perpetrated specifically because of their gender identity or expression. Perhaps most painful, in only about a third of cases the perpetrator is a complete stranger, suggesting that a large volume of the sexual victimization of transgender people is at the hands of people they know, and that this victimization begins at an early age.

2.2. Physical violence and abuse

"I had these three guys that didn't like me and I'm not totally sure why they didn't. But I think a lot of it had to do with my gender expression and my sexuality and just basically who I was. [...]they beat my ass on my fifteenth birthday [with a leather belt....T]he guy that I was with [...] just sat back and watched while they did this to me" Interviewee (Wyss, 2004, p. 716)

In addition to high rates of sexual violence victimization, transgender people also suffer from a high prevalence of physical violence. The study with the highest level of detail about physical assault specifically is the study by Xavier et al. (2007). Among trans-Virginians, 40% reported experiencing physical assaults (since age 13), and the mean age of the first physical assault was at 16 years old. Of those who had reported being victimized, 18% reported one incident, 23% reported two incidents, 30% reported three to five incidents, 17% reported six to 19 incidents, and 12% reported 20 or more incidents of physical violence. This demonstrates that although there is some evidence for the lifetime probability of being victimized is high for transgender people, there is also a heightened risk of being multiply victimized. Of those who reported that they were victims of physical assault, 69% felt that for at least one or more of those incidences, the primary reason for victimization was their gender identity.

Physical violence appears particularly problematic for transgender sex workers. Valera et al. (2000) found that among MTF sex workers in Washington D.C., 65% had been physically assaulted, and that the most common perpetrator was a customer (71%). Weinberg, Shaver, and

Williams (1999) found that among sex workers in the San Francisco Tenderloin, in the last 12 months the mean number of rapes by a client was 0.013 per person, the mean number of times beaten by a client was 0.23, and the mean number of times robbed by a client was 0.52. Cohan et al. (2006) found that among 126 sex workers in San Francisco, 53% had experienced sex work related violence, which was higher and significantly different from the percent of male or female prostitutes who reported violence. Most often, the perpetrator was a customer (43%), though they had experienced violence at the hands of the police (17.5%), and their employer/manager/pimp (9%). In a qualitative study by Nemoto, Operario, Keatley and Villegas (2004), MTF sex workers identified their increased danger of “discovery” from potential clients who did not understand their transgender status. One participant summarized the constant danger by aptly stating “No one’s going to kill a gay man if he finds a dick between his legs. No one’s gonna kill a gay woman if he finds a pussy. But they will definitely put a knife through a tranny’s throat if they see breasts and dick” (p. 729).

2.2.1. Motivation for physical violence

Evidence about hate or bias motivation can also be found in other studies besides the Transgender Virginians study. Just as with sexual violence, perpetrators’ motivation for physical violence is most often based on the perceptions of victims, or their interpretation of the reasons behind the crime, or even their labeling of the crime as a “hate crime.” When asked about experiences of “anti-transgender violence or hate crime,” 33% of participants in McGowan’s (1999) study of 94 transgendered people in New York reported being victims. Xavier (2003) (Xavier et al., 2005) reported that 43% of respondents had been the victims of “violence and/or crime,” and of those who were victimized, 75% said that they believed at least one of their experiences of violence or crime was related to their gender identity. Clements-Nolle et al. (2006), asked the general question of whether or not participants had experienced “physical gender victimization,” and of the 515 participants, 36% reported that they had been victims. Reback et al. (2001) in surveying transgendered people in Los Angeles County found that 47% of the transgender participants reported being victims of physical abuse or were beaten because of their gender identity.

2.2.2. Perpetrators of physical violence

Reback et al. (2001) asked a follow-up question about perpetrators, and found that incidents involved strangers (37%), police (14%), parents (9%), siblings (4%), neighbors (4%), other relatives (3%), and even friends (3%). Witten (2003) also asked about crimes motivated by gender-identity motivated hatred, and found that among other crimes, such as sexual assaults and harassment, participants also reported being the victims of muggings based on hate (29%) and being beaten based on hate (39%).

This breakdown of perpetrators was similar to those found in Xavier et al. (2007), again suggesting that known others are the primary perpetrators of physical violence against transgender people. They also reported data on perpetrators, finding that 31% of physical assault perpetrators were living with the victim at the time of the assault. Again, the complete strangers were the most common perpetrators (47%), followed by acquaintances (27%), ‘other’ persons (who did not fall into the set categories) (27%), fathers or stepfathers (16%), mothers or stepmothers (9%), current spouse/partner, brother/sister, or a former spouse or partner (8%). This suggests that similar to sexual violence, perpetrators of physical violence are often known to the victims.

Kuehnle and Sullivan (2003) also found that 30% of perpetrators were landlord/neighbor/tenants, 20% of the time the perpetrator was a stranger, 20% of perpetrators were “pick-ups,” and 10% of the time the crimes were committed by an acquaintance/friend, law enforcement/security personnel, or service providers respectively. In addition, Kuehnle and Sullivan (2003) is one of the few studies that asked about the location of physical violence, and compared “anti-gay”

violence against male, female, and transgender victims. Of the 10 transgender victims who reported violence to a social service agency, 50% reported that their victimization occurred in a private residence, 20% of crimes occurred on public transportation, 20% occurred in public accommodations, and 10% occurred in the street or in a public area.

Similar to sexual violence, physical violence is occurring at high rates, happens often, and takes a variety of forms from physical assault to attempted bombings and abductions. In addition, transgender people have high rates of multiple victimization of physical violence, and the perpetrators are often people known to the victim.

2.2.3. Violence in the home

Two studies conducted by Kenagy have asked the question: “Have you ever experienced violence in your home?” This question is broad enough to include incidences of domestic violence as well as attacks from strangers or family without being able to differentiate between them.¹ Although it is unclear what type of violence is occurring in the home in these surveys, it is still an important question when so much violence pervades the lives of transgender people. Kenagy and Bostwick (2005) found that 66% of respondents reported experiencing violence in their home, while Kenagy (2005b) found that 56.3% of participants reported experiencing violence in the home, with a statistically significant difference between MTFs (67.3%) and FTMs (38.7%) ($p < .05$). Similarly, both studies asked about “physical abuse” which is difficult to determine whether it meant abuse in a domestic situation, or physical abuse in a wider lens of physical assault. However, Kenagy and Bostwick (2005) found that 60% of victims reported being physically abused at some point in their lives, and Kenagy (2005b) reported that 51.3% of participants had reported being physically abused, with a significant difference between MTFs (65.3%) and FTMs (29.0%) ($p < .01$). Although the question is too vague to determine situations of domestic violence vs. other types of crimes in the home, these responses suggest that transgender people are not safe even in their own homes.

2.2.4. Feelings of safety

One unique study asked transgender people about their thoughts and beliefs about their own personal safety and life expectancy. Kenagy and Bostwick (2005) found that 56% of MTFs and FTMs reported that being transgendered made them feel unsafe in public, and 43% reported that being transgendered made them feel uncomfortable in public as well. In addition, there were statistically significant differences between FTMs and MTFs. FTMs (85%) were significantly more likely to say they felt unsafe ($p < .0001$) than MTFs (43%) and uncomfortable (FTMs = 73%, MTFs = 30%, $p < .0001$). Perhaps the most tragic results of this study were in the answers to questions about life expectancy. 40% of all respondents said they expected that their lifespan will be shorter than normal (reasons given were queer-bashing, being killed by police, the effects of hormones, and HIV status).

2.2.5. Police and other authorities

A story similar to that of report sexual assault to the police emerges with physical assault and violence. The VTHIS found that 70% of victims of physical violence did not report any of their assaults to the police. When examining just the most recent incident (which happened an average of 6.6 years prior for FTMs and 11 years prior for MTFs), only 26% reported their assaults to police. Witten (2003) found that of the 89 respondents who had experienced violence, only 22% had made reports to the authorities, and another 4% reported that they ‘sometimes’ had reported their victimization to police. However, of

¹ For further information specifically about domestic violence among transgender people, some national statistics by the NCAVP are available. However, intimate partner violence is beyond the scope of this paper.