THE HIERARCHY OF RIGHTS AND THE EXPRESSION OF VALUES IN THE LGBTQ+ RIGHTS MOVEMENT

by

Charlotte A. Archer

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Sociology

Middle Tennessee State University
May 2018

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Angela Mertig, Chair

Dr. Foster K. Amey

Dr. William Langston

This thesis is dedicated to my Mother, and my "other mothers," who have provided unconditional love and support throughout my life, and whose guidance and encouragement has shaped the person that I am today. I was lucky enough to have not just one mother, but two other women whose role in my life was second only to that of my mother.

This work is therefore dedicated in memory of my mother, Roberta Anne Whitehead Archer, and my godmother, Mary Lou Gannon, both of whom have passed beyond the veil, and in gratitude to my mother's best friend Mary Jane Glaser, who always treated my family as though we were part of her own.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Angela Mertig, who not only took on the daunting task of serving as my committee chair, but who has mentored me through my undergraduate work, and who stuck with me through the entire research process, including the writing of a URECA grant proposal, undergraduate Honors thesis which formed the foundation of this research. Without her enthusiastic encouragement, steady presence, extensive subject knowledge, willing and flexible availability, and countless hours of editorial work, this thesis would never have been possible.

I am very grateful for the support of all of my committee members, Dr. Foster Amey, and Dr. William Langston, as well as to my peer reviewer, Rebekah Dawson, all of whom provided their time, energy and encouragement to help ensure the quality of this project. I am particularly grateful for the contribution of suggestions on how to improve my survey from Dr. Langston and Ms. Dawson, without which my research would have suffered.

Many of my professors have provided me with guidance, encouragement, and support, and I wish to thank Dr. Meredith Dye, Dr. Marion Hollings, and Dr. Vicky MacLean for their ongoing support and assistance.

Finally, I would like to offer very special thanks to my friends, Lucy and Tom Jameson, for their support and hospitality, , as well as my longstanding friend Tom Gannon, my friend Mary Hawk, and my sister Maggie Gray Meyer. Without their support and assistance, this thesis would not exist.

ABSTRACT

Utilizing a web survey of members of social movement organizations within one new social movement, the LGBTQ+ rights movement, this study measures the level to which the progressive values of inclusion, intersectionality, and solidarity are actually valued by participants, and whether participants perceive the movement as following these values.

The study examines the LGBTQ+ movement in the context of new social movement theory and the theoretical establishment of a hierarchy of rights within social movements to see whether the LGBTQ+ movement seems to follow the older theoretical rules of narrow agendas (i.e., agendas focused on the needs of the majority or "dominant population" over minorities within the social movement) or is moving towards embracing the strategies predicted by new social movement theories, which suggest that the shared values of a broader membership dictate the pursuit of agendas which focus on the needs of all group members, not just the majority.

***Keywords*:** Hierarchy of rights, LGBT rights, resource mobilization, new social movement theory, progressive values, solidarity, intersectionality, inclusion, movement crossover.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS, AND TERMINOLOGY

The following terms, acronyms, and abbreviations are used within the study, or within the LGBTQ+ community. Some terms appeared on or were responses to the survey. It is important to note that, while these are commonly accepted definitions of the terms, these definitions were intentionally not given on the survey, to allow participants the right of self-definition.

A Note About Gender-Neutral Language. Within sociological, feminist, and queer writing it is common to use the singular "they" as a way to avoid gender bias. Additionally, the LGBTQ+ community focuses on using the "preferred gender pronouns" (PGPs) of the individual as a show of respect and to prevent 'othering' of non-binary, gender non-conforming and transgender individuals. One of the most commonly used gender-neutral pronoun options among LGBTQ+ people is the singular "they," which is also used when the gender of an individual is not known or PGPs are unspecified. Throughout this document, the singular "they" may be used (as opposed to the generic "he") when referring to a person or individual of unspecified gender, as a way to avoid gender bias (Foertsch and Gernsbacher 1997; Luu 2015; Warenda 1993).

AAB / AMAB / MAAB AFAB / FAAB	"Assigned at birth"; usually given as "AMAB" (Assigned male at birth) or AFAB (Assigned female at birth). Often used by transgender, intersex, and gender non-conforming individuals to clarify the difference between the sex that was initially placed on their birth certificate, and their current biological sex and/or gender identity.
Ace	Abbreviation for asexual.
Ace spectrum	The sexual orientation spectrum between asexual and sexual, inclusive of "asexual," "gray," and "demisexual" orientations.
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union.
Agender	An individual who does not have a gender identity.
Ally	An individual who does not identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or one of the identities within the community, but who supports the rights of individuals with these identities. Generally, a cisgender, heterosexual person, although anyone who does not identify with a specific gender may also be considered an ally. I.e., a cisgender gay person may consider himself an ally to transgender people.

Ambisexual	An individual who is attracted to "both" genders. The connotation in using ambi- is one of equal attraction to both ends of the gender spectrum. I.e., the connotation is that the person who identifies as ambisexual is equally attracted to men and women.
Androgynous	An individual who exhibits both male and female characteristics.
Aro	Abbreviation for aromantic.
Aromantic	An individual who does not experience romantic love (AVEN 2012).
Asexual	An individual who does not experience sexual attraction, or who has little or no interest in sexual engagement. See also "ACE" and "Gray asexual / Gray spectrum" (AVEN 2012).
Bigender	An individual who identifies as both male and female, either varyingly or concurrently.
Biromantic	An individual who is romantically attracted to individuals of more than one gender.
Bisexual	An individual who is psychologically, emotionally, and/or sexually attracted to individuals of more than one gender. Sometimes used as an umbrella term to embrace all identities who are psychologically, emotionally, and/or sexually attracted to two or more genders. See also "bisexual umbrella."
Bisexual umbrella	A term which encompasses all of the various terms which are used to mean psychological, emotional, and/or sexual attraction to more than one gender or based on other attractors than gender, i.e., pansexual, omnisexual, ambisexual. Terms under the umbrella generally have similar denotative definitions, but may have slightly different connotative definitions or implications to the individuals who use them.
Cis or cisgender	An individual whose gender identity is consistent with the sex that they were assigned at birth. Taken from the Latin prefix for "on this/the same side of," as opposed to trans-, which is the Latin prefix for "across from."
Demigirl	An individual who partially, but not wholly, identifies as a girl or woman.
Demiromantic	An individual who experiences romantic attraction only when a strong emotional bond has already been formed (AVEN 2012).

Demisexual	An individual who experiences sexual attraction only when a strong emotional bond is also present. A demisexual may be attracted to the same gender, other gender(s) or all genders and may modify their identity to specify which gender or genders they are attracted to (AVEN 2012).
DOB	Daughters of Bilitis.
Drag	An individual who performs as the opposite gender.
Gay	A man who is psychologically, emotionally, and/or sexually attracted to other men.
Gender	"The socially constructed roles associated with an individual's biological sex" (Rosenblum and Travis 1997:26).
Gender expression	How an individual performs or presents their gender to the outside world through dress, behavior, speech, etc. Gender expression often incorporates socially constructed norms or stereotypes of what will appear to others as masculine or feminine.
Gender identity	An individual's innate, mental, spiritual, and emotional sense as to their gender.
Gender neutral pronoun	A pronoun or set of pronouns that are not associated with a specific gender. Often used in the LGBTQ+ community by individuals who do not identify on the gender binary of male/female. Examples are "zie, zim, zirs," and the use of the singular "they," (them, theirs) (Foertsch and Gernsbacher 1997; Luu 2015; Warenda 1993).
Genderflexible	Another way of saying "genderfluid."
Genderfluid	An individual whose gender fluctuates over time.
Genderqueer	"A person whose identity is located outside normative binary sex/gender categories" (Chase and Ressler 2009:23).
GLAAD	Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation.
Gray asexual / Gray-A or Grace	An individual who rarely experiences sexual attraction, or experiences a low level of sexual desire. Graces may experience sexual attraction only under specific circumstances (AVEN 2012).
Gray spectrum	The sexuality spectrum between asexual and sexual (AVEN 2012).

GSA	Gay/Straight Alliance. An umbrella term for a student organization open to both LGBTQ students and allies, intended to foster understanding of and tolerance for LGBTQ+ students.
GSD	Gender and sexuality diverse. An alternate acronym proposed to replace, and sometimes used in place of LGBTQ+.
GSM	Gender and sexual minorities. An alternate acronym proposed to replace, and sometimes used in place of LGBTQ+.
GSRD	Gender, Sexual, and Romantic Diversity. Another alternate acronym proposed to replace the LGBTQ+ acronym which includes the romantic spectrum.
GSRM	Gender, sexual, and romantic minorities. Another alternate acronym proposed to replace the LGBTQ+ acronym which includes the romantic spectrum.
GSS	General Social Survey.
Heteromantic	An individual who is romantically attracted to individuals of the "opposite" gender.
Homoromantic	An individual who is romantically attracted to individuals of the same gender.
Intersex	An individual whose sexual characteristics, determined by chromosomes, hormones, internal sexual organs, gonads, and external genitalia, vary from the expected configuration and contain both male and female characteristics. In some, but not all, cases, this presents at birth as ambiguous genitalia (Fausto-Sterling 2000).
Lesbian	Generally used to denote a woman who is psychologically, emotionally, and/or sexually attracted to other women. For some lesbians, the identity "lesbian" can also be a political identification, an association with a form of separatist feminism, known as lesbian feminism, which arose in response to the male domination of the gay liberation movement (Faderman 1981; Jeffreys 2003).
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, and others.

LGBTQQIP2SAA	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/-sexual, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Pansexual, Two-Spirit, Asexual, and Allies. An expanded acronym intended to more fully represent the diversity within the community.
MCC	Metropolitan Community Church.
MSMs	Men who have sex with men.
NGLTF	National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.
Non-binary	Not on a dichotomous binary, this term is most often applied to gender, but can also apply to sex and sexuality. It is used as a way to emphasize that the individual does not choose one end or another of a spectrum which is seen as dichotomous (male/female, heterosexual/homosexual, etc.)
NOW	National Organization for Women.
Omnisexual	Generally connotes sexual attraction to individuals of all genders, and intentionally embraces transgender, genderqueer, genderflexible, and other non-binary genders.
Panromantic	An individual who is romantically attracted to people of all genders, or for whom gender does not impact romantic attraction.
Pansexual	An individual who is psychologically, emotionally, and/or sexually attracted to all genders. Sometimes connotes an individual for whom gender does not impact sexual attraction, or for whom gender is not the major attractor, as with sapiosexuals, where attraction is based on intelligence rather than gender.
Polyamory / Polyamorous	"Loving More than One." An individual who has the capacity for multiple sexual-romantic relationships at one time. A type of responsible non-monogamy.
Polysexual	An individual who is sexually attracted to many different genders.
Preferred gender pronouns (PGP)	The pronouns preferred by an individual. In the LGBTQ+ and other progressive communities, these are often displayed on name tags at events and presented during introductions for all individuals present to prevent bias against non-binary, gender non-conforming, and trans people. Usually stated as a set, such as "He, him, his," "She, her, hers," "Zi, hir, hirs," or "They, them, theirs."
PRIDE	Personal Rights in Defense and Education.

PWA	People with AIDS.
Queer	An umbrella term for the LGBTQ+ community. Also a term for individuals who do not conform to or embrace other existing gender or sexuality terms. “Queer” was originally a derogatory term and its use can be controversial for this reason.
Questioning	An individual who is exploring but who has not yet decisively identified with a gender or sexual identity.
Radical Faerie	A counter-culture movement which integrates queer consciousness with spirituality. Part of the modern Neopagan religious/spirituality movement.
Rainbow Person	Not a GSRM identity. A modern counter-culture peace movement which revolves around local, regional, and national gatherings, generally held annually, to pursue spiritual practices (prayer, meditation, drumming, trance work, etc.) towards achieving world peace.
Sex	The biological determination (male, female or intersex) based on an individual’s reproductive system, including chromosomal, hormonal, anatomical, and physiological differences (Rosenblum and Travis 1997:26).
Sexual Orientation	Sexual orientation refers to the sex of those to whom one is sexually and romantically attracted (APA 2012).
SMO	Social Movement Organization.
they (as a singular pronoun)	One of the most commonly used gender neutral pronoun options among LGBTQ+ people, the singular they is also used when the gender of an individual is not known or PGPs are unspecified.
trans	A newer term which implies both transgender and transsexual individuals.
trans*	A term that implies both transgender and transsexual. Originated from the use of Boolean searches during the early years of the Internet (the asterisk being a wildcard which represents any string following). Trans* has largely fallen out of use for political reasons.

Transgender	An individual whose gender identity does not coincide with the sex that they were assigned at birth. Transgender is generally the preferred term, as it is broader and it can encompass all people whose internal gender does not conform with their sex assigned at birth.
Transsexual	A transgender person who has transitioned, or who is in the process of transitioning from one sexual embodiment to another. Less used today than in the past.
Two-Spirit	A modern term for the unique identity, which exists within many Native American, First Peoples, and other indigenous cultures that acknowledge more than two genders and that refers to individuals who embrace and embody both masculine and feminine qualities and cultural roles. Sometimes referred to as “third gender,” or “fourth gender,” although native peoples may have as many as nine genders. Two-Spirit is an intersection of gender and spiritual identity, as “third gender” people in indigenous traditions hold a unique and important role in the spiritual and religious life of the tribe (Roscoe 2000).

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the 1990s, the "dominant theoretical framework for analyzing social movements and collective action" (Buechler 1993: 217) was resource mobilization theory. One of the key assumptions in some strands of resource mobilization theory is that social movement organizations must pursue narrow and focused agendas to effectively manage and mobilize limited resources (Jenkins 1983). This understanding assumes that social movement organizations cannot broaden their agenda to include the goals of other subgroups within their group (Jenkins 1983), even though other theorists recognize that broader agendas can serve to attract and retain more participants, which increases the resources available to the organization and the movement (McCarthy and Zald 1977).

This study surveyed members of LGBTQ+ groups 1) to determine the degree to which inclusion, intersectionality, and solidarity are valued by individual actors within the movement, 2) to determine to what extent movement actors perceive the groups and social movement organizations in which they participate are inclusive and welcoming and 3) to measure the degree to which movement actors perceive the movement as focusing on broad vs. narrow agendas. That is, I asked participants whether the organizations in which they participate seem to focus on the needs of primarily the dominant group, or seem to strive to meet the needs of all members of the group.

LITERATURE REVIEW

An examination of social movements that arose during the 1960s does show that the understanding that social movement organizations cannot broaden their agenda to include the goals of other subgroups within their group often manifests as a "hierarchy of rights" within social movements. In contrast, however, by the 1990s social movement theorists began to question this assumption through their studies of the progressive social movements which arose during the 1960s (Buechler 1993; Buechler 1995; D'Anieri, Ernst and Kier 1990; McCright and Dunlap 2008; Meyer and Whittier 1994; Pichardo 1997; Rose 1997). The 1960s saw the rise of a large number of progressive social movements that cascaded, like waves on the ocean, one upon the other, as individuals from different social groups began stepping forward to ask for their civil and human rights. In these progressive new social movements, theorists saw similarities that indicated that they were not organized around the same goals nor did they follow the same strategies as earlier social movements.

Historical Background

A major theme of this study is that social movements and social movement organizations tend to contain internally "dominant subgroups" and "subordinate subgroups." In this section the historical background of these progressive social movements in the U.S. is briefly presented in order to highlight the presence of a "Hierarchy of Rights" that has typically occurred. I briefly define the majority and subordinate groups within two U.S. civil rights movements, before going on to examine the LGBTQ+ movement as a case example. I can then see if the movement is instead now

reflecting more broadly the socio-cultural strategies discussed in new social movement theories.

Unlike the movements that came before them, these new social movements seemed different, as they were concerned with social changes in identity, lifestyle, and culture (Pichardo 1997), whereas previous social movements had been most concerned with political and economic issues. As the history of these progressive movements are reviewed, the same tendency towards narrow agendas, and the development of a hierarchy of rights is apparent, but the shared progressive values of these new social movements led, by the 1990s, to broader, more inclusive agendas and a good deal of movement crossover or spillover. This pattern towards the hierarchy of rights appears during an historical examination of four of the social justice movements of the 1960s, that have been seen as new social movements: the Berkley free speech movement, the Civil Rights movement, the Women's Rights movement, and the LGBTQ+ rights movement. For the sake of brevity, within the scope of this thesis, I will limit the discussion to only two of those movements, and then narrow the research to a case example of one.

The Women's Rights movement, which began with the women's social movements of the 1800s and included the rise of the suffrage movement, went into abeyance after World War II as "[w]omen who advocated equality found few outlets for their activism and became increasingly marginal and isolated from the mainstream of American women" (Taylor 1989: 764). The Women's Rights movement did not become active again until the rise of the student's rights and Civil Rights movements of the 1960s introduced "a level of social activism in the United States that was so unprecedented that

its images still mark out the nation's imagination" (Ness 2004:260). While women were involved in these movements, and indeed often played important roles, their own issues and agendas were not a consideration in either movement, as their own marginalized position continued within these movements.

Similarly, when the second wave of the Feminist movement surged forward in the 1970s, the Women's Rights movement became guilty of the same pattern. Within their own ranks, women returned to the focus they had in the 1800s on white, middle-class women, leaving their working-class sisters, lesbians, and women of color and their concerns and agendas behind (Ness 2004; Taylor 1989). Later, when the Gay Rights movement arose out of the Stonewall riots of 1969, the movement focused on the needs of gay men, following the same pattern of creating hierarchies within their organizations as "lesbians increasingly claimed there was a gender bias in the movement that was partly based on the notion of what forms of activism are appropriate" (Ness 2004:1347). This forced lesbians, bisexuals, transgender individuals, and other subgroups within their community to fight for inclusion, step-by-step, until by the 1990s gay rights groups were becoming "GLBT" or "LGBT" groups.

Lesbians, women of color and working women within the Women's Rights movement. Taylor notes that the women's movement, from its inception, focused on the rights of white and middle-class women, leaving black women and working women out of the equation (Taylor 1989). She goes on to explain how this hurt them during the abeyance of the movement, and during the rise of the contemporary feminist movement, as these same priorities continued to leave these two subgroups out of the mixture.

Lesbians, bisexuals, transgender people (and later intersex people, and asexual/aromantic people) within the Gay Rights movement. Finally, while today's "gay rights" movement is so inclusive that it often jokingly refers to the long chains of letters denoting who is included (LGBTQQIP2SAA for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/-sexual, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Pansexual, Two-Spirit, Asexual, Allies, etc. . . .) as "alphabet soup." This was not always the case. At the beginning of the movement the dominant population was gay men, and throughout the history of the movement the other populations were slowly included, one-by-one, but even today they are still struggling for full inclusion, and to have their individual agendas addressed.

Subordinate Subgroup for Hypothesis Testing: Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming Population. The transgender and gender non-conforming subpopulation is of particular interest in this study for several reasons. Both formal studies and informal observations show that the transgender and gender non-conforming subpopulation disproportionately faces open discrimination and violence even when compared to the other subgroups within the LGBTQ+ community (Grant et al 2011). In addition, while members of the transgender and gender non-conforming communities are "far too often dismissed from the human rights agenda. . . ." (Grant et al 2011:2), informal observations of social media memes and stories, especially immediately following the Supreme Court of the United States decision in June of 2015 on same sex marriage in Obergefell v. Hodges, presented a picture of movement solidarity in support of addressing the issues of this subpopulation.

Where a variety of measures indicate greater tolerance among the general public for gay and lesbian relationships (Baunach 2012; Gaines and Garand 2010; Gallup 2016;

Grant et al 2011; Jones 2012; Newport 2015; Pew Internet & American Life Project 2015a; Pew Internet & American Life Project 2015b; Smith et al. 2015), transgender individuals continue to experience discrimination, including physical and sexual violence. While things seem to be getting better for the LGBTQ+ general population, they are getting worse for transgender people, especially transgender women, and most especially transgender women of color. The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) issues an annual report on violence and hate crimes in the LGBTQ community. The 2014 report showed an overall decrease of 32% in incidents of anti-LGBTQ violence in 2014, but an increase of 11% in homicides between 2013 and 2014 (Ahmed and Jindasurat 2014). The same report showed that hate-motivated violence against transgender people rose 13%, and over half (55%) of the reported homicides were of transgender women, with half (50%) of the reported homicides being of transgender women of color. The transgender and gender non-conforming subpopulation within the LGBTQ+ movement is, therefore, the subpopulation which has been chosen for hypothesis testing.

Theoretical Background

While this pattern of dominance vs. subordination forms the foundation, and not the focus of this research, and thus an analysis of the "whys" behind the fact that these patterns have occurred is not appropriate, an examination of traditional resource mobilization theory, as well as in more recent studies which examine the interconnections between social movements and in progressive social movement ideology, may provide some insight into the results of the study. In reviewing the history of these movements, this pattern of the hierarchical treatment of the rights of movement actors recurs again

and again. Some social movement theorists, specifically within some strands of resource mobilization theory, explain this pursuit of narrow agendas as a necessary strategy for movement success. Jenkins, (1983) notes that "in general, successful movement organizations were bureaucratic, pursued narrow goals, employed selective incentives, enjoyed sponsorship, used unruly methods (including violence), and made their demands during periods of sociopolitical crisis" (543). So resource mobilization would point to the simple fact that, to be successful, social movement organizations must pursue narrow goals, and not broaden their agenda to include subordinate populations within their group.

Other social movement theories, however, including other strands of resource mobilization theory and the new social movement theories note that broader agendas can be successful as well. McCright and Dunlap (2008), for example, in their study of the "family of progressive social movements which emerged around a common master frame. . . ." (p.828) in the 1960s noted that, especially within families of progressive movements, the shared ideology is key in both the participation among multiple movements of activists within the movement family, and in the success of these social movements, which their study shows largely have the support of the American general public. So it is possible that it is not simply a matter of resource management, but rather a misunderstanding of social movement dynamics, and the importance of shared ideology and culture. The civil rights movements of the twenty-first century speak a great deal about the shared values of "intersectionality," "inclusion" and "solidarity."

Resource Mobilization Theory. It may seem obvious to state that the purpose of a social movement is to create (or prevent) change, but how a movement goes about creating or resisting change (strategies), how and why social movements form, and how

they achieve their goals is the purview of social movement theorists. Until the 1960s, social movement theory was concerned primarily with why individuals became involved in social movements (Jenkins 1983). Since most social movement theories at the time were based on strain theory, which was based on the idea that individuals commit crimes or take part in rebellion when the stresses of social pressures cause them to become so distressed that they take part in deviant behavior in response, the assumption was that individuals became involved in social movements due to discontent or social disruptions, and those actors were seen as deviant, and irrational. The social movements of the 1960s, however, provided a "reorientation of the study of social movements" (Jenkins 1983:528), as sociologists observing these movements underwent a shift in perspective and new theories began to emerge. One of these theories, resource mobilization theory, is now seen as a key contemporary theory in the study of social movements. Rather than seeing social movement actors as disaffected and irrational, resource mobilization theory takes a rational actor approach, assuming that social movement actors have rational reasons for participation in movements. In addition, resource mobilization theory concerns itself with the organizations and structures, as well as the strategies involved, in forming and perpetuating a social movement. And, of course, as the name implies, resource mobilization theory places a good deal of focus on how effective mobilization of resources is necessary to the achievement of social movement goals.

All social movement organizations have a set of goals concerning the change that they want to see achieved, and the organization must organize and prioritize the mobilization of resources to achieve these goals (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Since one of the key assumptions in some strands of resource mobilization theory is that the goals of

social movement organizations must be narrow to be effective, then the understanding in these strands of resource mobilization theory leads to the hierarchy of rights, that pattern of behavior where the needs of subgroups are necessarily ignored as a way to effectively manage and mobilize limited resources.

Other strands of resource mobilization theory, however, recognize that an important aspect of resource mobilization is attracting and retaining adherents (individuals who believe in the goals of the movement) and constituents (those who provide the resources for the movement), and the conversion of adherents into constituents (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Since these strands recognize that both constituents and adherents are themselves resources, they propose that a broader set of goals can be key in attracting and retaining a larger group of actors, which has the potential to expand the number of actors involved. Whether or not broadening the agendas of the movement thereby results in the development of additional resources through increasing the number of actors involved is one of the questions posed within resource mobilization theory.

As an example of this we can look at the LGBTQ+ rights movement, where the stated political ideology of many groups, as indicated by their values statements and website information, includes the idea of resisting all forms of oppression. For example, the values expressed in the following statement are not uncommon among LGBTQ+ groups:

> Intersectionality is our framework. Racism, sexism, heterosexism, transphobia, ableism and other forms of discrimination are interconnected and cannot be considered separate issues. An intersectional feminist approach helps us consider these connections. To navigate our own relative privilege and power (as individuals or

> groups) we must acknowledge where we and others reside in this "matrix of domination" (a term coined by black feminist and critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw. (LGBT Community Center of New Orleans 2017)

Another example appears in the "Guiding Vision and Definition of Principles" of the Women's March on Washington, which not only expresses their commitment to intersectionality, but also expresses a commitment to solidarity with a wide range of other progressive groups, as well:

> Recognizing that women have intersecting identities and are therefore impacted by a multitude of social justice and human rights issues, we have outlined a representative vision for a government that is based on the principles of liberty and justice for all. As Dr. King said, "We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back."
>
> Our liberation is bound in each other's. The Women's March on Washington includes leaders of organizations and communities that have been building the foundation for social progress for generations. We welcome vibrant collaboration and honor the legacy of the movements before us - the suffragists and abolitionists, the Civil Rights Movement, the feminist movement, the American Indian Movement, Occupy Wall Street, Marriage Equality, Black Lives Matter, and more – by employing a decentralized, leader-full structure and focusing on an ambitious, fundamental and comprehensive agenda. (Women's March on Washington 2016:1)

This political ideology may logically lead movement actors to value inclusion and solidarity with other oppressed groups, and thus the broader approach is predicted to be preferred by actors in this movement, and to expand the participant base. The study therefore seeks to measure actor commitment to these values and actor perception of the application of these values as a way to examine whether this focus on values and culture within the movement may be better explained by new social movement theories, which specifically analyze movements from the perspective of culture and values, rather than by resource mobilization theory.

New Social Movement Theory. As noted, some resource mobilization theorists would argue that, to be successful, social movement organizations must pursue narrow goals, and not broaden their agenda to include the issues of subordinate populations within their group. McCright and Dunlap (2008), in their study on the nature and social bases of progressive social movement ideology, noted that having and adhering to a shared ideology were key both to attracting and retaining participants, and to the success of these social movements as measured by the support of the American general public, especially within families of progressive movements. In the 1990s, social movement theorists began to recognize other similarities within these "new social movements," and several theories began to arise concerning these similarities (Buechler 1993; Buechler 1995; D'Anieri, Ernst and Kier 1990; Pichardo 1997; Rose 1997).

Buechler (1995) points out that new social movement theories arose out of critiques of Marxist theories that centered around economic and class reductionism. Buechler (1995) further points out that these theories are generally not seen as a single, unified theory, but are more appropriately referred to as "new social movement theories." Among the similarities seen within new social movements is that symbolic action and the cultural sphere are important; autonomy and self-determination are seen as more important than maximizing influence and power; movement goals often emphasize postmaterialist values, such as human rights rather than economic or legal achievements; and movement actors focus on social constructionism in the nature of grievances and ideology (Buechler 1995).

Likewise, Pichardo (1997) points out that these new social movements are significantly different from previous social movements of the industrial economy, focus

not on issues of materialistic qualities such as economic wellbeing, but rather on issues related to human rights and emphasizing social change in identity, lifestyle and culture.

In casual observation of several of these new social movements, including the LGBTQ+ rights movement, the socio-cultural and values based nature of these movements is easily seen. Especially among the most progressive of these movements, the values of intersectionality, solidarity, and inclusion are touted very loudly. While some actors within subordinate groups still complain that their needs are not being addressed and that privilege of a dominant group outweighs intersectionality, other actors perceive that inclusion is the norm within the movement. Who is right? Is the LGBTQ+ movement now largely inclusive? Are those who still see a hierarchy of rights within the LGBTQ+ movement outliers? Are these progressive values given lip service, but not observed?

Definitions of the "Progressive Values"

Yates and Bartley (2012) explain that progressive values are built on "care and concern for oneself and others, and the duty to act on this concern" (p. 24). They go on to explain that this foundation is rooted in a fundamental belief in "the quintessential dignity of each human being – and thus, to be progressive means you care about the conditions and lives of other people" (Yates and Bartley 2012:24). Central to this thesis is an understanding of what part the progressive values of inclusion, intersectionality and solidarity play in the LGBTQ+ social movement, so an understanding of why these are progressive values as well as an examination of the conceptual definitions of these values as understood within the LGBTQ+ community is important. These three values build on the foundation of the core progressive values of freedom, opportunity, responsibility and

cooperation (Yates and Bartley 2012). While such abstract concepts always, by necessity, hold very personalized meanings for the individual, within the LGBTQ+ community these concepts have fairly well accepted meanings.

Inclusion. When discussing inclusion, the LGBTQ+ community has both an "internal" and "external" definition. The external definition, the social and economic inclusion of LGBT+ people in society at large is outside of the scope of this research project. The discussion of inclusion throughout this thesis refers to the "internal" definition, or the expectations of movement actors as to what constitutes *inclusion* within the movement itself. Within the LGBTQ+ community, inclusion means to welcome people from diverse backgrounds and identities to participate in the movement struggle. This includes people who identify as some LGBTQ+ identity, as well as allies willing to participate in the struggle. No one should be excluded who feels that they have common cause within the movement regardless of LGBTQ+ identity. As Jordan (2017) notes:

> As a start, a common definition of "diversity" and "inclusion" is needed. Diversity means all the ways we differ. Some of these differences we are born with and cannot change. Anything that makes us unique is part of this definition of diversity. Inclusion involves bringing together and harnessing these diverse forces and resources, in a way that is beneficial. Inclusion puts the concept and practice of diversity into action by creating an environment of involvement, respect, and connection—where the richness of ideas, backgrounds, and perspectives are harnessed to create business value. Organizations need both diversity and inclusion to be successful (Jordan 2017).

Inclusion and respect for diversity are manifestations of the progressive beliefs that *freedom* and *opportunity* belong to all, not just the privileged few, and an exercise of *responsibility*, which implies the duty to *cooperate* to ensure that everyone is treated fairly and justly.

Intersectionality. Intersectionality is a concept created by Crenshaw (1989) to describe the way that oppression occurs across multiple statuses for marginalized people. Centering her discussion on Black women, as her initial critique was of the feminist movement, Crenshaw brought to light the fact that individuals experience oppression in unique ways because of the "intersection" of their oppressed statuses (Crenshaw 1989:139). In the LGBTQ+ community this brings an understanding of the fact that a Black, cisgender gay man will have different experiences than those of a White, transgender, lesbian. While the former has two oppressed statuses (Black and gay), he also may be blind to oppressions faced by the latter because he experiences privileged statues where his gender (male) and gender identity (cisgender) are concerned, while the latter experiences race privilege, but also has three oppressed statuses (gender, gender identity and sexual identity). Within the LGBTQ+ community, holding a value of "intersectionality" means recognizing and being sensitive to this fact. It also means listening to the experiences of individuals with an understanding that those experiences are both complex and very unique. Valuing intersectionality means understanding that an LGBTQ+ individual may hold oppressed statuses due to race, gender, gender identity, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, religion, ability/disability, age, etc. It also means respecting that the totality of an individual's experience is as relevant to them as their experience as an LGBTQ+ individual is. Perhaps most importantly, honoring the value of intersectionality means *cooperating* to ameliorate all of these oppressions together.

Solidarity. This leads us to the concept of solidarity. Collins (2000) refers to the interconnecting systems of oppression which Crenshaw (1989) addressed through the term intersectionality as a "matrix of domination," and addresses the many different

levels on which this matrix of domination is organized (2000 p. 18). This understanding of intersectionality leads to the logical conclusion that fighting for LGBTQ+ rights also means fighting the entire matrix of domination, that entire system of intersecting oppressions. This same conclusion appears in the expansion of the definition of feminism in Third Wave Feminism or intersectional feminism to include opposition to this system of intersecting oppressions, rather than just opposition to sexism. An example of this can be seen in the Women's March on Washington Movement, which actively worked to include individuals from diverse backgrounds, and added intersectionality as a value in their "Guiding Vision and Definition of Principles," which state, "We believe Gender Justice is Racial Justice is Economic Justice" (Women's March on Washington 2106:2). Their movement, begun in response to the election of Donald Trump as a women's movement, has already expanded to integrate support for a number of other progressive movements, from immigration to the most recent youth movement against gun violence. Thus, we see a logical extension in progressive movements that value intersectionality, that they also support *cooperation* with other oppressed groups, which is what is meant by "solidarity" in this context. It is predicted that these progressive social values will also be seen within LGBTQ+ groups.

As the foregoing literature review exposed, the progressive social movements examined clearly had a majority population, whose rights and agendas were the main, narrow, focus of the movement, as well as a subordinate population or populations whose needs were shunted aside for the sake of that more narrow agenda. But new social movement theories challenge whether or not that way of conducting social movements is the only effective way. If we accept McCright and Dunlap's (2008) proposition that progressive social movements now overlap and share ideology and culture, and by doing so strengthen the entire family of movements and gain more support from the general public, then it seems to follow that this interaction between social movements, this solidarity, is another key feature for the effectiveness of social movements, at least progressive social movements. In addition, new social movement theory considers all of these movements to be "new social movements." New social movement theorists would argue that these movements focus on postmaterialist values, such as civil and human rights, and utilize social constructionism around concepts such as sex, gender, race and sexual normativity, heavily in the nature of their grievances and ideology (Buechler 1995). As new social movements they focus on issues related to human rights and emphasize social change in identity, lifestyle and culture. In this context, a broader agenda, that supports this ideology of solidarity, seems more reasonable.

It is expected that an examination of the Gay Rights movement, which is now the LGBTQ+ rights movement, will provide an opportunity to analyze the tension between these two approaches, since it began with a narrow agenda approach, but appears to be continuously expanding its agenda as more populations are folded into its membership. A

survey of the LGBTQ+ community through organizations that attract actors in the movement may give us an idea of where the movement is in this tension between the hierarchy of rights and the values and socio-cultural approach of new social movements. Since the progressive political values of the LGBTQ+ movement include inclusion, intersectionality, and solidarity with other oppressed groups, it seems to follow logically that these values would predict that actors in this movement would prefer a broader, more inclusive approach, and that such an approach would be more likely to expand the participant base. A measurement of where the community stands with these values is at the heart of the research questions below.

Research Questions

R1: How strongly do movement actors support the progressive values of inclusion, intersectionality, and solidarity? Is there a difference in the level of support between members of the dominant subgroup, and those of the test subgroup?

R2: Do members of the community perceive that the organizations that they belong to are inclusive, and are intersectional in their inclusion (i.e., work to include members from different marginalized statuses)? Is there a difference in perception based on whether a participant is a member of the dominant subgroup or the test subgroup.

R3: Do members perceive that the attention and resources of the movement are directed appropriately and in service to all subgroups within the community? Is there a difference in perception based on whether a participant is a member of the dominant subgroup or the test subgroup?

Hypotheses

H1: The majority of participants will report agreement to strong agreement with the progressive value of inclusion. There will be no significant difference in average support for inclusion between the dominant subgroup (cisgender) and the test subgroup (transgender).

H2: The majority of participants will report agreement to strong agreement with the progressive value of intersectionality. There will be no significant difference in average support for intersectionality between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup.

H3: The majority of participants will report agreement to strong agreement with the progressive value of solidarity. There will be no significant difference in average support for solidarity between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup.

H4: The majority of participants will perceive that the groups they participate in are inclusive and intersectional in their inclusion. There will be no significant difference in average perception of inclusivity between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup.

H5: The majority of participants will perceive that the organizations in which they participate work towards the needs of all members of the community rather than focusing on the issues and agenda items of only the dominant subgroup. There will be no significant difference in average perception of the focus of movement resources between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup.

H6: The majority of participants will perceive that the attention of the movement is directed appropriately and in service to all subgroups within the community on all

areas except Gay (Men's) Rights and Transgender Rights. Participants are predicted to feel that too much attention is devoted to Gay (Men's) Rights. Given the higher level of discrimination and violence faced by transgender individuals, the majority of participants are predicted to express that they strongly agree that not enough attention is devoted to Transgender issues. There will be no significant difference in average perception of movement attention and resources on issues involving transgender issues between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. There may be a slight difference between perception based on participants self-identification as a member of the test subgroup, but it is not expected to be significant.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

A survey instrument was created and administered using Survey Monkey, an online survey service. The sampling technique used in this study was purposive sampling. Since this study was focused on identities and values within the LGBTQ+ community and attitudes concerning LGBTQ+ social movement organizations, individuals with the specific trait of being involved in LGBTQ+ social movement organizations were most relevant to the study. Therefore, the majority of recruiting was limited to LGBTQ+ organizations, whose members are often involved in the LGBTQ+ rights movement. To get the word out about the survey, snowball sampling was also used by utilizing social media and asking potential participants to pass along the survey to others in their network.

The purposive sample was recruited by using a list of LGBTQ+ social movement organizations, including student organizations at colleges that have been ranked as friendly to LGBTQ+ students, and requesting that administration at those organizations invite their members to take the survey. Due to the time constraints of the survey, the bulk of the organizations contacted were colleges chosen using the Campus Pride © 2015 Top 25 List of LGBTQ-Friendly Colleges and Universities listing (Campus Pride 2015). Campus Pride is a national 501(c)3 organization that promotes safer college environments for LGBTQ+ students. In addition, a smaller number of national LGBTQ+ groups were contacted and invitations were posted by the author and several individuals who agreed to help propagate the study using social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The use of social media created a virtual based “snowball” sample.

The first two questions of the survey were used to 1) filter out participants under 18 years of age and 2) obtain active consent from participants to the survey. The survey and all protocols were approved through MTSU's IRB, Protocol # 18-2164.

The Survey Instrument

In composing the survey, I reviewed similar surveys for inspiration, consulted with members of my thesis committee who were experienced in quantitative research methods and who had experience in the LGBTQ+ community, and sought peer feedback from members of my cohort who also did research in queer studies. The National Transgender Discrimination Survey (NTDS; Grant et al. 2011) was particularly helpful in providing inspiration for which identities to include and how to word specific questions on the survey, as was the input of my committee chair, who had extensive experience with survey construction and administration, and members of my committee and cohort who had experience with the LGBTQ+ community. The survey instrument went through several revisions before the final survey instrument submitted to the IRB was approved. The survey instrument was divided into 5 sections measuring survey specific data, as well as a section which collected general demographic data and two open ended comments which provided space for participants to provide qualitative data on areas which might have been missed, and to be used in refining the survey for future studies.

Question Order. Demographic questions unrelated to the LGBTQ+ movement were included at the end of the survey instrument. Identity questions relevant to the LGBTQ+ movement provided information for intergroup demographics. With the exception of the two questions identifying movement and community participation, these questions were placed at the end just before the general demographic questions, to

encourage survey completion. The last questions on the survey instrument were open ended comment questions. Percents and frequencies were run for demographics and identity (intergroup demographics) analysis.

Of the sections measuring survey specific data, Section A: “Movement Identity” asked whether the participant identified as a member of the LGBTQ+ community, and whether they identified as an activist within the community. Section B measured agreement/disagreement with the values of inclusion, intersectionality, and solidarity, and perception of whether the organizations they participated in were inclusive and intersectional in their inclusion. Questions in Section B used a 7 point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (7) with a Neutral option. Questions asked which indicated a negative result of the measure were reverse coded during data analysis for scale construction. Questions in Section B were divided between pages to ensure that they would display with the Likert scale, and were set to display randomly to decrease order bias.

Questions in Section C asked the participant whether the organizations they participated in paid “Too Little Attention” (1), “Just Enough Attention” (2) or “Too Much Attention” to the issues of specific subgroups within the movement.

Questions in Section D asked participants about their LGBTQ+ identity on a variety of dimensions. Since the question of identity is very individual, no definitions were provided, and participants were asked both closed and open ended questions (were given an “I also identify as (please specify)” option and were allowed to provide multiple answers in each section. These identity questions, were organized based on the spectrums of biological sex / gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, and romantic

orientation to provide an extensive, but not exhaustive, list of common LGBTQ+ identities. Answers in this area were all coded as binary variables (yes=1, no=0) answers for data analysis. Responses to the "I also identify as (please specify)" option were coded as a new binary variable where appropriate.

A copy of the survey instrument is available in Appendix A: Survey Instrument.

Measures

Values. Eighteen questions (18), grouped into three topics, inclusion, intersectionality, and solidarity, were asked as 7-point Likert items (Strongly Disagree [1]-Strongly Agree [7]) to measure support of these values. There were six (6) questions under each value topic. One (1) question in each group was a direct statement of support for the value being measured. All six (6) questions were evaluated through inter-item correlation for the purpose of creating summated rating scales to create a measure for each concept: *Inclusion, Intersectionality*, and *Solidarity*.

Questions for *Inclusion* addressed attitudes towards the inclusion of different LGBTQ+ subgroups in the movement. Questions that read negatively (e.g., "I don't think that transgender should be part of the Gay Rights movement.") were reverse coded as being opposed to inclusion. Questions for *Intersectionality* addressed attitudes towards the inclusion of other statuses (race, age, disability, economic status, etc.) in the movement, and their place as part of the LGBTQ+ experience. Questions that read negatively (e.g., "The new rainbow flag, with brown and black stripes to represent race, is divisive.") were reverse coded as being opposed to intersectionality. Questions for *Solidarity* addressed attitudes about working with other groups or against other systems of oppression. Questions that read negatively (e.g., "Why do we keep talking about

'sexism?' This isn't a feminist group, it's a gay rights group.") were reverse coded as being opposed to solidarity.

Adherence. Ten (10) questions were asked as 7-point Likert items (Strongly Disagree [1]-Strongly Agree [7]) to measure the participant's perception that the organization in which they participated was inclusive, and intersectional in their inclusion. These questions were evaluated through inter-item correlation for the purpose of creating a summated rating scale which formed the measure *Adherence* (i.e., adherence to the expressed values of inclusion and intersectionality). Questions addressed both whether the individual personally felt included, and whether they observed others to be included in their groups. Questions that read negatively (that implied marginalization) were reverse coded.

Inter-group resource mobilization. Six (6) 7-point Likert items (Strongly Disagree [1]-Strongly Agree [7]) were asked to assess participant's perceptions on whether the organization devoted resources appropriately to all subgroups within the organization. These questions were evaluated through inter-item correlation for the purpose of creating a summated rating scale which formed the measure *Resources.* Questions addressed both whether the individual felt that the organization sought to address the concerns of different individual subgroups or all groups within the movement. Questions that read negatively (that implied focus only on the dominant subgroup) were reverse coded.

Subgroup attention. Nine (9) questions were asked as 3 point Likert scale questions, "Within the overall LGBTQ+ movement, how much attention, in the form of the allocation of resources to their concerns, has been paid to the issues of the following

subgroups;" (1. Too Little Attention, 2. Just Enough Attention, and 3. Too Much Attention) concerning nine identity subgroups within the movement, including the dominant subgroup, gay men.

Independent variable for bivariate analysis (TRANS = Y/N). In recoding the sex/gender variable for bivariate analysis, I took a lead from the National Transgender Discrimination Report's (Grant et al. 2011) methods and considered anyone who identified as transgender, transsexual, gender non-conforming, gender queer, bigender, genderflexible or agender as being transgender/gender non-conforming, unless the individual also identified as cisgender. Since the categories of cisgender and transgender are mutually exclusive, individuals who identified as cisgender and who also gave another gender non-conforming identity, were not recoded as part of the *TRANS* = 1 group.

Once recoded, the new variable divided the participant's gender identity into the new variable *TRANS* with all of those who identified as transgender / gender non-conforming (eighteen or 25.7%) being coded as 1 (Yes) and all those who identified as cisgender (twenty or 28.6%) being coded as 0 (No). Individuals who gave no response to any of the identities (thirty-two or 45.7%) were not coded for analysis ($n = 70$).

Analysis

Summated rating scale construction. Summated rating scales were constructed to create composite variables to represent the measures of *Inclusion, Intersectionality, Solidarity, Adherence,* and *Resources*. Prior to the formation of these composite variables, reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha, was performed to ensure that the scales would be reliable. Items which lowered the Cronbach's alpha were removed until the highest Cronbach's alpha available using these Likert items was achieved. A list of variables used in construction of these measures, as well as the results of the reliability testing performed is available in Appendix C: Scale Construction.

For hypothesis testing of H1-H5, an independent samples t-test was performed to compare means on each of these *dependent variables* between the dominant subgroup (cisgender; TRANS = 0) and the test subgroup (transgender/gender non-conforming; TRANS = 1). An alpha level of significance of $\alpha = .05$ was required to reject the null hypothesis in each case.

Subgroup attention. Of the nine 3 point Likert questions concerning attention to specific subgroups, each question was formed into a *dependent variable* for a single subgroup .An independent t-test was performed on *attnTrans* to compare means between the two test subgroups (cisgender; TRANS = 0 and transgender/gender non-conforming; TRANS = 1), to see if they differed significantly in their perception and an alpha level of significance of $\alpha = .05$ was required to reject the null hypothesis.

RESULTS

A total of 73 individuals responded to the survey. Individuals who were not 18 years of age or older based on their response to the first question, as well as individuals who did not give positive consent were unable to access the survey. One person abandoned the survey on the third question, concerning community participation, leaving the final number of participants at $n = 70$. Since all questions beyond the first two qualifying questions were optional, most questions had fewer than 70 respondents, with most questions having around 50 responses.

General Demographics

About 70% of those involved in the study ($n = 50$) answered the demographic question, "Are you now attending or enrolled in university or college?" Twenty-three (23) participants skipped this question. Of those responding, 31 (62.0%) were currently enrolled college students, while 19 (38.0%) were not. Of those enrolled ($n = 31$), twenty-five (80.7%) were full-time students and six (19.4%) were part-time students. Of the thirty-one ($n = 31$) who answered the question concerning participation in their school's LGBTQ+/GSA (gay/straight alliance) student organization, seventeen (54.8%) participated, while fourteen (45.2%) did not.

Most of those who responded ($n = 50$), twenty-eight (56.0%), had at least a Bachelor's degree. Another seventeen (34.0%) had one year or more of college and one (2.0%) held an Associate's degree. Only forty-six participants answered the geographical question, "In which U.S. state or territory do you reside?," while twenty-seven participants skipped the question. Based on the responses given, the geographical distribution on this survey was very narrow, as participants came from only fourteen

states, with the largest number of participants coming from India (40.0%), Washington (19.6%) and Oregon (13%). Table 1 shows the full geographic distribution of those who responded.

Table 1. State of Residence

"In which U.S. state or territory do you reside?"	Percent	Frequency
California	4.4%	2
Colorado	2.2%	1
Connecticut	2.2%	1
Georgia	2.2%	1
Indiana	37.0%	17
Kentucky	2.2%	1
Minnesota	2.2%	1
Missouri	4.4%	2
New York	2.2%	1
North Carolina	4.4%	2
Oregon	13.0%	6
Tennessee	2.2%	1
Texas	2.2%	1
Washington	19.6%	9
(n)		**(46)**

Note*: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.*

Fifty participants answered the question, "In general, how would you describe your political views." No participants identified as "Very Conservative" or "Conservative," seven participants (14.0%) identified as "Moderate," thirteen (26.0%) identified as "Liberal," and twenty-nine" (58.0%) identified as very liberal. One participant (2.0%) responded as "Unsure."

Fifty participants answered the question concerning race and/or ethnic origin with 46 (92.0%) of participants responding as "White or Caucasian." Three participants responded as "Other," and those categories are reflected in Table 2. Demographics

concerning religion, marital status, household size and household income are available in Appendix B: Survey Responses.

Table 2. Race/Ethnicity

"What is your race and/or ethnic origin?"			Percent	Frequency
African American or Black			2.0%	1
Alaskan Native / Aleutian Islander			0.0%	0
American Indian/Native American			2.0%	1
Arabian or Middle Eastern			0.0%	0
Asian			4.0%	2
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander			0.0%	0
Spanish/Hispanic/Latino/Latina/Latinx heritage			6.0%	3
White or Caucasian			92.0%	46
Some other race (please specify)			4.0%	2
Indigenous Kazakh & Semitic	2.0%	1		
….Australian Aboriginal	2.0%	1		
(n)				**(50)**

Note*: Multiple answers were permitted. Percentages may add up to more than 100 and Frequency may add up to more than n.*

Community and Movement Participation.

Of the respondents who answered questions about community and movement involvement (n = 70), sixty-seven (95.7%) of those who responded considered themselves a member of the LGBTQ+ community and/or an ally, while only two (2.9%) did not, and one (1.4%) was "unsure." Fewer considered themselves to be part of the LGBTQ+ movement with forty-seven (67.1%) responding "Yes," four (5.7%) responding "No," and a much larger number, nineteen (27.1%) being "unsure" (n = 70).

Identities in the Current LGBTQ+ Community

Building on feminist, queer, and sexuality studies, which have deconstructed sex and gender as social constructs, the LGBTQ+ community now tends to see identities as a

series of "spectrums" or "continuums." These continuums are: sex, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, (now also sometimes known alternatively as "sexual attraction"), and romantic orientation or romantic attraction. In addition to being constructed as dichotomies, in our androcentric, heteronormative society, each of these spectrums has a hegemonic, "unmarked status," one which is presented as the "norm," and which is privileged, while all other statuses are marginalized (Rosenblum and Travis 1997). Part of the central identity of the LGBTQ+ community is that the community is comprised of individuals who are marginalized on these spectrums (thus the introduction, recently, of the idea to change the name of the community to GSRM.)

In this survey, due to feedback from the member of my thesis committee who had the most experience with the LGBTQ+ movement, and in sensitivity to concerns of transgender members of the community for whom their sex assigned at birth is not consistent with their current gender identity and which they may consider irrelevant, the biological sex and gender identity question for this survey was combined. To assist with hypothesis testing, the identities of "Cisgender" and "Transgender" were also included. These terms were not defined within the survey, as most members of the LGBTQ+ community are familiar with these terms. As with most questions on this survey, an open option of "I also identify as (please specify)" was also given. The full results of the question, "Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING BIOLOGICAL SEX AND GENDER you identify with. Please select as many as apply," is given in Table 3.

Of the participants (n = 51) who replied to the question concerning biological sex and gender identity, nine (17.7%) identified as male, thirty-two (62.8%) identified as

female and no participants responded that they were intersex. Twenty (39.2%) identified as cisgender, while eleven respondents (21.6%) identified as transgender. Nine respondents (17.7%) each identified as gender non-conforming and non-binary. Eight (15.7%) identified as genderqueer, six (11.8%) identified as agender/genderless, five (9.8%) identified as gender fluid, and one (2.0%) as Two Spirit. Three participants (5.9%) provided an open ended answer.

Table 3: Biological Sex and Gender Identity.

"Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING BIOLOGICAL SEX AND GENDER you identify with. Please select as many as apply".			Percent	Frequency
Male			17.7%	9
Female			62.8%	32
Intersex			0.0%	0
Cisgender			39.2%	20
Transgender			21.6%	11
Two Spirit			2.0%	1
Gender non-conforming			17.7%	9
Gender fluid			9.8%	5
Bigender			0.00%	0
Non-binary			17.7%	9
Genderqueer			15.7%	8
Agender / Genderless			11.8%	6
I also identify as (please specify)			5.9%	3
Woman	2.0%	1		
AFAB	2.0%	1		
Femme	2.0%	1		
(n)				**(51)**

Note: Multiple answers were permitted. Percentages may add up to more than 100 and Frequency may add up to more than n.

Table 4 shows the results of the question, " Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING GENDER EXPRESSION you identify with. Please select as many as apply."

Table 4. Gender Expression

"Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING GENDER EXPRESSION you identify with. Please select as many as apply."			Percent	Frequency
Masculine			36.0%	18
Feminine			60.0%	30
Androgynous			52.0%	26
Butch			18.0%	9
Femme			28.0%	14
I also identify as (please specify)			4.0%	2
Still figuring it out	2.0%	1		
Femme but not extreme femme	2.0%	1		
(n)				**(51)**

Note*: Multiple answers were permitted. Percentages may add up to more than 100 and Frequency may add up to more than n.*

Sexual orientation, within psychology, is defined as "refer[ring] to the sex of those to whom one is sexually and romantically attracted" (APA 2012:11). The LGBTQ+ community, however, in rejecting the idea that biological sex (or genitalia) determines gender, defines sexual orientation in terms of the gender(s) to which the individual is attracted. Table 5 shows the results for the question of sexual orientation.

The majority of respondents, twenty-six (51%), identified as queer, thirteen (25.5%) as gay, nine (17.7%) as lesbian, and twenty-one (41.2%) as bisexual. In addition, fourteen (27.5%) identified as pansexual, and two (3.9%) as polysexual, which are also considered under the "bisexual umbrella." Even allowing for crossover on these three categories, this indicates that a plurality identify under the bisexual umbrella. For future iterations of the survey, it may be prudent to recombine the options which fall under the "bisexual umbrella" and offer a "please specify" open-ended answer or subcategory for clarity. Table 5 shows the results for the question of sexual orientation.

Table 5. Sexual Orientation

"Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING SEXUAL ORIENTATION OR ATTRACTION you identify with. Please select as many as apply."	Percent	Frequency
Gay	25.5%	13
Lesbian	17.7%	9
Queer	51.0%	26
Questioning	5.9%	3
Heterosexual	11.8%	6
Heteroflexible	2.0%	1
Homoflexible	0.0%	0
Lesbiflexible	0.0%	0
Bisexual	41.2%	21
Pansexual	27.5%	14
Omnisexual	0.0%	0
Polysexual	3.9%	2
Demisexual	11.8%	6
Gray sexual	3.9%	2
Asexual	15.7%	8
I also identify as (please specify)	0.0%	0
(n)		**(51)**

Note: Multiple answers were permitted. Percentages may add up to more than 100 and Frequency may add up to more than n.

While the APA considers romantic attraction to be part of sexual identity, within the LGBTQ+ community, members make a discernment between romantic attraction and sexual attraction. Table 6 shows the results for the question of romantic orientation.

Table 6: Romantic Orientation

"Please select which of the following LABELS CONCERNING ROMANTIC ORIENTATION OR ATTRACTION you identify with. Please select as many as apply."			Percent	Frequency
Heteromantic			16.7%	8
Homoromantic			29.2%	14
Biromantic			35.4%	17
Panromantic			37.5%	18
Aromantic			6.3%	3
I also identify as (please specify)			10.4%	5
Queer	2.1%	1		
Androromantic. . . .	2.1%	1		
….. "woman loving woman" (gynoromantic)	2.1%	1		
….. Polyamorous	2.1%	1		
….. Demiromantic	2.1%	1		
(n)				**(48)**

Note: Multiple answers were permitted. Percentages may add up to more than 100 and Frequency may add up to more than n.

Values Questions

Frequencies, percentages and descriptive statistics were run on the three direct values questions (vInc1, vInt1 and vSol1) prior to performing statistical analysis of the summated rating scales. In looking at the three direct questions, only, it is clear that the answer to these questions indicate strong support for these values, when directly stated. Overall the average, on a scale of 1-7, was above 6.0 (Agree) on all three questions, and both the median and mode on all three questions was 7.0 (Strongly Agree). See Table 7 for the statistical analysis on these three questions, and Table 8 for frequencies and percentages on the answers to these individual questions.

Based solely on their response to the direct questions, 75.0% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with inclusion as a value, 78.1% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with intersectionality as a value, and 71.3% of respondents agreed or

strongly agreed with solidarity as a value. While this information may be compelling on the face of things, a summated rating scale is generally more reliable and precise (Spector 1992), so summated rating scales (composite variables) were created for each of the values and reliability was checked using Pearson Correlation analysis, and Cronbach's Alpha prior to construction.

Table 7: Direct Values Questions Statistics

	vInc2	*vInt1*	*vSol1*
Mean (average)	6.3	6.5	6.2
Median	7.0	7.0	7.0
Mode	7.0	7.0	7.0
Std. Deviation	1.3	1.3	1.2
n	**(63)**	**(63)**	**(60)**

Table 8: Frequencies and Percentages for Direct Values Questions

	vInc1		vInt1		vSol1	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
1. Strongly Disagree	1	1.4%	2	2.7%	1	1.4%
2. Disagree	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.4%
3. Slightly Disagree	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.4%
4. Neutral	3	4.1%	2	2.7%	1	1.4%
5. Slightly Agree	2	2.7%	2	2.7%	5.5	6.7%
6. Agree	16	21.9%	10	13.7%	21	28.8%
7. Strongly Agree	39	53.4%	47	64.4%	31	42.5%
n	**(63)**		**(63)**		**(60)**	

Note*: Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.*

Summated Ratings Scales

Once summated ratings scales were constructed for the measures of Inclusion, Intersectionality, Solidarity, Adherence and Resources, descriptive analysis was performed on the composite variables in preparation for hypothesis testing. The results of

this analysis appears in table 9. From this table we can see that the analysis of the composite variable was fairly consistent with the results for *v1* (the directly worded question) for the three variables measuring values, with means in the "Agree" (6) to "Strongly Agree" (7) range, and medians and modes also in this range. *Mode* for all three of these values measures was 7. The two new measures, *Adherence* and *Resources* show less definitive results. The measure of *Adherence* showed a *mean* of 4.5 (Neutral-Slightly Agree), a *median* of 4.6, and a *mode* of 5.9. (just short of the "Agree" range). For the measure of *Resources*, the *mean* was 5.1 ("Slightly Agree"), the *median* 5.0, and the *mode* 6.0 ("Agree"). More complete analysis appears in the section on hypothesis testing. Still, while the results in these two measures were lower, and did not show clear agreement, neither variable showed a majority of participants grouped in the "Disagree" range.

Table 9: Descriptive Statistics: Composite Variables

	n	Missing	*Mean*	*Median*	*Mode*
Inclusion	63	10	5.9	6.3	7.0
Intersectionality	63	10	6.4	7.0	7.0
Solidarity	63	10	6.1	6.6	7.0
Adherence	58	15	4.5	4.6	5.9
Resources	58	15	5.1	5.0	6.0

Subgroup Attention

The results for the *dependent variables* formed for subgroup attention, and the descriptive statistics for each subgroup are shown in Table 10. The *dependent variable,*

attnTrans was used to test H6, the results of which appear in the hypothesis testing section.

Table 10: Subgroup Attention Descriptive Statistics

Group	Variable	*n*	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
Gay Men	*attnGay*	50	2.5	2.5	3.0	0.58
Lesbians	*attnLes*	50	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.51
Bisexual / Pansexual / Omnisexual (umbrella)	*attnBi*	50	1.7	2.0	2.0	0.55
Transgender / Transsexual	*attnTrans*	50	1.7	2.0	2.0	0.58
Queer Identity Movement	*attnQueer*	50	1.8	2.0	2.0	0.48
Intersex	*attnIntersex*	49	1.4	1.0	1.0	0.56
Asexual / Aromantic	*attnACE*	49	1.6	2.0	1.0	0.64
Native / Two-Spirit	*attn2Spirit*	49	1.3	1.0	1.0	0.55
Non-Binary Gender	*attnNonBinary*	49	1.6	2.0	2.0	0.57

Hypothesis Testing

H1: Valuing Inclusion. As we have seen in the results above, participants did indeed report agreement to strong agreement (*mean* = 5.9, *median* = 6.3, *mode* = 7.0) with the progressive value of inclusion. H1 predicted that there would be no significant difference in average support for inclusion between the dominant subgroup (Cis or TRANS=0) and the test subgroup (TRANS=1).

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means for *Inclusion* between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. The t-test for the hypothesis of equal means (t (36) = 1.06; p = .296) showed no significant difference, in the means for members of the dominant subgroup ($\bar{x}$ =6.02, *s*=1.39) and the test subgroup ($\bar{x}$ = 6.41, *s* = .75); These results allow us to conclude that there is no significant difference in average support for inclusion between cisgender respondents and transgender/non-binary

respondents. Further, Cohen's effect size value (d = .35) suggested low practical significance.

H2: Valuing Intersectionality. Likewise, participants did report agreement to strong agreement (*mean* =6.4, *median* =7.0, *mode* = 7.0) with the progressive value of intersectionality. H2 predicted that there would be no significant difference in average support for intersectionality between the dominant subgroup (Cis or TRANS=0) and the test subgroup (TRANS=1) as demonstrated by an independent samples t-test.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means for *Intersectionality* between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. The t-test for the hypothesis of equal means (t (36) = .34; p = .739) showed no significant difference, in the means for members of the dominant subgroup ($\bar{x}$ =6.76, s = .36) and the test subgroup ($\bar{x}$ = 6.80, s = .38); These results allow us to conclude that there is no significant difference in average support for intersectionality between cisgender respondents and transgender/non-binary respondents. Further, Cohen's effect size value (d = .11) suggested low practical significance.

H3: Valuing Solidarity. Additionally, participants did report agreement to strong agreement (*mean* = 6.1, *median* = 6.6, *mode* = 7.0) with the progressive value of solidarity. H3 predicted that there would be no significant difference in average support for solidarity between the dominant subgroup (Cis or TRANS=0) and the test subgroup (TRANS=1) as demonstrated by an independent samples t-test.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means for *Solidarity* between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. The t-test for the hypothesis of equal means (t (36) = .668; p = .508) showed no significant difference, in the means for

members of the dominant subgroup ($\bar{x}$ =6.52, *s*=.55) and the test subgroup ($\bar{x}$ = 6.63, *s* = .49); These results allow us to conclude that there is no significant difference in average support for solidarity between cisgender respondents and transgender/non-binary respondents. Further, Cohen's effect size value (*d* = .21) suggested low practical significance.

H4. Group Adherence to the stated values. While a plurality of respondents did perceive that the organizations in which they participate did adhere to the expressed values and thus were inclusive, and intersectional in their inclusion, the responses in this area were fairly evenly divided between the "disagree," "neutral" and "agree" sections of the scale, rather than leaning heavily on the "strongly agree" end of the scale as the values questions had. Analysis of the frequencies on *Adherence* shows that 50.0% of the responses were 4.5 and below, with 30.7% of the responses being in the "disagree" range and 39.3% of the responses being in the "agree" range (5.0 and above), with the remaining 29.2% being neutral. So while a little over a third of the participants agree that their groups adhere to the stated values, close to a third are neutral, and the other third disagree.

H4 predicted that there would be no significant difference in average perception of inclusivity between the dominant subgroup (Cis or TRANS=0) and the test subgroup (TRANS=1) as demonstrated by an independent samples t-test.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means for *Adherence* between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. The t-test for the hypothesis of equal means (t (36) = .876; p = .069) showed no significant difference, in the means for members of the dominant subgroup ($\bar{x}$ =5.06, *s*=1.24) and the test subgroup

($\bar{x}$ = 4.31, s = .1.22); These results allow us to conclude that there is no significant difference in average perception of inclusivity between cisgender respondents and transgender/non-binary respondents. However, Cohen's effect size value (d = .61) suggested a moderate to high practical significance.

H5. Dedication of resources to all subgroups in an inclusive, rather than an hierarchical manner. When asked questions concerning whether the organizations in which they participate worked towards the needs of all members of the community rather than focusing on the issues and agenda items of only the dominant subgroup, the majority of respondents (56.8%) answered at the "agree-strongly agree" (5-7) end of scale, indicating that they did perceive that the organizations in which they participate did seek to meet the needs of all members of the group rather than devoting their resources to the dominant subgroup only. Analysis of the frequencies on *Resources* shows that only 15.5% of the responses were in the "disagree" range with the remaining 27.5% being neutral.

H5 predicted that there would be no significant difference in average perception of the focus of movement resources between the dominant subgroup (Cis or TRANS=0) and the test subgroup (TRANS=1) as demonstrated by an independent samples t-test.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means for *Resources* between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. The t-test for the hypothesis of equal means (t (36) = 1.606; p = .117) showed no significant difference, in the means for members of the dominant subgroup ($\bar{x}$ = 5.57, s = 1.16) and the test subgroup ($\bar{x}$ = 4.96, s = 1.15); These results allow us to conclude that there is no significant difference in average perception of the focus of movement resources between

cisgender respondents and transgender/non-binary respondents. However, Cohen's effect size value (d = .53) suggested moderate practical significance.

H6. Group attention to organization subgroups. The single Likert scale item for each subgroup to measure perception of group attention to individual subgroups within the movement provided some interesting, and in some cases surprising results concerning which subgroups are perceived to receive too little, too much or just enough attention. While the data showed that the majority (50.0%) of respondents still feel that "too much attention" is given to the agenda items of gay men, almost that many respondents (46%) perceived that "just enough attention" is now given to the needs of this dominant subgroup within the movement. Also interesting was the fact that clear majorities felt that the needs of lesbians (74%), those under the bisexual umbrella (60%), transgender concerns (58%), those with non-binary genders (55.1%) and the Queer identity movement were all given "just enough attention." Historically these subgroups have been deemed to be underserved. The causes which respondents felt were given "too little attention" were intersex people (69.4%), asexual and aromantic people (47%), and Native / two-spirit people (71.4%). The full results for the measures of inter-group attention are shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Frequencies for Subgroup *Attention*

	Too Little Attention		Just Enough Attention		Too Much Attention	
	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Gay Men	4.0%	2	46.0%	23	50.0%	25
Lesbians	12.0%	6	74.0%	37	14.0%	7
Bisexual Umbrella	36.0%	18	60.0%	30	40.0%	2
Transgender	36.0%	18	58.0%	29	6.0%	3
Queer	22.0%	11	74.0%	37	4.0%	2
Intersex	69.4%	34	26.5%	13	4.1%	2
ACE	46.9%	23	44.9%	22	8.2%	4
Native/2Spirit	71.4%	35	24.5%	12	4.1%	2
Non-Binary	40.8%	20	55.1%	27	4.1%	2

H6 predicted that there would be no significant difference in average perception of movement attention and resources on issues involving transgender/gender non-conforming issues between the dominant subgroup (TRANS=0) and the test subgroup (TRANS=1) as demonstrated by an independent samples t-test.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the means for *attnTrans,* the variable which defined the perception of attention to transgender issues between the dominant subgroup and the test subgroup. The t-test for the hypothesis of equal means ($t(34) = .864$; $p = .394$) showed no significant difference in the means for members of the dominant subgroup ($\bar{x} = 1.78$, $s = .65$) and the test subgroup ($\bar{x} = 1.61$, $s = .50$); These results allow us to conclude that there is no significant difference in average perception of the focus of movement resources between cisgender respondents and transgender/non-binary respondents. Further, Cohen's effect size value ($d = .30$) suggested low practical significance.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results of this study support the perception that the LGBTQ+ movement, as an example of a progressive movement, does appear to be moving away from the resource mobilization theory model of maintaining narrow agendas and serving the Hierarchy of Rights that such a perspective discusses. Respondents overwhelmingly expressed support, and often very strong support with very little disagreement, for the progressive values of inclusion, intersectionality and solidarity.

There is also an indication in their responses to questions concerning how well their organizations serve these values that there is movement towards "walking their talk," but there are also indications that at least some movement actors perceive that their organizations could, and should, be doing more than they are doing to adhere to these values. While the plurality (39.3%) of the respondents fell in the "agree" zone on this area, there was an almost even split between "agree," "neutral," and "disagree" answers which demonstrate a good bit of ambivalence in this area. In addition to these results is the fact that when asked questions to measure whether they perceived that their groups focused on the needs of all members of the community as opposed to serving only a dominant group within the community, a majority of movement actors (56.8%) expressed the perception that their organizations were working to meet the needs of all members of the group rather than simply focusing on a dominant subgroup only.

Perhaps most interesting of all were the unexpected result from the responses to perceptions of how much group attention is being focused on the needs of specific subgroup subgroups within the community. While the results may be skewed for several

reasons (small sample size, disproportionate representation of white/Caucasian participants, and disproportionate representation from student organizations which may be more radically inclusive and intersectional in focus), the perception that so many respondents (58.0%) felt that transgender concerns now get enough attention is was unexpected. The same is true to a lesser extent with the perception of 60.0% that bisexual concerns are now getting enough attention and 55.1% expressing the perception that non-binary concerns are getting enough attention, as all of these are traditionally underserved areas. It is possible, of course, that the media focus and increased educational efforts, including the Transgender Day of Remembrance, may have raised awareness and that this may have contributed to these results, all of which provide inspiration for future research questions into what has changed to create these perceptions.

It should also be acknowledged that these results may be influenced by perceived social desirability, as most in-group media representation, as well as queer studies materials focus on the "rightness" of these progressive values. However, having acknowledged that queer culture presents these values as desirable, the possibility that this cultural bias may have influenced participants to answer some questions in a way that they saw as socially desirable in and of itself helps to demonstrate that these values are central to the way that the movement operates.

Finally, while Cohen's *d* did show some indication that effect may imply a level of practical significance in some cases due to sample size indicating that future testing with a larger sample size may alter these results, for the most part these results demonstrated no significant difference between values and perceptions between cisgender and transgender participants in the movement.

LIMITATIONS

Although this study was quantitative, due to several considerations it is not generalizable. The major consideration which prevents generalizability in the case of a study of this nature, which studies a marginalized and vulnerable subgroup subject to stigma and discrimination, is the difficulty inherent in creating a sample frame which would permit random sampling. In addition, the time frame required to meet thesis deadlines provided limitations which negatively impacted both the collection and analysis of data. Given that the research questions were broad and ambitious, it may be prudent to consider this thesis as a foundation on which to build further inquiry.

Sample Type and Size

Obtaining a probability sample for a cultural population which is often stigmatized can be problematic. There is rarely, if ever, a sample frame, and finding a way to randomly select participants without one is incredibly difficult and costly. The LGBTQ+ community is a population for which obtaining a probability sample of the entire population is simply not feasible. This makes data collection difficult at best, as one is limited to convenience samples and cannot ever rely upon a proper probability sample which might provide generalizable results. Finally, since the vast majority of the organizations contacted were student organizations, which may have introduced an additional level of bias into the sample, it cannot be said to be representative; therefore, claims making on any of the results can also be problematic. Research of this nature must generally be expanded upon to validate findings.

Future Research

While this research project had value in analyzing the theoretical questions presented which were centered in social movement theory, as with most research, it also inspired many more research questions and ideas for future research which are needed in this area or adjacent areas. As part of this effort, it might also be productive to create a network of researchers and organizations by forming relationships with organizations to enable quick updating of contacts and to increase trust enabling simplified process for inviting members to participate.

I also expect to continue and to expand this survey to gather more results and to include a wider sample. It would be desirable to apply what has been learned during this study to rework the survey (treating this survey as a "pilot test" to determine changes) which would allow expansion of the survey in some areas and simplification in others. This would provide a chance to ameliorate some of the limitations of the study, and to further test whether the results were inaccurate due to sample size.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the tension between the hierarchy of rights which tends to form within social movements and the operation of shared values within progressive social movements is not only important to movement success for progressive social movements, it is necessary to a theoretical grasp of how new social movements are changing the entire landscape of collective behavior. While there is still a pragmatic reality behind the idea that social movement agendas need to be narrow to be successful, that changing landscape also dictates that progressive social movements must adhere to a set of progressive values to be successful, as elucidated by new social movement theories. Ideologically, adherence to those values is also crucial to movement success because much of what progressive social movements seek to achieve is inherently intertwined with promoting those ideological values in mainstream culture. So understanding whether those values are being adopted within these progressive movements, and how they alter the patterns of behavior of movement actors and the social movement organizations to which they belong also provides key insight into the ways that collective behavior can not only achieve movement goals, but can actually do so through making small ideological changes to the mainstream culture itself.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, Osman and Chai Jindasurat. 2014. “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and HIV-Affected Hate Violence in 2014.” New York City, NY: National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs. Retrieved April 2, 2016 (http://www.avp.org/storage/documents/Reports/2014_HV_Report-Final.pdf)

American Psychological Association. 2012. “Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients.” *American Psychologist* 67(1):10-42. doi: 10.1037/a0024659

AVEN. 2012. “Asexuality Visibility and Education Network.” Retrieved April 2, 2016 (http://www.asexuality.org/)

AVENwiki. 2013. “Demiromantic.” http://wiki.asexuality.org/Demiromantic

Baunach, Dawn M. 2012. “Changing Same-Sex Marriage Attitudes in America from 1988 Through 2010.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(2):364-378.

Buechler, Steven M. 1993. “Beyond Resource Mobilization? Emerging Trends in Social Movement Theory” *The Sociological Quarterly* 34(2):217-235. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/4120699)

Buechler, Steven M. 1995. “New Social Movement Theories” *The Sociological Quarterly* 34(2):217-235. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/4120774)

Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40(4):519-531.

Campus Pride. 2015. "Campus Pride 2015 Top 25 List of LGBTQ Friendly Colleges & Universities." Retrieved September 4, 2015 (https://www.campuspride.org/2015-top-25/).

Chase, Becca and Paula Ressler. 2009."An LBGT/Queer Glossary." *The English Journal* 98(4):23-24. Retrieved April 3, 2016. *(*http://www.ncte.org/library/NCTEFiles/Resources/Journals/EJ/0984-mar09/EJ0984LBGT.pdf *)*

Cohen Jacob. 1988. *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. New York, NY: Routledge Academic.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing The Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics". *University of Chicago Legal Forum.* PhilPapers. 140: 139–167. (https://philpapers.org/rec/CREDTI)

D'Anieri, Paul, Claire Ernst and Elizabeth Kier. 1990. "New Social Movements in Historical Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 22(4):445-458. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/421973)

Faderman, Lillian:1981. *Surpassing the Love of Men*. New York, NY: HarperColins.

Fausto-Sterling. 2000. "The Five Sexes Revisited." *The Sciences* (Jul-Aug 2000):18-23.

Foertsch, Julie and Morton Ann Gernsbacher. 1997. "In Search of Gender Neutrality: Is Singular They a Cognitively Efficient Substitute for Generic He?" *Psychological Science* 8(2):106-111. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9280.1997.tb00691.x (http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4293036/)

Gaines, N. Susan and James C. Garand. 2010. "Morality, Equality, or Locality: Analyzing the Determinants of Support for Same-sex Marriage". *Political Research Quarterly* 63(3):553-567. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/25747958)

Gallup. 2016. "Gay and Lesbian Rights." Gallup. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://www.gallup.com/poll/1651/Gay-Lesbian-Rights.aspx?version=print)

Grant, Jaime M., Lisa A. Mottet, Justin Tanis, Jack Harrison, Jody L. Herman, and Mara Keisling. 2011. "Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey." Washington: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (www.thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/reports/ntds_full.pdf)

Jeffreys, Sheila. 2003. *Unpacking Queer Politics: A Lesbian Feminist Perspective.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Jenkins, J. Crag. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9: 527-553. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/2946077)

Jones, Jeffrey M. 2012. "Most in U.S. Say Gay/Lesbian Bias Is a Serious Problem." Gallup. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://www.gallup.com/poll/159113/most-say-gay-lesbian-bias-serious-problem.aspx?version=print)

Jordan, T. Hudson. 2017. "Moving from Diversity to Inclusion." *Profiles in Diversity Journal*. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://www.diversityjournal.com/1471-moving-from-diversity-to-inclusion/)

LGBT Community Center of New Orleans. 2017. *Our Values*. Retrieved January 10, 2018. (http://lgbtccneworleans.org/learning-and-our-values/)

Luu, Chi. 2015. “They’re Here, They’re Genderqueer, Get Used To Gender Neutral Pronouns.” *JSTOR Daily.* May 12, 2015. Retrieved April 13, 2018. (https://daily.jstor.org/theyre-here-theyre-genderqueer-get-used-to-gender-neutral-pronouns/).

McCright, Aaron M. and Riley E. Dunlap. 2008. “The Nature and Social Bases of Progressive Social Movement Ideology: Examining Public Opinion Toward Social Movements.” *The Sociological Quarterly*. 49(4):825-848.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory.” *American Journal of Sociology*. 82(6):1212-1241. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/27779)

Meyer, David S. and Nancy Whittier. 1994 “Social Movement Spillover.” Social Problems. 41(2): 277-298. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/30969334)

Ness, Immanuel, ed. 2004. *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements.* Vol. 1-4. Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference.

Newport, Frank. 2015. “Five Things We’ve Learned About Americans and Key Moral Issues.” Gallup. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://www.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/183518/five-things-learned-americans-moral-values.aspx?version=print)

OED: Oxford English Dictionary. 2018. “Polyamory.” Retrieved April 10, 2018. (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/252745?redirectedFrom=polyamory#eid)

Pew Internet & American Life Project. 2015a. “America’s Changing Religious Landscape.” May 12, 2015. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape/)

Pew Internet & American Life Project. 2015b. "Changing Attitudes on Gay Marriage." July 29, 2015. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://www.pewforum.org/2015/07/29/graphics-slideshow-changing-attitudes-on-gay-marriage/)

Pichardo, Nelson A. 1997. "New Social Movements: A Critical Review." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23(1997):411-430. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2952558)

Poirot, Kristan. 2014. *A Question of Sex: Feminism, Rhetoric and Differences that Matter.* Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.

Roscoe, Will. 2000. *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America*. New York, NY: St. Martins.

Rose, Fred. 1997. "Toward a Class-Cultural Theory of Social Movements; Reinterpreting new social movements." *Sociological Forum* 12(3): 461-494. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/685057)

Rosenblum, Karen E. and Toni-Michelle C. Travis, eds. 1997. *The Meaning of Difference*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Smith, Tom W, Peter Marsden, Michael Hout, and Jibum Kim. 2015. *General Social Surveys, 1972-2014* [machine-readable data file] /Principal Investigator, Tom W. Smith; Co-Principal Investigator, Peter V. Marsden; Co-Principal Investigator, Michael Hout; Sponsored by National Science Foundation. --NORC ed.-- Chicago: NORC at the University of Chicago [producer]; Storrs, CT: The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut [distributor]. 1 data file (57,061 logical records) + 1 codebook (3,567p.). -- (National Data Program for the Social Sciences, No. 22) 2015.

Spector, Paul E. 1992. *Summated Rating Scale Construction: An Introduction*. Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-082. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. Retrieved April 13, 2018. (http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.454.8338&rep=rep1&type=pdf)

Taylor, Verta. 1989. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." *American Sociological Review* 54(5): 761–75. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2117752

Women's March on Washington (WMW). 2016. "Guiding Vision and Definition of Principles." Retrieved April 13, 2018: (https://www.womensmarch.com/s/WMW-Guiding-Vision-Definition-of-Principles-d5tb.pdf)

Warenda, Amy. 1993. "They." *Writing Across the Curriculum*. 4(April):99-107. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (http://wac.colostate.edu/journal/vol4/warenda.pdf)

Yates, Al and Anne Bartley. 2012. *Progressive Thinking, A Synthesis of American Progressive Values, Beliefs and Positions*. Denver, CO: American Values Project. Retrieved April 3, 2016. (https://www.scribd.com/document/131793272/Progressive-Thinking?doc_id=131793272&download=true&order=435522281)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

Consent Form (pg. 1 of 3)

Principal Investigator: Charlotte Archer
Study Title: The Hierarchy of Rights and The Expression of Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement
Institution: Middle Tennessee State University

The following information is provided to inform you about the research project and your participation in it. Please read this form carefully. You may print out a copy of this consent form to retain for your records.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You are also free to withdraw from this study at any time.

For additional information about giving consent or your rights as a participant in this study, please feel free to contact the MTSU Office of Compliance at (615) 494-8918.

1. Purpose of the study:
You are being asked to participate in a research study regarding members of the LGBTQ+ community (including all identities within the community and allies). Your responses will assist us in understanding the values held by those in the movement.

2. Description of procedures to be followed and approximate duration of the study:
You will be asked to answer questions concerning how you identify, whether you consider yourself an activist, or simply a member of the community. You will also be asked whether you agree or disagree with a group of values based questions. You will then be asked a group of questions about how much you perceive that the LGBTQ+ groups or community that you participate in adhere to these values.

The survey will take about 15 minutes to complete. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate.

3. Expected costs: None

Consent Form (pg. 2 of 3)

4. Description of the discomforts, inconveniences, and/or risks that can be reasonably expected as a result of participation in this study:
The risks to you if you participate in this study are anticipated to be minimal and not to go beyond those encountered in everyday life. Some of the questions are personal and concern matters of sexuality and sexual identity, and thus they may cause some discomfort. In the event that any questions asked are disturbing, you may stop responding to the survey at any time.

5. Anticipated benefits from this study:
a) The potential benefits to science and humankind that may result from this study are that the results of this survey will be used to assess the state of the LGBTQ+ rights movement, and the prevailing values held by members of the community. The results will also be combined with historical research and social movement theory research to identify whether specific theories concerning progressive movements are applicable to this movement with the intention of advancing both the general knowledge of social movement theory, and the understanding of strategies which might benefit the LGBTQ+ movement.

b) The potential benefits to you from this study are none.

6. Compensation for participation: None.

7. Circumstances under which the Principal Investigator may withdraw you from study participation:
Not applicable

8. What happens if you choose to withdraw from study participation:
You can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You do not have to answer any questions on the survey that you do not wish to answer. Participating in this study does not mean that you are giving up any of your legal rights.

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

Consent Form (pg. 3 of 3)

9. **Contact Information.** If you should have any questions about this research study or possible injury, please feel free to contact Charlotte Archer or my Faculty Advisor, Angela Mertig at (615) 904-8349.

10. Confidentiality. Your answers will be confidential: You will not be asked to provide any identifying information. Individuals will not be identified and only group data will be reported. The records of this study, comprised only of aggregate data, will be kept private in a locked file in a locked university faculty office. Any report of this research that is made available to the public will not include your name or any other individual information by which you could be identified.

* 1. Are you 18 years of age or older?

- ◯ No.
- ◯ Yes.

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

Active Consent Statement

Active Consent Statement

11. STATEMENT BY PERSON AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I have read this informed consent document. I understand each part of the document and I freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this study.

* 2. I have read this informed consent document. I understand each part of the document and I freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this study.

- ◯ Yes. I have read this informed consent document. I understand each part of the document and I freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this study.
- ◯ No. I do not wish to participate in this study.

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION A: MOVEMENT IDENTITY

3. Do you consider yourself to be a member of the LGBTQ+ community and/or an ally?

- ◯ YES
- ◯ NO
- ◯ UNSURE

4. Do you consider yourself to be a part of the LGBTQ+ rights movement?

- ◯ YES
- ◯ NO
- ◯ UNSURE

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS (1)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

5. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
It is important to include all gender, sexual and romantic minority identities in the LGBTQ+ movement.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I don't think that transgender should be part of the Gay Rights movement.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The LGBTQ+ movement must be intersectional (recognize the diverse racial, ethnic, gender, socioeconomic and ability experiences of our members) to be successful.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I recognize that a person's race, and ethnicity are relevant to their experience as an LGBTQ+ person.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Marginalized people have to work together to make things better for all.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS (2)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

6. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
Bisexuals don't really belong in the Gay Rights movement because they experience het (heterosexual) privilege.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
All gender, sexual and romantic minorities experience oppression.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The new rainbow flag, with brown and black stripes to represent race, is divisive.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ events be accessible to people with disabilities.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The more we (the LGBTQ+ community) stand in solidarity with other similar-minded groups, the stronger we are.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I believe that fighting racism is important.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
All oppressions are wrong and we have to work together to fight them all.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS (3)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

7. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
Adding romantic minorities to the already too large list of identities just confuses things.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Including straight allies and groups like PFLAG in our movement makes our movement stronger.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ group welcomes people of all races and ethnicities.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ events be accessible to people of all socioeconomic groups.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Why do we keep talking about "sexism?" This isn't a feminist group, it's a gay rights group.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
If we stick together we can achieve anything.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS. (4)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

8. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
I feel welcome within the LGBTQ+ community.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that all members of the LGBTQ+ community are welcome in our group.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I see that trans people are excluded from or not treated well in the organization that I participate in.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My LGBTQ+ group works hard to address the needs of all their members.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My LGBTQ+ group works hard to ensure the safety of transgender people.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS. (5)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

9. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
I see that the LGBTQ+ organization I participate in is not accessible/welcoming to people with disabilities.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel like some members of the LGBTQ+ community are not welcome within the organization that I participate in.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My LGBTQ+ group feels that the best use of our resources is to address the needs of the majority of the members rather than smaller identity groups.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that the subgroup(s) that I belong to has (have) special concerns and needs which are often overlooked.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS. (6)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

10. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
Some of the functions that my organization plans do not take into consideration those with limited economic resources.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel like non-binary people are excluded from or not treated well in the organization that I participate in.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The needs of all members of our group, regardless of identity, are treated equally.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel that we do not focus enough on the concerns of all of our members, regardless of identity.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION B: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT STATEMENTS. (7)

The following statements are sometimes made concerning the LGBTQ+ Rights movement. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

11. Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

	1. Strongly Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Slightly Disagree	4. Neutral	5. Slightly Agree	6. Agree	7. Strongly Agree
The organization I take part in is conscientious about making sure that events and functions are accessible to everyone regardless of race, ability or socioeconomic status.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I see that the LGBTQ+ organization I participate in is not racially or ethnically inclusive.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel like women are excluded from participation in or leadership in the organization that I participate in.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION C: GROUP ATTENTION

12. Within the organization(s) that you participate in, how much attention is paid to the issues of the following groups of people?

	Too Little Attention	Just Enough Attention	Too Much Attention
Gay Men	◯	◯	◯
Lesbian	◯	◯	◯
Bisexual / Pansexual / Omnisexual (umbrella)	◯	◯	◯
Transgender/Transsexual	◯	◯	◯
Queer Identity Movement	◯	◯	◯
Intersex	◯	◯	◯
Asexual/Aromantic	◯	◯	◯
Native / Two-Spirit	◯	◯	◯
Non-Binary Gender	◯	◯	◯

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION D: PERSONAL IDENTITY - INSTRUCTIONS

In this section we would like to learn about how you identify, in relation to the LGBTQ+ movement. For all questions you will be given the choice to choose more than one option, or to provide identity labels of your own choosing. In an attempt to be as inclusive as possible, we have included identities which you may not embrace, and have organized them in a way which may feel unusual to you. We recognize that not everyone agrees on these identities and spectrums, and that we are certain to have missed labels which may be important to you, so we ask you to overlook this and concern yourself only with those identities which you consider relevant to your own experience. Throughout, your self-definitions, perceptions and attitudes are of primary concern, so please answer as honestly as you can.

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION D: PERSONAL IDENTITY - BIOLOGICAL SEX & GENDER

Please select which of the following labels you identify with. You may select more than one if more than one applies. If you have an identity that we missed, please include it in the "I also identify as…" space. You may enter more than one option there as well.

13. Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING BIOLOGICAL SEX AND GENDER you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Intersex
- ☐ Cisgender
- ☐ Transgender
- ☐ Two Spirit
- ☐ I also identify as (please specify)
- ☐ Gender non-conforming
- ☐ Gender fluid
- ☐ Bigender
- ☐ Non-binary
- ☐ Genderqueer
- ☐ Agender / Genderless

14. Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING GENDER EXPRESSION you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

- ☐ Masculine
- ☐ Feminine
- ☐ Androgynous
- ☐ I also identify as (please specify)
- ☐ Butch
- ☐ Femme

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION D: PERSONAL IDENTITY - SEXUAL ORIENTATION/ATTRACTION

15. Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING SEXUAL ORIENTATION OR ATTRACTION you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

- [ ] Gay
- [ ] Lesbian
- [ ] Queer
- [ ] Questioning
- [ ] Heterosexual
- [ ] Heteroflexible
- [ ] Homoflexible
- [ ] Lesbiflexible
- [ ] Bisexual
- [ ] Pansexual
- [ ] Omnisexual
- [ ] Polysexual
- [ ] Demisexual
- [ ] Gray sexual
- [ ] Asexual
- [ ] I also identify as (please specify)

17

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION D: PERSONAL IDENTITY - ROMANTIC ORIENTATION/ATTRACTION

16. Please select which of the following LABELS CONCERNING ROMANTIC ORIENTATION OR ATTRACTION you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

- [ ] Heteromantic
- [ ] Homoromantic
- [ ] Biromantic
- [ ] Panromantic
- [ ] Aromantic
- [ ] I also identify as (please specify)

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SECTION E: COMMUNITY IDENTITY

17. The following identities often have separate human or civil rights issues and form separate activist communities. Please check any in which you participate.

- [ ] Gay (Men's) Rights
- [ ] Lesbian's Rights
- [ ] Bisexual / Pansexual Rights
- [ ] Transgender/Transsexual Rights
- [ ] Non-binary/Gender Nonconforming Rights
- [ ] Queer Identity Movement
- [ ] Intersex Awareness & Rights
- [ ] Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness
- [ ] Asexual/Aromantic Awareness

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

DEMOGRAPHICS: Education

18. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- ◯ Elementary and or junior high
- ◯ Some high school to 12th grade
- ◯ High school graduate or GED
- ◯ Some college credit, but less than 1 yr.
- ◯ Technical or vocational school certificate
- ◯ One year or more of college, no degree
- ◯ Associate's degree
- ◯ Bachelor's degree
- ◯ Master's Degree
- ◯ Professional Degree (MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD, etc.)
- ◯ Doctorate Degree (PhD, EdD, etc.)

19. Are you now attending or enrolled in university or college?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

DEMOGRAPHICS: Students

20. Are you a full time or part time student?

- ◯ Full-time student
- ◯ Part-time student

21. Are you a participant in your school's LGBTQ+ / GSA student organization?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

DEMOGRAPHICS: Religion

22. What is your religion or spiritual belief system? (Choose all that apply.)

- [ ] Catholicism
- [ ] Evangelical Protestantism
- [ ] Liberal Protestantism
- [ ] Unitarian Universalism
- [ ] Judaism
- [ ] Islam
- [ ] Other (please specify)
- [ ] Buddhism
- [ ] Hinduism
- [ ] Paganism/Heathenism
- [ ] Agnosticism
- [ ] Atheism/Secular Humanism

23. How important is religion in your life?

Unsure	Not at all important	Not very important	Somewhat important	Very important
○	○	○	○	○

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

DEMOGRAPHICS: State & Politics

24. In which U.S. state or territory do you reside?

25. In general, how would you describe your political views?

- ◯ Very Conservative
- ◯ Conservative
- ◯ Moderate
- ◯ Liberal
- ◯ Very Liberal
- ◯ Unsure

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

DEMOGRAPHICS: Race & Ethnicity

26. What is your race and / or ethnic origin? (Choose all that apply.)

- ☐ African American or Black
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Alaskan Native / Aleutian Islander
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- ☐ American Indian/Native American
- ☐ Spanish/Hispanic/Latino/Latina heritage
- ☐ Arabian or Middle Eastern
- ☐ White or Caucasian
- ☐ Some other race (please specify)

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

DEMOGRAPHICS: Income & Household Size

In answering the following questions, you may consider all individuals who share income and/or resources as your "household."

27. How many adults live in your household?

28. What was your gross household income (before taxes) in 2017?

- ◯ $0 to $9,999
- ◯ $10,000 to $24,999
- ◯ $25,000 to $49,999
- ◯ $50,000 to $74,999
- ◯ $75,000 to $99,999
- ◯ $100,000 to $124,999
- ◯ $125,000 to $149,999
- ◯ $150,000 to $174,999
- ◯ $175,000 to $199,999
- ◯ $200,000 and up
- ◯ Prefer not to answer

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

Additional Comments

29. Do you have any other comments that you would like us to consider concerning your identity, or your attitudes concerning values within the LGBTQ+ movement?

30. What other questions would you like to see us ask in future research?

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

SURVEY COMPLETE - THANK YOU

You have completed this survey of identities and values in the LGBTQ+ community. Thank you for your participation in this important research.

It is anticipated that this study will be published and the results available by June 2018. If you would like an electronic copy of the published study, please contact the researcher at:

caa4e@mtmail.mtsu.edu

or her advisor at:

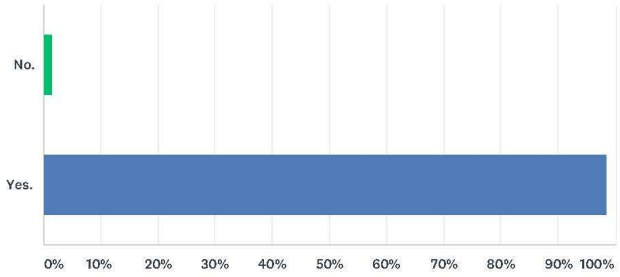
Angela.Mertig@mtsu.edu

If you have any questions about whether you have been treated in an illegal or unethical way, please feel free to contact the MTSU Office of Compliance at (615) 494-8918. This study was approved by the MTSU Institutional Review Board.

APPENDIX B: SURVEY RESULTS

Q1 Are you 18 years of age or older?

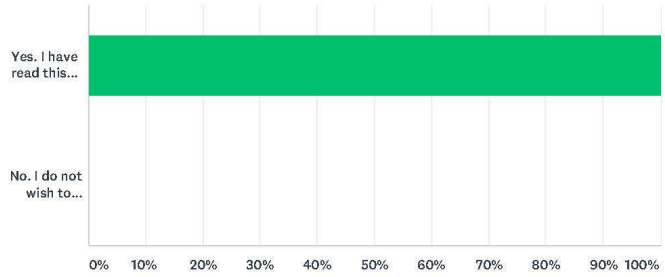
Answered: 73 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
No.	1.37%	1
Yes.	98.63%	72
TOTAL		73

Q2 I have read this informed consent document. I understand each part of the document and I freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this study.

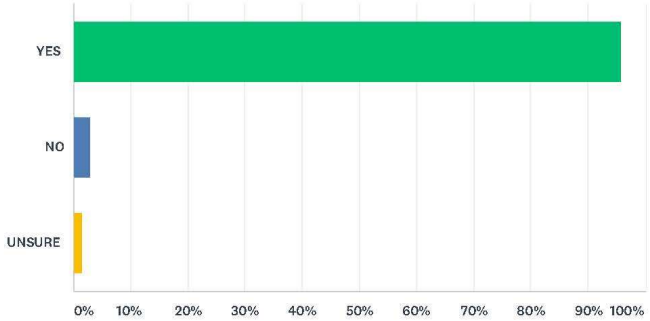
Answered: 71 Skipped: 2



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes. I have read this informed consent document. I understand each part of the document and I freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this study.	100.00%	71
No. I do not wish to participate in this study.	0.00%	0
TOTAL		71

Q3 Do you consider yourself to be a member of the LGBTQ+ community and/or an ally?

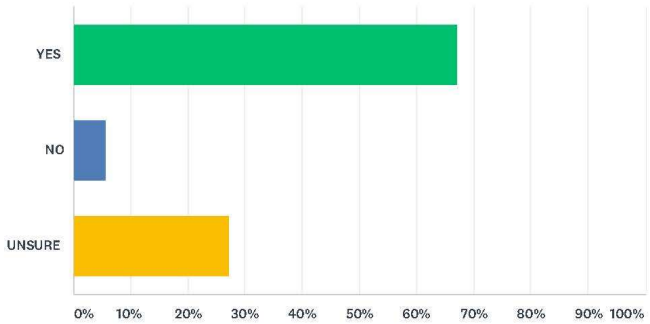
Answered: 70 Skipped: 3



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
YES	95.71%	67
NO	2.86%	2
UNSURE	1.43%	1
TOTAL		70

Q4 Do you consider yourself to be a part of the LGBTQ+ rights movement?

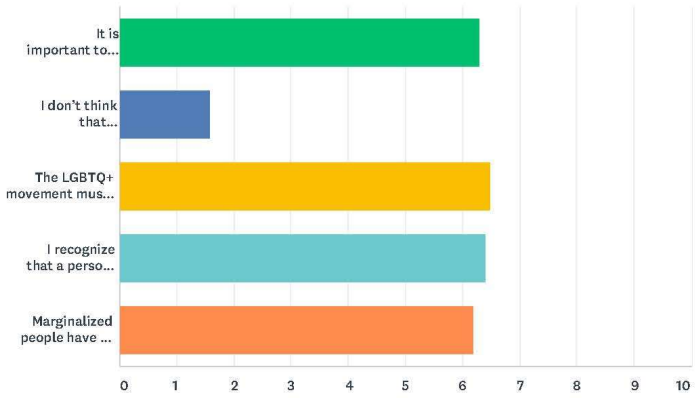
Answered: 70 Skipped: 3



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
YES	67.14%	47
NO	5.71%	4
UNSURE	27.14%	19
TOTAL		70

Q5 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements.

Answered: 63 Skipped: 10



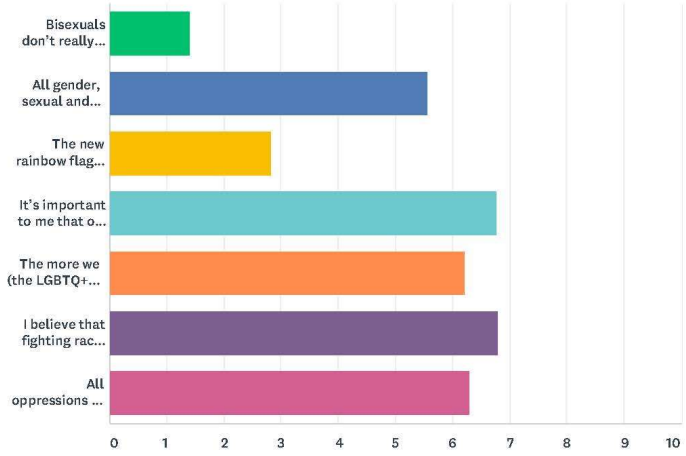
	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
It is important to include all gender, sexual and romantic minority identities in the LGBTQ+ movement.	1.59% 1	1.59% 1	1.59% 1	4.76% 3	3.17% 2	25.40% 16	61.90% 39	63	6.30
I don't think that transgender should be part of the Gay Rights movement.	77.78% 49	11.11% 7	1.59% 1	1.59% 1	3.17% 2	0.00% 0	4.76% 3	63	1.60
The LGBTQ+ movement must be intersectional (recognize the diverse racial, ethnic, gender, socioeconomic and ability experiences of our members) to be successful.	3.17% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	3.17% 2	3.17% 2	15.87% 10	74.60% 47	63	6.49

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

I recognize that a person's race, and ethnicity are relevant to their experience as an LGBTQ+ person.	3.17% 2	3.17% 2	0.00% 0	1.59% 1	1.59% 1	17.46% 11	73.02% 46	63	6.40
Marginalized people have to work together to make things better for all.	1.61% 1	0.00% 0	3.23% 2	4.84% 3	6.45% 4	30.65% 19	53.23% 33	62	6.19

Q6 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements.

Answered: 60 Skipped: 13

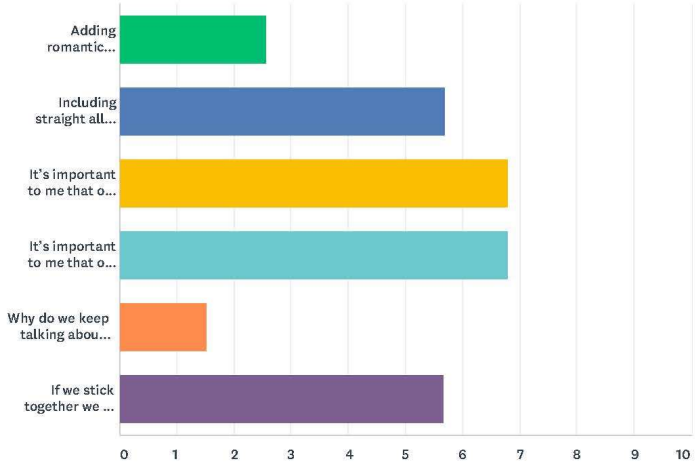


	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
Bisexuals don't really belong in the Gay Rights movement because they experience het (heterosexual) privilege.	80.00% 48	11.67% 7	1.67% 1	1.67% 1	5.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	60	1.40
All gender, sexual and romantic minorities experience oppression.	1.67% 1	5.00% 3	5.00% 3	5.00% 3	20.00% 12	33.33% 20	30.00% 18	60	5.57
The new rainbow flag, with brown and black stripes to represent race, is divisive.	26.67% 16	25.00% 15	10.00% 6	23.33% 14	8.33% 5	5.00% 3	1.67% 1	60	2.83

It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ events be accessible to people with disabilities.	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1.67% 1	1.67% 1	15.00% 9	81.67% 49	60	6.77
The more we (the LGBTQ+ community) stand in solidarity with other similar-minded groups, the stronger we are.	1.67% 1	1.67% 1	1.67% 1	1.67% 1	6.67% 4	35.00% 21	51.67% 31	60	6.22
I believe that fighting racism is important.	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1.67% 1	16.67% 10	81.67% 49	60	6.80
All oppressions are wrong and we have to work together to fight them all.	0.00% 0	1.67% 1	5.00% 3	1.67% 1	3.33% 2	30.00% 18	58.33% 35	60	6.30

Q7 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements.

Answered: 59 Skipped: 14



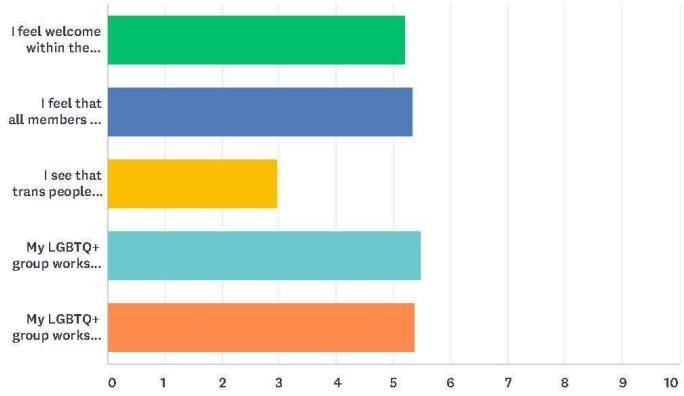
	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
Adding romantic minorities to the already too large list of identities just confuses things.	32.20% 19	27.12% 16	10.17% 6	18.64% 11	6.78% 4	3.39% 2	1.69% 1	59	2.58
Including straight allies and groups like PFLAG in our movement makes our movement stronger.	0.00% 0	1.69% 1	6.78% 4	10.17% 6	20.34% 12	23.73% 14	37.29% 22	59	5.69
It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ group welcomes people of all races and ethnicities.	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.34% 12	79.66% 47	59	6.80

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ events be accessible to people of all socioeconomic groups.	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	20.69% 12	79.31% 46	58	6.79
Why do we keep talking about "sexism?" This isn't a feminist group, it's a gay rights group.	69.49% 41	22.03% 13	1.69% 1	3.39% 2	1.69% 1	0.00% 0	1.69% 1	59	1.53
If we stick together we can achieve anything.	1.69% 1	0.00% 0	1.69% 1	15.25% 9	15.25% 9	40.68% 24	25.42% 15	59	5.66

Q8 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

Answered: 58 Skipped: 15



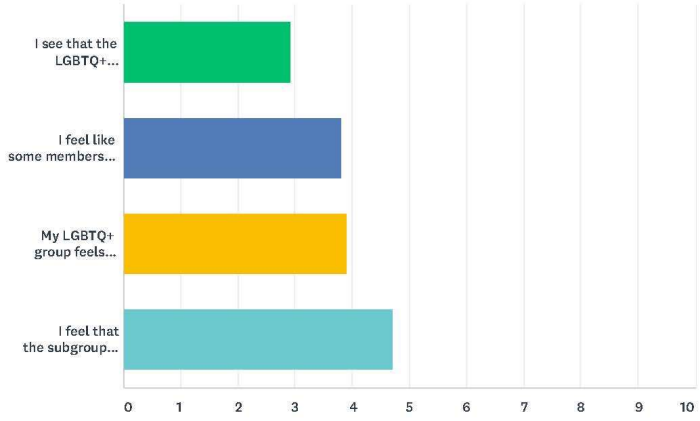
	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
I feel welcome within the LGBTQ+ community.	0.00% 0	5.17% 3	12.07% 7	5.17% 3	27.59% 16	34.48% 20	15.52% 9	58	5.21
I feel that all members of the LGBTQ+ community are welcome in our group.	1.72% 1	1.72% 1	15.52% 9	8.62% 5	12.07% 7	34.48% 20	25.86% 15	58	5.34
I see that trans people are excluded from or not treated well in the organization that I participate in.	22.41% 13	29.31% 17	8.62% 5	18.97% 11	10.34% 6	8.62% 5	1.72% 1	58	2.98

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement

My LGBTQ+ group works hard to address the needs of all their members.	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8.62% 5	12.07% 7	25.86% 15	29.31% 17	24.14% 14	58	5.48
My LGBTQ+ group works hard to ensure the safety of transgender people.	0.00% 0	1.72% 1	8.62% 5	18.97% 11	13.79% 8	34.48% 20	22.41% 13	58	5.38

Q9 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

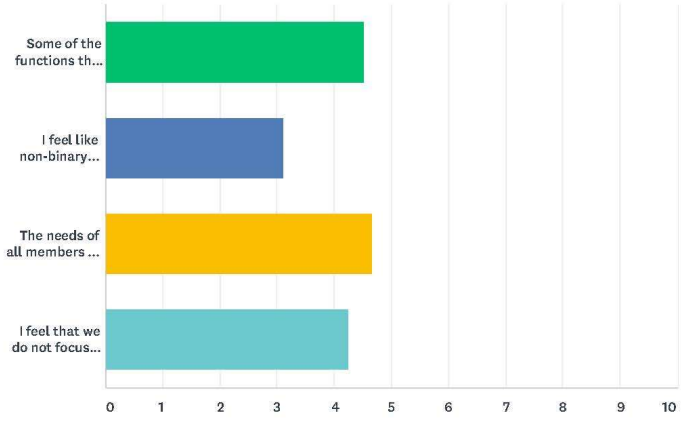
Answered: 56 Skipped: 17



	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHT AVERAC
I see that the LGBTQ+ organization I participate in is not accessible/welcoming to people with disabilities.	17.86% 10	32.14% 18	16.07% 9	16.07% 9	10.71% 6	5.36% 3	1.79% 1	56	2
I feel like some members of the LGBTQ+ community are not welcome within the organization that I participate in.	8.93% 5	23.21% 13	10.71% 6	19.64% 11	17.86% 10	12.50% 7	7.14% 4	56	3
My LGBTQ+ group feels that the best use of our resources is to address the needs of the majority of the members rather than smaller identity groups.	10.71% 6	12.50% 7	5.36% 3	35.71% 20	21.43% 12	10.71% 6	3.57% 2	56	3
I feel that the subgroup(s) that I belong to has (have) special concerns and needs which are often overlooked.	0.00% 0	17.86% 10	5.36% 3	17.86% 10	23.21% 13	17.86% 10	17.86% 10	56	4

Q10 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

Answered: 55 Skipped: 18

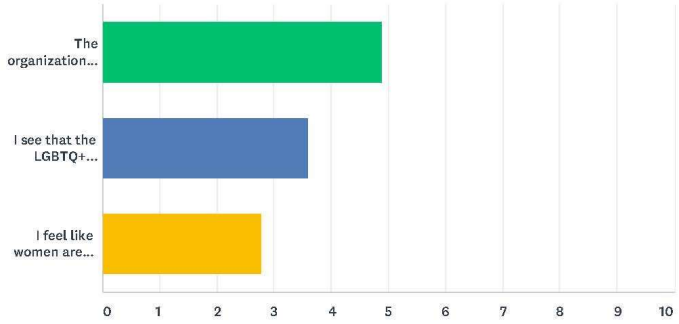


	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
Some of the functions that my organization plans do not take into consideration those with limited economic resources.	7.27% 4	9.09% 5	10.91% 6	14.55% 8	21.82% 12	29.09% 16	7.27% 4	55	4.51
I feel like non-binary people are excluded from or not treated well in the organization that I participate in.	18.52% 10	27.78% 15	16.67% 9	14.81% 8	7.41% 4	12.96% 7	1.85% 1	54	3.11
The needs of all members of our group, regardless of identity, are treated equally.	1.82% 1	7.27% 4	16.36% 9	21.82% 12	14.55% 8	25.45% 14	12.73% 7	55	4.67

I feel that we do not focus enough on the concerns of all of our members, regardless of identity.	3.64% 2	10.91% 6	9.09% 5	34.55% 19	18.18% 10	21.82% 12	1.82% 1	55	4.25

Q11 Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements. For questions referencing participation in a group, if you participate in more than one LGBTQ+ group, please answer these questions as they apply to the group that you are most active in.

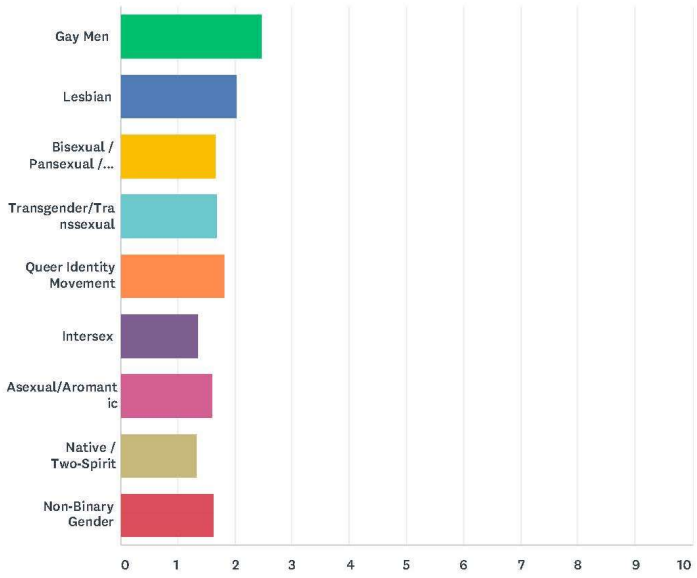
Answered: 52 Skipped: 21



	1. STRONGLY DISAGREE	2. DISAGREE	3. SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	4. NEUTRAL	5. SLIGHTLY AGREE	6. AGREE	7. STRONGLY AGREE	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
The organization I take part in is conscientious about making sure that events and functions are accessible to everyone regardless of race, ability or socioeconomic status.	1.92% 1	3.85% 2	13.46% 7	13.46% 7	28.85% 15	26.92% 14	11.54% 6	52	4.90
I see that the LGBTQ+ organization I participate in is not racially or ethnically inclusive.	15.38% 8	25.00% 13	5.77% 3	17.31% 9	13.46% 7	21.15% 11	1.92% 1	52	3.60
I feel like women are excluded from participation in or leadership in the organization that I participate in.	28.85% 15	25.00% 13	13.46% 7	13.46% 7	11.54% 6	5.77% 3	1.92% 1	52	2.79

Q12 Within the organization(s) that you participate in, how much attention is paid to the issues of the following groups of people?

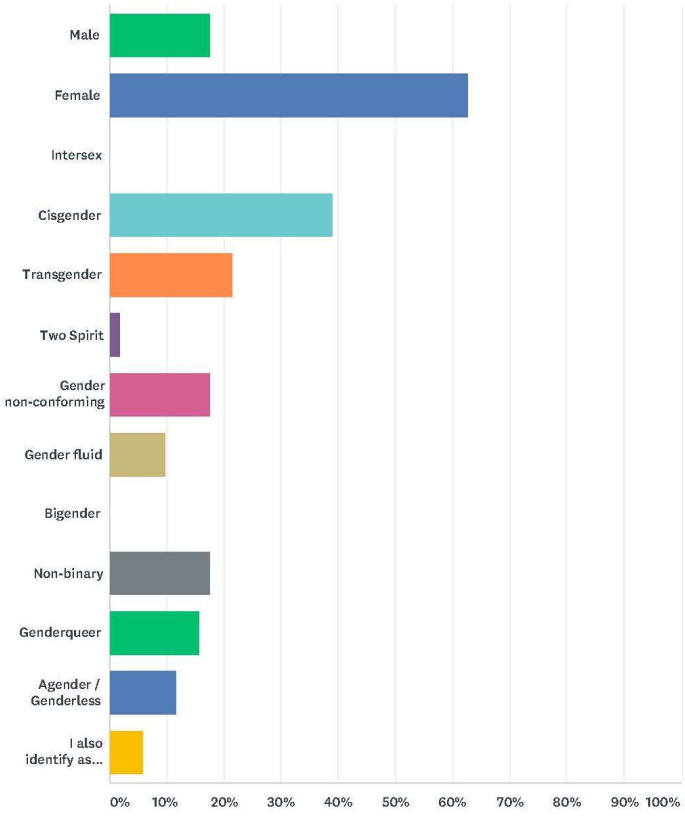
Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



	TOO LITTLE ATTENTION	JUST ENOUGH ATTENTION	TOO MUCH ATTENTION	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
Gay Men	4.00% 2	46.00% 23	50.00% 25	50	2.46
Lesbian	12.00% 6	74.00% 37	14.00% 7	50	2.02
Bisexual / Pansexual / Omnisexual (umbrella)	36.00% 18	60.00% 30	4.00% 2	50	1.68
Transgender/Transsexual	36.00% 18	58.00% 29	6.00% 3	50	1.70
Queer Identity Movement	22.00% 11	74.00% 37	4.00% 2	50	1.82
Intersex	69.39% 34	26.53% 13	4.08% 2	49	1.35
Asexual/Aromantic	46.94% 23	44.90% 22	8.16% 4	49	1.61
Native / Two-Spirit	71.43% 35	24.49% 12	4.08% 2	49	1.33
Non-Binary Gender	40.82% 20	55.10% 27	4.08% 2	49	1.63

Q13 Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING BIOLOGICAL SEX AND GENDER you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

Answered: 51 Skipped: 22



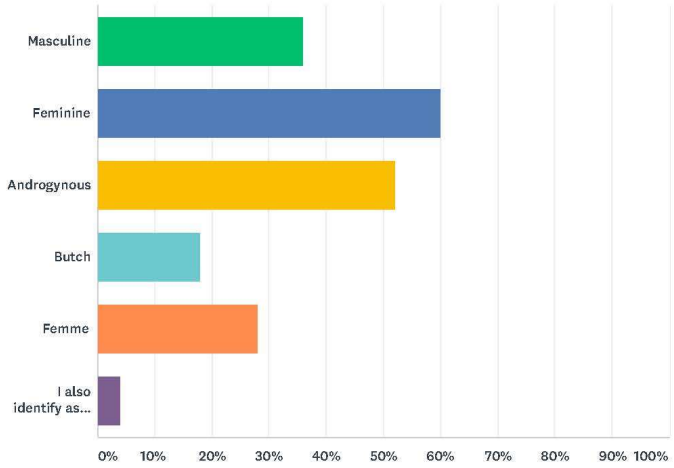
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Male	17.65%	9
Female	62.75%	32
Intersex	0.00%	0
Cisgender	39.22%	20
Transgender	21.57%	11
Two Spirit	1.96%	1
Gender non-conforming	17.65%	9

Gender fluid	9.80%	5
Bigender	0.00%	0
Non-binary	17.65%	9
Genderqueer	15.69%	8
Agender / Genderless	11.76%	6
I also identify as (please specify)	5.88%	3
Total Respondents: 51		

#	I ALSO IDENTIFY AS (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Woman	3/23/2018 9:04 AM
2	AFAB	3/21/2018 3:30 PM
3	Femme	3/12/2018 7:16 PM

Q14 Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING GENDER EXPRESSION you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

Answered: 50 Skipped: 23

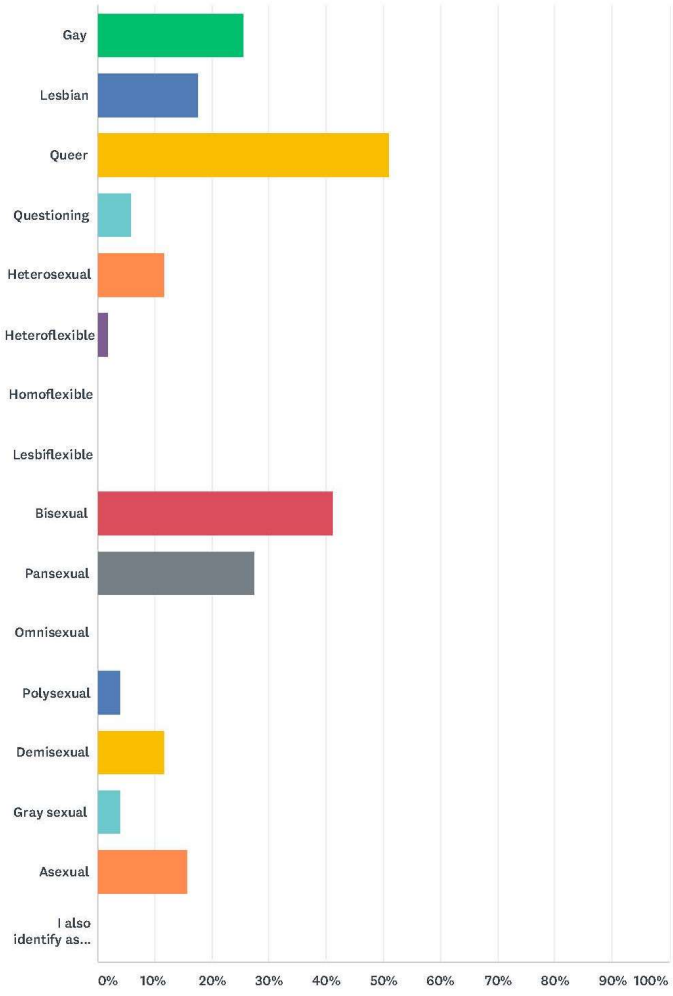


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Masculine	36.00%	18
Feminine	60.00%	30
Androgynous	52.00%	26
Butch	18.00%	9
Femme	28.00%	14
I also identify as (please specify)	4.00%	2
Total Respondents: 50		

#	I ALSO IDENTIFY AS (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Still figuring it out	3/14/2018 11:29 AM
2	Femme but not extreme femme	3/12/2018 11:32 AM

Q15 Please select which of the following LABELS REGARDING SEXUAL ORIENTATION OR ATTRACTION you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

Answered: 51 Skipped: 22



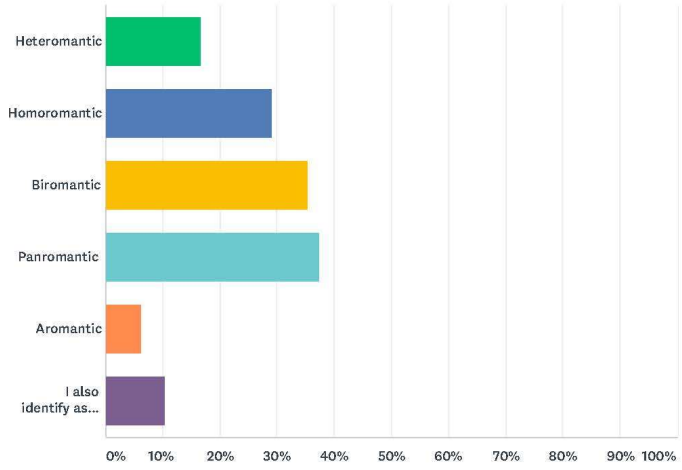
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Gay	25.49%	13
Lesbian	17.65%	9

Queer	50.98%	26
Questioning	5.88%	3
Heterosexual	11.76%	6
Heteroflexible	1.96%	1
Homoflexible	0.00%	0
Lesbiflexible	0.00%	0
Bisexual	41.18%	21
Pansexual	27.45%	14
Omnisexual	0.00%	0
Polysexual	3.92%	2
Demisexual	11.76%	6
Gray sexual	3.92%	2
Asexual	15.69%	8
I also identify as (please specify)	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 51		

#	I ALSO IDENTIFY AS (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
	There are no responses.	

Q16 Please select which of the following LABELS CONCERNING ROMANTIC ORIENTATION OR ATTRACTION you identify with. Please select as many as apply.

Answered: 48 Skipped: 25

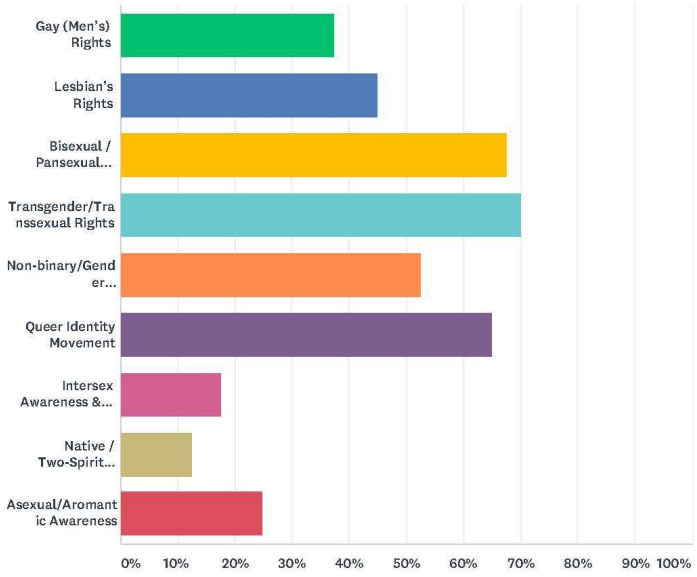


ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Heteromantic	16.67%	8
Homoromantic	29.17%	14
Biromantic	35.42%	17
Panromantic	37.50%	18
Aromantic	6.25%	3
I also identify as (please specify)	10.42%	5
Total Respondents: 48		

#	I ALSO IDENTIFY AS (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	queer	3/22/2018 1:39 PM
2	androromantic (romantically attracted to people on the masculine spectrum)	3/12/2018 7:19 PM
3	A woman loving woman	3/12/2018 11:33 AM
4	Polyamorous	3/9/2018 5:29 PM
5	Demiromantic	3/9/2018 11:41 AM

Q17 The following identities often have separate human or civil rights issues and form separate activist communities. Please check any in which you participate.

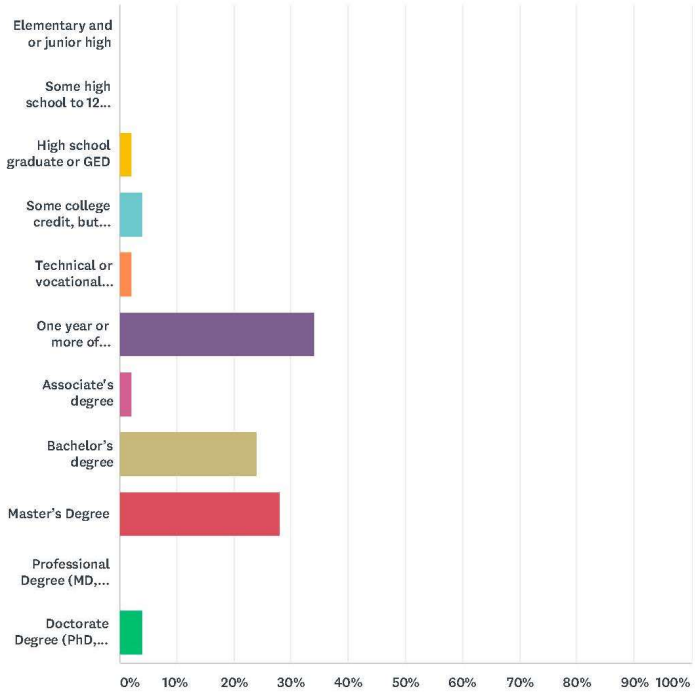
Answered: 40 Skipped: 33



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Gay (Men's) Rights	37.50%	15
Lesbian's Rights	45.00%	18
Bisexual / Pansexual Rights	67.50%	27
Transgender/Transsexual Rights	70.00%	28
Non-binary/Gender Nonconforming Rights	52.50%	21
Queer Identity Movement	65.00%	26
Intersex Awareness & Rights	17.50%	7
Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness	12.50%	5
Asexual/Aromantic Awareness	25.00%	10
Total Respondents: 40		

Q18 What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

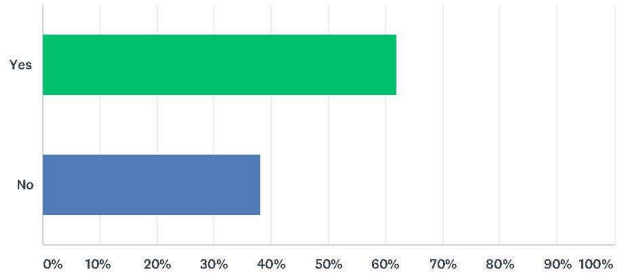
Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Elementary and or junior high	0.00%	0
Some high school to 12th grade	0.00%	0
High school graduate or GED	2.00%	1
Some college credit, but less than 1 yr.	4.00%	2
Technical or vocational school certificate	2.00%	1
One year or more of college, no degree	34.00%	17
Associate's degree	2.00%	1
Bachelor's degree	24.00%	12
Master's Degree	28.00%	14
Professional Degree (MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD, etc.)	0.00%	0
Doctorate Degree (PhD, EdD, etc.)	4.00%	2
TOTAL		50

Q19 Are you now attending or enrolled in university or college?

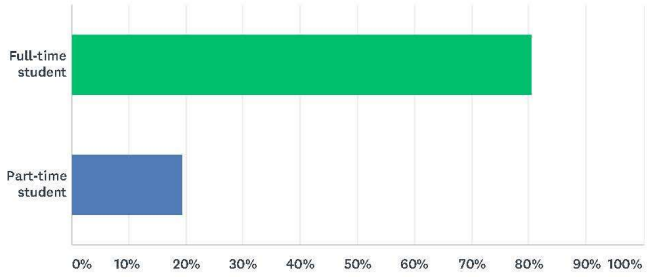
Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	62.00%	31
No	38.00%	19
TOTAL		50

Q20 Are you a full time or part time student?

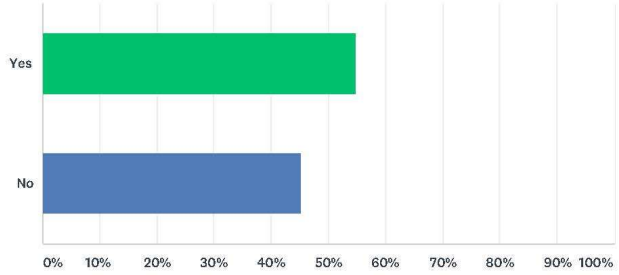
Answered: 31 Skipped: 42



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Full-time student	80.65%	25
Part-time student	19.35%	6
TOTAL		31

Q21 Are you a participant in your school's LGBTQ+ / GSA student organization?

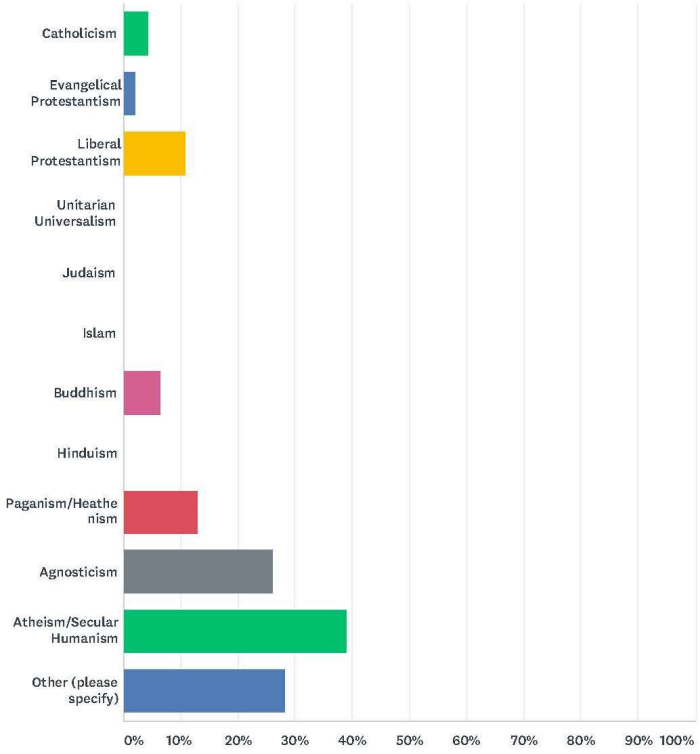
Answered: 31 Skipped: 42



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	54.84%	17
No	45.16%	14
TOTAL		31

Q22 What is your religion or spiritual belief system? (Choose all that apply.)

Answered: 46 Skipped: 27



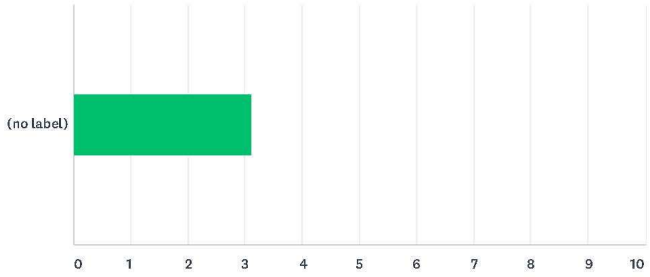
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Catholicism	4.35%	2
Evangelical Protestantism	2.17%	1
Liberal Protestantism	10.87%	5
Unitarian Universalism	0.00%	0
Judaism	0.00%	0
Islam	0.00%	0
Buddhism	6.52%	3
Hinduism	0.00%	0
Paganism/Heathenism	13.04%	6

Agnosticism	26.09%	12
Atheism/Secular Humanism	39.13%	18
Other (please specify)	28.26%	13
Total Respondents: 46		

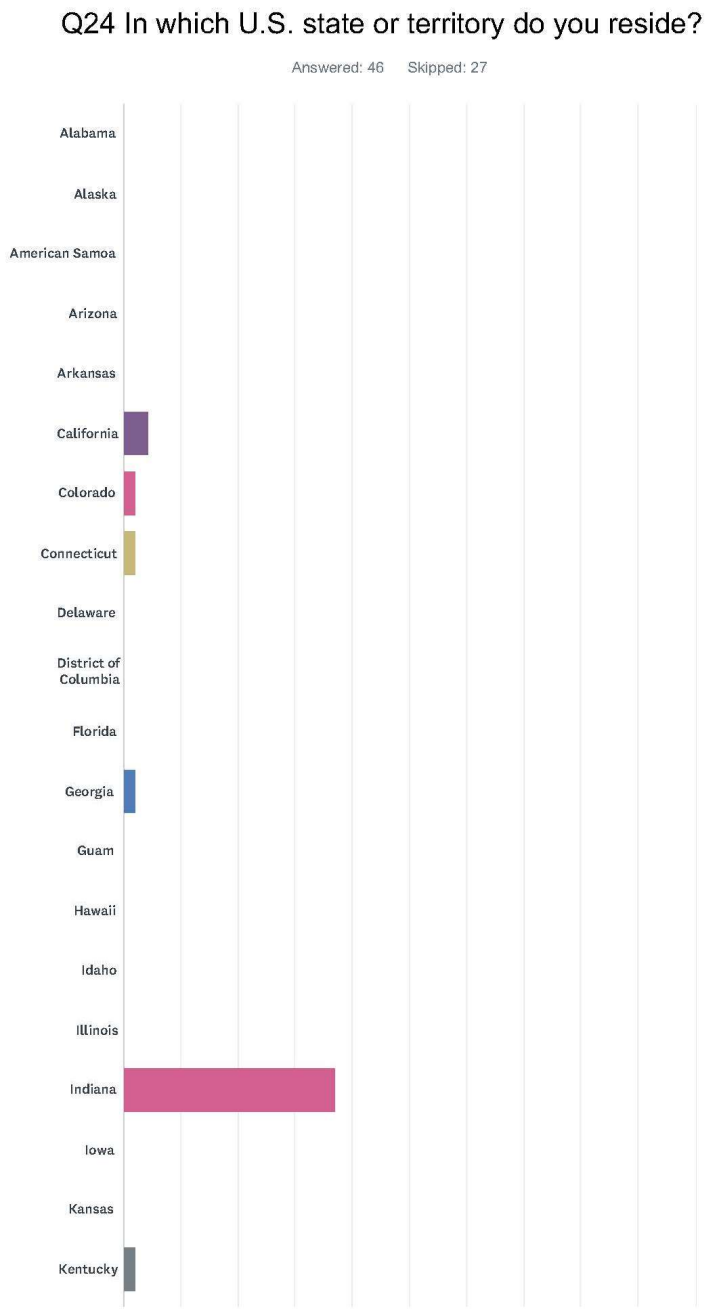
#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Daoism	3/30/2018 12:27 PM
2	Christian	3/27/2018 11:40 PM
3	Not religious	3/23/2018 9:07 AM
4	spiritual practice and exploring Christianity	3/22/2018 1:28 PM
5	Not sure	3/22/2018 12:56 PM
6	Non-practicing Catholic	3/21/2018 10:26 PM
7	Unsure/believe in an afterlife?	3/14/2018 11:32 AM
8	Mostly agnostic, but in a polytheistic way? I believe that some higher power may exist, but not that there is not only a single one	3/12/2018 7:21 PM
9	Hellenic Polytheism	3/12/2018 7:17 PM
10	Episcopalian/Anglican	3/12/2018 11:35 AM
11	Mormonism	3/9/2018 5:31 PM
12	Indigenous non-Christian	3/9/2018 3:00 PM
13	Baptist/religious ((many religions are probably right and just mixed up via time))	3/9/2018 11:43 AM

Q23 How important is religion in your life?

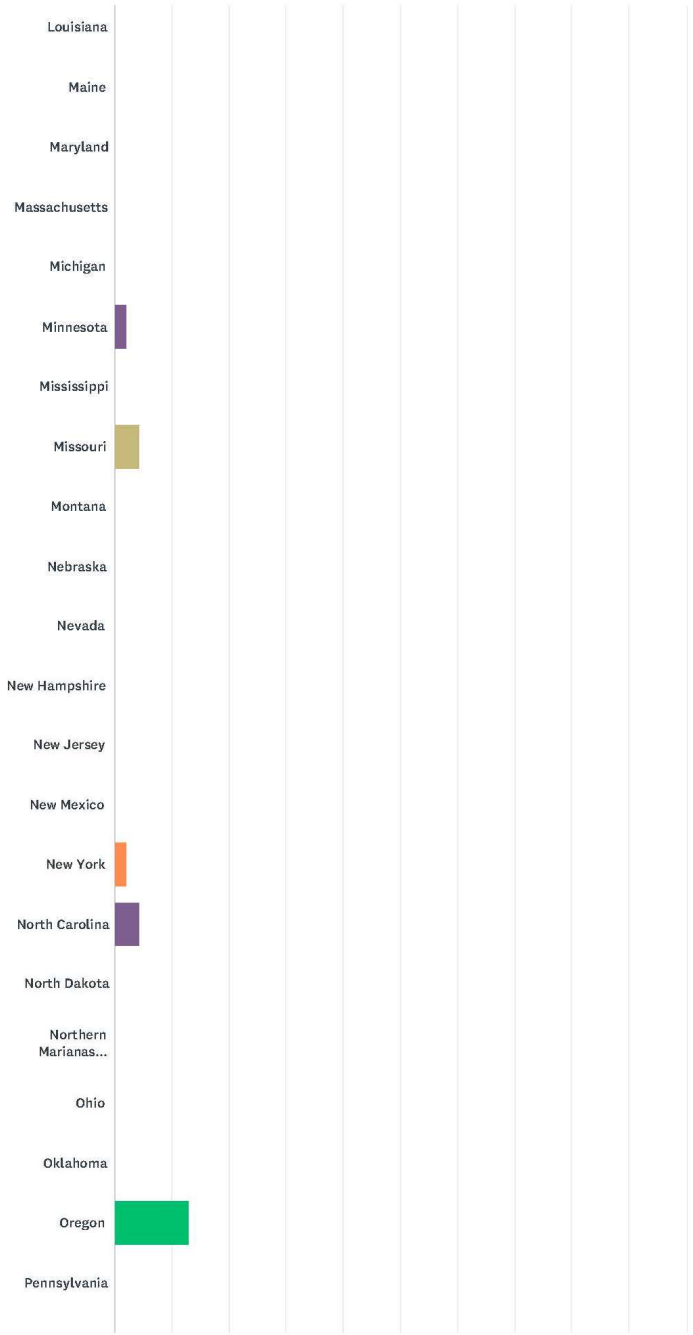
Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



	UNSURE	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT	TOTAL	WEIGHTED AVERAGE
(no label)	4.00% 2	38.00% 19	18.00% 9	22.00% 11	18.00% 9	50	3.12

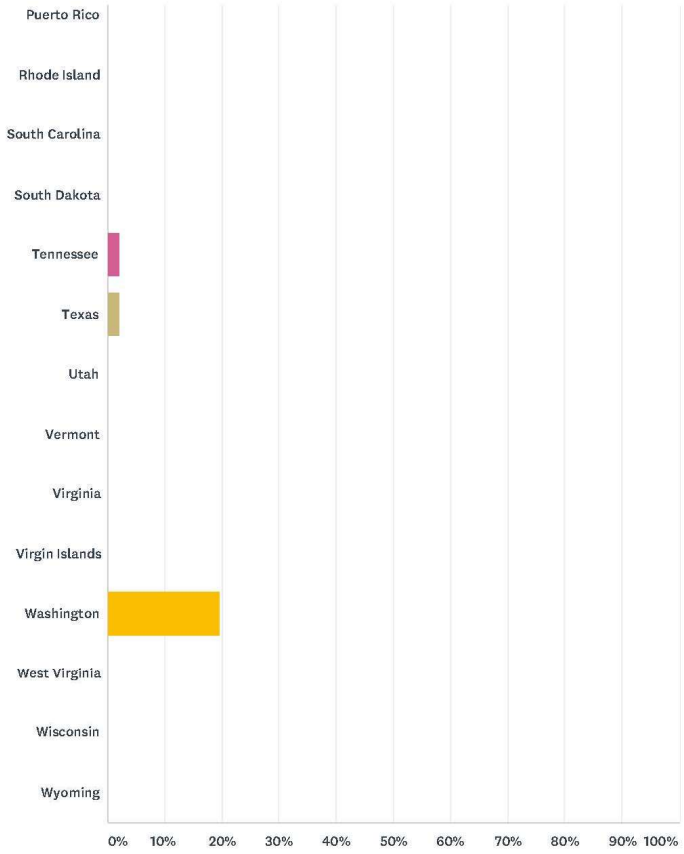

Q24 In which U.S. state or territory do you reside?
Answered: 46 Skipped: 27
Alabama
Alaska
American Samoa
Arizona
Arkansas
California
Colorado
Connecticut
Delaware
District of Columbia
Florida
Georgia
Guam
Hawaii
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
32 / 43

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement



33 / 43

Values in the LGBTQ+ Rights Movement



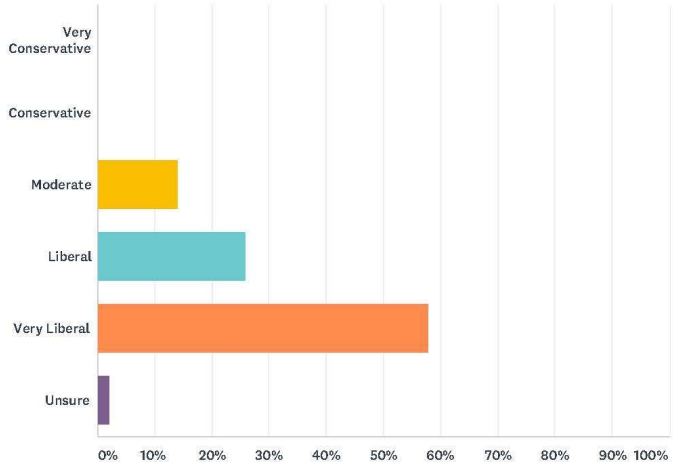
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Alabama	0.00%	0
Alaska	0.00%	0
American Samoa	0.00%	0
Arizona	0.00%	0
Arkansas	0.00%	0
California	4.35%	2
Colorado	2.17%	1
Connecticut	2.17%	1
Delaware	0.00%	0
District of Columbia	0.00%	0
Florida	0.00%	0

Georgia	2.17%	1
Guam	0.00%	0
Hawaii	0.00%	0
Idaho	0.00%	0
Illinois	0.00%	0
Indiana	36.96%	17
Iowa	0.00%	0
Kansas	0.00%	0
Kentucky	2.17%	1
Louisiana	0.00%	0
Maine	0.00%	0
Maryland	0.00%	0
Massachusetts	0.00%	0
Michigan	0.00%	0
Minnesota	2.17%	1
Mississippi	0.00%	0
Missouri	4.35%	2
Montana	0.00%	0
Nebraska	0.00%	0
Nevada	0.00%	0
New Hampshire	0.00%	0
New Jersey	0.00%	0
New Mexico	0.00%	0
New York	2.17%	1
North Carolina	4.35%	2
North Dakota	0.00%	0
Northern Marianas Islands	0.00%	0
Ohio	0.00%	0
Oklahoma	0.00%	0
Oregon	13.04%	6
Pennsylvania	0.00%	0
Puerto Rico	0.00%	0
Rhode Island	0.00%	0
South Carolina	0.00%	0
South Dakota	0.00%	0
Tennessee	2.17%	1
Texas	2.17%	1

Utah	0.00%	0
Vermont	0.00%	0
Virginia	0.00%	0
Virgin Islands	0.00%	0
Washington	19.57%	9
West Virginia	0.00%	0
Wisconsin	0.00%	0
Wyoming	0.00%	0
TOTAL		46

Q25 In general, how would you describe your political views?

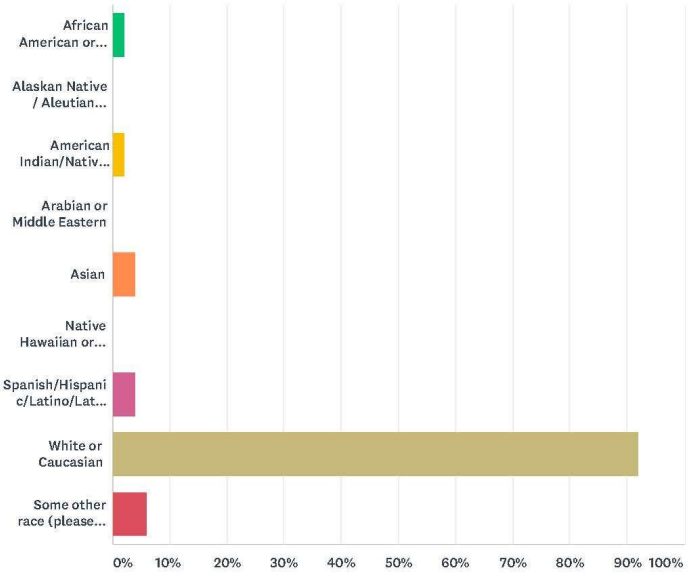
Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very Conservative	0.00%	0
Conservative	0.00%	0
Moderate	14.00%	7
Liberal	26.00%	13
Very Liberal	58.00%	29
Unsure	2.00%	1
TOTAL		50

Q26 What is your race and / or ethnic origin? (Choose all that apply.)

Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
African American or Black	2.00%	1
Alaskan Native / Aleutian Islander	0.00%	0
American Indian/Native American	2.00%	1
Arabian or Middle Eastern	0.00%	0
Asian	4.00%	2
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0.00%	0
Spanish/Hispanic/Latino/Latina heritage	4.00%	2
White or Caucasian	92.00%	46
Some other race (please specify)	6.00%	3
Total Respondents: 50		

#	SOME OTHER RACE (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Latinx	3/16/2018 5:16 PM
2	Indigenous Kazakh & Semitic	3/9/2018 3:02 PM
3	Australian Aboriginal	3/9/2018 11:45 AM

Q27 How many adults live in your household?

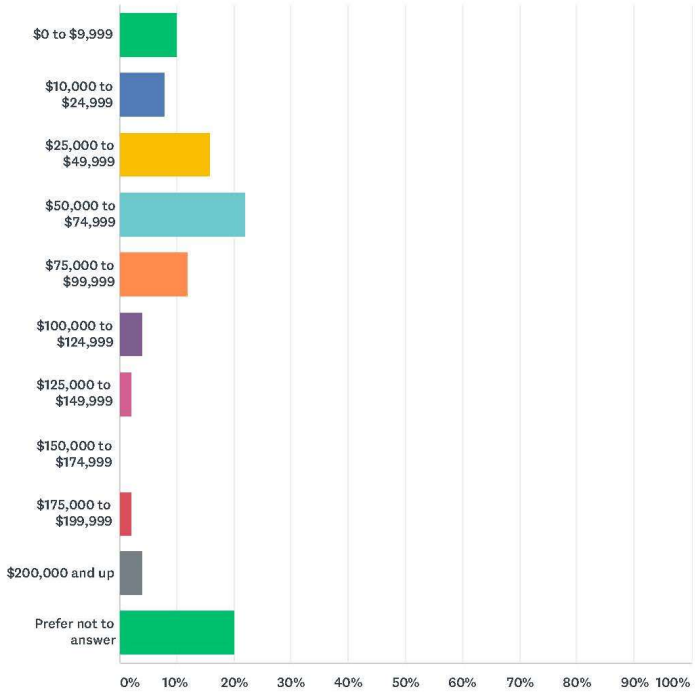
Answered: 49 Skipped: 24

#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	3	3/30/2018 12:28 PM
2	2	3/30/2018 7:27 AM
3	4	3/29/2018 9:50 PM
4	5	3/29/2018 6:08 PM
5	2	3/29/2018 4:00 PM
6	2	3/29/2018 2:05 PM
7	2	3/29/2018 1:39 PM
8	3	3/29/2018 1:19 PM
9	5	3/27/2018 11:41 PM
10	2	3/25/2018 11:26 AM
11	2	3/23/2018 9:08 AM
12	3	3/23/2018 7:56 AM
13	1	3/22/2018 1:40 PM
14	2	3/22/2018 1:36 PM
15	2	3/22/2018 1:28 PM
16	1	3/22/2018 12:58 PM
17	1	3/22/2018 12:57 PM
18	2	3/21/2018 10:26 PM
19	3	3/21/2018 3:32 PM
20	2	3/18/2018 9:28 AM
21	1	3/18/2018 1:34 AM
22	1	3/17/2018 9:38 PM
23	1	3/17/2018 2:46 PM
24	1	3/16/2018 5:25 PM
25	2	3/16/2018 5:16 PM
26	2	3/16/2018 5:14 PM
27	2	3/16/2018 4:27 PM
28	2	3/14/2018 11:33 AM
29	2	3/13/2018 2:51 PM
30	2	3/12/2018 9:54 PM
31	2	3/12/2018 8:02 PM
32	2	3/12/2018 7:21 PM
33	5	3/12/2018 7:18 PM
34	2	3/12/2018 6:36 PM
35	1	3/12/2018 6:21 PM
36	2	3/12/2018 6:08 PM
37	4	3/12/2018 11:35 AM
38	2	3/12/2018 3:24 AM

39	1	3/9/2018 9:29 PM
40	2	3/9/2018 9:09 PM
41	2	3/9/2018 7:40 PM
42	2	3/9/2018 5:32 PM
43	3	3/9/2018 4:52 PM
44	4	3/9/2018 4:34 PM
45	1	3/9/2018 3:02 PM
46	2	3/9/2018 12:01 PM
47	5	3/9/2018 11:45 AM
48	3	3/9/2018 11:05 AM
49	3	3/9/2018 8:49 AM

Q28 What was your gross household income (before taxes) in 2017?

Answered: 50 Skipped: 23



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
$0 to $9,999	10.00%	5
$10,000 to $24,999	8.00%	4
$25,000 to $49,999	16.00%	8
$50,000 to $74,999	22.00%	11
$75,000 to $99,999	12.00%	6
$100,000 to $124,999	4.00%	2
$125,000 to $149,999	2.00%	1
$150,000 to $174,999	0.00%	0
$175,000 to $199,999	2.00%	1
$200,000 and up	4.00%	2
Prefer not to answer	20.00%	10
TOTAL		50

Q29 Do you have any other comments that you would like us to consider concerning your identity, or your attitudes concerning values within the LGBTQ+ movement?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 65

#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	Not Really	3/30/2018 12:29 PM
2	People who are transphobic/trans exclusive do not belong in the community. People who don't respect others in the community shouldn't be included. But also, if you're cisgender and heterosexual, then I struggle to see why you would need the LGBTQ+ community? Like, I have seen that people who are asexual but heteromantic claim to be oppressed, and while I see that they could feel alienated because the mainstream media does focus a lot on sex, I'm not sure this qualifies as systematic oppression or means they should be grouped with the LGBQT people they probably oppress in other ways, whether actively or unconsciously. As a gnc lesbian, I don't feel comfortable sharing my space with a cisgender heteromantic asexual man, for example. I feel like we don't have much in common and it would make me feel unsafe to have to be around? It's like white people coming into black activist spaces; it's not ok to just come in and look and be like "well I'm a woman so I'm oppresed in this other way and therefore I'm allowed in your space!" It's not the same thing, I feel like? But I am unsure. Also, your use of GSM (gender and sexual minorities) is potentially problematic because "sexual minorities" could include kink positive communities or even pedophiles, because technically they have non-normative sexualities, but are NOT uncritically welcome in the LGBTQ+ community just by virtue of belonging to the kink community or whatever. Also, no pedophiles should be allowed in the community ever, but I think this applies to any community. Kids are vulnerable and need to be protected.	3/29/2018 2:11 PM
3	Disability plays massively into my world as an LGBTQ+ person. The intersection of challenges regarding queerness and being autistic and having mobility problems are far different from the challenges I would face on only one side of those issues.	3/29/2018 1:20 PM
4	I think including allies in the term LGBTQ+ movement is some bs. Straight allies don't experience the same kind of oppression that sexual, gender and romantic minorities do, so they can't be lumped in. It would be like including white people, who are allies in the category of people of color. Also allyship is not an identity; it's continuous action. I think there is a difference between the gay movement (gay marriage, hate crimes legislation) and the queer movement (homelessness, poverty, decriminalization of QPOC, anti-police and prison). I am part of the queer movement, not the gay movement, because I am not a gay white cis man. I don't think your survey allows you to really understand what is happening within the LGBTQ+ community, because this survey assumes it is a monolithic, single community. I was excited to share my perspectives in order to develop data, but I was disappointed in this survey.	3/22/2018 1:46 PM
5	HRC is anti transgender. The infighting within the LGBTQ community needs to stop and we work together.	3/18/2018 1:36 AM
6	"Romantic Minorities" is new vocabulary to me so I responded to "neutral" for now. Going to try to do additional learning about it. The Pride flag with black and brown stripes to denote gay people of color: I don't feel like it's my place to call it divisive or not as I'm white and also not aware of the complexities of the POC pride flag in the first place. Because of this I feel like it's best to abstain from an opinion until I know more.	3/14/2018 11:53 AM
7	Nah.	3/12/2018 7:20 PM
8	I am a serious grad student who is only starting to come out as a lesbian and has not had much dating experience at all within queer community. I feel that in the past 8-10 years lesbian, especially femme, visibility has been sparse and has created a stigma in which young lesbians have difficulty being open and dating. I also feel that although the queer community has made some wonderful steps to include lesbians and other queer women, that we have fell on the back burner in the community as a whole and that our issues are not important. I also think that people don't understand how difficult it is for some of us to find others who share our orientation to date.	3/12/2018 11:47 AM

Q30 What other questions would you like to see us ask in future research?

Answered: 5 Skipped: 68

#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	A lot of queer movement are anti-establishment; it might be worthwhile to factor in thoughts of the LGBTQ+ community regarding their thoughts on the establishment.	3/30/2018 12:29 PM
2	Which identities participate in you LGTBQ+ community group? In mine, for example, lesbians almost don't participate, it's mainly gay & queer.	3/30/2018 7:30 AM
3	See question 29	3/22/2018 1:46 PM
4	Examples and rules of exclusion and/or discrimination by so called LGBTQ support groups against other members or the LGBTQ community. How are you mistreated (specifically)?	3/18/2018 1:36 AM
5	I think you should ask a broader political spectrum question. The conservative/liberal scale does not include outside political beliefs; therefore, it excludes anyone outside the authoritarian right corner of the political spectrum.	3/12/2018 7:20 PM

APPENDIX C: SCALE CONSTRUCTION

Variable Names

Variable names were formed to be consistent and intuitive, e.g., *vInc*(*1-6*) for inclusion, *vInt*(*1-6*) for intersectionality and *vSol*(*1-6*) for solidarity. Variables for questions which needed to be reverse coded had an *R* appended at the end to ensure that they would not be missed for recoding (e.g., the new, recoded variables also followed the consistent pattern of changing the value indicator (*Inc, Int, or So*l) to all caps and dropping the R (e.g., *vInc2R* became *vINC2*). This gave variables which were easily spotted as recoded, and which would sort alphabetically with the other categorical variables with which they would be combined into summated rating scales.

The composite variable formed through scale formation was labeled by dropping the question number at the end and adding the indicator "COMP" in its place. This pattern was followed for all variable names. After reverse coding any questions which read negatively, all questions being considered to form a scale were analyzed for reliability using Cronbach's alpha. A Cronbach's alpha of at least .700 was sought, but scale items were removed until the best Cronbach's alpha was found.

Inclusion.

The six questions which were considered in creation of the summated rating scale for *Inclusion*, to test H1, are shown in Table 12 below. Correlation and reliability testing showed that three items on the scale had very weak to weak correlations with the other items. Using all 6 items resulted in an alpha of .631, which was unacceptably low. Question 4 and Question 6 showed especially low inter-item correlations. When removed from the scale, alpha increased to .758. Removal of Question 3 from the scale further

increased reliability of the scale to a standardized alpha of .788. Removal of the other items also decreased the scale variance so that the standardized alpha was appropriate. Results are in Tables 13 and 14..

Table 12: Questions & Variable Names for *Inclusion*.

Variable Name	Question Wording	Recode Name
vInc1	It is important to include all gender, sexual and romantic minority identities in the LGBTQ+ movement.	
vInc2R	I don't think that transgender should be part of the Gay Rights movement.	*vINC2*
vInc3R	Bisexuals don't really belong in the Gay Rights movement because they experience het (heterosexual) privilege.	*vINC3*
vInc4	All gender, sexual and romantic minorities experience oppression.	
vInc5R	Adding romantic minorities to the already too large list of identities just confuses things.	*vINC5*
vInc6	Including straight allies and groups like PFLAG in our movement makes our movement stronger.	
vIncCOMP		

Table 13: Inter-Item Correlation Matrix of *Inclusion* – 3 Items (n = 58)

	vInc1	*vINC2*	*vINC5*
vInc1	1.000		
vINC2	.646	1.000	
vINC5	.601	.411	1.000

Standardized $\alpha = .788$

Table 14: Item-Total Statistics for *Inclusion* – 3 Items ($N = 58$)

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
vInc1	11.7797	6.761	.742	.553	.582
vINC2	11.7627	6.391	.575	.419	.739
vINC5	12.6949	6.388	.547	.362	.776

Intersectionality

The six questions which were considered in creation of the summated rating scale for *Inclusion*, to test H2, are shown in Table 15 below. Correlation and reliability testing showed that Question 3 had only weak correlations with the other items. Using all 6 items resulted in an alpha of .674. Results are in Tables 16 and 17.

Table 15: Questions & Variable Names for *Intersectionality*.

Variable Name	Question Wording	Recode Name
vInt1	The LGBTQ+ movement must be intersectional (recognize the diverse racial, ethnic, gender, socioeconomic and ability experiences of our members) to be successful.	
vInt2	I recognize that a person's race, and ethnicity are relevant to their experience as an LGBTQ+ person.	
vInt3R	The new rainbow flag, with brown and black stripes to represent race, is divisive.	*vINT3*
vInt4	It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ events be accessible to people with disabilities.	
vInt5	It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ group welcomes people of all races and ethnicities.	
vInt6	It's important to me that our LGBTQ+ events be accessible to people of all socioeconomic groups.	
vIntCOMP		

Table 16: Inter-Item Correlation Matrix of *Intersectionality* – 5 Items (n = 58)

	vInt1	*vInt2*	*vInt4*	*vInt5*	*vInt6*
vInt1	1.000				
vInt2	.652	1.000			
vInt4	.522	.322	1.000		
vInt5	.328	.286	.698	1.000	
vInt6	.334	.289	.737	.839	*1.000*
α = .721					

Table 17: Item-Total Statistics for *Intersectionality* – 5 Items (n = 58)

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
vInt1	26.7931	4.834	.683	.548	.579
vInt2	26.8793	4.529	.579	.444	.680
vInt4	26.4828	8.008	.602	.651	.665
vInt5	26.4655	8.815	.525	.718	.703
vInt6	26.4828	8.745	.534	.751	.700

Solidarity

The six questions which were considered in creation of the summated rating scale for *Solidarity*, to test H3, are shown in Table 18 below. Correlation and reliability testing showed that all items were acceptably strong (α = .692) however Item-Total Statistics showed that removing item *vSol5* would improve the reliability to an alpha level of .751. No other item showed that removal would increase the alpha. Results are in Tables 19 and 20.

Table 18: Questions & Variable Names for *Solidarity*.

Variable Name	Question Wording	Recode Name
vSol1	The more we (the LGBTQ+ community) stand in solidarity with other similar-minded groups, the stronger we are.	
vSol2	I believe that fighting racism is important.	
vSol3R	Why do we keep talking about "sexism?" This isn't a feminist group, it's a gay rights group.	*vSOL3*
vSol4	All oppressions are wrong and we have to work together to fight them all.	
vSol5	If we stick together we can achieve anything.	
vSol6	Marginalized people have to work together to make things better for all.	
vSolCOMP		

Table 19: Inter-Item Correlation Matrix of *Solidarity* – 5 Items (*n* = 58)

	vSol1	*vSol2*	*vSOL3*	*vSol4*	*vSol5*
vSol1	1.000				
vSol2	.581	1.000			
vSOL3	.278	.437	1.000		
vSol4	.639	.453	.284	1.000	
vSol6	.400	.287	.600	.266	.082
α = .751					

Table 20: Item-Total Statistics of Solidarity – 5 Items (n = 58)

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
vSol1	25.7414	8.721	.612	.566	.669
vSol2	25.1724	12.601	.586	.438	.737
vSOL3	25.5172	9.798	.514	.461	.708
vSol4	25.6897	9.446	.528	.427	.704
vSol6	25.8103	9.104	.527	.437	.706

Adherence

The ten questions which were considered in creation of the summated rating scale for *Adherence*, to test H4, are shown in Table 21 below. Correlation and reliability testing showed that all items were acceptably strong (α = .901). The weakest item, Question 2, would improve the alpha only to .905 by removal and all other items would lower the alpha level if removed. Therefore, the scale, was constructed using all 10. Results are in Tables 22a, 22b and 23.

Table 21: Questions & Variable Names for *Adherence*.

Variable Name	Question Wording	Recode Name
vAdhere1	I feel welcome within the LGBTQ+ community.	
vAdhere2	I feel that all members of the LGBTQ+ community are welcome in our group.	
vAdhere3R	I feel like some members of the LGBTQ+ community are not welcome within the organization that I participate in.	*vADHERE3*
vAdhere4R	I see that trans people are excluded from or not treated well in the organization that I participate in.	*vADHERE4*
vAdhere5R	I see that the LGBTQ+ organization I participate in is not accessible/welcoming to people with disabilities.	*vADHERE5*
vAdhere6R	Some of the functions that my organization plans do not take into consideration those with limited economic resources.	*vADHERE6*
vAdhere7	The organization I take part in is conscientious about making sure that events and functions are accessible to everyone regardless of race, ability or socioeconomic status.	
vAdhere8R	I see that the LGBTQ+ organization I participate in is not racially or ethnically inclusive.	*vADHERE8*
vAdhere9R	I feel like non-binary people are excluded from or not treated well in the organization that I participate in.	*vADHERE9*
vAdhere10R	I feel like women are excluded from participation in or leadership in the organization that I participate in.	*vADHERE10*
vAdhereCOMP		

Table 22a: Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Adherence: Items 1-5 of 10 (n =51)

	vAdhere1	*vAdhere2*	*vADHERE3*	*vADHERE4*	*vADHERE5*
vAdhere1	1.000				
vAdhere2	.476	1.000			
vADHERE3	.296	.498	1.000		
vADHERE4	.343	.299	.563	1.000	
vADHERE5	.429	.222	.531	.551	1.000
vADHERE6	.229	.360	.559	.443	.603
vAdhere7	.634	.372	.402	.566	.521
vADHERE8	.348	.241	.579	.797	.569
vADHERE9	.388	.307	.607	.634	.583
vADHERE10	.220	.166	.525	.608	.641

α = .901

Table 22b: Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Adherence: Items 6-10 of 10 (n = 51)

	vADHERE6	*vAdhere7*	*vADHERE8*	*vADHERE9*	*vADHERE10*
vADHERE6	1.000				
vAdhere7	.484	1.000			
vADHERE8	.570	.525	1.000		
vADHERE9	.487	.469	.629	1.000	
vADHERE10	.490	.410	.634	.520	1.000

α = .901

Table 23: Item-Total Statistics for *Adherence* – 10 Items (*n* = 51)

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
vAdhere1	42.3529	127.113	0.491	0.568	0.900
vAdhere2	42.3137	127.060	0.430	0.456	0.905
vADHERE3	43.3725	114.998	0.704	0.582	0.888
vADHERE4	42.4902	114.735	0.747	0.718	0.885
vADHERE5	42.6078	118.203	0.715	0.623	0.887
vADHERE6	44.0980	118.650	0.646	0.570	0.892
vAdhere7	42.7255	122.323	0.662	0.592	0.891
vADHERE8	43.2353	111.984	0.762	0.729	0.883
vADHERE9	42.6863	116.020	0.714	0.549	0.887
vADHERE10	42.4118	118.687	0.649	0.550	0.891

Resources

The six (6) questions which were which were considered in creation of the summated rating scale for *Resources*, to test H5, are shown in Table 24 below. Correlation and reliability testing showed that four items on the scale had very weak to weak correlations with the other items, and that only two of the items were reliably correlated. Using all 6 items resulted in an alpha of .685, which was unacceptably low. Removal of Question 5 from the scale, increased the alpha to .767, but item-total statistics on 5 items showed that removal of Question 2 would improve the alpha further, to .784. Analysis on 4 items showed improvement to an alpha of .812 on removal of Question 3, and on 3 items showed improvement to an alpha of .867 on removal of Question 6. However, since an alpha above 8 is considered very reliable, and given the small difference between the alpha for 2 items and the alpha for 3, Question 6 was retained for the scale. Results are in Tables 25 and 26.

Table 24: Questions & Variable Names for Resources.

Variable Name	Question Wording	Recode Name
vRes1	My LGBTQ+ group works hard to address the needs of all their members.	
vRes2R	My LGBTQ+ group feels that the best use of our resources is to address the needs of the majority of the members rather than smaller identity groups.	*vRES2*
vRes3R	I feel that we do not focus enough on the concerns of all of our members, regardless of identity.	*vRES3*
vRes4	My LGBTQ+ group works hard to ensure the safety of transgender people.	
vRes5R	I feel that the subgroup(s) that I belong to has (have) special concerns and needs which are often overlooked.	*vRES5*
vRes6	The needs of all members of our group, regardless of identity, are treated equally.	
vResCOMP		

Table 25: Inter-Item Correlation Matrix of *Resources* – 3 Items (n = 55)

	vRes1	*vRes4*	*vRes6*
vRes1	1.000		
vRes4	.765	1.000	
vRes6	.514	.573	1.000

α = .812

Table 26: Item-Total Statistics – 3 Items (n = 55)

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
vRes1	10.127	6.335	.702	.594	.715
vRes4	10.164	5.917	.752	.630	.661
vRes6	10.946	5.275	.579	.342	.867

APPENDIX D: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

IRB
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
Office of Research Compliance,
010A Sam Ingram Building,
2269 Middle Tennessee Blvd
Murfreesboro, TN 37129

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

IRBN001 - EXPEDITED PROTOCOL APPROVAL NOTICE

Thursday, March 08, 2018

Principal Investigator	**Charlotte Archer** (Student)
Faculty Advisor	Angela Mertig
Co-Investigators	NONE
Investigator Email(s)	*caa4e@mtmail.mtsu.edu*
Department	Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Protocol Title	***The hierarchy of rights and the expression of values in the LGBTQ+ rights movement***
Protocol ID	**18-2163**

Dear Investigator(s),

The above identified research proposal has been reviewed by the MTSU Institutional Review Board (IRB) through the **EXPEDITED** mechanism under 45 CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110 within the category *(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior* A summary of the IRB action and other particulars in regard to this protocol application is tabulated below:

IRB Action	APPROVED for one year from the date of this notification
Date of expiration	**3/31/2019**
Participant Size	1,000 (ONE THOUSAND)
Participant Pool	**Adults (18 years or older) who self-identify themselves as a member of an "LGBTQ+" support and activism community.**
Exceptions	Obtaining active consent through the internet is permitted.
Restrictions	**1. Mandatory active informed consent; The participants must be clearly notified that enrollment is voluntary with ability to withdraw at anytime without retribution and provide a copy of the informed consent to each participating subject signed by the PI and FA.** **2. Mandatory implementation of the proposed inclusion/exclusion criteria as proposed in a manner such that the participants are not harmed.** **3. No identifiable information must be collected directly or indirectly.**
Comments	NONE

This protocol can be continued for up to THREE years (**3/31/2021**) by obtaining a continuation approval prior to **3/31/2019**. Refer to the following schedule to plan your annual project reports and be aware that you may not receive a separate reminder to complete your continuing reviews. Failure in obtaining an approval for continuation will automatically result in cancellation of this

protocol. Moreover, the completion of this study MUST be notified to the Office of Compliance by filing a final report in order to close-out the protocol.

Continuing Review Schedule:

Reporting Period	Requisition Deadline	IRB Comments
First year report	2/28/2019	NOT COMPLETED
Second year report	2/28/2020	NOT COMPLETED
Final report	2/28/2021	NOT COMPLETED

Post-approval Protocol Amendments:

Date	Amendment(s)	IRB Comments
NONE	NONE.	NONE

The investigator(s) indicated in this notification should read and abide by all of the post-approval conditions imposed with this approval. Refer to the post-approval guidelines posted in the MTSU IRB's website. Any unanticipated harms to participants or adverse events must be reported to the Office of Compliance at (615) 494-8918 within 48 hours of the incident. Amendments to this protocol must be approved by the IRB. Inclusion of new researchers must also be approved by the Office of Compliance before they begin to work on the project.

All of the research-related records, which include signed consent forms, investigator information and other documents related to the study, must be retained by the PI or the faculty advisor (if the PI is a student) at the secure location mentioned in the protocol application. The data storage must be maintained for at least three (3) years after study completion. Subsequently, the researcher may destroy the data in a manner that maintains confidentiality and anonymity. IRB reserves the right to modify, change or cancel the terms of this letter without prior notice. Be advised that IRB also reserves the right to inspect or audit your records if needed.

Sincerely,

Institutional Review Board
Middle Tennessee State University

Quick Links:

Click here for a detailed list of the post-approval responsibilities.
More information on expedited procedures can be found here.