

Resource Mobilization and the Hierarchy of Rights:
Attitudes, Identities, and Outcomes Among LGBTQ+ Populations

by
Charlotte A. Archer

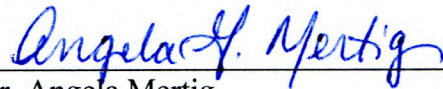
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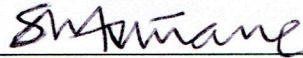
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DEDICATION

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.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the LGBTQ+ movement, including the various identity subpopulations within the community, in the context of resource mobilization theory and the expectation that a hierarchy of rights exists within social movements, and within social movement organizations (SMOs). Resource mobilization theory states that a movement, and SMOs specifically, must have a narrow and focused agenda to be successful. In conformity with this postulate, social movements often have subordinate populations whose needs, rights, and agendas are relegated to secondary status or are completely subordinated for the sake of the rights of the dominant population. Since the 1990s, two progressive social movements, the Third Wave feminist movement and the LGBTQ+ rights movement, have challenged this assumption by following and advocating policies that promote intersectionality and inclusion. This study considers whether this inclusive approach pays off by increasing resources through solidarity and movement crossover, and by so doing provides an alternative that allows broader agendas to be effective. To explore these ideas a survey of members of the LGBTQ+ community concerning their involvement, and their perception of the state of LGBTQ+ civil rights, was conducted.

Keywords: Hierarchy of rights, LGBT rights, feminist movement, resource mobilization, solidarity, intersectionality, movement crossover, identity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES ix

LIST OF FIGURES xi

ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS, AND TERMINOLOGY xii

 A Note About Gender-Neutral Language xii

INTRODUCTION 1

 Social Movements Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory 2

BACKGROUND: DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE POPULATIONS
WITHIN SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS (SMOS) 5

 NARROW AGENDAS OR INCLUSION? 7

 LGBTQ+ Identity-Based Strategies and Radical Inclusion..... 7

THESIS STATEMENT 9

 Research Questions 10

 Expectations 10

METHODOLOGY 13

 Online Survey 13

 Creation of the Survey Instrument..... 13

 Participants..... 16

 Demographics 17

RESULTS..... 24

Identities in the Current LGBTQ+ Community.....	24
BIOLOGICAL SEX SPECTRUM.....	26
GENDER IDENTITY SPECTRUM.....	26
GENDER EXPRESSION SPECTRUM.....	27
SEXUAL ORIENTATION (ATTRACTION).....	29
ROMANTIC ORIENTATION (ATTRACTION).....	30
Community Crossover	31
Activism & Movement Spillover.....	33
Agendas, Policy Issues and Priorities	34
Legal status	39
Association, marriage, and family	42
Education	45
Employment and Housing.....	47
Goods, services, and public accommodations	50
Healthcare	53
Health insurance.....	55
Immigration.....	57
Law enforcement	58
Military service	61
DISCUSSION.....	63

Was There a Broad Range of Identities in the Current LGBTQ+ Community?63

Limitations 64

 Sample Type and Size 64

 Survey Length..... 64

 Missing Categories..... 65

 Potential for Future Study..... 65

CONCLUSION..... 66

REFERENCES 67

APPENDIX I: SURVEY INSTRUMENT 74

APPENDIX II: IRB APPROVAL LETTER 128

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. EDUCATION.....	18
TABLE 2. RELIGION.....	19
TABLE 3. STATE OF RESIDENCE	21
TABLE 4. MARITAL STATUS	22
TABLE 5. NUMBER OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD.....	23
TABLE 6. HOUSEHOLD INCOME.....	23
TABLE 7. RACE/ETHNICITY	24
TABLE 8. PRIMARY GENDER IDENTITY.....	27
TABLE 9. GENDER IDENTITY / GENDER EXPRESSION	28
TABLE 10. SEXUAL ORIENTATION	30
TABLE 11. COMMUNITY CROSSOVER	32
TABLE 12. LGBTQ+ RIGHTS ACTIVISM	33
TABLE 13. INTER-MOVEMENT ACTIVISM	33
TABLE 14. ACTIVISM IN ALLIED COMMUNITIES.....	34
TABLE 15. ATTENTION: GROUP AGENDAS	37
TABLE 16. PEARSON CHI SQUARE RESULTS AT $\alpha = .05$ FOR PERCEPTION OF GROUP AGENDA ATTENTION BASED ON GENDER IDENTITY/EXPRESSION	39
TABLE 17. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING LEGAL STATUS	40
TABLE 18. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING LEGAL STATUS	42
TABLE 19. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING ASSOCIATION, MARRIAGE, AND FAMILY	43
TABLE 20. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING ASSOCIATION, MARRIAGE, AND FAMILY ...	44

TABLE 21. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING EDUCATION	46
TABLE 22. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING EDUCATION	47
TABLE 23. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING.....	48
TABLE 24. ATTENTION AND RESOURCES FOR ITEMS AFFECTING EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING.....	50
TABLE 25. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING PUBLIC GOODS AND ACCOMMODATIONS.....	51
TABLE 26. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING PUBLIC GOODS AND ACCOMMODATIONS ..	52
TABLE 27. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING HEALTHCARE	54
TABLE 28. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING HEALTHCARE	55
TABLE 29. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING HEALTH INSURANCE....	56
TABLE 30. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING HEALTH INSURANCE	57
TABLE 31. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING IMMIGRATION	58
TABLE 32. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING IMMIGRATION.....	58
TABLE 33. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT....	59
TABLE 34. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT	61
TABLE 35. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING MILITARY SERVICE.....	62
TABLE 36. ATTENTION FOR ITEMS AFFECTING MILITARY SERVICE.....	62

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. RELIGIOSITY.....	20
FIGURE 2. PERCEIVED ATTENTION GIVEN TO THE AGENDAS OF SPECIFIC IDENTITY POPULATIONS.	38
FIGURE 3. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING LEGAL STATUS	41
FIGURE 4. SUPPORT / OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING ASSOCIATION, MARRIAGE, AND FAMILY.	44
FIGURE 5. COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR SUPPORT/OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING EDUCATION.	46
FIGURE 6. COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR SUPPORT/OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING.	49
FIGURE 7. COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR SUPPORT/OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING PUBLIC GOODS AND ACCOMMODATIONS.	52
FIGURE 8. COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR SUPPORT/OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING HEALTHCARE.....	54
FIGURE 9. COMPARISON OF MEANS FOR SUPPORT/OPPOSITION OF AGENDA ITEMS AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT.	60

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; Warena 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.
AFAB / FAAB	Assigned female at birth (see AAB above).
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.
AMAB / MAAB	Assigned male at birth (see AAB above).

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.
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.
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 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; Warena 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.
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 (Jeffreys 2003, Faderman 1981).
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 1997:26).
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	<p>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).</p>
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Resource Mobilization and the Hierarchy of Rights: Attitudes, Identities, and Outcomes Among LGBTQ+ Populations

INTRODUCTION

The 1960s saw the rise of a large number of civil rights 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. The women's 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 (Taylor 1989:761) as "Women 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 Rights and African American 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). Then, 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. In reviewing the history of these movements this pattern recurs again and again.

Social Movements Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory

It may seem obvious to state that the purpose of a social movement is to create change, but how a movement goes about creating 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), as the 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. One of the key assumptions in resource mobilization theory is 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” (Jenkins 1983: 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. McCright and Dunlap (2008), on the other hand, in their study of the “family of progressive movements that emerged since 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 is it possible that it is not simply a matter of resource management that leads to the subordination of subgroups and agendas, but rather a misunderstanding of social movement dynamics, and the importance of shared ideology and culture? Is it simply that civil rights movements of the latter twentieth century were young, and had not yet learned the value of “intersectionality” and “inclusion”?

This study seeks to answer some of these questions by examining the current state of the LGBTQ+ rights social movement, which has recently been very successful in achieving some of the strategic goals for which they have worked over the last few decades. By examining the attitudes and perceptions of the agendas of this movement, and especially by surveying not only the dominant population but also the many ‘subordinate’ populations, or subgroups, within the LGBTQ+ movement, the study considers whether the “Hierarchy of Rights” is a consistent theme within civil rights movements and the degree to which it aligns with expectations of movement behavior derived from resource mobilization theory, or whether inclusion may provide another option for success.

This study first examines the background phenomenon underlying this research, which we have titled the “Hierarchy of Rights,” by examining the majority and subordinate groups within five U.S. civil rights movements, beginning with the Berkeley free speech movement, and ending with the gay liberation movement of the 70s. It then proceeds to examine the identity-based strategies and inclusive nature of the current LGBTQ+ movement as an example case of a movement that defies the “narrow agenda” dictate of resource mobilization theory, to test whether or not this strategy of broader agendas may be an effective strategy. The protocols for the study, along with all study instruments, were approved by the Middle Tennessee State University Institutional Review Board.

BACKGROUND: DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE POPULATIONS WITHIN
SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS (SMOS)

*Berkeley Free Speech Movement/The New Left/Students for a Democratic Society
(Subordinate Group: Women)*

A prime example of the development of a hierarchy of rights within social movement organizations is the treatment of women within the Berkeley free speech movement, the New Left, and the Students for a Democratic Society. In the film, *Berkeley in the Sixties*, Ruth Rosen, Susan Griffin, and Suzy Nelson, participants in the SDS Steering Committee, talk about the realization that their male counterparts were unwilling to treat them equally. Nelson notes that when they tried to take a more active, decision making role, their “comrades” / “brothers” resisted, and it became apparent that their only value was to “make the coffee,” “run off leaflets,” and “make all the telephone calls late into the night.” Meyer and Whittier (1994) also substantiate this exclusion of women in the New Left in their article on “Social Movement Spillover.”

The African American Civil Rights Movement (Subordinate Groups: Women, Gay Men)

Blumberg (1990) notes how women, both black and white, were key players in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, but that they nevertheless rarely gained national recognition, and were not given “top formal offices in the major civil rights organization, nor did they necessarily seek them” (133). She goes on to state that “women’s rights rarely gain ascendancy amid what are considered more pressing objectives of the revolution” (133). Blumberg goes on to place the responsibility for this on “manhood,” which “nipped insurgent feminism in the bud,” but given the resurgent theme across movements, is it possible that something else is going on?

Also made invisible during the movement were gay men, such as Bayard Rustin, the subject of the PBS special *Brother Outsider*, who organized the historic march on Washington, but who was kept in the shadows because of his sexuality.

The Women's Rights Movement (Subordinate Groups: Lesbians, Women of Color, Working Women)

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.

The Gay Rights Movement (Subordinate Groups: Lesbians, Bisexuals, Transgender People, Intersex People, Asexual/Aromantic people, "Kinksters," "polyfolk")

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 to attain full inclusion, and to have their individual agendas addressed.

NARROW AGENDAS OR INCLUSION?

As the background review exposed, we can see that the five 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 the question is, 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. And if this is true, then a broader agenda, which supports this ideology of solidarity, seems more reasonable. An examination of the gay rights movement, which is now the LGBTQ+ rights movement, provides an opportunity to analyze the tension between these two approaches, since it began with a narrow agenda approach, but continuously expands its agenda as more populations are folded into its membership.

LGBTQ+ Identity-Based Strategies and Radical Inclusion

While the LGBTQ+ movement began, similarly to the other civil rights movements discussed, with a narrow agenda focused on one population — gay men — Bernstein (1997) notes that complex identity-based strategies that exploited diversity have been employed in the LGBTQ+ as far back as Stonewall. In the author's earlier work, Bernstein (1991) explains the difference between “strategy-oriented” and “identity-oriented” movements, a concept that is borrowed from Touraine (1981), pointing out that

identity-oriented movements recognize that their goals are often internally oriented.

Bernstein (1991) goes on to discuss the Lesbian and Gay movement, and how they have utilized such strategies both by emphasizing their difference from hegemonic heteronormative society, and at other times by highlighting their similarities to heterosexual society.

These identity-based strategies were also employed with some success by the African-American civil rights (“Black Pride”) and feminist movements. While the dynamics of identity-based strategies throughout the history of the LGBT rights movement have been complex, and the strategies have sometimes been used against them, this focus on internal activities and on the processes of forming and building coalitions around identities strengthens movement solidarity.

Through a study of archival data of college LGBT student organizations, including the debates surrounding the expansion of the LGBT acronym, Ghaziani (2011) explains that inclusion and exclusion of different identities is necessary to establish the ‘us vs. them’ separation of identity-based strategies. There is a tension between pursuing an identity-based strategy, which separates members of the movement from the hegemonic society, and one that uses assimilation strategies instead. LGBT activists gained great strides up until the late 1990s by becoming increasingly diverse internally, and by building a strong group identity. Conversely, the movement has made advances by stressing that gay people are just other folk, normal citizens who work and pay their taxes (Bernstein, 1997). The movement today is constantly working to maintain the proper tension and balance between inclusion and respect for diversity, vs. assimilation and blending into the hegemonic culture.

Likewise, Ghaziani (2011) also discusses the LGBTQ+ community's search for non-specific (non-identity based) labels that are all inclusive, and that welcome all people working for LGBTQ+ rights, including straight allies. As the movement expands, groups seek more inclusive names and labels to ensure that their ever more diverse and expanding membership feels included.

This research on identity-based strategies provides a foundation on which to examine perceptions of identity and perceptions based on identity, which are key concepts in this study. How do the ways that people identify themselves affect their perceptions of what agendas the movement pursues? How do their identities, which are now recognized as being complex and intersectional, affect the way that they prioritize agenda items? How do those identities affect their perception of whether the movement has been, and is being, effective in achieving those goals?

THESIS STATEMENT

The proposition that social movements must keep their agendas narrow and focused is based on the idea that resources are limited and must be conserved; however, the LGBTQ+ movement has demonstrated that working to include individuals with similar concerns and political/philosophical goals can be more effective than serving the "Hierarchy of Rights" because such an approach brings increased membership and support for their movement. Broader agendas may require more resources; however, inclusion and solidarity create more resources by increasing membership, involvement, and support for the movement. The purpose of this study is to gain a deeper

understanding of how those broader agendas may strengthen movement solidarity. To that end, the study considers the following research questions and expectations.

Research Questions

R1: What identities are now represented within the LGBTQ+ community?

R2: How do members of the community prioritize agenda items/issues/policy concerns of people within the LGBTQ+ movement?

R3: Do members perceive that the attention and resources of the movement are directed appropriately? Do they believe that too little or too much attention is spent on specific agenda items?

R4: Is there an association between LGBTQ+ identity and perceived attention given to the agendas related to dominant and subordinate populations in the movement?

Expectations

E1: It was expected that we would find a broad range of identities within the current population of LGBTQ+ organizations we survey.

E2: It was expected that we would find that the agenda items, issues, and policy concerns of people within the LGBTQ+ movement are now broadly defined and that we would find that members of the community would prioritize these general and specific agenda items in similar ways, without regard for identities, and that priorities would be more similar than divergent.

E3: It was expected that we would find that most members are in agreement as to allocation of time and resources. I.e., most will be in agreement as to which agenda items receive too little, too much, or just enough attention and resources.

E4: It was expected that we would find that there would be no association between LGBTQ+ identity and perceived attention given to movement issues. However, it was anticipated that we might see some association between LGBTQ+ identity and perceptions that too little attention had been given to some group agendas and specific identity-based items on the agenda (e.g., that members of the transgender community might perceive that too little attention has been given to items specific to transgender rights, since they directly experience the oppression which motivates the inclusion of these items).

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 face open discrimination and violence even when compared to the other subpopulations within the LGBTQ+ community (Grant 2011). In addition, while members of the transgender and gender non-conforming communities are “far too often dismissed from the human rights agenda. . .” (Grant 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; Jones 2012; Newport 2015; Pew Research Center 2015; National Data Program for the Social Sciences 2015), transgender individuals continue to experience discrimination up to and 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.

In order to perform bivariate analysis, it was necessary to identify a subpopulation to test against the dominant population of the movement. Since the measures of gender identity and gender expression were set up to include multiple expressions of non-binary identities, this required us to recode the variable that represented the dominant population, the cisgender identity, to ensure that anyone who chose both cisgender and a non-binary gender identity or transgender identity would be coded as transgender/non-binary, rather than cisgender. For this we took a lesson 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, crossdressing, or drag, as well as any individual who gave an identity considered within the community to be "off the gender binary" (such as bigender or genderflexible) as being transgender/gender non-conforming. Since any of these individuals can experience similar types of discrimination, it was expected that their policy / issues priorities would be similar.

METHODOLOGY

Online Survey

A survey instrument (see Appendix I) was created and administered using Survey Monkey, an online survey service. A list of LGBTQ+ student organizations at colleges which had been ranked as friendly to LGBTQ+ students was contacted to request that they provide the survey URL to their membership. Colleges were chosen using the Campus Pride © 2015 Top 25 List of LGBTQ-Friendly Colleges and Universities listing. Campus Pride is a national 501(c)3 organization that promotes safer college environments for LGBTQ+ students. In addition, 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. Data from those individuals who responded were processed and analyzed through SPSS.

Creation of the Survey Instrument. In composing the survey, the researcher reviewed similar surveys for inspiration. 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. The researcher also consulted with experts among the faculty who had constructed, administered, or assisted with survey construction and/or administration in the past, including the NTDS. Finally, the researcher gained inspiration regarding which issues to include on the survey from internet searches for “gay rights issues” and similar phrases, and then applied their own experience in the movement to determine which issues to include, and how to organize the issues.

The survey instrument was composed of three primary sections: Identity, Issues, and Demographics. The Identity section was designed to locate respondents in terms of their key identities within the LGBTQ+ movement. Questions in this section included several multiple choice questions, usually with an open-ended “Other” option, and an allowance for individuals to select more than one identity within a particular grouping. Since how individuals choose to self-identify was deemed more important than precise definitions of the labels chosen, participants were not given definitions of the identity labels, but were allowed to choose identity labels in alignment with their own understanding of those labels. Since identity associations within the LGBTQ+ community are often intersectional and overlapping, participants were not limited to a single choice on most identity questions.

The Issues section began with a question on “Group Agendas,” which addressed whether participants perceived too little attention, just enough attention or too much attention having been given to issues of specific subpopulations within the movement directly. The section was then divided into subsections with questions on issues concerning specific areas of life: legal status; association, marriage, and family; education; employment and housing (which included housing in public institutions such as detention facilities); goods, services, and public accommodations; healthcare; health insurance; immigration; law enforcement; and military service. Each of these subsections, was formatted consistently using a Likert format and comprised three parts for each issue. For each issue, respondents were asked about their “support or opposition” of the issue, their perception of how much “movement attention” has been paid to the issue, and their perception of movement “effectiveness” on the issue. The “support or opposition”

questions were preceded by the instruction: “The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7-point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue. 1) Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved. 2) I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way. 3) I oppose inclusion of this issue. 4) I am neutral on inclusion of this issue. 5) I support inclusion of this issue. 6) I strongly support inclusion of this issue. 7) This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.”

The “movement attention” questions gave the following instruction: “Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3-point scale. 1) Too little attention / too few resources. 2) Enough attention and resources. 3) Too much attention / too many resources.”

The “effectiveness” questions gave the following instruction: “Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7-point scale. 1) Entirely Ineffective. 2) Very Ineffective. 3) Somewhat Ineffective. 4) Neutral 5) Somewhat Effective. 6) Very Effective. 7) Entirely Effective.” The questions on “support or opposition,” “movement attention,” and “effectiveness” for each set of issues were asked before presenting respondents with the next set of issues. As data analysis progressed, it became apparent that asking participants for their perception of movement effectiveness was an insufficient measure of actual movement effectiveness, so given the time constraints of

the project, this section was treated as a pilot test for future, more in depth research and was not analyzed.

The Demographics section included questions on college attendance/enrollment, highest level of education achieved, LGBTQ+/GLA student organization participation, religion, religiosity, state of residence, political views, race, number of adults in the household, and household income. Sex, while generally a demographic question, was included in the identity section, and was differentiated from gender. Following the demographics section, a single open ended question solicited comments concerning the participant's identity, expectations, and attitudes concerning the LGBTQ+ movement.

Participants. The sampling technique used in this study was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sample where the researcher limits the study population to specific people whose participation is most relevant to the study. Since this study was focused on identities and issues within the LGBTQ+ community and attitudes concerning the LGBTQ+ rights movement, individuals with the specific trait of being involved in the LGBTQ+ movement were most relevant to the study. Therefore, recruiting was limited to LGBTQ+ organizations, whose members are often involved in the LGBTQ+ rights movement. To get the word out about the survey, a process called “snowball sampling,” where study participants recruit other participants, was also used by utilizing social media and asking potential participants to pass along the survey to others in their network.

Since a list of LGBTQ+ college student organizations was the closest the researcher had to a ‘sample frame,’ it was expected that the majority of respondents would be college students or members of the academic community. It is unclear if that

was the case or not, as fewer than half the participants involved in the study ($n=85$) answered the demographic question, “Are you now attending or enrolled in university or college?” Ninety (90) participants skipped this question. Of those responding, thirty-nine (45.9%) were currently enrolled college students, while forty-six (54.0%) were not. Of those enrolled, thirty (78.9%) were full-time students and eight (21.1%) were part-time students ($n=38$). Of those thirty-eight, twenty-two (57.9%) participated in their school’s LGBTQ+ /GSA (gay/straight alliance) student organization, while sixteen (42.1%) did not.

One hundred and sixty-six (97.6%) of those who responded considered themselves a member of the LGBTQ+ community and/or an ally, while only four (2.4%) did not ($n=170$). Fifty-five (32.4%) were assigned male at birth, and one hundred and fifteen (67.6%) were assigned female at birth. No participants responded that they were assigned intersex at birth, on their original birth certificate, but this option was included since a few countries have begun to include an intersex option on their birth certificates. In a later identity question two participants (1.3%) did identify as intersex.

Demographics. As might be expected from a sample obtained primarily by networking through college student organizations, most of those who responded, fifty-four or 62.8%, had at least a Bachelor’s degree.

Table 1. Education

<i>“What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Elementary and or junior high	0.0%	0
Some high school to 12th grade	0.0%	0
High school graduate or GED	2.3%	2
Some college credit, but less than 1 yr.	2.3%	2
Technical or vocational school certificate	4.7%	4
One year or more of college, no degree	19.8%	17
Associate's degree	8.1%	7
Bachelor's degree	36.0%	31
Master's Degree	16.3%	14
Professional Degree (MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD, etc.)	5.8%	5
Doctorate Degree (PhD, EdD, etc.)	4.7%	4
<i>(n)</i>		<i>(86)</i>

Age was calculated from birth year by subtracting the birth year from the year of the survey (2015). Those responding were between the ages of 18-67, with an average age of 31.5 ($n=175$). More than half (60.6%) of the participants were in the range of traditional college students inclusive of both graduate and undergraduate students (ages 18-30), while about a third (30.9%) were in the traditional age range for undergraduate students (ages 18-24).

Table 2 shows responses to the question concerning religion or spiritual orientation. Eighty-two ($n=82$) respondents provided an answer to the question, and several utilized the option to select more than one choice. The majority of those responding were Atheists or Secular Humanists (28.0%), Pagan / Heathen (23.2%) or chose “Other (please specify)” (25.6%). Of those who responded “Other,” six reported either a specific denomination of Christianity or that they were non-denominational or “non-specific” Christian, and one reported “Atheist”(sic), while three reported “no religion,” and two reported “Satanism.” Of the remainder, one each reported Animism,

Christian Scientist, Deist, “in between,” Monism, Spiritual, and Taoist. Figure 1 shows responses to the self-reported measure of religiosity, which was presented on a Likert scale.

While the majority religion in the United States is Christianity (78.4%) with Protestantism being the dominant denomination group (51.3%) according to the Pew Research Center (2015), it is unsurprising that the dominant religious identifications among respondents to our survey were Atheist, Humanist, Pagan, Heathen and “Other.” Since most Christian denominations consider homosexuality to be a sin and many outright reject individuals in the LGBTQ+ community, it is hardly unexpected that many LGBTQ+ individuals seek out a religious or spiritual path that accepts or even embraces them as Atheism, Humanism, Paganism, and Heathenism do.

Table 2. Religion

<i>“What is your religion or spiritual belief system?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Catholicism	6.1%	5
Evangelical Protestantism	0.0%	0
Liberal Protestantism	9.8%	8
Unitarian Universalism	7.3%	6
Judaism	3.7%	3
Islam	1.2%	1
Buddhism	6.1%	5
Hinduism	1.2%	1
Paganism/Heathenism	23.2%	19
Agnosticism	18.3%	15
Atheism/Secular Humanism	28.0%	23
Other (please specify)	25.6%	21
(n)		(82)

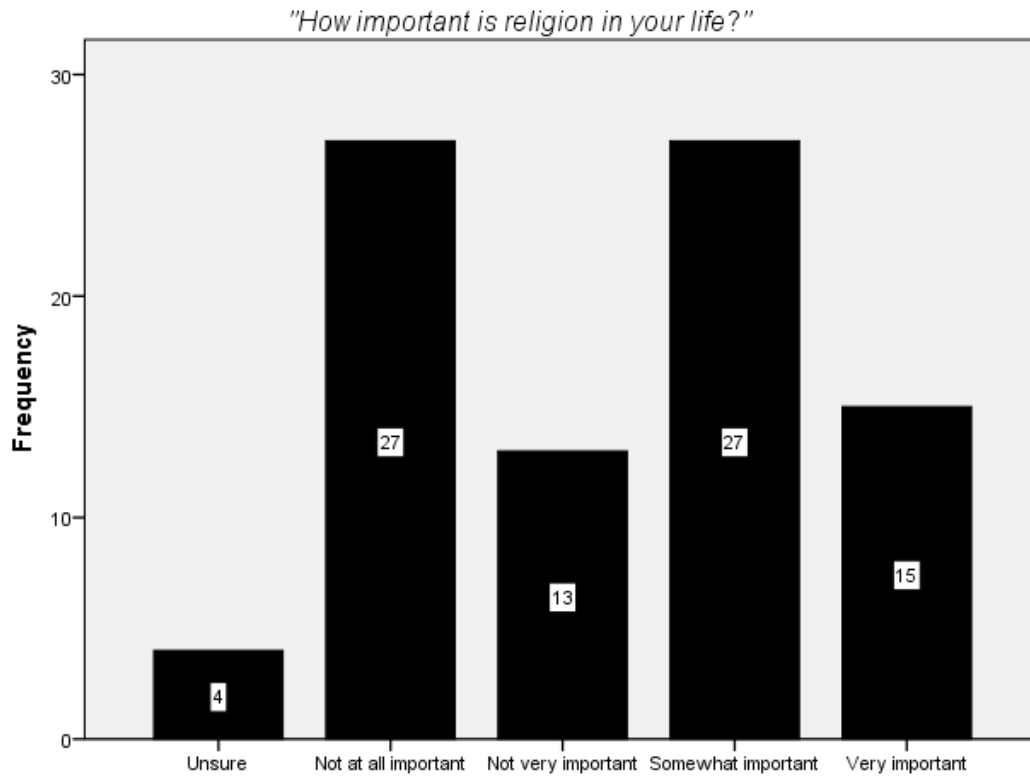


Figure 1. Religiosity.

Participants were also asked to self-report their political views with the question, “In general, how would you describe your political views?” No participants reported being conservative or very conservative. The vast majority of respondents, 50 (58.1%; $n=86$) reported being very liberal, while 30 (34.9%) considered themselves liberal, five (5.8%) reported being moderate, and one (1.2%) was unsure.

Participants were distributed geographically across twenty-four states ($n=84$). The highest proportion of those responding, eighteen or 21.4%, were in Washington state. Table 3 shows the geographic distribution of those who responded.

Table 3. State of Residence

<i>"In which U.S. state or territory do you reside?"</i>	Percent	Frequency
Arizona	2.4%	2
Arkansas	8.3%	7
California	8.3%	7
Colorado	1.2%	1
Delaware	1.2%	1
Georgia	4.8%	4
Idaho	1.2%	1
Illinois	2.4%	2
Kansas	1.2%	1
Louisiana	2.4%	2
Maryland	1.2%	1
Massachusetts	1.2%	1
New Jersey	2.4%	2
North Carolina	1.2%	1
Ohio	3.6%	3
Oregon	1.2%	1
Pennsylvania	2.4%	2
Tennessee	7.1%	6
Texas	6.0%	5
Utah	1.2%	1
Virginia	1.2%	1
Washington	21.4%	18
West Virginia	2.4%	2
(n)		(84)

Most of the participants ($n=158$) responded to the question about marital status, which used a broad range of categories in acknowledgement of the often non-traditional arrangements of LGBTQ+ families. In this one case we gave guidance on definitions, as people often confuse the terms for multiple partner relationships. The question was worded, "What is your marital status? (For the purpose of this survey, we include both legal marriage and self-defined marriage, as well as domestic partnerships in this category. Polygamous marriage is with any number of spouses of any gender. Polygynous marriage is one male and any number of females. Polyandrous marriage is one female and any number of males.)" Table 4 below shows the results of this question. A plurality

of respondents, sixty-three (39.9%) reported themselves as single, not partnered. The four participants (2.5%) who checked “Other (please specify)” listed “polyamorous, in a relationship,” “Partnered,” “Single, a committed (long distance) relationship with a one-off open relationship time,” and “Single, in committed relationships.” The researcher concludes that the last respondent most likely means to indicate that they participate in a type of “polyamory anarchy” and are in multiple committed relationships, but are not bonded to any single partner.

Table 4. Marital Status

<i>“What is your marital status?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Single, not partnered	39.9%	63
Single, in committed relationship	20.9%	33
Cohabiting	10.1%	16
Legally married	17.1%	27
Legally registered domestic partnership	0.0%	0
Self-defined monogamous marriage	0.6%	1
Polyamorous marriage	4.4%	7
Polygamous marriage	0.0%	0
Polygynous marriage	0.0%	0
Polyandrous marriage	0.0%	0
Separated	0.0%	0
Divorced	3.8%	6
Widowed	0.6%	1
Other (please specify)	2.5%	4
(n)		(158)

Rather than asking for household size, which often includes children, we asked how many adults were in the household. This was set as an open ended question since some LGBTQ+ households are non-traditional households that include roommates, or cohabiting partners, and because, as we can see above from the marital status responses, the LGBTQ+ community intersects with the polyamory community where multiple partners may share a household. Eighty-four ($n=84$) participants responded, and a

plurality, twenty-three participants (27.4%), lived in single adult households. Table 5 shows the results for “How many adults live in your household?”

Table 5. Number of Adults in Household

<i>“How many adults live in your household?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
One (1)	27.4%	23
Two (2)	41.7%	35
Three (3)	16.7%	14
Four (4)	10.7%	9
Five (5)	2.4%	2
Six (6)	1.2%	1
(n)		(84)

Of the eighty-five ($n=85$) respondents who responded to the question, gross household income for 2014 was largely consolidated below \$125,000. Table 6 shows the summary of responses to the question, “What was your gross household income (before taxes) in 2014?”

Table 6. Household Income

<i>“What was your gross household income (before taxes) in 2014?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
\$0 to \$9,999	5.9%	5
\$10,000 to \$24,999	18.8%	16
\$25,000 to \$49,999	25.9%	22
\$50,000 to \$74,999	8.2%	7
\$75,000 to \$99,999	7.1%	6
\$100,000 to \$124,999	11.8%	10
\$125,000 to \$149,999	1.2%	1
\$150,000 to \$174,999	1.2%	1
\$175,000 to \$199,999	1.2%	1
\$200,000 and up	2.4%	2
Prefer not to answer	16.5%	14
(n)		(85)

When it came to race and/or ethnic origin, the eighty-five participants who responded to the question were overwhelmingly (85.9%) White or Caucasian. There were

six (7.1%) respondents who chose African American or Black and Spanish/Hispanic/Latino/Latina Heritage each. Some participants did take advantage of the ability to choose more than one option. Table 7 shows the results for Race/Ethnicity.

“Other” responses given were: “human,” “Eastern European, 1st generation immigrant,” “Half Japanese, Half Caucasian,” “Homo sapiens sapiens,” “Egyptian and Omani,” and “Jewish.”

Table 7. Race/Ethnicity

<i>“What is your race and/or ethnic origin?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
African American or Black	7.1%	6
Alaskan Native / Aleutian Islander	0.0%	0
American Indian/Native American	2.4%	2
Arabian or Middle Eastern	1.2%	1
Asian	3.5%	3
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	2.4%	2
Spanish/Hispanic/Latino/Latina heritage	7.1%	6
White or Caucasian	85.9%	73
Some other race (please specify)	7.1%	6
(n)		(85)

RESULTS

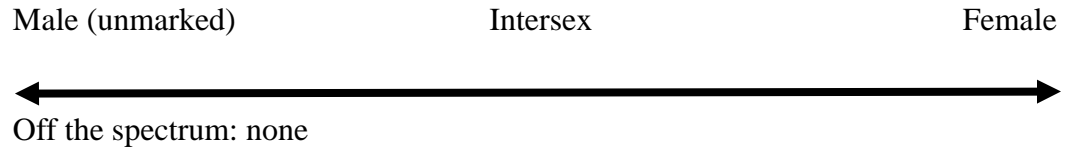
Identities in the Current LGBTQ+ Community

Building on feminist 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.” The community also generally recognizes that these spectrums, while they are based on hegemonic principles that are binary, are not binary in nature, but rather are constructed to be binary. In addition, all except one of these spectrums, “sex” (referring to biological sex), also include people who are “off the spectrum.” These continuums are: sex, which refers to biological sex; “gender identity,” which refers to a person’s innate, internal sense of “sex,” which may or may not be

consistent with their biology; “gender expression,” which refers to the way that they express or perform (Butler 1988) through their behaviors, manners, and dress; “sexual orientation,” now also sometimes known alternatively as “sexual attraction,” which describes the gender(s) to whom one is physically attracted; and “romantic orientation” or “romantic attraction,” which defines the gender(s) to whom one is emotionally attracted. 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.)

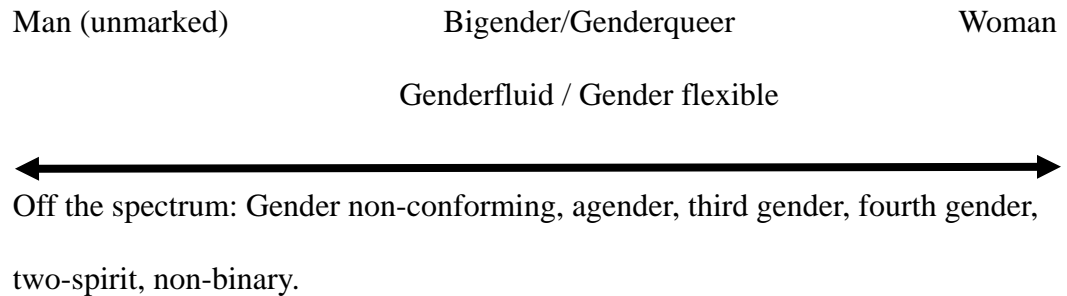
In expressing these continuums multiple models have been made. There is controversy surrounding both the visual representation of these ideas, and the authorship of these models. Rather than use controversial models, the researcher has constructed a simplified visualization of the ideas, to begin each subsection of the “Identity” section of the results, but please note: those examples which are given as being across the spectrum (listed in the middle) and “off the spectrum” are simply examples. In many cases, there are too many identities across the spectrum to list, and sometimes there are also multiple identities that are “off the spectrum.”

BIOLOGICAL SEX SPECTRUM



The majority of the participants were female (67.6%), and while not all of these identified as women, the number of respondents identifying as women was also in the majority (54.5%).

GENDER IDENTITY SPECTRUM



Special Case: A transgender individual, someone who has crossed from one side of the spectrum, which they were assigned at birth and socialized under, to the other, which conforms with their internal gender, may be considered a special case of “gender identification.” Transgender people usually identify as being on one side of the spectrum or the other, and are “off the spectrum” only in that their gender does not conform with where they started. However, many transgender individuals will modify their primary gender identity (man or woman) with the identity transgender, i.e. “transgender woman” or “transgender man.”

As mentioned in the participant demographics section, this continuum concept also required that biological sex, which was queried as “sex. . . assigned at birth. . .” had to be separate from gender identity.

Table 8 reflects the participant’s statements concerning what they considered their primary gender identity.

Table 8. Primary Gender Identity

<i>“What is your primary gender identity today?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Male / Man	34.5%	57
Female / Woman	54.5%	90
Part time as one gender, part time as another	9.1%	15
None	1.8%	3
Other (please specify)		6
<i>(n)</i>		(165)

Of those responding to the “other” option, three answered “genderqueer,” one answered “genderqueer tending towards femme most of the time,” one answered “trans,” and one answered “agender.” As with most of the questions on the survey, participants were allowed to select multiple options. Since the answered question count was 165, and those who did not answer “other” adds up to 165, we can see even at a casual glance that all of those who answered “other” also gave an answer on the specified list.

GENDER EXPRESSION SPECTRUM

Masculine (unmarked) Androgynous Feminine
 Butch/A.G./Aggressive Stemme / Genderfluid / Gender flexible Femme



Off the spectrum: Gender non-conforming, agender, gender neutral, non-binary.

The survey did not define the difference between gender identity and gender expression, but rather asked for “primary gender identity” and then under a separate question asked, “Please select which of the following gender identity/gender expression labels you identify with. You may select more than one if more than one applies:”

Table 9 displays the wide variety of responses that were received in answer to this generalized gender identity/gender expression question. The large number of “other” responses which were given, in addition to the already extensive list of options illustrates the extent of diversity in the movement.

Table 9. Gender Identity / Gender Expression

<i>“Please select which of the following gender identity/gender expression labels you identify with.”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Cisgender	60.5%	95
Transgender	11.5%	18
FTM (female-to-male)	6.4%	10
MTF (male-to-female)	1.9%	3
Intersex	1.3%	2
Gender non-conforming or gender variant	17.8%	28
Genderqueer	19.7%	31
Femme	11.5%	18
Butch	1.9%	3
Androgynous	8.9%	14
Feminine male	6.4%	10
Masculine female	7.6%	12
A.G. or Aggressive	2.5%	4
Third gender	1.3%	2
Cross dresser	1.9%	3
Drag performer (King/Queen)	3.8%	6
Two-Spirit	1.9%	3
Other (please specify)	15.3%	24
(n)		(157)

As “other” options, two gave “agender,” one said, “queer,” one responded “bigender,” two said “demigirl,” three gave “genderfluid” as their response, one gave “gender flexible man,” one said “gender questioning,” one “non-binary, genderless,” one

“masculine male,” one “mostly feminine,” one “stemme,” and one “trans woman.”

Several gave answers which are generally not considered gender identities or expressions or expressed a rejection of gender labels entirely. Of those, two said “female” (a biological sex), one said “gay,” one said “heterosexual” (both of which are sexual orientations), and one said “I prefer not to use labels.” Finally, one responded “Sister of Perpetual Indulgence,” which is not a gender identity, but an organization within the community that has a reputation for irreverence.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION (ATTRACTION)

Heterosexual (unmarked)	Bisexual “Umbrella”	Gay/Lesbian
“Opposite sex/gender”	Pansexual/Omnisexual	“Same sex/gender”



Off the spectrum: ACEs, asexuals, gray-asexuals (graces). Some pansexuals identify as being attracted to other qualities besides biological sex or gender, and sapiosexuals are attracted to people based on intelligence.

Sexual orientation, within psychology, is defined as referring to the sex to which an individual is attracted, either sexually or romantically (APA 2011). The LGBTQ+ community, however, in rejecting the idea that biological sex (i.e., genitalia) determines gender, defines sexual orientation in terms of the **gender(s)** to which the individual is attracted. Table 10 shows the results for the question of sexual orientation.

Table 10. Sexual Orientation

<i>“What is your sexual orientation?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Gay	18.9%	31
Lesbian	11.0%	18
Queer	13.4%	22
Questioning	1.8%	3
Asexual	5.5%	9
Heterosexual	9.8%	16
Heteroflexible	1.2%	2
Homoflexible	1.8%	3
Lesbiflexible	0.6%	1
Bi+ (Bisexual umbrella, i.e., bi-, pan-, omni-, polysexual)	29.3%	48
Other (please specify)	6.7%	11
<i>(n)</i>		164

As “other” options, two gave “demisexual” as their response, and one gave “demisexual panromantic.” Three indicated that they were on the ACE spectrum, one of those responding “aromantic asexual,” one responding “demi-panromantic, asexual,” and the third responding “on the asexual spectrum, grey-asexual.” Two were mostly lesbian, but wanted to qualify their statements, “primarily lesbian but prefer not to use labels,” and “mostly lesbian but also open to gender nonconforming individuals.” One gave “pansexual,” and two gave null answers (“Myself,” and “my orientation is”).

ROMANTIC ORIENTATION (ATTRACTION)

Heteromantic (unmarked)	Bioromantic	Homoromantic
“Opposite sex/gender”	Panromantic	“Same sex/gender”



Off the spectrum: Aromantic.

The survey did not include the romantic spectrum at all, which several participants called to our attention. Future surveys certainly need to do so, to more fully reflect the diversity of identities in the community. Some participants included their romantic orientation in the “Other” option of the sexual orientation question. Some participants also felt that the survey did not sufficiently include people on the ACE and aromantic spectrums and made mention of this in the final open comment question.

Individuals within the community, therefore, will sometimes present their identity as an intersection of identities across these spectrums. For example, an individual may say that she is a transgender, biromantic lesbian, and that her preferred gender pronouns (PGPs) are “she, her, and hers,” meaning that she was assigned male at birth, is now a woman, can feel emotional attraction to both men and women, but is primarily attracted to other women and prefers that you use female pronouns when referring to her. As is hopefully apparent, this leads to a very rich diversity within the community. As such, the response to the questions about identity had to be fairly extensive (although they could not be exhaustive) and intersectional (permitting multiple responses), and needed to allow for an open ended option. The results reflected that diversity.

Community Crossover. Additionally, the movement now also contains considerable crossover from other communities that does not include the areas of identity mentioned above. These communities are not considered to be part of the movement, at least not directly, but they often participate with the LGBTQ+ community in movement actions and may consider themselves part of the movement. These include communities or movements such as polyamory (a relationship orientation); BDSM, kink, leather, and swingers (sexual activities); and sex positive and sexual rights organizations (political

movements which advocate broadly for sexual rights). Of the survey participants, seventy-five (42.9%) responded to the question “The following communities have overlapping membership with the LGBTQ+ community and members often act as allies to the LGBTQ+ community, whether they are members or not. Do you identify with or participate in any of the following communities? (Choose all that apply.)”

Table 11 shows the extent of community crossover/movement spillover indicated by that question.

Table 11. Community Crossover

<i>“Do you identify with or participate in any of the following communities?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Polyamory	42.7%	32
Leather	9.3%	7
BDSM / Kink	64.0%	48
Sexual Freedom / Sexual Rights / Sex+	62.7%	47
Swingers / Social Clubs	6.7%	5
Other (please specify)	12.0%	9
(n)		(75)

Once again, many respondents participate in more than one of these other communities as well. Of those who selected “Other,” two indicated only “none of the above,” while the others named communities, some of which have a reasonably substantial presence in the community. Two respondents indicated “Pagan,” and one indicated “Radical Faerie,” both of which are religious or spiritual communities. Other responses given were “Fandom, Fanfiction, Community-Based Roleplaying,” “Drag,” “Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence,” and one participant’s response reminded us that even the communities given have a broad range of internal diversity when they replied, “I would say kink, but I mean primarily rope divorced from BDSM like leather is above.”

Activism & Movement Spillover. Finally, we asked the survey participants if they considered themselves to be a member of the LGBTQ+ rights social movement, and about their participation in other activist communities. By a clear majority (73.4%), of those who responded ($n=154$), our participants considered themselves activists in the LGBTQ+ rights movement (Table 12), and many participate in multiple movements (Table 13), and on behalf of several allied communities (Table 14).

Table 12. LGBTQ+ Rights Activism

<i>“Do you consider yourself a member of the LGBTQ+ rights social movement?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Yes	73.4%	113
No	8.4%	13
Unsure	18.2%	28
(n)		(154)

Table 13. Inter-movement Activism

<i>“The following identities also often have separate human or civil rights issues and form separate activist communities. Please check any in which you participate.”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Gay (Men’s) Rights	51.7%	61
Lesbian’s Rights	56.8%	67
Bisexual / Pansexual Rights	58.5%	69
Transgender/Transsexual Rights	70.3%	83
Queer Identity Movement	55.9%	66
Intersex Awareness & Rights	27.1%	32
Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness	11.0%	13
Asexual/Aromantic/ACE Awareness	33.9%	40
(n)		(118)

Table 14. Activism in Allied Communities

<i>“The following allied communities also have their own civil and human rights issues. Do you participate in activism or advocacy for any of the following groups?”</i>	Percent	Frequency
Polyamory	55.8%	29
Leather	13.5%	7
BDSM / Kink	53.8%	28
Sexual Freedom / Sexual Rights / Sex+ / National Coalition for Sexual Freedom	65.4%	34
Swingers / Social Clubs	5.8%	3
Other (please specify)	3.8%	2
(n)		(52)

In summary, the study found that, while the majority of those responding did indicate that they were cisgender, and predominantly female, the range of identities within the current LGBTQ+ population is indeed very broad. Seen across four different dimensions, the identities were also multi-layered, as individuals within the community quite often identify with multiple identities, although some are also prone to select “no label” as their choice of identity, rejecting the idea of identity labels entirely.

Agendas, Policy Issues and Priorities

To understand what agenda items, issues, and policy concerns existed within the LGBTQ+ rights movement, the researcher first composed a list of agenda items, phrased as changes to policy or law, to present to the survey participants. This list was inspired by informal observation of internet memes and internet searches for articles and blog posts made by activists within the community and by activist publications, as well as by published lists of issues. The researcher then used these observations and composed a list worded consistently and organized into policy areas to test participant priorities.

These agenda items were tested for three dimensions, all of which were measured on Likert scales:

1. Support or Opposition
2. Perceptions of Movement Attention
3. Perceptions of Effectiveness.

Select questions under these dimensions were then analyzed through bivariate analysis to determine if there were any significant differences between cisgender members and members who identified as transgender or gender non-conforming. In recoding our gender identity/gender expression variable for this analysis, we 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, crossdressing, or drags, as well as any individual who gave an identity considered within the community to be "off the gender binary" (such as bigender or genderflexible) as being transgender/gender non-conforming with one exception. Since cross dressing and drag performance both have a history of participation by cisgender and heterosexual individuals, participants who indicated cross dressing or drag performance, and cisgender, but gave no other indicators of having a gender non-conforming identity, were not recoded as gender non-conforming. Once recoded, the new variable divided the participant's gender identity/expression into cisgender (eight-four or 48.0%, $n = 157$) and transgender / gender non-conforming (seventy-three or 41.7%).

The first two measures, support or opposition, and perceptions of movement attention, are reported in this study. In the researcher's opinion, perceptions of effectiveness need further analysis and to be supplemented with additional data before being reported.

Before being asked about specific agenda items, participants were asked a combination question about group agendas. This question, "Within the overall LGBTQ+ movement, how much attention has been paid to the issues of the following groups?" with the Likert options, "Too Little Attention" (1), "Just Enough Attention" (2), and "Too Much Attention" (3) was included largely to measure whether or not the perception that the movement is dominated by gay men still prevails, and was subjected to bivariate analysis to determine if members of the transgender/gender non-conforming group provided different answers from the "dominant" cisgender group. Table 15 shows the results of this question and Figure 2 is a visual representation of the means of the responses.

Table 15. Attention: Group Agendas

“Within the overall LGBTQ+ movement, how much attention has been paid to the issues of the following groups?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Gay (Men’s) Rights	22 15.2%	69 47.6%	54 37.2%	2.22	145
Lesbian’s Rights	61 42.7%	72 50.3%	10 7.0%	1.64	143
Bisexual / Pansexual Rights	119 82.1%	23 15.9%	3 2.1%	1.20	145
Transgender/Transsexual Rights	118 81.9%	21 14.6%	5 3.5%	1.22	144
Queer Identity Movement	102 71.8%	35 24.6%	5 3.5%	1.32	142
Intersex Awareness & Rights	138 96.5%	4 2.8%	1 0.7%	1.04	143
Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness	136 95.1%	5 3.5%	2 1.4%	1.06	143
Asexual/Aromantic/ACE Awareness	122 85.9%	15 10.6%	5 3.5%	1.18	142

While many respondents (37.2%, $n = 145$) still perceive too much attention is given to Gay (Men’s) rights issues, more believe that just enough attention is given to the issues of the “dominant population.” Most of those responding (50.3%, $n = 143$) felt that just enough attention is given to Lesbian’s Rights, although almost as many (42.7%) felt that too little attention is still given to the issues affecting lesbians. An overwhelming majority (between 71.8% ($n = 142$) and 96.5% ($n = 143$)) believe that too little attention is given to the remainder of the subordinate populations within the community.

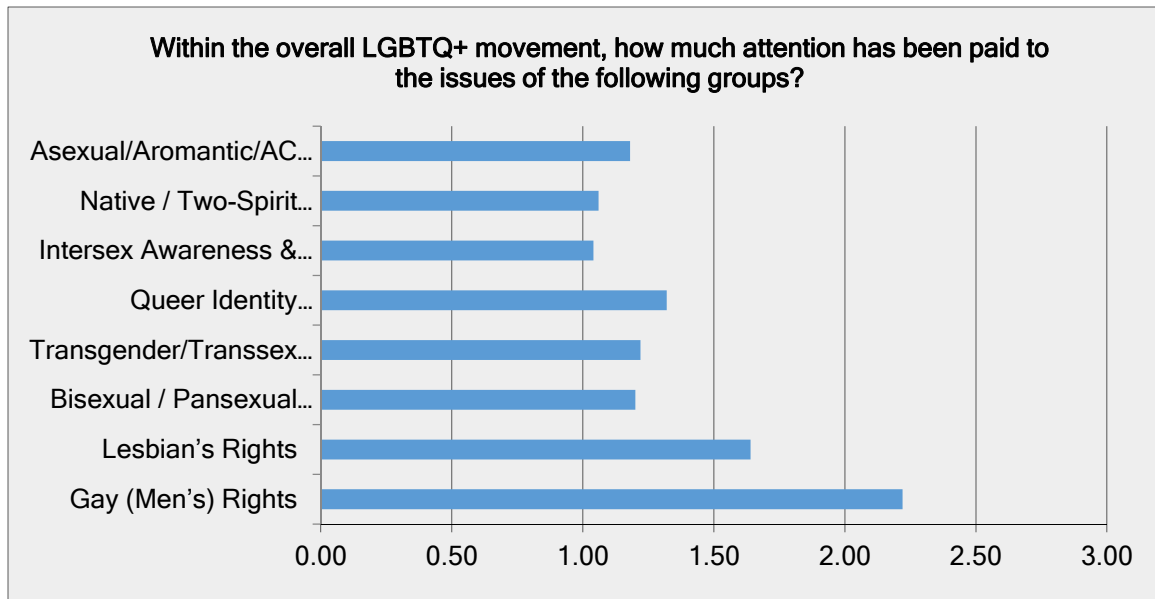


Figure 2. Comparison of means for perceived attention given to the agendas of specific identity populations.

A crosstabulation analysis was performed using Pearson chi-square on each of these issues based on whether the participant was transgender/gender non-conforming or cisgender. In most cases the sample size was too small and the opinions so heavily weighted towards one extreme (“too little attention” or “too much attention”) that one or both of the other options did not include enough cases for the test to be statistically appropriate. Even so, in all cases there was very little difference in the observed and expected counts on the crosstabs and the Pearson chi-square showed no significance between gender identity/expression groupings. Table 16 below shows the chi-square value and significance at $\alpha = .05$ for each group agenda.

Table 16. Pearson Chi Square Results at $\alpha = .05$ For Perception of Group Agenda Attention Based on Gender Identity/Expression

	<i>n</i>	Pearson Chi-Square	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Gay (Men's) Rights	137	5.408	.067
Lesbian's Rights	135	4.895 ^a	.087
Bisexual / Pansexual Rights	137	.282 ^a	.869
Transgender/Transsexual Rights	136	.945 ^a	.642
Queer Identity Movement	134	2.110 ^a	.348
Intersex Awareness & Rights	135	3.828 ^a	.148
Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness	135	4.821 ^a	.09
Asexual/Aromantic/ACE Awareness	134	.022 ^a	.989

^a Multiple cells had expected count less than 5.

Legal status. Participants were asked questions concerning the legal status of LGBTQ+ individuals as members of a protected class, voter disenfranchisement and ID documents for transgender citizens, and adding gender identity and sexuality to the United States census. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned heavily toward “Strongly Support” (6) or “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7) on the 7-point Likert scale ($n = 138$). Participants were then asked about whether or not the movement has given enough, too much, or too little attention to these agenda items. With the exception of Item#1 (I1) “Define sexual orientation as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws,” participants felt that too little attention had been given to these issues. For Item #1 participants felt that “just enough” attention had been paid to defining sexual orientation as a protected class.

Figure 3 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 17 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 18 gives the comparison of

means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I1. Define sexual orientation as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.
- I2. Define gender identity as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.
- I3. Pass a federal law supporting the right to change legal gender without the requirement of surgery, including the ability to change identity documents such as birth certificates and driver's licenses.
- I4. Repeal all state laws which disenfranchise transgender citizens from voting, such as those requiring photo IDs which may not be consistent with their current gender identity.
- I5. Add gender identity and sexuality to the United States census.

Table 17. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Legal Status

I#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	<i>Mean</i>	<i>n</i>
I1	1	0	0	4	23	45	65	6.21	138
I2	3	0	0	1	14	39	81	6.36	138
I3	2	4	4	10	20	45	53	5.82	138
I4	2	4	0	3	16	34	79	6.22	138
I5	2	1	1	12	33	46	42	5.77	137

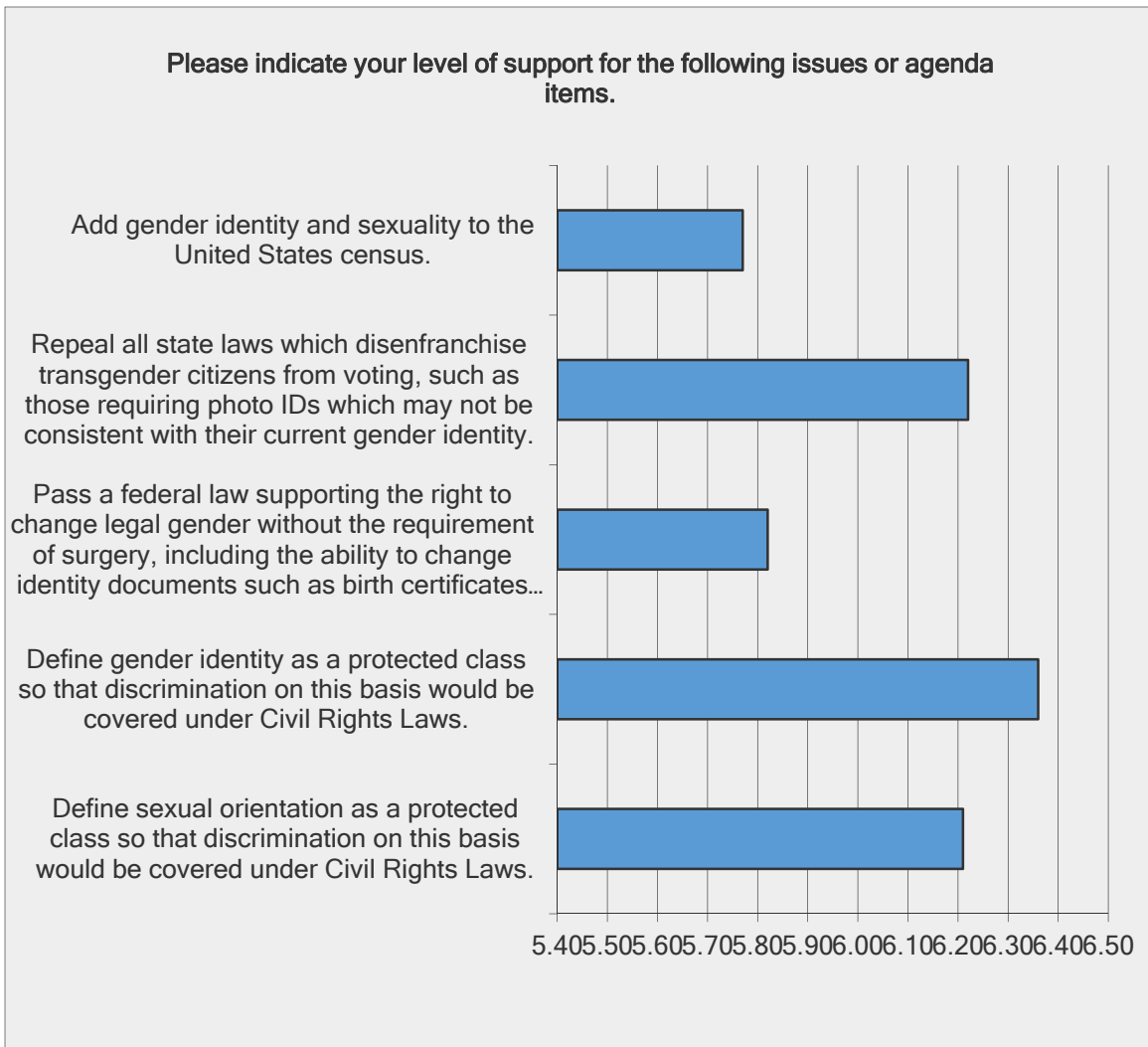


Figure 3. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting legal status.

Table 18. Attention for Items Affecting Legal Status

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Define sexual orientation as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.	49 38.6%	74 58.3%	4 3.1%	1.65 38.6%	127 58.3%
Define gender identity as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.	94 74.6%	28 22.2%	4 3.2%	1.29 74.6%	126 22.2%
Pass a federal law supporting the right to change legal gender without the requirement of surgery, including the ability to change identity documents such as birth certificates and driver’s licenses.	109 86.5%	13 10.3%	4 3.2%	1.17 86.5%	126 10.3%
Repeal all state laws which disenfranchise transgender citizens from voting, such as those requiring photo IDs which may not be consistent with their current gender identity.	108 85.7%	14 11.1%	4 3.2%	1.17 85.7%	126 11.1%
Add gender identity and sexuality to the United States census.	84 67.2%	38 30.4%	3 2.4%	1.35 67.2%	125 30.4%

Association, marriage, and family. Participants were next asked questions concerning same sex marriage, age of consent, adoption, custody, and visitation rights. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned very heavily toward “Strongly Support” (6) or “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7) (*n* = 121), with the exception of Item #6, “Establish marriage equality for same-sex couples.” Thirty-one participants (25.6%, *n* = 121) considered this agenda item “unnecessary / resolved,” almost certainly

in response to the recent Supreme Court decision in Obergefell v. Hodges. 576 U. S. 14-556 (2015). Participants were then asked about whether or not the movement has given enough, too much, or too little attention to these agenda items. With the exception of Item #6, which the majority (65.0%), felt got just enough attention participants perceived that these issues all received too little attention.

Figure 4 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 19 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 20 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I6. Establish marriage equality for same-sex couples.
- I7. Treat age of consent laws for same-sex couples the same as for heterosexual couples.
- I8. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in adoption, custody, and visitation rights.
- I9. Allow joint adoption by same-sex couples.
- I10. Allow step-child adoption by same-sex couples.

Table 19. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Association, Marriage, and Family

I#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I6	31	0	1	5	20	36	28	4.68	121
I7	0	0	0	12	33	48	27	5.75	120
I8	0	0	0	1	12	43	65	6.42	121
I9	0	0	0	0	16	46	59	6.36	121
I10	1	0	0	0	17	49	54	6.26	121

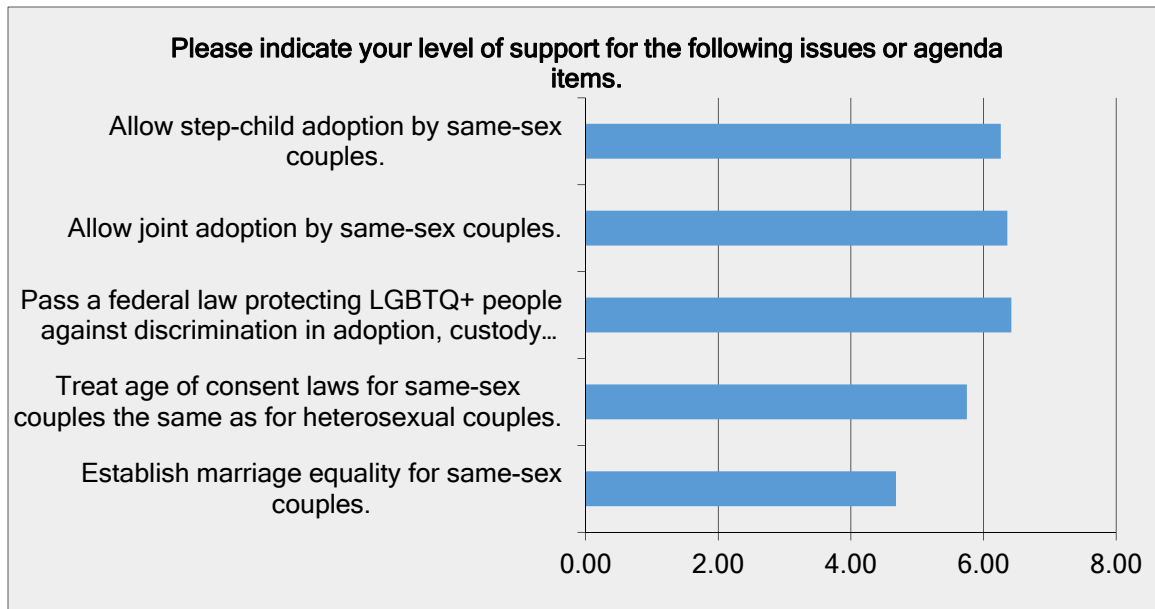


Figure 4. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting association, marriage, and family.

Table 20. Attention for Items Affecting Association, Marriage, and Family

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Establish marriage equality for same-sex couples.	4 3.4%	76 65.0%	37 31.6%	2.28	117
Treat age of consent laws for same-sex couples the same as for heterosexual couples.	83 71.6%	33 28.4%	0 0.0%	1.28 71.6%	116 28.4%
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in adoption, custody, and visitation rights.	74 63.8%	41 35.3%	1 0.9%	1.37	116
Allow joint adoption by same-sex couples.	73 62.9%	42 36.2%	1 0.9%	1.38	116
Allow step-child adoption by same-sex couples.	87 75.0%	28 24.1%	1 0.9%	1.26	116

Education. Participants were asked questions concerning discrimination and bullying in an educational setting. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned very heavily toward “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7), although fewer participants answered this question than had answered the previous two subsections ($n = 106$). Since, given our sample frame, many of our participants are students or people working in the academic environment, this seems reasonable. A clear majority, (58.0% on I11, 51.0% on I12 and 58.0% on I13) felt that these were priority issues. Participants were then asked about whether or not the movement has given enough, too much, or too little attention to these agenda items. Again, the clear majority (65.0% on I11, 87.4% on I12 and 65.0% on I13) of participants responding felt that too little attention had been given to these issues.

Figure 5 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 21 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 22 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I11. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public schools, state colleges, and state universities.
- I12. Require LGBT+ inclusive sex education in public schools.
- I13. Pass LGBT anti-bullying laws in public schools and universities, and enforce them.

Table 21. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Education

I #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I11	2	0	0	0	8	35	61	6.41	106
I12	0	0	2	0	8	42	54	6.38	106
I13	0	0	1	3	10	30	62	6.41	106

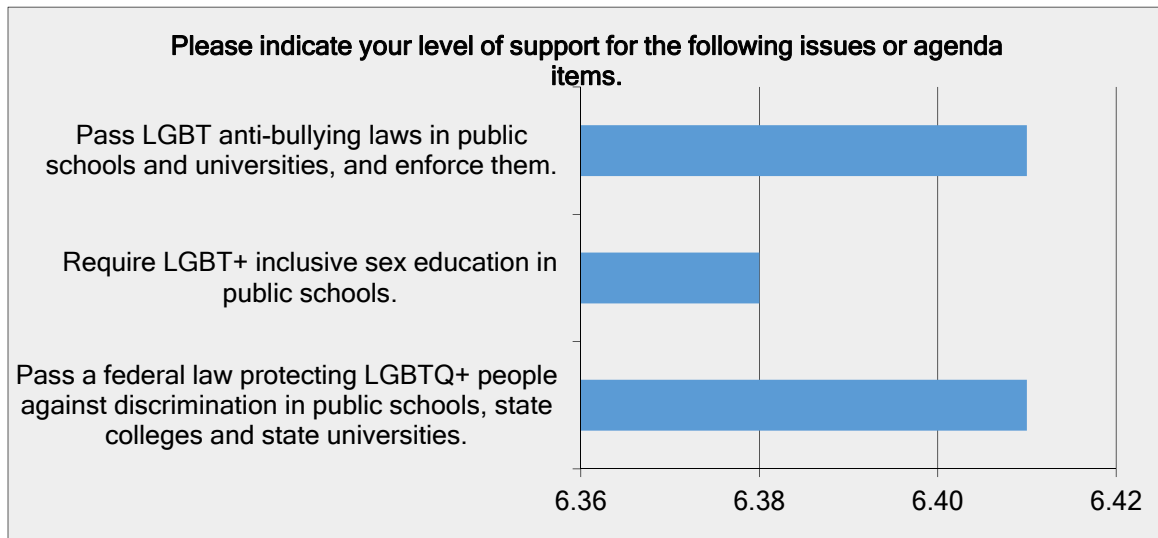


Figure 5. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting education.

Table 22. Attention for Items Affecting Education

<i>“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”</i>					
	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public schools, state colleges, and state universities.	67 65.0%	36 35.0%	0 0.0%	1.35	103
Require LGBTQ+ inclusive sex education in public schools.	90 87.4%	12 11.7%	1 1.0%	1.14	103
Pass LGBT anti-bullying laws in public schools and universities, and enforce them.	67 65.0%	32 31.1%	4 3.9%	1.39	103

Employment and Housing. Participants were then asked questions concerning discrimination in employment and housing, including detention/correctional facilities and homeless shelters. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned very heavily toward “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7), with the highest averages (6.40-6.57) of any section ($n = 101$). This is logical since discrimination in this sphere affects everyone. When asked if enough attention was given to these issues, perhaps predictably, a strong to very strong majority (73.5%-93.9%) felt that not enough had been done on all except I14, employment. A majority (53.1%) felt that “just enough” had been done to protect LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in employment. It is possible that this is because those participants were aware of the recent interpretation by the EEOC (EEOC 2015) that discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity are considered discrimination based on sex under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Figure 6 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 23 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 24 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I14. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in employment.
- I15. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in housing.
- I16. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in homeless shelters.
- I17. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in prisons, juvenile halls, and detention centers.
- I18. Pass a federal law requiring that transgender people in public institutions be housed according to their gender identity.

Table 23. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Employment and Housing

I #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I14	0	0	0	1	5	31	64	6.56	101
I15	0	0	0	1	3	36	61	6.55	101
I16	0	0	0	2	4	31	64	6.55	101
I17	0	0	0	2	3	31	65	6.57	101
I18	0	2	1	2	7	27	62	6.4	101

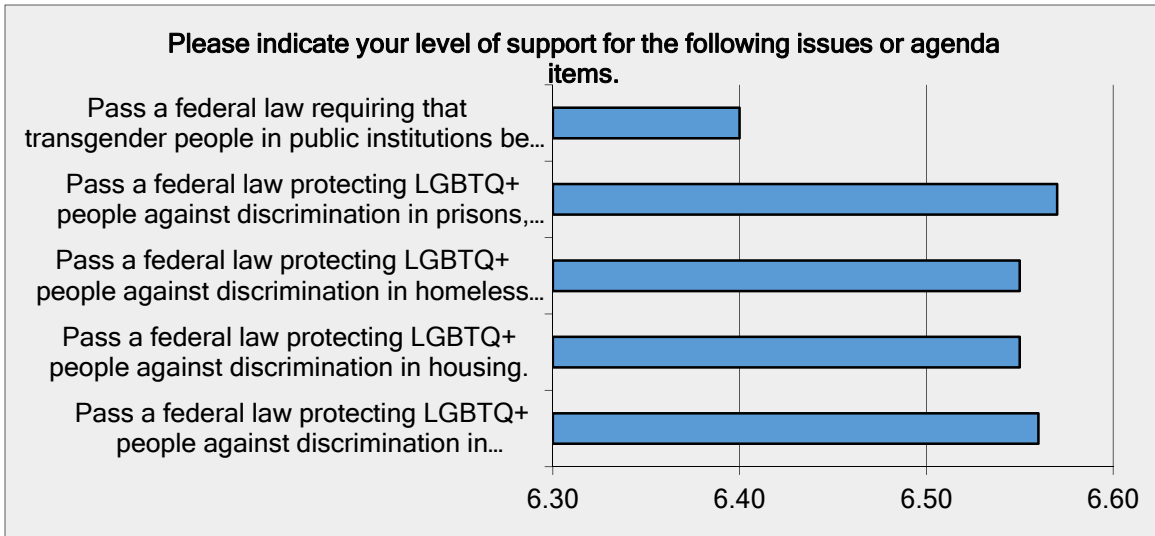


Figure 6. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting employment and housing.

Table 24. Attention and Resources for Items Affecting Employment and Housing

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in employment.	46 46.9%	52 53.1%	0 0.0%	1.53	98
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in housing.	72 73.5%	26 26.5%	0 0.0%	1.27	98
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in homeless shelters.	92 93.9%	6 6.1%	0 0.0%	1.06	98
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in prisons, juvenile halls, and detention centers.	92 93.9%	6 6.1%	0 0.0%	1.06	98
Pass a federal law requiring that transgender people in public institutions be housed according to their gender identity.	88 89.8%	8 8.2%	2 2.0%	1.12	98

Goods, services, and public accommodations. Participants were asked questions concerning public goods, public accommodations, public facilities, and public transportation use by LGBTQ+ individuals. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned heavily toward “Strongly Support” (6) or “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7) but not as heavily as those concerning employment, housing and education ($n = 93$). When asked if the movement had given sufficient attention to these issues, the vast majority (75.0%-80.7%) felt that too little had been done on all of these issues except for I19, protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public

accommodations, public facilities, and public transportation. Participants were almost evenly split between the perception that too little (49.4%) had been done and that just enough (44.9%) had been done.

Figure 7 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 25 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 26 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I19. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in the provision of goods and services.
- I20. Pass a federal law requiring that all single-person, gender segregated restrooms (equipped with a lock) be converted to single-person, all-gender restrooms.
- I21. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public accommodations, public facilities, and public transportation.
- I22. Allow transgender people to use restrooms and other gender-segregated spaces that correspond to their gender identity.

Table 25. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Public Goods and Accommodations

I#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I19	1	0	0	7	18	37	29	5.91	92
I20	2	0	2	8	25	33	23	5.63	93
I21	1	0	0	3	10	41	38	6.18	93
I22	0	0	1	4	13	27	48	6.26	93

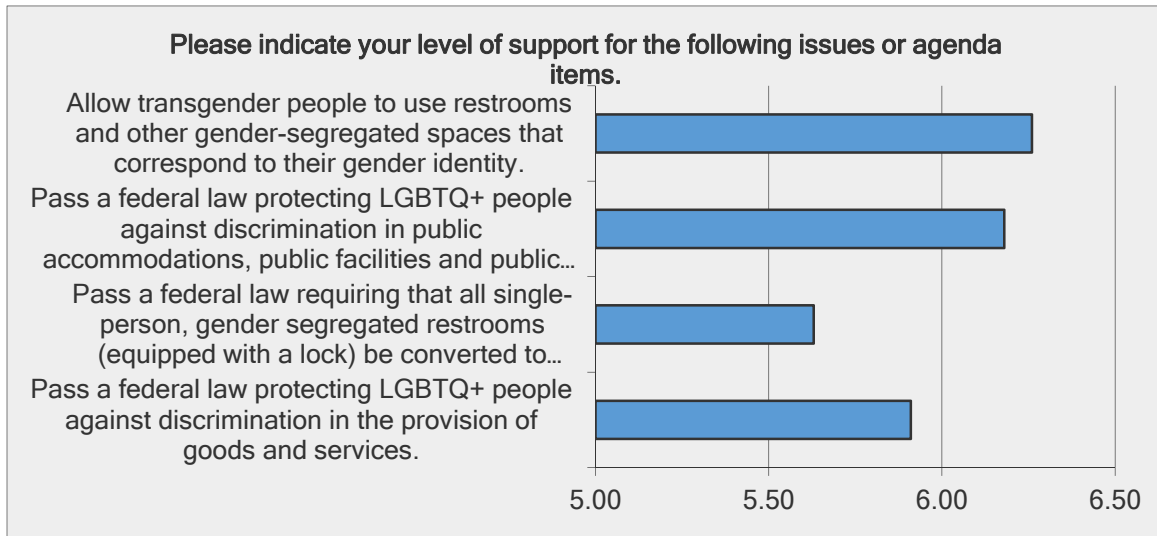


Figure 7. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting public goods and accommodations.

Table 26. Attention for Items Affecting Public Goods and Accommodations

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in the provision of goods and services.	44 49.4%	40 44.9%	5 5.6%	1.56	89
Pass a federal law requiring that all single-person, gender segregated restrooms (equipped with a lock) be converted to single-person, all-gender restrooms.	66 75.0%	18 20.5%	4 4.5%	1.30	88
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public accommodations, public facilities, and public transportation.	71 80.7%	16 18.2%	1 1.1%	1.20	88
Allow transgender people to use restrooms and other gender-segregated spaces that correspond to their gender identity.	69 78.4%	15 17.0%	4 4.5%	1.26	88

Healthcare. Participants were asked questions concerning fair treatment and discrimination in a healthcare setting, including protection for people with AIDs. Once again a comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned heavily toward “Strongly Support” (6) or “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7) ($n = 88$). The perception of the participants was largely that not enough attention had been given to these issues, and the means on these questions were some of the lowest in the study, indicating that the participants are fairly in agreement that insufficient movement attention has been given to these matters.

Figure 8 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 27 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 28 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I23. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in hospitals and from health care providers.
- I24. Pass a federal law protecting individuals with AIDS, ARC, and HIV positive status, or who are perceived to have AIDs from discrimination.
- I25. Remove “Gender Dysphoria” from the DSM and declassify transgender as an illness.
- I26. Ban conversion therapy.
- I27. Permit “MSMs” (men who have sex with men) to donate blood and tissues not considered lifesaving.

Table 27. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Healthcare

I #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I23	1	0	0	1	3	31	52	6.48	88
I24	2	1	0	0	10	36	39	6.17	88
I25	2	2	0	8	11	25	40	5.94	88
I26	1	2	1	0	2	27	55	6.42	88
I27	1	0	0	4	11	39	32	6.09	87

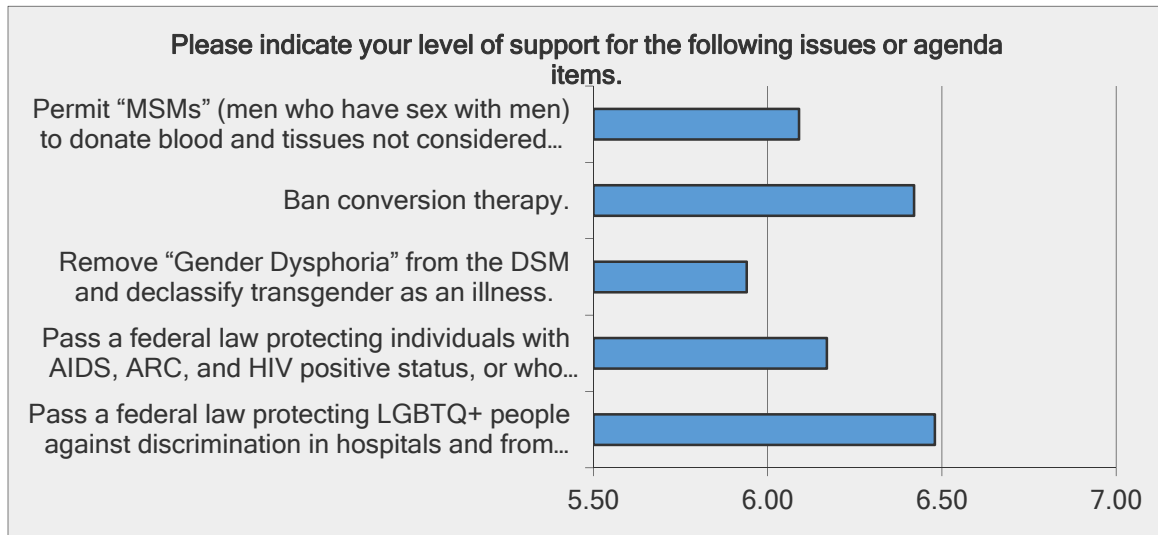


Figure 8. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting healthcare.

Table 28. Attention for Items Affecting Healthcare

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in hospitals and from health care providers.	57 65.5%	29 33.3%	1 1.1%	1.36	87
Pass a federal law protecting individuals with AIDS, ARC, and HIV positive status, or who are perceived to have AIDs from discrimination.	61 70.1%	25 28.7%	1 1.1%	1.31	87
Remove “Gender Dysphoria” from the DSM and declassify transgender as an illness.	65 75.6%	20 23.3%	1 1.2%	1.26	86
Ban conversion therapy.	57 66.3%	27 31.4%	2 2.3%	1.36	86
Permit “MSMs” (men who have sex with men) to donate blood and tissues not considered lifesaving.	63 72.4%	24 27.6%	0 0.0%	1.28	87

Health insurance. In addition to being asked about healthcare, participants were also asked questions concerning health insurance. Once again a comparison of the means shows that support for these issues leaned heavily toward “Strongly Support” (6) or “URGENT/PRIORITY” (7) on the 7-point Likert scale ($n = 86$). While not quite as high as the means for employment and housing, the average ratings were 6.30 (I28) for general protection against discrimination and 6.29 (I29) for requiring reassignment benefits coverage for transgender people. Participants were then asked about whether or not the movement has given enough, too much, or too little attention to these agenda items. Along with healthcare, the perception that too little attention had been given to this

important dimension provided very low (1.30 for I28 and 1.11 for I29) averages for these issues.

Table 29 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 30 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I28. Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in health insurance.
- I29. Require that sex reassignment surgery, puberty blockers, hormone replacement therapy, and other transition-related healthcare for transgender people be covered under health insurance, including federal health programs (Medicare/Medicaid/VA.).

Table 29. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Health Insurance

I#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I28	0	1	0	0	6	44	36	6.30	87
I29	0	1	0	5	10	21	49	6.29	86

Table 30. Attention for Items Affecting Health Insurance

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in health insurance.	60 69.8%	26 30.2%	0 0.0%	1.30	86
Require that sex reassignment surgery, puberty blockers, hormone replacement therapy, and other transition-related healthcare for transgender people be covered under health insurance, including federal health programs (Medicare/Medicaid/VA.).	77 90.6%	7 8.2%	1 1.2%	1.11	85

Immigration. Participants were asked their views about immigration, naturalization, and asylum. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues ranged primarily between “Support” (5) and “Strongly Support” (6) on the 7-point scale ($n = 84$), indicating that they were more lukewarm about these issues than broader issues which likely affected them more directly. Still, in responding to the question about movement attention, between 79.8% (I30) and 86.7% (I32) thought that too little attention was spent on immigration issues.

Table 31 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 32 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I30. Eliminate bars to the entry, immigration, and naturalization status of LGBTQ+ people.

I31. Amend immigration statutes to allow sexual orientation as grounds for asylum.

I32. Amend immigration statutes to allow gender identification, gender non-conformity, and transgender/transsexual status as grounds for asylum.

Table 31. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Immigration

I#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I30	0	2	0	4	16	39	24	5.91	85
I31	0	1	1	5	13	32	33	6.04	85
I32	0	1	0	5	11	33	35	6.12	85

Table 32. Attention for Items Affecting Immigration

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	n
Eliminate bars to the entry, immigration, and naturalization status of LGBTQ+ people.	67 79.8%	17 20.2%	0 0.0%	1.20	84
Amend immigration statutes to allow sexual orientation as grounds for asylum.	69 82.1%	15 17.9%	0 0.0%	1.18	84
Amend immigration statutes to allow gender identification, gender non-conformity, and transgender/transsexual status as grounds for asylum.	72 86.7%	11 13.3%	0 0.0%	1.13	83

Law enforcement. Participants were asked questions concerning law enforcement treatment of LGBTQ+ individuals, police profiling, laws criminalizing LGBTQ+ relationships, and related activities, and anti-LGBTQ+ legal defenses. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues ranged around the 6.0 mark at “Strongly

Support” ($n = 85$). Most participants (ranging from 51.2%-88.1%) felt that too little movement attention was devoted to these topics.

Figure 9 is a visual comparison of the means of the responses for support/opposition. Table 33 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 34 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I33. Repeal all state laws (“sodomy laws” or “morality laws”) prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting adults.
- I34. Repeal all state laws prohibiting transvestism and “cross-dressing.”
- I35. Enforce equal treatment under the law for LGBTQ+ persons, and prosecute civil rights infractions of police and court personnel.
- I36. Ban police profiling on the basis of both perceived and actual gender expression, gender identity, and sexual orientation.
- I37. Ban “gay panic” and “trans panic” legal defenses.
- I38. Allow conjugal visits for same-sex couples.

Table 33. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Law Enforcement

I#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I33	4	0	0	1	8	42	30	6	85
I34	4	0	0	0	9	41	30	6.01	84
I35	0	0	0	0	10	38	37	6.32	85
I36	0	0	0	2	9	32	42	6.34	85
I37	0	0	1	0	6	27	51	6.49	85
I38	0	0	0	3	16	38	28	6.07	85

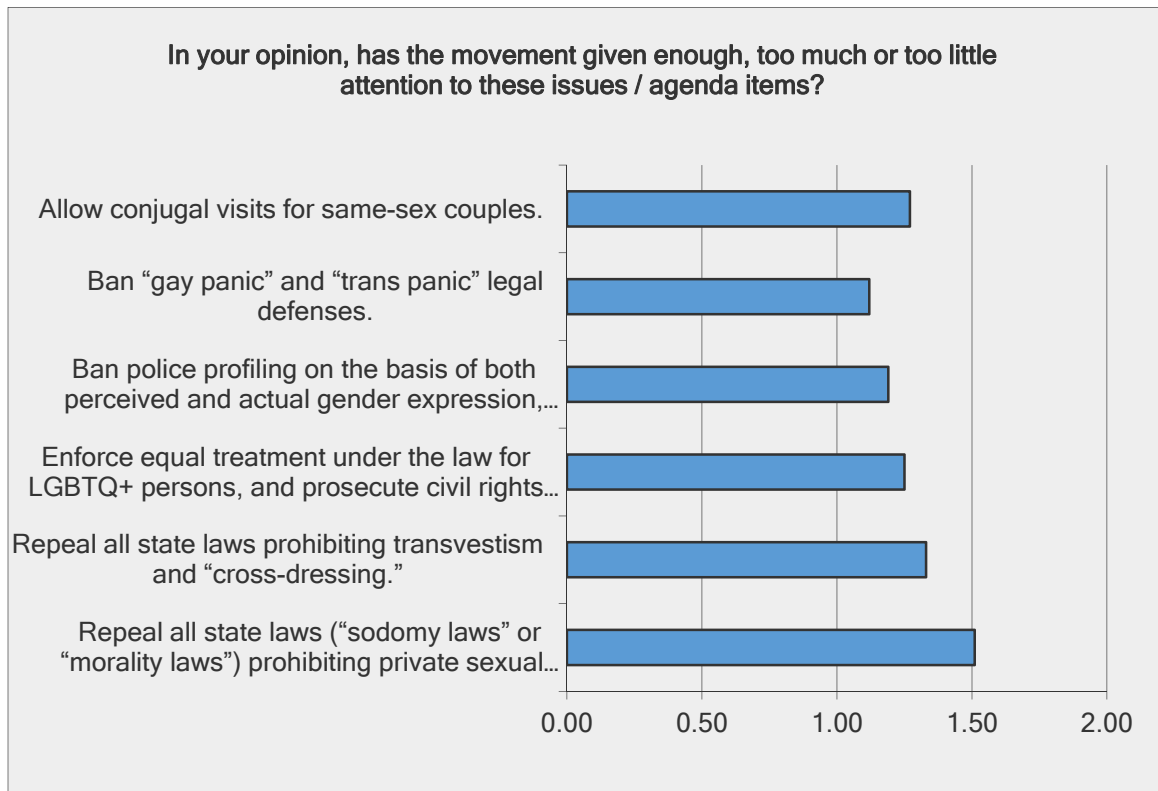


Figure 9. Comparison of means for support/opposition of agenda items affecting law enforcement.

Table 34. Attention for Items Affecting Law Enforcement

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	<i>n</i>
Repeal all state laws (“sodomy laws” or “morality laws”) prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting adults.	43 51.2%	39 46.4%	2 2.4%	1.51	84
Repeal all state laws prohibiting transvestism and “cross-dressing.”	59 70.2%	22 26.2%	3 3.6%	1.33	84
Enforce equal treatment under the law for LGBTQ+ persons, and prosecute civil rights infractions of police and court personnel.	63 75.0%	21 25.0%	0 0.0%	1.25 75.0%	84 25.0%
Ban police profiling on the basis of both perceived and actual gender expression, gender identity, and sexual orientation.	68 81.0%	16 19.0%	0 0.0%	1.19 81.0%	84 19.0%
Ban “gay panic” and “trans panic” legal defenses.	74 88.1%	10 11.9%	0 0.0%	1.12	84
Allow conjugal visits for same-sex couples.	61 72.6%	23 27.4%	0 0.0%	1.27	84

Military service. Finally, participants were asked two questions concerning allowing LGBTQ+ individuals to serve openly in the military. A comparison of the means shows that support for these issues was slightly less balanced than with most other questions. Since President Obama repealed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” LGB members have been able to serve openly in the military; however transgender members still are not allowed to do so. It appears that at least some of the respondents were aware of this, as there was less support for I39 than for many other issues with some folks choosing (1)

“Unnecessary/Resolved.” Support for transgender individuals to be able to serve (I40) was much higher, sitting solidly at “Strongly Support” (*mean* = 6.05, *n* = 85). Consistent with this, participants felt that “just enough” (73.8%) attention had been given to I39, while too little (67.9%) had been given to I40.

Table 35 reports the frequency of the responses for support/opposition of the given agenda items, and Table 36 gives the comparison of means for the perceptions of movement attention for the items. The agenda items for this section were:

- I39. Allow gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals to serve openly in the military.
- I40. Allow transgender individuals to serve openly in the military.

Table 35. Support / Opposition of Agenda Items Affecting Military Service

I #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	n
I39	16	0	1	4	6	35	23	5.13	85
I40	0	0	1	5	10	42	27	6.05	85

Table 36. Attention for Items Affecting Military Service

“In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much, or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?”

	Too Little	Just Enough	Too Much	Mean	n
Allow gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals to serve openly in the military.	13 15.5%	62 73.8%	9 10.7%	1.95	84
Allow transgender individuals to serve openly in the military.	57 67.9%	23 27.4%	4 4.8%	1.37	84

DISCUSSION

Was There a Broad Range of Identities in the Current LGBTQ+ Community?

At the beginning of this study we anticipated that we would find a broad range of identities within the current population of LGBTQ+ organizations we surveyed. This certainly did end up being the case. As the “alphabet soup” of acronyms implies, there are enough different identities in the community that it is having difficulty finding a name that even the majority are happy with, and the community has begun discussing other acronyms that will include everyone without having to add more letters as new identities evolve. The new acronyms proposed, including GSRM, gender, sexual, and romantic minorities, and GSRD, gender, sexual and romantic diversity, reflect three of the four dimensions around which the identities within the community are constructed.

In addition to a focus on evolving identities around these four dimensions, the community also experiences a recognizable amount of crossover from related communities, as well as benefits from movement spillover from a variety of related social and cultural movements. Members of the community are politically committed to solidarity with other progressive social movements, and emphasize individual autonomy in self-labeling/identity expression and intersectionality.

It was expected that the agenda items, issues, and policy concerns of people within the LGBTQ+ movement would be broadly defined and that members of the community would prioritize these general and specific agenda items in similar ways, without regard for identities, and that priorities would be more similar than divergent. The agenda items that were ranked as the highest priority (See Table 37 below), judging by a comparison of means on the 7-point scale for support/opposition to agenda items

were those that affect everyone, such as housing and employment. Even on the smaller, 3-point Likert scale of movement attention, answers were more often heavily weighted towards one end of the scale or the other in any dimension, and while we did see some slight variation between the dominant population (cisgender) and the subpopulation tested (transgender and gender non-conforming individuals), the differences were generally very small and none were statistically significant. So, again, as expected, we found that the majority of those responding were in agreement on most agenda items when it came to perceptions of movement attention, and that there was no significant association between LGBTQ+ identity and perceptions of movement attention.

Limitations

Sample Type and Size. Obtaining a probability sample for a cultural subpopulation 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 one of those populations in which obtaining a probability sample of the entire population is simply not very feasible, which makes data collection difficult at best, as one is limited to convenience samples. In addition, without sufficient funding and time to reach out in multiple ways and through a large network of people, sample size tends to remain small. Our sample size was small ($n = 175$) and 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.

Survey Length. The survey was unusually long for an online survey due to the exhaustive nature of the questions. Some abandonment is expected with any survey, but

this survey saw increasing abandonment rates only a few questions in and reached an abandonment rate of almost 50% by the middle of the survey. Review and evaluation of whether some questions were skipped more than others and the possible reasons behind that would be helpful to future research.

Missing Categories. Due to the extensive number of identities in the LGBTQ+ community, there were quite a few categories of identity that were missed. In addition, the entire dimension of romantic attraction was left off the survey, which needs to be remedied in future surveys.

Potential for Future Study

Further investigation into identities and perceptions of policy priorities within the movement using a larger sample size would be useful in advancing the inquiry into whether or not the Hierarchy of Rights can be disrupted through movement solidarity and expansion of human capital. More surveys using a broader base population (i.e., expanding into other types of LGBTQ+ SMOs beyond student organizations) is crucial to ensure that a broad and diverse data set is obtained. In addition, a deep and extensive archival review of the history of the policy achievements of the movement would also add to the body of work. Finally, a study of how movement agendas are set, and by what methods, and which actors, would likely open up new avenues for inquiry as well.

CONCLUSION

Resource mobilization theory's focus on narrow and focused agendas makes sense from a rational actor perspective, but the theory itself is narrow in that it does not recognize fully all of the variety of what can qualify as a resource. Identity-based strategies, movement spillover, and social networks are also resources, and can be very effective ones. Demonstrating that these resources can be expanded by broadening agendas, and in so doing drawing more people to a movement, is an idea that bears more research. As an idea it does not stand on its own, but is interwoven with other social movement theories. But is that not the point of collective action in the first place — that we are all stronger as a community than we are on our own?

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APPENDIX I: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

LGBTQ+ Identifies, Attitudes and Outcomes

Consent Form (pg. 1 of 3)

Primary Investigator: Charlotte Archer
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You are invited to take part in a research study regarding members of the LGBTQ+ community (including all identities within the community and allies). Your responses will assist us to understand who considers themselves a member of the community, what their attitudes are towards issues and agendas pursued by LGBTQ+ organizations, and the perception of community members towards the outcomes achieved by the LGBTQ+ rights movement.

What the study is about: Since the 1990s, the LGBTQ+ community has been moving towards more inclusion, and now includes members of many different genders, sexualities and gender expressions. The concerns of this diverse community of individuals are likewise ever expanding. This study seeks to determine which issues and agenda items are now most important to the community, as well as the community's perception of how effective the movement has been in achieving certain agenda items.

What you will be asked to do: You will be asked to answer questions concerning how you identify, whether you consider yourself an activist, or simply a member of the community, which issues you believe that the LGBTQ+ rights movement should be addressing, and which issues you believe that they have been successful in advancing, or even resolving. The survey will take about 20 minutes to complete. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate.

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

Consent Form (pg. 2 of 3)

Risks: 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 might cause discomfort. In the event that any questions asked are disturbing, you may stop responding to the survey at any time. Participants who experience discomfort are encouraged to contact:

The Trevor Project
866-4-U-TREVOR

The Trevor Helpline is the only national crisis and suicide prevention helpline for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender and questioning youth; the Helpline can also help LGBTQ+ adults. The Helpline is a free and confidential service that offers hope and someone to talk to, 24/7. Trained counselors listen and understand without judgement.

Benefits: The results of this survey will be used to assess the state of the LGBTQ+ rights movement, and the prevailing policy interests of members of the community. The results will also be combined with historical research and social movement theory research to identify the effectiveness of specific strategies, with the intention of advancing both the general knowledge of social movement theory, and the understanding of strategies which might benefit the LGBTQ+ movement.

Taking part is voluntary: Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to be in the study 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.

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.

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

Consent Form (pg. 3 of 3)

Primary Investigator: Charlotte Archer
Faculty Advisor: Angela Mertig, PhD
Middle Tennessee State University Department of Sociology & Anthropology
MTSU Box 10
Murfreesboro, TN 37132,
(615) 904-8349,
FAX: (615) 898-5427

The investigator can be reached at caa4e@mtmail.mtsu.edu

If you have questions or want a copy or summary of the study results: Contact the researcher or her Faculty Advisor at the email address or phone number above. 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 survey was approved by the MTSU Institutional Review Board.

Consent to participate: Clicking the "I am 18 or older and want to take the survey" option below indicates that you have read the above information and affirm that you are 18 years of age or older. Completion of the survey indicates your consent to participate in this study.

In what year were you born?

Please indicate your age range and consent.

- I am under 18 years old.
- I am 18 or older and want to take the survey.

DEFINITIONS

LGBTQ+

Throughout this survey the term "**LGBTQ+**" is used as shorthand to represent the **LGBTQQIP2SAA** or **GSRM** ("Gender, Sexual, and Romantic Minorities" – a new and less well known acronym) community, which includes Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/Transsexual, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Pansexual, Two-Spirit, Asexual Identities, and Allies. This survey is intended to be intersectional and fully inclusive of all members of the community, regardless of whether that identity is included in the common acronym(s), as well as members of related communities, such as polyamory, leather, kink and sexual rights organizations.

This survey measures identity, attitudes towards the LGBTQ+ community and the LGBTQ+ rights social movement, and perceptions as to the effectiveness of the movement. Throughout this survey, your self-definitions, perceptions and attitudes are of primary concern, so please answer as honestly as you can.

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

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

Yes

No

What sex were you assigned at birth, on your original birth certificate?

Male

Female

Intersex

What is your primary gender identity today?

Male / Man

Female / Woman

Part time as one gender, part time as another

None

Other (please specify)

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

Please select which of the following gender identity/gender expression labels you identify with. You may select more than one if more than one applies:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cisgender | <input type="checkbox"/> Androgynous |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender | <input type="checkbox"/> Feminine male |
| <input type="checkbox"/> FTM (female-to-male) | <input type="checkbox"/> Masculine female |
| <input type="checkbox"/> MTF (male-to-female) | <input type="checkbox"/> A.G. or Aggressive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Intersex | <input type="checkbox"/> Third gender |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gender non-conforming or gender variant | <input type="checkbox"/> Cross dresser |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Genderqueer | <input type="checkbox"/> Drag performer (King/Queen) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Femme | <input type="checkbox"/> Two-Spirit |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Butch | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

What is your sexual orientation?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Gay | <input type="radio"/> Heterosexual |
| <input type="radio"/> Lesbian | <input type="radio"/> Heteroflexible |
| <input type="radio"/> Queer | <input type="radio"/> Homoflexible |
| <input type="radio"/> Questioning | <input type="radio"/> Lesbiflexible |
| <input type="radio"/> Asexual | <input type="radio"/> Bi+ (Bisexual umbrella, i.e., bi-, pan-, omni-, polysexual) |
| <input type="radio"/> Other (please specify) | |

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

To whom do you tell your LGBTQ+ identity? (Choose all that apply.)

- No one
- Close friends
- Casual friends
- Work colleagues
- Family
- Everyone

How many people know about your LGBTQ+ identity (know your sexuality or gender identity) or believe that you are LGBTQ+?

	None	A few	Some	Most	All	N/A
At home	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On the job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In private social settings	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In public social settings	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When seeking medical care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

What is your marital status? (For the purpose of this survey, we include both legal marriage and self-defined marriage as well as domestic partnerships in this category. Polygamous marriage is with any number of spouses of any gender. Polygynous marriage is one male and any number of females. Polyandrous marriage is one female and any number of males.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Single, not partnered | <input type="radio"/> Polygamous marriage |
| <input type="radio"/> Single, in committed relationship | <input type="radio"/> Polygynous marriage |
| <input type="radio"/> Cohabiting | <input type="radio"/> Polyandrous marriage |
| <input type="radio"/> Legally married | <input type="radio"/> Separated |
| <input type="radio"/> Legally registered domestic partnership | <input type="radio"/> Divorced |
| <input type="radio"/> Self-defined monogamous marriage | <input type="radio"/> Widowed |
| <input type="radio"/> Polyamorous marriage | |
| <input type="radio"/> Other (please specify) | |

How many spouses do you have? (Please include legal and self-defined spouses. If you are unmarried, please enter 0.)

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

Which of the following identity labels do you identify with? (Choose all that apply.)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lesbian | <input type="checkbox"/> Questioning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gay | <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bisexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Transsexual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pansexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Intersex |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Omnisexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Two-Spirit |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Polysexual | <input type="checkbox"/> Asexual |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Queer | <input type="checkbox"/> LGBTQ+ Ally |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

The following communities have overlapping membership with the LGBTQ+ community and members often act as allies to the LGBTQ+ community, whether they are members or not. Do you identify with or participate in any of the following communities? (Choose all that apply.)

- Polyamory
- Leather
- BDSM / Kink
- Sexual Freedom / Sexual Rights / Sex+
- Swingers / Social Clubs
- Other (please specify)

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

Do you consider yourself a member of the LGBTQ+ rights social movement?

- Yes
- No
- Unsure

The following identities also 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
- Queer Identity Movement
- Intersex Awareness & Rights
- Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness
- Asexual/Aromantic/ACE Awareness

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION A: IDENTITY

The following allied communities also have their own civil and human rights issues. Do you participate in activism or advocacy for any of the following groups? (Choose all that apply.)

- Polyamory
- Leather
- BDSM / Kink
- Sexual Freedom / Sexual Rights / Sex+ / National Coalition for Sexual Freedom
- Swingers / Social Clubs
- Other (please specify)

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - GROUP AGENDAS

Within the overall LGBTQ+ movement, how much attention has been paid to the issues of the following groups?

	Too Little Attention	Just Enough Attention	Too Much Attention
Gay (Men's) Rights	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lesbian's Rights	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bisexual / Pansexual Rights	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Transgender/Transsexual Rights	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Queer Identity Movement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intersex Awareness & Rights	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Native / Two-Spirit History & Awareness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Asexual/Aromantic/ACE Awareness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - LEGAL STATUS (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

1. Unnecessary / Resolved 2. Strongly Oppose 3. Oppose 4. Neutral 5. Support 6. Strongly Support 7. URGENT/PRIORITY

Define sexual orientation as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.

Define gender identity as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.

Pass a federal law supporting the right to change legal gender without the requirement of surgery, including the ability to change identity documents such as birth certificates and driver's licenses.

Repeal all state laws which disenfranchise transgender citizens from voting, such as those requiring photo IDs which may not be consistent with their current gender identity.

Add gender identity and sexuality to the United States census.

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

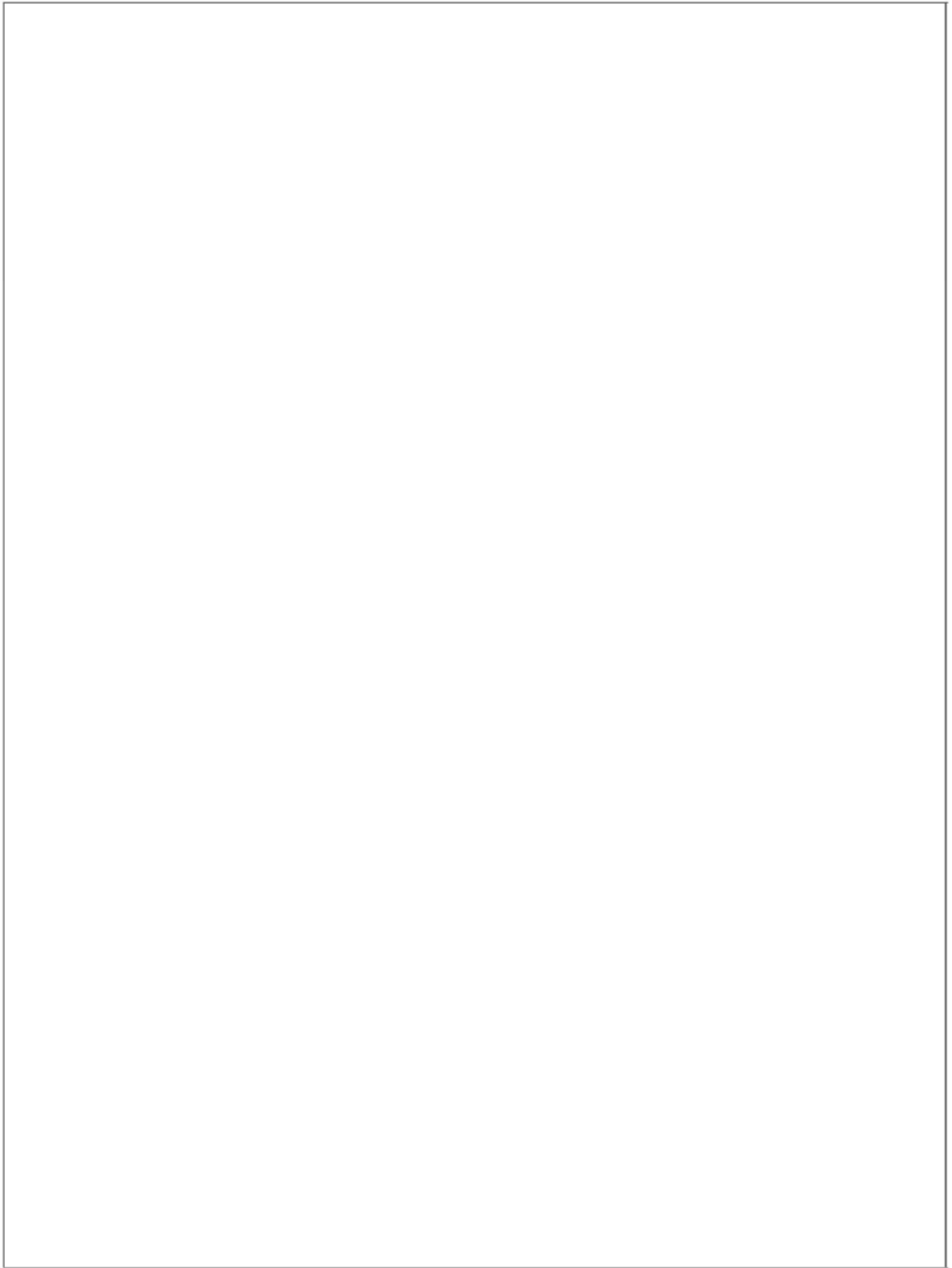
SECTION B: ISSUES - LEGAL STATUS (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Define sexual orientation as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Define gender identity as a protected class so that discrimination on this basis would be covered under Civil Rights Laws.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law supporting the right to change legal gender without the requirement of surgery, including the ability to change identity documents such as birth certificates and driver's licenses.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Repeal all state laws which disenfranchise transgender citizens from voting, such as those requiring photo IDs which may not be consistent with their current gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Add gender identity and sexuality to the United States census.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - ASSOCIATION, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Establish marriage equality for same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Treat age of consent laws for same-sex couples the same as for heterosexual couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in adoption, custody and visitation rights.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow joint adoption by same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow step-child adoption by same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - ASSOCIATION, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Establish marriage equality for same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Treat age of consent laws for same-sex couples the same as for heterosexual couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in adoption, custody and visitation rights.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow joint adoption by same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow step-child adoption by same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - ASSOCIATION, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Establish marriage equality for same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Treat age of consent laws for same-sex couples the same as for heterosexual couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in adoption, custody and visitation rights.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow joint adoption by same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow step-child adoption by same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - EDUCATION (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public schools, state colleges and state universities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Require LGBT+ inclusive sex education in public schools.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass LGBT anti-bullying laws in public schools and universities, and enforce them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - EDUCATION (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public schools, state colleges and state universities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Require LGBTQ+ inclusive sex education in public schools.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass LGBT anti-bullying laws in public schools and universities, and enforce them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - EDUCATION (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public schools, state colleges and state universities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Require LGBTQ+ inclusive sex education in public schools.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass LGBT anti-bullying laws in public schools and universities, and enforce them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - EMPLOYMENT & HOUSING (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in employment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in housing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in homeless shelters.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in prisons, juvenile halls and detention centers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law requiring that transgender people in public institutions be housed according to their gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - EMPLOYMENT & HOUSING (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in employment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in housing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in homeless shelters.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in prisons, juvenile halls and detention centers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law requiring that transgender people in public institutions be housed according to their gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - EMPLOYMENT & HOUSING (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in employment.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in housing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in homeless shelters.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in prisons, juvenile halls and detention centers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law requiring that transgender people in public institutions be housed according to their gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - GOODS, SERVICES, PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in the provision of goods and services.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law requiring that all single-person, gender segregated restrooms (equipped with a lock) be converted to single-person, all-gender restrooms.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public accommodations, public facilities and public transportation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow transgender people to use restrooms and other gender-segregated spaces that correspond to their gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - GOODS, SERVICES, PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in the provision of goods and services.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law requiring that all single-person, gender segregated restrooms (equipped with a lock) be converted to single-person, all-gender restrooms.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public accommodations, public facilities and public transportation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow transgender people to use restrooms and other gender-segregated spaces that correspond to their gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - GOODS, SERVICES, PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in the provision of goods and services.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law requiring that all single-person, gender segregated restrooms (equipped with a lock) be converted to single-person, all-gender restrooms.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in public accommodations, public facilities and public transportation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow transgender people to use restrooms and other gender-segregated spaces that correspond to their gender identity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - HEALTHCARE (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in hospitals and from health care providers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting individuals with AIDS, ARC, and HIV positive status, or who are perceived to have AIDS from discrimination.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Remove "Gender Dysphoria" from the DSM and declassify transgender as an illness.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban conversion therapy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Permit "MSMs" (men who have sex with men) to donate blood and tissues not considered lifesaving.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - HEALTHCARE (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in hospitals and from health care providers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting individuals with AIDS, ARC, and HIV positive status, or who are perceived to have AIDs from discrimination.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Remove "Gender Dysphoria" from the DSM and declassify transgender as an illness.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban conversion therapy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Permit "MSMs" (men who have sex with men) to donate blood and tissues not considered lifesaving.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - HEALTHCARE (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in hospitals and from health care providers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pass a federal law protecting individuals with AIDS, ARC, and HIV positive status, or who are perceived to have AIDs from discrimination.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Remove "Gender Dysphoria" from the DSM and declassify transgender as an illness.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban conversion therapy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Permit "MSMs" (men who have sex with men) to donate blood and tissues not considered lifesaving.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - HEALTH INSURANCE (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in health insurance.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Require that sex reassignment surgery, puberty blockers, hormone replacement therapy and other transition-related healthcare for transgender people be covered under health insurance, including federal health programs (Medicare/Medicaid/VA.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - HEALTH INSURANCE (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

1. Too little attention / too few resources

2. Enough attention and resources

3. Too much attention / too many resources

Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in health insurance.

Require that sex reassignment surgery, puberty blockers, hormone replacement therapy and other transition-related healthcare for transgender people be covered under health insurance, including federal health programs (Medicare/Medicaid/VA.)

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - HEALTH INSURANCE (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Pass a federal law protecting LGBTQ+ people against discrimination in health insurance.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Require that sex reassignment surgery, puberty blockers, hormone replacement therapy and other transition-related healthcare for transgender people be covered under health insurance, including federal health programs (Medicare/Medicaid/VA.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - IMMIGRATION (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Eliminate bars to the entry, immigration and naturalization status of LGBTQ+ people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amend immigration statutes to allow sexual orientation as grounds for asylum.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amend immigration statutes to allow gender identification, gender non-conformity and transgender/transsexual status as grounds for asylum.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - IMMIGRATION (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Eliminate bars to the entry, immigration and naturalization status of LGBTQ+ people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amend immigration statutes to allow sexual orientation as grounds for asylum.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amend immigration statutes to allow gender identification, gender non-conformity and transgender/transsexual status as grounds for asylum.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - IMMIGRATION (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Eliminate bars to the entry, immigration and naturalization status of LGBTQ+ people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amend immigration statutes to allow sexual orientation as grounds for asylum.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amend immigration statutes to allow gender identification, gender non-conformity and transgender/transsexual status as grounds for asylum.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - LAW ENFORCEMENT (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Repeal all state laws ("sodomy laws" or "morality laws") prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting adults.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Repeal all state laws prohibiting transvestism and "cross-dressing."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enforce equal treatment under the law for LGBTQ+ persons, and prosecute civil rights infractions of police and court personnel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban police profiling on the basis of both perceived and actual gender expression, gender identity and sexual orientation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban "gay panic" and "trans panic" legal defenses.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow conjugal visits for same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - LAW ENFORCEMENT (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

- 1. Too little attention / too few resources.
- 2. Enough attention and resources.
- 3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Repeal all state laws ("sodomy laws" or "morality laws") prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting adults.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Repeal all state laws prohibiting transvestism and "cross-dressing."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enforce equal treatment under the law for LGBTQ+ persons, and prosecute civil rights infractions of police and court personnel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban police profiling on the basis of both perceived and actual gender expression, gender identity and sexual orientation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban "gay panic" and "trans panic" legal defenses.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow conjugal visits for same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - LAW ENFORCEMENT (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Repeal all state laws ("sodomy laws" or "morality laws") prohibiting private sexual acts involving consenting adults.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Repeal all state laws prohibiting transvestism and "cross-dressing."	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enforce equal treatment under the law for LGBTQ+ persons, and prosecute civil rights infractions of police and court personnel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban police profiling on the basis of both perceived and actual gender expression, gender identity and sexual orientation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban "gay panic" and "trans panic" legal defenses.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow conjugal visits for same-sex couples.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - MILITARY SERVICE (Support or Opposition)

The following issues / agenda items have been or are part of the LGBTQ+ movement. Using the following 7 point scale (1-7), please indicate your level of support or opposition for each issue.

1. Inclusion of this issue is no longer necessary. The issue has been resolved.
2. I strongly oppose the inclusion of this issue or think it is harmful in some way.
3. I oppose inclusion of this issue.
4. I am neutral on inclusion of this issue.
5. I support inclusion of this issue.
6. I strongly support inclusion of this issue.
7. This issue is URGENT and must be given TOP PRIORITY.

Please indicate your level of support for the following issues or agenda items.

	1. Unnecessary / Resolved	2. Strongly Oppose	3. Oppose	4. Neutral	5. Support	6. Strongly Support	7. URGENT/PRIORITY
Allow gay men, lesbians and bisexuals to serve openly in the military.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow transgender individuals to serve openly in the military.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - MILITARY SERVICE (Movement Attention)

Now, considering the same issues / agenda items, please indicate whether you believe that the movement has dedicated an appropriate amount of attention and resources to the issue using the following 3 point scale:

1. Too little attention / too few resources.
2. Enough attention and resources.
3. Too much attention / too many resources.

In your opinion, has the movement given enough, too much or too little attention to these issues / agenda items?

	1. Too little attention / too few resources	2. Enough attention and resources	3. Too much attention / too many resources
Allow gay men, lesbians and bisexuals to serve openly in the military.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow transgender individuals to serve openly in the military.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SECTION B: ISSUES - MILITARY SERVICE (Effectiveness)

Now, considering the same issues, please indicate how effective you believe the LGBTQ+ movement has been in addressing this issue using the following 7 point scale.

1. Entirely Ineffective.
2. Very Ineffective.
3. Somewhat Ineffective.
4. Neutral
5. Somewhat Effective.
6. Very Effective.
7. Entirely Effective.

In your opinion, how effective has the movement been in achieving these goals?

	1. Entirely Ineffective	2. Very Ineffective	3. Somewhat Ineffective	4. Neutral	5. Somewhat Effective	6. Very Effective	7. Entirely Effective
Allow gay men, lesbians and bisexuals to serve openly in the military.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow transgender individuals to serve openly in the military.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

DEMOGRAPHICS: Education

Are you now attending or enrolled in university or college?

- Yes
 No

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

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

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

DEMOGRAPHICS: Students

Are you a full time or part time student?

Full-time student

Part-time student

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

Yes

No

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

DEMOGRAPHICS: Religion

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Catholicism | <input type="checkbox"/> Buddhism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Evangelical Protestantism | <input type="checkbox"/> Hinduism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Liberal Protestantism | <input type="checkbox"/> Paganism/Heathenism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unitarian Universalism | <input type="checkbox"/> Agnosticism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Judaism | <input type="checkbox"/> Atheism/Secular Humanism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Islam | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

How important is religion in your life?

Unsure	Not at all important	Not very important	Somewhat important	Very important
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

DEMOGRAPHICS: State & Politics

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

In general, how would you describe your political views?

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

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

DEMOGRAPHICS: Race & Ethnicity

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

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> African American or Black | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alaskan Native / Aleutian Islander | <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander |
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian/Native American | <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish/Hispanic/Latino/Latina heritage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arabian or Middle Eastern | <input type="checkbox"/> White or Caucasian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some other race (please specify) | |

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

DEMOGRAPHICS: Income & Household Size

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

How many adults live in your household?

What was your gross household income (before taxes) in 2014?

- \$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

LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

Additional Comments

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



LGBTQ+ Identities, Attitudes and Outcomes

SURVEY COMPLETE - THANK YOU

You have completed this survey of identities, attitudes and outcomes 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 2016. 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 II: IRB APPROVAL LETTER



9/27/2015

Investigator(s): Charlotte Archer; Dr. Angela Mertig
Department: Sociology
Investigator(s) Email: caa4e@mtmail.mtsu.edu Angela.Mertig@mtsu.edu

Protocol Title: Resource Mobilization and the Hierarchy of Rights: Rights, Attitudes & Outcomes in LGBTQ+ Populations.

Protocol Number: 16-2049

Dear Investigator(s),

The MTSU Institutional Review Board, or a representative of the IRB, has reviewed the research proposal identified above. The MTSU IRB or its representative has determined that the study poses minimal risk to participants and qualifies for an expedited review under 45 CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110, and you have satisfactorily addressed all of the points brought up during the review.

Approval is granted for one (1) year from the date of this letter for 1000 participants.

Please note that any unanticipated harms to participants or adverse events must be reported to the Office of Compliance at (615) 494-8918. Any change to the protocol must be submitted to the IRB before implementing this change.

You will need to submit an end-of-project form to the Office of Compliance upon completion of your research located on the IRB website. Complete research means that you have finished collecting and analyzing data. **Should you not finish your research within the one (1) year period, you must submit a Progress Report and request a continuation prior to the expiration date.** Please allow time for review and requested revisions. Failure to submit a Progress Report and request for continuation will automatically result in cancellation of your research study. Therefore, you will not be able to use any data and/or collect any data. Your study expires **9/27/2016**.

According to MTSU Policy, a researcher is defined as anyone who works with data or has contact with participants. Anyone meeting this definition needs to be listed on the protocol and needs to complete the required training. **If you add researchers to an approved project, please forward an updated list of researchers to the Office of Compliance before they begin to work on the project.**

All research materials must be retained by the PI or faculty advisor (if the PI is a student) for at least three (3) years after study completion and then destroyed in a manner that maintains confidentiality and anonymity.

Sincerely,

Richard C. Meeks DNP, RN, COI
Institutional Review Board
Middle Tennessee State University