

MAKING OF A MONSTER: MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF  
GENDER NON-CONFORMING HOMICIDE VICTIMS

By

MEREDITH L. WILLIAMS

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the thesis of  
MEREDITH L. WILLIAMS find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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Nella Van Dyke, Ph.D., Co-Chair

---

Jennifer Schwartz, Ph.D., Co-Chair

---

James F. Short, Jr., Ph.D.

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Clayton Mosher, Ph.D.

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Abstract

By Meredith L. Williams, M.A.  
Washington State University  
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Chairs: Nella Van Dyke and Jennifer Schwartz

There is a general sentiment evident in public discourse that victims are good and innocent, and offenders are bad (Tonry 2004). This dichotomy is blurred when the victim is somehow socially undesirable, such as people who do not conform to society's expectation for gender, or victims who are not white. In the case of gender non-conforming homicide victims, especially victims of color who present as feminine, the media often portrays the victims as deceivers, or offenders themselves, building the argument that the victim is to blame, or somehow deserved the attack. This sentiment has successfully been used as the "gay panic" or "trans panic" defense in cases where offenders have received lighter sentences or have been acquitted. This study focuses on the media portrayal of 130 homicide victimizations that occurred between 1995 and 2008. Using content analysis and logistic regression, I will show how the social construction of gender serves to "other" gender non-conforming individuals, and how media narratives around those homicides serve to blame the victims for their deaths.

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## DEDICATION

To all of the amazing, inspiring, untiring, radical queers in my life.

You know who you are.



## INTRODUCTION

. . . [M]onsters help us negotiate who we are by knowing all too well who they are, thereby shoring up our understanding that we are not they. –Sharpley-Whiting (2004:1).

. . . I find a deep affinity between myself as a transsexual woman and the monster in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. Like the monster, I am too often perceived as less than fully human due to the means of my embodiment.... –Stryker (2006:245).

In February 2008, Sanesha Stewart, a 25-year old African-American transgender<sup>1</sup> woman living in the Bronx, New York was stabbed to death by Steve McMillan. McMillan immediately used a “trans panic” defense, feigning shock that Sanesha was a transgender woman. *The New York Daily News* later reported McMillan and Stewart had actually been acquaintances for months (Moore 2008). On February 10, 2008, *The New York Daily News* reported the murder, using the headline “Fooled John Stabbed Bronx Tranny” (Hays and Lemire 2008). After pressure from the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), the online headline was changed to “Cops: Ex-con Slays Bronx Transsexual 'Hooker'.” Denying her recognition as a transgender woman, that article, and another the next day, referred to Stewart as a man, and used male pronouns throughout. The articles treated her unidimensionally, focusing on her presumed sex worker status, and transgender identity. The articles alluded to the transperson as deceiver with phrases such as “the hooker’s true sex” (Hays and Lemire 2008; Paddock, Wisloski, and Moore 2008). The articles repeatedly made reference to Stewart as a sex worker, though this has not been established (Andrews 2008). Stewart legally changed her name a year prior to her death, but the articles again denied her recognition as they used her masculine birth name (Andrews

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<sup>1</sup> Transgender is an umbrella term used to refer to an individual who lives as a member of a gender other than the one they were assigned at birth. This term is often used to encapsulate various gender identities such as transsexual (those wishing to hormonally and/or surgically alter their bodies to match their psychological sense of gender), transvestite, cross dresser, and female impersonator.

2008).

This study examines mass media coverage (mostly newspaper articles) of gender non-conforming<sup>2</sup> homicide victimizations, looking at homicides that occurred between 1995 and 2008 in the United States. This study focuses on gender non-conforming individuals whose gender expression is feminine, looking to media portrayals of victimizations as a reflection of the status of transwomen in the United States. It shows how the status of transwomen in society is mirrored in the criminal justice system, and in the general public. In this study I explore how the coverage of the homicide events when gender non-conforming individuals are murdered blames the victim by treating them as the Other, a unidimensional, tragic figure whose death was inevitable based on stereotypical portrayals of their lives. As I will explore in this paper, this is a result of a rigid binary that has been constructed around gender in the United States, “othering” those who differ from a hegemonic version of masculinity. I discuss how this is constructed in the culture, enforced by violence, reified in the criminal justice system, then presented for mass consumption in the media, where the cycle begins again.

Based on prior research, to be explored below, I hypothesize the following: race will impact the likelihood of victims being discussed as deceivers, as if the gender identity or expression of the victim was a means of tricking the world into thinking they are something other than their “true” self. I also expect to find that race will impact which victims are most likely to be called sex workers, based on stereotypes of race and gender non-conforming identities.

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<sup>2</sup> Because it is impossible to know how most of the homicide victims in this paper self-identified, I use the term “gender non-conforming” to respectfully cover all identities, and those who chose not to identify, but did spend at least part of their life dressed as and/or living as a member of a gender other than the one they were assigned at birth.

Studying these portrayals of victimizations furthers gender theory because it illustrates how gender non-conforming individuals are constructed in the mainstream media, and how that construction intersects with a variety of ways members of minority groups are othered in the United States. This study contributes to criminology because it examines a group of homicide victims that has been largely unexamined in most disciplines, including criminology and the wider discipline of sociology. It also presents a unique way of examining crime news in that it increases our understanding of how crime reporting may contribute to negative public attitudes toward gender non-conforming individuals. This study also furthers hate crime research, which has focused on issues including race, or gay and lesbian hate crimes, and even gendered violence, but has not sufficiently addressed gender non-conformity. Because the victims of this study are at the intersection of many of the “isms” thought to relate to hate crimes, and mirrors some of the past research on anti-gay violence, this paper is an important case study in bias crime. This study also contributes to the literature about violence against women, as many of the attributes of the violence against transwomen mirror the research on violence against biological women. This study joins research about violence against gay men to help show that it may not be that some forms of gendered or homophobic violence are directed toward only women and gay men, but against variance to a hegemonic masculinity.

It is exceptionally difficult to measure the amount of violence that occurs against gender non-conforming individuals in the United States. It should be stressed that this paper can, in no way, capture the full extent of that violence. From neglect, to devaluation, to suicide (Clements-Nolle, Marx, and Katz 2006), to harassment, to economic discrimination (Lombardi, Wilchins, Priesing, and Malouf 2001) to domestic violence, it is impossible to draw boundaries around, or quantify, the degree of violence gender non-conforming people experience in our society. This

paper is only able to speak to a small part of that violence against gender non-conforming individuals, and calls for further research to begin to capture the breadth of the victimization. Even with this focused definition of violence, it is impossible to know the exact size or nature of the problem. Federal hate crime reporting does not track violence based on gender identity or expression, and most victimization surveys only have two boxes for gender, rendering invisible the true gender identity of the victims. Violence against gender non-conforming individuals is also grossly underreported, as there is a pervasive fear of police and secondary victimization. This will be discussed more in depth later in the paper.

## **PRIOR RESEARCH**

### *THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER*

Gender is such a fundamental part of the way people organize their lives and perceive themselves it is often considered “natural” and not worth examining. As Lorber (1994) observed, “[t]alking about gender for most people is the equivalent of fish talking about water” (p. 13). There are four components to the way gender is socially constructed. The first component is the dominant group establishing themselves as a sort of “default” by which all other groups are constructed. The second is the devaluation of anyone that differs from the default, creating a hierarchy of worth. Third, because groups are constructed in opposition to the default, and the difference is devalued, those who are not the dominant group are “othered.” Fourth, dominance is maintained by repetition and reproduction that makes the hierarchical order appear “natural.”

The dominant group in the United States is white, male, heterosexual, able-bodied and middle class. This default is expressed in language, in phrases such as “African-American

doctor,” “Woman CEO” or “Low-income Worker.” It is as if one who is white, heterosexual or male has no race, sexuality or gender (Lourde 1984). In the United States, gender has been socially constructed into binary categories, male and female, which are shaped by actions that are considered masculine or feminine (Johnson 2006; Lorber 1994; Berger and Luckmann 1966). Symbolic interactionists and ethnomethodologists have explained how gender is a recurring accomplishment based on social actions that are bounded and enabled by shared understandings of what constitutes masculinity and femininity. These understandings are called gender norms. Instead of being an innate feature, people enact, or “do,” gender in everyday interactions within social institutions (see, for example, Perry 2003b; West and Zimmerman 1987).

As with many countries, the United States’ gendered construction places males and masculinity as dominant, and females and femininity as devalued and subordinate. Femininity and femaleness have been constructed as other than masculine, and even within masculinity, one version has been exalted in status over all others, called a hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Connell 2005; Perry 2003b; Kimmel 1994). There is also a hegemonic femininity, valued less than masculinity, and also used as a benchmark for gendered behavior. The dominant group creates the hierarchy, and marks subordinate groups as inferior (Johnson 2006; Perry 2003a). This process has been used to create difference with race, class, gender, ability and sexuality. In terms of gender, it serves to “other” women and femininity by devaluing stereotypically feminine traits such as emotion and irrationality (Perry 2003b; Lorber 1994; Connell 1987). This also devalues anyone that does not obviously engage with gender norms in a socially acceptable way. This would include gender non-conforming individuals,

who may not embody or enact either side of the rigid gender binary, or who may perform gender in a way that does not match what is perceived to be their sex.

The gender binary has been in place for so long it often goes unchallenged; it is often seen as innate, or “natural” (Perry 2003b; Connell 1987). The binary is supported in a myriad of ways, socially and institutionally. Gender is policed heavily in public spaces, such as bathrooms (Halberstam 1998), and is reinforced by the state; government forms and surveys only have two boxes to choose between for “sex.” Even our English language lacks widespread vocabulary to allow for options other than “he” and “she.” For the individual who identifies as transgender, one must navigate systems that have been forced into a dichotomy. With all forms of state identification, one must choose from the two available options, often leaving transpeople forced into a category that may not actually meet their gender identity. One does not have legal options to exist somewhere else on a gender continuum. A transition from an identity of “female” to “male” or vice versa must be approved by the state through Standards of Care, with the medical community as gatekeepers (Butler 2004). The legal processes are complicated because policies regarding when one may change their gender on documentation vary widely by state (Spade 2008). The binary does not leave space for those who do not fit into its rigidity; those that don’t fit are pushed out, creating and maintaining difference (Connell 2005). Even in academia, gender research often assumes a binary. This paper shows the consequence of maintaining that rigidity, and provides an example of research that does not rely on a dichotomy to explore gender.

As previously mentioned, the dominant group determines what is “normal,” and therefore they dictate the default from which others are differentiated (Johnson 2006; Perry 2003b). When one’s identity is formed in opposition to the default, one is labeled, such as

“blind” or “black.” That label imparts a unidimensional view of its bearer, and the difference implies inferiority (Johnson 2006). Madrid (1988) contends, as the Other, “one will inevitably be perceived unidimensionally; will be seen stereotypically; will be defined and delimited by mental sets that may not bear much relation to existing realities” (p. 19). Lorde (1984) adds to this, explaining that when white women ignore their race privilege in their definition of “woman” they are othering women of color. Such is the mechanism in gender-based othering; when a rigid binary is defined by a hegemonic masculinity and femininity, without recognition of privilege, those who diverge will be othered. When one does not fit into the gender binary, one is labeled different, such as “transgender,” and that attribute becomes the most important part of the individual’s being. Serano (2007) explains how the media capitalizes on this unidimensionality, minimizing the lives of transwomen into stereotypes. To this literature I will contribute an exploration of how this othering is reflected in the media coverage of gender non-conforming homicide victims.

As Lorber (1994) explains, shared symbols of gender are not usually noticed until something contradicts our expectations. “Then we are uncomfortable until we have successfully placed the other person in a gender status; otherwise, we feel socially dislocated” (p. 14). She uses the example of transvestites and transsexuals, individuals who cause some to feel discomfort when they cannot be easily labeled. In a society with a rigid binary, this discomfort can lead to violence (Connell 2005). In *Masculinity as Homophobia*, Michael Kimmel (1994) talks about the formation of a masculine identity in men, and how this is shaped in opposition of “others,” such as racial and sexual minorities, and especially women. This identity is developed in opposition to femininity, which is intertwined with homoeroticism, leading to homophobia. The identity must be maintained by proving manliness to other men, who in the cases of racial

minorities, have been stereotyped in ways that cast them as threats to the dominant masculinity. The result is masculinity, being based in opposition to the “other,” causes sexism, heterosexism and racism (Kimmel 1994). Madrid (1988) adds, “*The other* disturbs, disquiets, discomforts. It provokes distrust and suspicion. *The other* makes people feel anxious, nervous, apprehensive, even fearful. *The other* frightens, scares [emphasis in the original].” Perry (2003b) continues, saying when one behaves in nonnormative ways, one is seen as challenging social-cultural arrangements and threatening boundaries. Violence emerges as a response to the perceived threat. In the tension between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic conceptions of difference, she explains, transgressors may be sanctioned in an effort to reassert social positions of dominance and subordination. While prior research has shown how these sanctions play out for attributes such as race and/or class, this paper explores what othering means for gender non-conformers by discussing how the process translates into media portrayal of violence against gender non-conforming bodies.

#### *GENDER NON-CONFORMITY AND VIOLENCE*

As Perry (2003b) explains, when the popular image of the Other is constructed upon negativity, the members of that othered group may be victimized based on those perceptions. She further contends that victims of violence may be punished in two ways: for transcending normative conceptions of gender, or even for conforming to stereotypes. Gender non-conforming individuals may be sanctioned for transcending the gender binary, but then also punished for adhering to stereotypes of women, or gender non-conforming individuals. As Serano (2007) explains, transwomen are portrayed as hyperfeminine, then demonized by feminists for reproducing extremes in the gender binary.



Along with Perry, many hate crime theorists say it is the “isms” discussed above that lead to hate crimes (Connell 2005; Perry 2003a). Perry (2003a) calls violence motivated by bias a “natural extension of the racism, sexism, and homophobia that normally allocates privilege along racial and gender lines” (Perry 2003a:5). Perry’s (2003a) theorization of hate crimes, like Kimmel’s, looks at identity formation, done within systems of racism, sexism and heterosexism. How these components are formulated relies on an essentialist understanding of those identities, based on those systems, which leaves very little room for ambiguity or crossing of boundaries (Perry 2003b). When subordinate groups, such as gender non-conforming individuals or members of the GLBT community, attempt to redefine difference by crossing boundaries, “they may become vulnerable to attack” (Perry 2003b:104).

Gregory M. Herek (1992) theorized that cultural heterosexism is a cause of anti-gay violence, saying “anti-gay violence is a logical, albeit extreme, extension of the heterosexism that pervades American society... Like racism, sexism, and other ideologies of oppression, heterosexism is manifested both in societal customs and institutions, such as religion and the legal system...and in individual attitudes and behaviors” (p. 89). He theorized that heterosexism has been manifested in religious, legal, health and media institutions, which constitutes cultural heterosexism (Herek 1992). He also points to the symbolic statuses placed on gays and lesbians, such as deviant or sick, and how these shape cultural ideologies; this ideology, he theorized, creates conditions where gays and lesbians can become victims. His focus on how heterosexism relates to ideologies of gender gives space for trans identities; “gay people are stigmatized not only for their erotic behavior but for their perceived violation of gender norms” (Herek 1992:97). Herek (1992) also explains the ideology of gender differences being “natural” further justifies stigmatization. Violence against gender non-conforming bodies

may be similar to violence against gays and lesbians, especially when issues of gender identity and sexuality are often confounded in the media. However, this type of violence has rarely been addressed directly. What seems apparent is the common source for violence, which is racism, sexism and heterosexism directed toward the Other.

Perry (2003a) also acknowledges that violence that stems from othering is especially brutal. “To the extent that hate crime perpetrators are motivated by fear, hatred, mistrust or resentment of their victims...they are more likely to engage in extreme violence—violence that is beyond that necessary to subdue the victims” (p. 6). This is the case of anti-gay violence, where there is an elevated risk of multiple stabbings, genital mutilation and torture (Perry 2003a).

Keeping in mind the limitations of tracking violence against the gender non-conforming, a few studies have been done, finding varying rates of victimization for people who are transgender, or perceived to be transgender. The Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (GenderPAC) surveyed 402 transpeople in 1996 and 1997 with questionnaires distributed across the United States by volunteers at transgender meetings and events. According to their study, almost 60 percent of respondents have been victims of violence or harassment over their lifetime. Twenty-three percent reported being stalked or followed, 19 percent have been assaulted, 14 percent had been raped or there had been an attempted rape and 18 percent have had objects thrown at them (Lombardi, et al. 2001). In interviews of 515 transpeople living in San Francisco, Kristen Clements-Nolle and members of the San Francisco Department of Health (2006) found that widespread discrimination and victimization led to a high number of suicide attempts. According to their findings, 59 percent reported forced sex or rape, 83 percent reported verbal attacks, and 36 percent reported physical attacks (Clements-Nolle, et al. 2006).

There are also race, age and class elements in gender non-conforming violence; it is frequently found that transgender youth have the highest rates of victimization (Hunter 1992: Lombardi, et al. 2001; Wilchins and Taylor 2006), and gender non-conforming Blacks and Latino/as are far more frequently the victims of murder than Whites (Wilchins and Taylor 2006). In their study of 50 murder victims, all of whom were youth targeted for not conforming to gender norms, Wilchins and Taylor (2006) found that youths of color made up 91 percent of the victims. In overall hate crime statistics, for all populations, African-Americans are the most frequent targets (Perry 2003a). Lombardi, et al. (2001) discussed how victimization of trans youth is inflated due to homelessness and sex work, which occurs because the youths are kicked out of their homes. Wilchins and Taylor (2006) found similar correlations of homelessness and sex work, and also found that most of the victims came from poor communities.

The combination of being a person of color, and living outside of gender norms, makes many gender non-conforming individuals especially vulnerable to violence. Their chosen gender presentation also has an effect. In 92 percent of the cases Wilchins and Taylor (2006) studied, the victims were biologically male, but not presenting the hegemonic version of masculinity. As discussed above, it is this stepping away from the hegemonic masculinity, and the process of othering, that leads to punishment; as I will show with the cases included in this study, the punishment for gender non-conformers can be murder. Studying these murders is an important contribution to the research on hegemonic masculinity, othering and violence.

#### *OTHERING IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM*

Different groups of people have varying experiences with the criminal justice system, at each layer of the system. One example is provided by Howerton's (2006) study of police response

time and actions. She found police officers gave variable amounts of effort on investigating victimizations, depending upon the race and gender of the people involved. Police give the greatest effort when the offenders are non-white, and the lowest when the victims are non-white. This maps onto other literature about stereotypes of non-whites as offenders and the worthiness of victims (Stillman 2007; Castro 2002; Miller, Like and Levin 2002; Rome 2002). As Karmen (2007) points out, one of those actions—arrival at the scene in less than an hour—has not improved over time, despite lower rates of crime, prevalence of cell phones, and increases in police agency staffing. He also contends that once the police arrive, they may show indifference or detachment to the victim. While this may be a coping mechanism for the officer, it feels like a secondary victimization to the victim, who wants and needs to be taken seriously following a trauma.

Gender non-conforming individuals are often especially reluctant to go to the police to report victimization, perhaps for good reason. According to a 2005 report from Amnesty International (AI), there are terrible, flagrant, widespread abuses of transpeople by police officers throughout the United States (Amnesty International (AI) 2005). Amnesty International has long documented abuse by police based on race, gender, sexual orientation, age, immigrant status, housing status and economic status; these identities frequently intersect in trans victimization (AI 2005). The documented injustices have included a range of abuses, including profiling, denial of rights, blaming the victim, unjustified arrest, sexual assault, and torture. Mirroring victimization patterns of the larger society, the worst cases of police violence have been against low-income transpeople of color (AI 2005). Also in correspondence with other research done outside of policing, transgender youth and youth of color are more likely to be victims of police abuse (AI 2005). If the police community treats transpeople the same as, or in

some cases worse than, the rest of the community, they are not providing a safe place to report victimization.

Herek, Cogan and Gillis (2002) theorize one of the reasons hate crimes have been so underreported by gays and lesbians is the fear of secondary victimization, where the victim is afraid to have their sexual orientation publicly revealed for fear of discrimination and mistreatment by police. Indeed, Amnesty International found this is the case, especially for transgender victims; there were reports of transpeople being strip-searched to look for their “true” gender, and being placed in dangerous situations, such as holding cells and detention centers based on that perceived “true” gender, with police ignoring the actual victimization (AI 2005). This is reflected in the way police speak of gender non-conforming victims in newspaper articles; across the board they refer to the victims by their birth names and improper pronouns, even when the victim lived in their chosen gender for decades, or when friends and family refer to the chosen name and pronouns. The articles follow the lead of the police rather than family and/or friends.

Chermak (1995) points out that police have a lot of influence on which cases make it to news sources. Crime reporters rely on police, and their filters, for what is deemed important and newsworthy. The police must believe the story has merit—and is interesting—for them to pass it on to the crime reporter. The crime reporter then decides if the story has the next layer of merit—credibility, but also sensationalism, emotion and human interest (Chermak 1995). Then the general public reads the stories, or consumes them from television, radio or the Internet. Here, attributes of the reader influence the perception of the story, according to Rye, Geatrix and Enright (2006). As they found in their study, how blame and responsibility are attributed to

a characters in a story of sexual assault, as well as attitudes toward punishment for the offenders, was variable based on characteristics of the victim, offender and perceiver.

In Karmen's (2007) discussion of police, he mentions that in order to handle brutal victimizations day after day, they must convince themselves that the victims somehow had it coming to them; the victimization must have been "natural" based on how they were living their lives. This filters the information the police find important, flavors how they pass the information along to the crime reporters, and is reflected in media coverage of crimes. As I will explore more thoroughly later, when the media are filled with stereotypical images of non-whites as offenders and whites as helpless victims, it impacts how the public feels about non-white victimizations; somehow the victim deserved it, as it was a natural consequence of their violent lifestyles. This also sets up the attractive, white, middle class female "damsel in distress" as the ideal victim, for whom attention and sympathy are necessary and deserved (Stillman 2007; Wilcox 2005; Miller et al. 2002). Non-white and working-class victims are constructed in opposition to that image, deeming them less worthy of that attention and sympathy. I contend this also happens for gender non-conforming victims, who, seen in opposition to what is "natural" are blamed for their attacks. I also contend this is compounded for victims who are non-white, who must deal with issues of gender non-conformity *and* race.

### *MEDIA COVERAGE OF CRIME*

The public looks to the media for information about crime, and crime reporting influences how they perceive crime, and how the criminal justice system is handling issues of crime. Most people will never participate in the criminal justice system, as a victim or an offender (Chermak 1995), so prevailing images of crime and the criminal justice system in the general public are

from media coverage of crime news (Carll 2003; Davey 1995; Graber 1980). Graber (1980) explains that crime has been a major concern of the general public since the 1960s, perceived by the public as one of the most important issues facing the United States. According to Chermak (1995), with the rapid increase in crime rates and urban disorder, public awareness of crime and violence has also risen. Davey (1995) adds that as more resources are spent on crime detection, more crime enters the public view; this generates more fear of crime. Crime statistics are used by politicians, and have a dramatic effect on the public's fear of being victimized (Graber 1980). Chermak (1995) and Carll (2003) add that crime reporting informs policy. Graber's (1980) study of crime news found 95 percent of respondents use the mass media as their primary source of crime news.

According to Graber's (1980) content analysis study of four Midwestern newspapers and television stations in 1976, 25 percent of newspaper stories were on crime and justice topics. Individual crime news amounted to three times more coverage than the presidency, the congress or the economy. At the time of her study, there were twenty crime-related programs on television, constituting 33 percent of total programming. Crime was then, and continues to be now, a popular theme in all types of media, including books, movies and television (Chermak 1995). Chermak's content analysis of media and crime news found newspapers with an average of nine crime stories a day, and television with four per day (Chermak 1995). This coverage of crime has an impact on the way people perceive crime and the criminal justice system.

In choosing which crime stories will receive coverage, Graber (1980) explains the police are the primary filters, after which stories will be chosen based on several criteria to determine how interesting they will be to the public. Police either provide the stories to crime reporters (Graber 1980), or reporters at least verify their stories with sources from the criminal justice

system (Chermak 1995). In this way, how police perceive the crimes, victims and offenders matters to which stories are told, and how they are framed in the news. As expressed in Howerton's (2006) study of response time, attributes of the victims and offenders may matter for how police treat a crime, and as Karmen (2007) explained, police may need to believe victims played a part in the crimes against them. These filters may color the reporting of crime.

Once the stories have made it to the crime reporter, they are filtered again to determine what will make it to print. The most sensational treatment, according to Graber (1980), is given to violent crimes against individuals that occurred locally. These stories are the ones that get the most emotional response, and leave the biggest imprint on the memories of the general public. Street crimes receive the most coverage, by far; it accounts for close to half of the crime discussed on television and newspapers (Graber 1980). Reiman (2007) theorized that is because the dominant group must keep the general public afraid of street crime, and of the poor, to distract attention from the more dangerous and costly white-collar crimes. Murder is considered the most sensational crime. Though it happens rarely (0.2 percent of crime), it receives a lot of coverage (26.2 percent of crime mentions) (Graber 1980).

Chermak (1995) theorized there were five measures of newsworthiness that reporters used to decide stories: First, seriousness, where the crimes least likely to happen are most reported, such as the example of homicide. Second is incident participation, in which characteristics of the victim or offender (such as age or occupation) may increase the likelihood of coverage. Third is incident producers, where people who produce stories (such as the police) determine its worth. Fourth is uniqueness, where humor or shock increases the worthiness of a story. Last, salience, which is determined by location; coverage increases when a crime affects local residents or businesses. Salience is also relevant when a series of crimes strung together



heightens the worthiness of the events. Davey (1995) contends such a formula, as well as reporting crimes without the context of actual victimization rates, inflates fear of crime. It increases anxieties, and leads the public to believe crime is worse than it really is.

While these studies have given insight into which articles may be chosen for which reasons, they do not explore the impacts of gender non-conformity on decision-making. The victimization of gender non-conforming individuals seems it would fit the bill for reporting in some ways, but not for others. The crimes in this study are homicides, which are overrepresented in the news. The homicides are often particularly brutal, making the articles more emotional and sensational, and the reporting is often focused on the victim being a “man in women’s clothing,” adding to the uniqueness and perhaps sensationalism of the crime. On the other hand, many articles are chosen for coverage because of the potential emotional response from the observer being able to relate to the victim; this may not be the case when gender non-conforming victims are othered in the reporting.

#### *OTHERING AND CRIME IN THE MEDIA*

As discussed above, the way some groups and attributes have been othered is reflected in the way they are portrayed in the media. Also discussed above, the coverage of crime in the media is largely shaped by the information police choose to funnel to reporters. The stories are then flavored by the type of crime, and the race(s) of the people involved. African Americans are portrayed as violent and inferior to whites in the media, not just in portrayals of criminality. African American men are stereotyped as rapists, which oversexualizes and demonizes an already marginalized group. The stereotypes of African American men as criminals justify subordination, and a focus on blacks as offenders in media reports of crime. These media

messages are prolific and pervasive. The criminal justice system has people who have been influenced by those images at every level of the system, from police officers practicing racial profiling to unequal sentencing by judges. This serves as an indirect reason for overrepresentation of African Americans in the criminal justice system (Rome 2002). Wilcox adds that African American women are portrayed as independent and “sexually free,” so are more likely to be portrayed as “dangerous others” (Wilcox 2005:523).

Latino/a men and women are also characterized by stereotypes in the media that lead to their subordination. Latino men, like African American men, have been portrayed as violent criminals, from Mexican bandits to Latino drug warlords. From Columbus’s descriptions of the savage and violent people of the Americas to current academics sampling only rural and poorly educated Latinos, stereotypes of lazy, aggressive, uneducated and poor Latinos pervade the U.S. mainstream media (Castro 2002). I contend these racialized stereotypes act as a secondary punishment for gender non-conforming victims, whose othering is compounded by not being part of the rigid binary, and not being part of the dominant race; I expect to find this is reflected in the media coverage of their deaths.

As African American and Latino men are set up to be the natural offenders, white folks are cast in the role of victim. This can be seen in both the “Missing White Girl Syndrome” (Stillman 2007) and the stereotype of the innocent but brave white victim (Wilcox 2005; Miller et al. 2002). Miller et al. (2002) use several examples of media coverage of crime to show how the Bambi/predator dynamic is established. The victim is an attractive, middle class white female, and the offender is an animalistic person of color preying on her innocence. The female is lauded for her bravery in discussing the crime, and the offender is assumed to be unremorseful and acting in ways that conform to his nature. This dynamic sets up the innocent

white girl as the ultimate victim, and any other victimizations are held up against hers, creating a hierarchy of victims. Victims who diverge from that model by being poor, or a person of color, are deemed less worthy of sympathy. This plays out in which crimes get coverage in the media, and which crimes are most strictly punished. Even within race and class there is a hierarchy maintained by patriarchy, classism and racism.

Women, and perhaps especially black women, in order to be seen as ‘appropriate victims’ must be represented as decent and respectable. The assessment of such respectability is partly linked to women’s ethnicity, [and] their class background (...the good, respectable, innocent, working-class (black) woman illuminates by contrast the opposite qualities and dangerousness of non-respectable, working-class (black) women) (Wilcox 2005:522).

Stillman (2007) uses the image of the attractive, middle class white female to describe the “Missing White Girl Syndrome.” This term was coined to show how U.S. media such as CNN are far more likely to give coverage to missing middle class white women than women who are non-white or poor. She gives several examples of situations where white females have received around-the-clock coverage and public outcry where nonwhite females have not been given any attention. In the weeks preceding the writing of this paper, three transwomen, at least two of whom were women of color, were murdered in the United States. Not one of those was covered by the national press, but Natalee Holloway, who disappeared more than three years previously, was on CNN again, because of some potential new information about her crime. As Stillman described, Holloway is a stereotypically attractive, white, middle class woman; her victimization was considered worthy of national press where the three transwomen’s victimizations were not. Because African Americans and Latinos/as are already stereotyped as being part of the criminality in our society, they are deemed less newsworthy when they are victimized. This literature has explored violence against women, and racialized violence, but has not address the violence against gender non-conformers, whose othering may also serve to

blame them for their victimizations. This study will show how racialized stereotypes interact with gender non-conformity to paint a unidimensional picture in the media of a deceiver, or criminal whose attack was inevitable.

### *BLAMING THE VICTIM*

In Wolfgang's ([1957] 1967) study of 588 homicides in Philadelphia between 1948 and 1952, he estimated that 26 percent of the homicides were actually "victim-precipitated," where the victim provoked the attack that led to the death (p. 72). He discussed how homicide can be reduced to manslaughter, or an excusable homicide, if there was provocation, the attack happened in the heat of passion, the attack happened soon after the provocation, and there was a causal connection. In the case of the attacks in this study, many were framed this way by the police and by reporters; they alluded to the responsibility of the victim by describing a scenario where there was a "discovery" in the heat of the moment. In this way, the police and crime reporters are describing the homicides as victim-precipitated, making the assumption that gender non-conformity is a deception that constitutes a provocation. Consequently, the victims are being blamed for their attacks.

In general, individuals may be blamed by society for their own victimization in one of three ways. First, they may be perceived to be at fault because they are the Other, and they have stepped outside of their place (Perry 2003b). Second, they may be deemed at fault because of their "lifestyle choice," such as being a public performer or sex worker (Castro 2002; Rome 2002). Last, they may also be blamed as a way for the dominant group to let themselves "off the hook" as they watch terrible things happen in the world (Johnson 2006). Each of these will be explored in this section.

First, in her discussion of hate crimes, Perry (2003b) explains: “Members of subordinate groups are potential victims *because* of their subordinate status. They are already deemed inferior, deviant, and therefore deserving of whatever hostility and persecution comes their way” [emphasis in the original] (pp. 105-106). Violence against subordinate groups is a way of maintaining dominance and keeping others “in their place.”

Second, based on stereotypes seen in the media (Castro 2002; Rome 2002), some people who have been victims of violence are blamed by focusing on “lifestyle” choices. For people of color, the stereotypes of violence and criminality lead the dominant group to believe victimization is a natural result of such a lifestyle. In the case of gender non-conforming people, the unidimensional way they are shown, as sex workers and drag queens, serves the same purpose. Like news coverage of violence against women (Anastasio and Costa 2004; Meyers 1997, 2004), the media fixation on clothing serves to place blame on the victim for their unusual or dangerous lifestyle.

Third, the dominant group has a vested interest in blaming the victim because it can, as Johnson (2006) explains, “acknowledge that terrible things happen to people and still get off the hook...” (p. 110). In order for police to process these crimes again and again, and in order for consumers of crime news to feel safe, they must believe there was something about the victim that set them up for their victimization. Consumers of these crime stories don’t have to face their contribution to racism, sexism or heterosexism if they believe those systems had nothing to do with the victimization.

These processes of blaming the victim set the stage for offenders to minimize responsibility in the crimes. In the murders of gender non-conforming individuals, this is often seen in the strategy of the “gay panic” (formerly called the “homosexual panic”) or “trans

panic” (a variation on “gay panic”) defense. With this claim, the offender is claiming that because they were deceived by the victim, they were justifiable in their anger and reaction. The claim is that they could not help themselves, as they were having an emotional reaction to the terrible deceit (Rye et al. 2006). This works when members of the public, and criminal justice system, also see the gender non-conforming victim as a deceiver, and can relate to the level of emotion that must “naturally” follow the revelation of a “true” sex. The media helps to set the stage by the unidimensional and biased coverage of the homicide events. Newspapers use language such as “true sex” and “real name” to allude to the victim being dishonest about their gender. Many times the offender picked up their victim in areas known to be frequented by transgender sex workers, yet the offender claims to have been a victim of deception. This story is validated when the police repeat it, and further solidified when the media writes it in a way that shows such a violent reaction was inevitable.

This victim blaming is the focus of the current study. As gender has been socially constructed into a binary, it has othered those that differ from the hegemonic masculinity. Othering is also taking place in race, where those not in the dominant group are stereotyped as oversexed and criminal. Those who have been othered are then seen as unidimensional. This perception of the Other is seen in media coverage, which treats victims who are gender non-conforming and/or people of color in stereotypical and dehumanizing ways. As discussed above, I expect to find non-white gender non-conforming victims face a second layer of dehumanization, in that they will more often be called deceivers and sex workers, alluding to their own complicity in their deaths.

## **METHODS**

### *DATA COLLECTION*

Primarily using the online database called “Remembering Our Dead,” I compiled a list of gender non-conforming homicide victims murdered between 1995 and 2008. This list was created and maintained until 2006 by transgender activist Gwen Smith; a supplemental list is now maintained by transgender activist Ethan St. Pierre, whose aunt was one of the victims. Names are compiled through news articles, and reports from activists around the world. It is not possible to know how complete the list is, especially worldwide, and given the limitations explained above. With an extensive Internet network, however, trans activists have been able to be more and more thorough. Included in the list are individuals who were victimized because of their gender expression, whether it was their identity, they were perceived to be gender non-conforming, or they were in the proximity of a gender non-conforming person. I chose the year 1995 as a cut off because, although media coverage for gender non-conforming victims is sporadic for most years, it is especially sparse before 1995. After that year, coverage became sufficient enough to begin examining trends.

For each victim, I did two full searches. First, I did a search using Google to find online media that could give me more information about the victim<sup>3</sup>. This way I was able to find additional information for each victim, including details about the crime, alternative names, and,

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<sup>3</sup> Stillman (2007) discusses how ‘citizen journalists’ use guerilla communication tactics on the Internet to share stories and details about crimes that are ignored by mainstream media. In the case of a black woman named LaToyia Figuerroa who disappeared at the same time as the internationally famous case of Natalee Holloway, it was these guerilla tactics that got the attention of CNN and USA Today. These tactics are used by the transgender community to make sure gender non-conforming victims’ stories are told.

in most cases, more demographic details. I searched by birth names and/or chosen names, whichever I had from Remembering Our Dead, as well as offenders' names, if known. Much of what I found for the victims was information from transgender activists discussing vigils and hate crime legislation. Additionally, for some victims, there were press releases from GLBT organizations and/or articles from GLBT media organizations.

After collecting this additional information for each case, I conducted a second search using LexisNexis Academic. For homicides that occurred in Southern California, I performed an additional search of the Los Angeles Times Archive, accessed through ProQuest Newspapers. I searched by chosen name, birth name, city, or details of the crime (such as street names) to find as many articles as I could for each victim. If a name of an offender was given in any article, I also searched by the offender(s) name(s). Each of the articles from the Google search and the LexisNexis search was printed and filed in chronological order.

The unit of analysis for this study is each victim of a homicide. Between both of the searches, I identified between zero and six articles about each victim, primarily from the second search. Articles in which the victims' names only appeared with lists of victims for the annual "Transgender Day of Remembrance" were removed from the sample unless they were the only information available about the homicide. Letters to the Editor, Press Releases from advocacy groups and individual blogs were excluded from content coding, but used if necessary for demographic details. Additionally, in the case of multiple articles with only a few words of differences, duplicate articles were removed from the sample.

For victims with zero to six articles about the crime, all of the found articles were included in the coding. For victims who have more than six articles, the first six articles from different news sources were coded. The choice of coding different sources was to give the most



robust look at the portrayal of victimization from a variety of news outlets. The first six were chosen because they were the articles most likely to be about the homicide incident itself, not about arrests or criminal proceedings after the incident. Articles were chosen using a combination of the priorities for chronology and different news sources. If the victim has more than six articles, but fewer than six unique sources, articles were chosen chronologically, and by unique news source. For example, if articles one through four were from the same newspaper, then seven and twelve were from different sources, I would code one through four for chronology, then seven and twelve to incorporate the different media outlets. The others (5, 6 and 8-11) were not coded.

#### *ASSOCIATED PRESS STYLE GUIDE*

It is important to note that the *Associated Press* has standards for discussing individuals in the news that identify as transgender, or live in a gender other than the one they were assigned at birth. The standards are outlined in the Associated Press Stylebook, which is a style and usage guide widely accepted as the standard for news reporting. Organizations such as GenderPAC and Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) have met with the Associated Press in recent years to negotiate updates. From 1977 to 2000, the standard was to refer to a chosen name and pronouns only after a person had sex reassignment surgery. The word *transsexuals* first appeared in 1977 as well. The 2000 update said to use preferred pronouns for anyone who had “acquired physical characteristics (by hormone therapy, body modification, or surgery) of the opposite sex...” It also said if a preference was not given, the pronouns should be “consistent with the way the individuals live publicly” (GLAAD 2006a). In 2003, the clause regarding hormones and surgery was removed, to recognize that not all

transgender people use body modification as part of their identity. In 2005, the word *transgender* was introduced to the Stylebook; in 2006 that entry was updated to say preferred pronouns should be used if the individuals “present themselves in a way that does not correspond with their sex at birth” (GLAAD 2006a). As of 2006, the word *transsexual* now refers the user to the entry for *transgender* (GLAAD 2006a). As of 2005, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have guidelines to use the word transgender only when it is clearly pertinent, and to only use the preferred name and pronouns if a former name is “newsworthy or pertinent” (GLAAD 2006b).

**Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for gender non-conforming homicide victims in the United States, 1995 to 2008.**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Frequency (percent)</b>
<b>DEPENDENT VARIABLES</b>	
Victim as Deceiver	34.62%
Victim as Sex Worker	30.77%
<b>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</b>	
<b>Victim Race</b>	
Caucasian/Other/Unknown*	43.85%
African-American	37.69%
Latino/a (any race)	18.46%
<b>Media Attributes</b>	
National	25.38%
Wire Service	35.38%
<b>Region</b>	
South	41.54%
West	24.62%
Northeast	19.23%
Midwest*	14.62%
<b>Overkill</b>	38.46%
<b>Victim Clothing Discussed</b>	30.77%
<b>Victim as Criminal</b>	15.38%
<b>N</b>	130

\* omitted category

## MEASURES

### DEPENDENT VARIABLES

To look at the way media coverage of gender non-conforming homicides blames the victim for their deaths, I examined two dependent variables, *deceiver* and *sex worker*. Given the experience of transwomen in the criminal justice system having their “true” gender challenged (Amnesty International 2005), and the prevalence of “gay panic” defenses used in cases of gender non-conforming attacks (Rye et al. 2006), I created a *deceiver* dichotomous variable. If the victim had at least one article that used language to describe them as a deceiver, the variable was coded as one; if no articles used such language the variable was coded zero. Words that were considered deceiver language were phrases such as “true sex”, “really a man”, mentions of a “double life”, a “hidden secret” or anything about a “real” or “true” identity. More than one-third of the victims (34.62 percent) had at least one article describe them as a deceiver.

As discussed above, racialized stereotypes of African Americans and Latinos/as as oversexualized and criminal can blame people of color for their own victimizations based on perception of “lifestyle” choices (Wilcox 2005; Castro 2002; Rome 2002). Close to one-third of the victims (30.77 percent) were called a sex worker. It is impossible to know how many of the victims were actually sex workers, but in many cases, family and friends vehemently denied the police’s allegations that the victim was involved in sex work. To examine who is called a sex worker in this study, I created a dichotomous *victim as sex worker* variable in which I coded if at least one article explicitly referred to the victim as a sex worker, beyond hints or subtleties (one) or if no articles made such reference (zero). Given these stereotypes based on race and gender non-conformity, I expect to find that race will impact both the likelihood of being called a deceiver, and a sex worker.

## INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

To examine attributes that may contribute to variation in being called a deceiver or sex worker, I created independent variables for race, and several control variables. For attributes of the victims, I examined the *race* dummy variables, divided into categories of African American, Latino/a (any race), and Caucasian/Other/Unknown. The victims' race was designated in the coding only if explicitly mentioned by activists or reporters, or in other research. There are three categories of *race* because there were so few victims known to be Caucasian, Asian or Pacific Islander, or Native American. I compared the categories of Asian or Pacific Islander and Native American, as well as unknown to African American, Latino/a and Caucasian, and found they had similar effects on the dependent variables as Caucasian. It may be that many of the unknown victims are Caucasian, but because they were of the dominant group, as described above, their race was not discussed. To maintain parsimony in the models, the three simplified categories were used. Using this categorization, more than one-third of the victims (37.69 percent) were African American, and nearly one-fifth (18.46 percent) were Latino/a. Nearly 44 percent of the victims were Caucasian/Other/Unknown. I expect to find that race will impact the likelihood of a victim being called a *deceiver* or a *sex worker*, controlling for other potential impacts.

For control variables I looked at media type, region, overkill, and two attributes of the media coverage, *clothing* and *victim as criminal*. For the types of media, I created two variables, *national* and *wire*. *National* is a dichotomous variable coded one if the victim had at least one article in one of the top ten newspapers by circulation, or zero if the victim had no

articles in a top ten newspaper<sup>4</sup>. *Wire* is coded similarly; it is dichotomized with one if the victim had at least one article about them written by a wire service, such as the Associated Press, or zero if there was no wire coverage. Articles were coded as being from a wire service if the company who published the article called themselves a wire service; most were from the Associated Press. About thirty-five percent of the victims (35.38 percent) had at least one article picked up by a wire service. To control for any cultural effects due to regionality, I created dichotomous variables for each of four regions; Northeast, West, Midwest and South. The two cases from Puerto Rico were added to the South, for proximity, and the closest match for culture around gender roles. The regions are each coded one if the murder took place in that geographical region (using the United States Census designations [U.S. Census Bureau 2001]), or zero if the murder was in any other part of the United States. More than forty percent of the murders took place in the South (41.54 percent), while about one-quarter (24.62 percent) occurred in the West. Just under twenty percent happened in the Northeast (19.23 percent) and around fifteen percent in the Midwest (14.62 percent). The variable *overkill* dichotomizes whether the victim was a case of overkill (one) or was not (zero). For this paper, the definition for “overkill” was taken from Taff and Boglioli’s (1997) examination of overkill and gay homicides: “...a phenomenon in which the multiplicity of wounds far outnumbers that required to cause death” (p. 411). Cases where not enough detail was known to determine if the attack was overkill were coded as zero. I included this variable as a control because I thought overkill scenarios may be more likely to get coverage based on the sensational aspects of the story. To

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<sup>4</sup> Top ten newspapers by circulation (2008): *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Post*, *New York Daily News*, *The Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Arizona Republic* (Burrelles Luce 2008).

control for features of the media coverage, I created variables for *clothing* and *victim as criminal*. *Clothing* is dichotomous, coded one if at least one article mentions specifics about the garments the victim was wearing at the time of death, or when the body was found, and zero if there is no mention of clothing. Nearly one-third (30.77 percent) of the victims had their clothing discussed. *Victim as criminal* is also dichotomous, coded one if the victim had at least one article discuss their criminal past, and zero if there were no such articles. Being called a sex worker alone was not sufficient for being coded a one; there must have been specific mention of past arrests on any type of charges. About fifteen percent (15.38 percent) of victims were discussed as criminals in this study.

To check for multicollinearity, I looked at correlations between each of the independent variables, and examined the variance inflation factors (VIFs) for each of the models. No independent variables were more than moderately correlated, with the highest score of 0.27, except for *regions*, which correlated up to 0.41. See Appendix C for full correlation table. One place I suspected there may be a high correlation is between *sex worker* and *victim as criminal*; the score is 0.27. Using Stata's VIF function, I found no VIF score surpassed my cutoff of 2.3.

### *DATA ANALYSIS*

After each article was coded for content, I entered the results into Stata version 10.1. From here I performed both quantitative and qualitative research on each case. For quantitative research, I examined descriptive statistics, as seen in Table 1, and logistic regression, as seen in Tables 2 and 3.

Logistic regression was used to examine how attributes of the victim, crime, or coverage may help to explain whether the victim was called a deceiver or sex worker. As explained

above, I expect to find that race will impact the likelihood of a victim being called a deceiver and/or sex worker. To explore this, I ran four logistic regression models for each dependent variable, *deceiver* and *sex worker*. For both, I ran a model with just the dependent variable and the independent variable of *race*. Next, I explored control variables that may or may not impact the effects of race on being called a deceiver or sex worker. I added control variables in a series, starting with media attributes. I added *national* and *wire* to see if either getting national coverage or getting coverage from a wire service impacted the race effect. Next, I added *region* to see if that impacted race, or media attributes. Last I added control variables for the attributes of the specific attack and coverage, putting in *overkill*, *clothing* and *victim as criminal* into the model together. These were added to see if they impacted the effects of race, or any of the other control variables.

I performed qualitative research by using content analysis, examining the language used in each of the coded articles. For each article, I recorded the headline, up to three quotes using deceiver language, and up to three other interesting quotes. I also took notes on each article so I could see as trends emerged. Both the qualitative and quantitative findings are explored below, in the results section. For each dependent variable I discuss the findings from the logistic regression models, then explore qualitative examples taken from the articles themselves.

## RESULTS

### VICTIMS AS DECEIVERS

**Table 2. Odds Ratios for Nested Models for Victim as Deceiver. Standard Errors in parentheses.**

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Victim Race</b>				
African-American	1.488 (0.632)	1.340 (0.591)	1.362 (0.611)	1.882 (0.939)
Latino/a (any race)	3.308* (1.682)	2.617+ (1.395)	2.493+ (1.362)	3.951* (2.379)
Caucasian/Other/Unknown				
<b>Media Attributes</b>				
National		2.748* (1.194)	3.118* (1.457)	3.371* (1.651)
Wire Service		1.826 (0.732)	1.769 (0.724)	1.898 (0.815)
<b>Region</b>				
South			0.659 (0.428)	0.477 (0.334)
West			1.257 (0.849)	0.770 (0.565)
Northeast			1.257 (0.874)	0.882 (0.660)
Midwest				
<b>Overkill</b>				0.997 (0.005)
<b>Victim Clothing Discussed</b>				2.810* (1.248)
<b>Victim as Criminal</b>				3.325* (1.933)
<b>N</b>	130	130	130	130
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.033	0.079	0.092	0/157
<b>-2 log likelihood</b>	162.068	154.448	152.607	141.323
<b>Model chi-square</b>		7.62* (2 vs. 1)	2.24 (3 vs. 2)	10.88* (4 vs. 3)

\* p > .05 \*\* p > .01 \*\*\* p > .001 + p > .10

As discussed earlier, about 35 percent of all of the victims in this study were called deceivers.

More than a third (34.69 percent) of African-American victims and more than half (54.17 percent) of Latino/a victims were described in this way in at least one article. Looking at the



models in Table 2, Latinos/as were significantly more likely to be called a deceiver, before the addition of control variables, as seen in Model 1. In this model, Latino/a victims were 3.3 times more likely to be called a deceiver than the Caucasian/Other/Unknown group. To see if that impact changes with control variables, Model 2 adds media attributes of *national* and *wire*, to see if having an article in a top ten newspaper or a wire service impacts the effect of race. As seen in Model 2, Latino/a is still a significant predictor, but the effect decreases from 3.3 times more likely to 2.6 times more likely. Victims who had articles in a top ten newspaper were 2.7 times more likely to be called deceivers than those who only received local coverage. According to the Model Chi-square, the addition of these variables improved the fit of the model consistently. Model 3 added regional variables, to control for any effects due to cultural differences. The *region* variables were not significant, but the addition of the variables did increase the odds ratio for *national* (2.7 to 3.1) and lower the Latino/a variable a little bit more, from 2.6 to 2.5. The addition of these variables did not significantly improve the fit of the model, or help to explain who is called a deceiver. Model 4 added the final controls variables, to see if *overkill*, *clothing* and *victim as criminal* had any impact on race or the model fit. *Clothing* and *victim as criminal* were both significant; victims who had the specific clothing they were wearing at the time of the attack discussed were 2.8 times more likely to be discussed in terms of deceiver language, and victims who had details of their criminal past discussed were 3.3 times as likely to be called a deceiver. The addition of these controls pushed the odds ratio for Latino/a back up to nearly 4 times more likely to be called a deceiver. The addition of these variables did significantly improve the fit of the model, helping to explain the variance in who is called a deceiver.

Given racialized stereotypes of African Americans and Latinos/as (Castro 2002; Rome 2002), I predicted that the race of the victim would impact the likelihood of being called a deceiver by the media. Latinos/as were significantly more likely to be called deceivers, but there was not a significant effect for African Americans. Also significant was that national newspapers were more than 3 times more likely to use deceiver language, net of all other controls. The addition of the control variables significantly improved the fit of the model and showed that the media paints an overall picture of gender non-conforming victims as unidimensional criminals and deceivers, especially non-white victims.

Examining the content analysis of the articles, reports discussing the homicide of gender non-conforming victims often discuss the victim as a deceiver who was hiding their “true” sex or identity from the world, or from the offender. In a subtle way, media articles created the image of a deceiver by using male pronouns and names to describe the victim. Though many of the victims lived full-time as women, went by feminine names, and/or had legally changed their names, close to 87 percent of the victims were primarily referred to by their masculine birth name, and nearly 85 percent of victims were referred to using male pronouns by at least one article.

The media also used less subtle ways to paint a picture of deception. Articles often referred to the victim as living “two lives” or alluded to a “real” identity. *The New York Post* (Celona, Sockwell, and Montero 1998) reported victim Jamaica Green was “. . . only masquerading as a woman.” In a November 1998 article about the death of Chanel Chandler, the *Associated Press* (1998) wrote, “Chandler was actually Charles William Roe, a young man . . .” Writing about the same case, *The Fresno Bee* reported, “It was nearly a week before police revealed . . . the case’s biggest twist: Chanel Chandler was really a man” (Yoshino 1998a). The

next month they reported, "Chandler told very few people of his true identity and kept it secret even from his roommate" (Yoshino 1998b). Assuming one's gender is something that can be "discovered," Michelle Locke of the *Associated Press* (2002) reported, in the case of Gwen Araujo, "Paul Merel's girlfriend took Araujo into a bathroom at the Merel's house to settle the question of his [sic] gender, then announced he [sic] was a boy." When *The Boston Globe* wrote about Chanelle Pickett's death the headline reported ". . . police cite sex secret as motive" (O'Brien and Bai 1995). *The Patriot Ledger* in Quincy, Massachusetts, reporting on the same crime, wrote the offender ". . . unknowing brought home a transvestite from a bar and then strangled him when he discovered his true sex . . . ." (*The Patriot Ledger* 1995).

Use of deceiver language is also often used when describing a sex act between the victim and offender, setting up the "trans panic" defense, and blaming the victim for the attack. When three men were convicted of killing 17-year-old Nireah Johnson the *Associated Press* reported ". . . he discovered that the cross-dressing youth was not a girl following an intimate encounter" (*Associated Press* 2004). *The Washington Post*, in a 2003 article about Antoine Jacobs shooting Bella Evangelista multiple times, explained ". . . Jacobs believed he had paid a woman for oral sex" (Fahrenthold 2003b). *The New York Daily News* said of Steve McMillan, after he murdered Sanesha Stewart, ". . . he must have been shocked to discover he was with a man" (Paddock et al. 2008). When Angie Zapata was murdered in 2008, it was reported the offender killed her ". . . after he discovered Zapata--who had performed a sex act on him the day before--was physically a man . . . ." (Whaley 2008).

Underlying the discussion of sex acts between victims and offenders is often an assumption that the encounter would have been considered homosexual (discounting the victims' identities as women), and therefore emasculating or disgusting. *Houston Chronicle*

staff writer Carol Christian (2001) quoted the killer's lawyer to explain the murder of Francisco Javier Luna-Jaime saying "That (sexual encounter) wounded his male pride." Hughes' (2002) article for *The Record* of Bergen County, New Jersey quoted lawyers from the trial of Victor Pachas' murder:

“Do you think that would be a shocking development? . . . Could you image the disgust a person who is not a homosexual might have? Do you think there would be some reason to have fear as well as anger? . . . What other perversions might he be subjected to?”

This again sets the table for a gay or trans panic defense, where, supposedly, homosexuality was thrust upon an unsuspecting heterosexual, who therefore had every right to act in anger. A scenario of victim blaming was also established by painting a picture of gender non-conforming victims as sex workers, leading a dangerous “lifestyle.”

VICTIMS AS SEX WORKERS

**Table 3. Odds Ratios for Nested Models for Victim as Sex Worker. Standard Errors in parentheses.**

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
<b>Victim Race</b>				
African-American	1.623 (0.675)	1.431 (0.618)	1.447 (0.636)	2.382+ (1.194)
Latino/a (any race)	0.674 (0.393)	0.525 (0.324)	0.450 (0.286)	0.664 (0.453)
Caucasian/Other/Unknown				
<b>Media Attributes</b>				
National		2.702* (1.210)	2.832* (1.350)	3.550* (1.832)
Wire Service		0.502 (0.219)	0.461+ (0.208)	0.429+ (0.206)
<b>Region</b>				
South			1.102 (0.749)	0.891 (0.642)
West			2.065 (1.482)	1.515 (1.164)
Northeast			1.847 (1.351)	1.516 (1.175)
Midwest				
<b>Overkill</b>				0.999 (0.005)
<b>Victim Clothing Discussed</b>				1.134 (0.528)
<b>Victim as Criminal</b>				7.266*** (4.359)
<b>N</b>	130	130	130	130
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.018	0.064	0.078	0.154
<b>-2 Log Likelihood</b>	157.673	150.173	147.990	135.704
<b>Model chi-square</b>		7.50* (2 vs. 1)	2.18 (3 vs. 2)	12.29** (4 vs. 3)

\* p > .05 \*\* p > .01 \*\*\* p > .001 + p > .10

Of the 30.77 percent of victims who were described as sex workers, nearly half (47.50 percent) were African American. About 20 percent of the Latino/a victims were also described in this way. Again using logistic regression, I examined how race impacts the likelihood of gender non-conforming victims being called sex workers, whether or not the allegations were

confirmed. In Model 1, I looked at just the effect of race on being called a sex worker. Neither African Americans or Latinos/as were significantly more likely to be discussed in such terms. As with the dependent variable for *deceiver*, I added in control variables to see how they would impact the effect of race. Model 2 added media attributes, as seen in the victim receiving national coverage, or being discussed in a wire service article. Victims who had received at least one national article were 2.7 times more likely to be called sex workers. The addition of media attributes lowered the odds ratios for race, but those odds ratios are still not significant. They did, however, improve the fit of the model, according to the Model chi-square. Adding *region*, as seen in Model 3, made *national* and *wire* both significant, though none of the regions were significant. With the addition of regions, victims receiving national coverage increased from 2.7 to 2.8 times more likely to be called a sex worker, and those who were written about by a wire service were significantly less likely (0.46) to be called a sex worker. The addition of these variables did not significantly improve the fit of the model. Model 4 added the final control variables, for *overkill*, *clothing* and *victim as criminal*. In this final model, African Americans were significantly more likely to be called sex workers, with an odds ratio of 2.4. *National* increased from 2.8 to 3.5 times more likely, *wire* decreased slightly (0.46 to 0.43) and the *region* variables stayed non-significant. *Victim as criminal* was significant; victims who had specific details about their criminal past discussed—not just a criminal history of prostitution—were 7.3 times more likely to be called sex workers. The addition of these final controls improved the fit of the model, helping to explain who is called a sex worker.

While Latinos/as were significantly more likely to be called deceivers, African Americans, given the controls in Model 4, were significantly more likely to be accused of being sex workers. Stereotypes of African American transwomen as sex workers may serve to let the

readers off the hook, allowing them to blame the victim's death on their "lifestyle" and criminality. Again, this paints a picture of gender non-conformers in a monolithic way, as criminals, deceivers and sex workers whose murders were inevitable.

Turning to the content analysis of the articles, more than thirty percent of the gender non-conforming victims were called a sex worker in at least one of the articles written about them. Most of the time, police were the source of the allegations. In many cases the family, or friends of the deceased, disagreed with the designation. Even when victims were not called sex workers, allusions were often made, saying the person's body was found in an area frequented by transgender sex workers, or naming an area of town known for sex work. For example, when teenager Lauryn Paige Fuller was stabbed more than sixty times in the head, throat and rectum, the *Austin American-Statesman* reported she was known to frequent areas ". . . where police have conducted numerous prostitution raids. . . ." (Banta 1999). When Tracey Thompson was murdered, the local newspaper reported, "The Dalton man was known as a transvestite who frequented truck stops. . . ." (*Chattanooga Times Free Press* 1999). *The Record* of Bergen County, New Jersey reported Kareem Washington must have been a prostitute killed by a pimp because the area of the incident ". . . is notorious as a place where prostitutes solicit business before taking their clients elsewhere" (Ayala 1999). In 2003, when reporting on the murder of Emonie Kiera Spaulding, *The Washington Post* reported her body had been found ". . . near a wooded area that residents said draws drug users and prostitutes" (Fahrenthold and Weichselbaum 2003). They later reported "Police said it remained unclear whether prostitution or a sex-related discovery had played a role. . . (Fahrenthold 2003a).

The discussion of the victim as a sex worker was often intermixed with the portrayal of the victim as a deceiver. This serves as part of painting an overall image of the victim leading a

high-risk, illegal and illegitimate life as a prostitute, making her victimization inevitable. When the *Miami New Times* published their June 2000 article about the death of Deja Johnson the article said, “They are so convincingly feminine that many of their regular dates have no idea what gender they are, even after they’ve had sex” (Korten 2000). *The Albuquerque Journal* described Ryan Shey Hoskie’s murder saying Hoskie “. . . was killed when a customer realized the man’s gender. . .” (Wilham 2005). The article gave much details of Hoskie’s past sex work arrests, including details of two past arrests.

These examples illustrate the ways media articles can paint a picture of the victim, and of all gender non-conformers, as having complicity in their murders. The language of the articles assumes agreement; the police who report the murders, and the reporters who cover them assume the reader will find the “deception” shocking, and the label of sex worker as natural, contributing to the unidimensional image of those who live outside of the gender binary and the overall blame for the attack.

## **DISCUSSION**

When an “ideal victim” is murdered, their stories are told—their hopes and dreams, the families they left behind. When a gender non-conforming individual is murdered, the coverage tends to focus less on the individual, and more on their status as a gender non-conformer, or on the attack itself. When there is discussion of the victim, it is often in a trivial or dehumanizing way.

As shown above, this dehumanization is compounded by race. Latino/a victims are significantly more likely to be called deceivers, and African American victims are significantly more likely to be called sex workers, given media attributes, regions and attributes of the crime as controls (see Tables 2 and 3). All victims were more likely to be called deceivers and sex



workers if their stories received national coverage. The dehumanizing coverage was seen in other ways as well, in the ways the authors discussed the victims' clothing, their criminal history, or even their genitals.

For more than 30 percent of the victims in this study, their clothing was a topic of discussion for at least one of the articles written about them. For example, in *The Boston Globe's* coverage of the 1995 death of Chanelle Pickett, they described the clothing the victim was wearing when her strangled body was found. "Pickett was wearing jeans and a women's fashionable top when he was found. . . Police recovered a black, curly, long-haired wig. . ." (O'Brien and Bai 1995).

For several of the victims, the description got as intimate as mentioning bras and panties. In *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* article about victim Alexis King, Arnold and Boyer (2006) wrote, "On the morning he was killed . . . Brandon L. King was wearing a green jacket with a fur collar, trousers, a black bra and pink panties." When Anjelica Lucero was murdered in 2002, Arizona State University's school newspaper, *The State Press*, reported she was "clad in a blue woman's tank top, "low-rider" jeans, a strapless padded bra and blue thong panties" (Watson 2002).

As discussed above, for about 15 percent of the victims, their criminal history—excluding any mention of sex work—was discussed in the media coverage. For some, there was minor discussion of prior arrests, such as saying Cinnamon Broadus ". . . had a long record of arrests on drug and other charges. . ." (Friedberg 2003). For others, there was extensive discussion of the victim's criminal past, such as the several articles regarding victim John D. Mayo's sex offender status (Carlisle 2005a; Carlisle 2005b; *Deseret News* 2005). Though Mayo had been murdered, dismembered, and had body parts spread around a desolate area, the focus

of much of the coverage was on the past sex offenses. Headlines included “Dismembered Body Was That of Sex Offender” (*Deseret News* 2005) and “Victim’s Sex Crimes Detailed” (Carlisle 2005b). Just as discussed earlier with the examples of African Americans and Latinos/as (Rome 2002; Castro 2002), discussing a group of people as violent or criminal makes their victimization seem inevitable based on their lifestyle.

Another theme found in the articles was portraying the victim as leading a tortured or shameful life. Several articles pointed out the family of the victim accepted them *despite* their lifestyle or perceived sexuality, as if assuming rejection was an option given the victim’s trans status. This was even seen in the GLBT press, such as the *Gay People’s Chronicle* (2001) reporting Robert Martin’s family accepted him “. . . even though he often wore dresses and women's wigs." The *St. Petersburg Times* (1998) said of victim Tasha Dunn, “Dunn's friends were able to look beyond his unconventional sexuality. . .” (Wexler 1998). When Robert Lee Armstrong was murdered in 2006 the local newspaper reported “. . . the only motive he can come up with is 'hate', because Armstrong was wearing women's clothing." (*Ann Arbor News* 2006).

Articles also objectified gender non-conforming bodies by discussing the breasts and/or genitals of several of the victims. In cases like Amanda Milan and Alina Marie Barragan, the articles reported the victims had been hoping for future Sexual Reassignment Surgery (SRS) (Siegal 2000; Romano 2000). In other articles, details on the victims’ surgery status were given. When Chanel Chandler was murdered the *Fresno Bee* (Yoshino 1998a) reported, “After moving, he [sic] underwent breast implant surgery, but never had his [sic] male sex organs removed." *The Oregonian* (Danks 2001) reported Loni Kai “. . . identified as female, but had not undergone a sex-change operation.”

These limited discussions of the lives of the victims put the focus on the victim as an individual, and let the reader off the hook for the systems of violence that may have been responsible for her death. If an article ignores the victims' hopes and dreams, and focuses on their clothing or genitals, it allows the reader to find comfort that the victim had it coming to them, and therefore, they are safe. Many assumptions are written into the coverage of trans victimizations, including sexual deviance, and the offensiveness of being gender non-conforming. For the police, reporter or even family of the victim to assume a trans panic, or that the victim's gender expression was the reason for the homicide, gives validity to the trans panic defense, and blames the victim for their death.

## **CONCLUSION**

As I've displayed above, many gender non-conforming homicide victims are subject to dehumanizing portrayal of their lives in the media coverage that follows their death. For non-white victims, however, this negative portrayal is compounded. African American victims are more than twice as likely to be called sex workers, and Latino/s are nearly 4 times as likely to be called deceivers, than Caucasian/White/Unknown victims. Non-white gender non-conforming victims are subject to a second layer of punishment and humiliation in the media coverage of their deaths, with the media painting a picture of their lives as dangerous, and their deaths within their own responsibilities. This coverage lets the dominant group off the hook, and begins again the cycle of othering gender non-conformers.

As prior research on media coverage of violence against women has shown, the media's treatment of marginalized individuals serves to blame the victims for their own deaths. As women, the working-class, and people of color have been discussed in opposition to a

hegemonic masculinity, they have been othered, and their victimizations have been minimized. Gender non-conforming victims of homicide have been presented in a unidimensional way, presented as a collection of stereotypical attributes that allow the reader to distance themselves from the crime, and believe the homicide was inevitable based on the choices of the victim, not their participation in a system that legitimized gendered violence.

This paper explored how the social construction of gender into a binary others those who do not adhere to a hegemonic masculinity. That difference is devalued, even demonized, othering those who do not fit into the binary, and often leading to violence. When this othering meets the criminal justice system, and the media, a situation of an “ideal victim” is created, where one type of victim gets sympathy and all others get blame for the violence against them. For gender non-conforming victims of homicide, this means the police blame the victim for their death, then police influence on crime reporting passes those conclusions onto the public. I have shown how this is manifested in the media coverage of gender non-conforming homicides. Such coverage relies on dehumanizing the victim, trivializing the homicide and focusing on unidimensional aspects of the victim, such as their clothing. As shown above, media coverage of these homicides relies on racialized stereotypes, such as Latinos/as as deceivers, and African Americans as sex workers, and this stereotypical picture often gets national attention. Media coverage also dehumanizes, focusing on trivial details such as clothing instead of personal details, like the victim’s hopes and dreams. This paints a picture of gender non-conformers as a monolithic group of deceivers and sex workers, leading dangerous, violent lives that were inevitably going to lead to their death, and therefore, the dominant group need not take any responsibility.

This study faced several limitations. For example, it is not possible to be aware of every homicide that is related to the victim's gender non-conformity. Because so much violence goes unreported, and so many gender non-conforming individuals live their lives in secret, it is difficult to know how many have been captured by the media, or even by activists. If the news reporting doesn't use recognizable language, or local activists do not know of the crime, it is not included in the Remembering Our Dead database, and is therefore not a part of this study. Also, as a researcher I was reliant on the methodological strengths of those that designed the database. Their desire was to capture the stories of deaths that happened specifically because the person was gender non-conforming. Knowing the process of police and media filtering, it is hard to know the complete stories of these victims; as long as this is a stigmatized and heavily oppressed group, we must acknowledge the limitations of the information available to the media and to activists. In my research I found many variable spellings of names, and inconsistencies between news reports. If I did not know the name was misspelled, or that some attribute of the crime was reported incorrectly, I was not able to find all of the relevant articles. This may also be affecting my results, and as with the other limitations, it is impossible to know the extent. As discussed in the introduction, this study cannot know all of the violence against gender non-conforming individuals in the United States.

This study attempts to be a form of queer archaeology, a phrase adapted from Stillman's (2007) term "feminist archaeology." Stillman used the term to draw attention to the need for scholars to tell the stories of marginalized women who do not get media attention as the "ideal victims" do. In her study of disappeared women and the related media attention, Stillman discusses how guerilla journalism, including blogs and other sources I used for my study, are starting to influence the media. She describes an incident where a story of a disappeared woman

untold by the mainstream press gathered much attention by going viral on the Internet; *that* became the story in the mainstream media. While this study focused on the language of mainstream newspapers and wire services, it is the language of the Internet that should be watched in the future. As more people rely on informal and citizen news sources, attitudes about crime and the criminal justice system may be influenced more by guerilla journalists than the police. This will be an important trend to watch.

For future research, further queer archaeology is called for, to tell more about the stories of the victims than I was able to discuss in this paper. More complete race data, for victims and offenders, could tell a more robust story about how race interacts with gender non-conformity and violence. More information about the vulnerabilities of the victims—homelessness, survival sex work, class, family issues—could also tell a more complete story of the victims’ pathways to their homicides. Studying offenders could give a glimpse into how victim blaming plays into the criminal justice system, by way of “gay panic” or “trans panic” defenses. I hope as reporting of these homicides improves, and as the online network of trans activists solidifies, stories and further research will emerge.

**APPEDIX A: CODE SHEET**

1. Chosen Name	2. Birth Name (if different)	3-4. Alias/nick name/stage name (specify all)	5. Victim age at time of death
6. Location of attack, city  7. Location of attack, state	8. Race of victim 1. Caucasian (non-hispanic) 2. African American 3. Latino/a (any race) 4. Asian or Pacific Islander 5. American Indian 6. Other (specify)  7. Unknown/unspecified	9. Date of attack  10. Date of death  11. Date first reported	12. Victim housing situation at time of death 1. Homeless 2. Living w/friends 3. Living w/strangers 4. Living w/partner 5. Living w/other family 6. Living alone 7. Other (specify)  8. Unknown/unspecified
13. Trans status of victim 1. Self-identified trans 2. Reporter-identified trans 3. Perceived to be trans 4. Proximity to trans person 5. Other (specify)  6. Unknown/unspecified	14. Potential motive (specify)  15. Victim sex at birth 1. Male 2. Female 3. Intersexed 4. Unknown/unspecified	16. Victim gender presentation at attack 1. Presenting as female 2. Presenting as male 3. Other (specify)  4. Unknown/unspecified	17-19. Gender identifiers (circle all that apply) 1. Dress 2. Purse or other "female" accessories 3. Wig 4. Makeup 5. Male attire 6. Other (specify)  7. Unknown/unspecified
20. Occupation of victim 1. Sex Worker 2. Other (specify)  3. Unknown/unspecified	21 - 23. Victim degree of visibility (circle all that apply) 1. Public performer 2. Sex worker 3. Activist 4. Presented in public 5. Witness of prior crime 6. Queer event participant 7. Community volunteer 8. Other (specify)  9. Unknown/unspecified	24 - 26. Victim Vulnerability (circle all that apply) 1. Drug Use 2. Sex work 3. Psychiatric problems 4. Homelessness 5. Undocumented immigrant 6. Other (specify)  7. Unknown/unspecified	27. Single/Multiple offenders 1. Single 2. Multiple 3. Unknown/unspecified

<p>28 - 30. Type of attack (circle all that apply)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Strangulation</li> <li>2. Neglect</li> <li>3. Beating (hands or feet)</li> <li>4. Bludgeoning (object)</li> <li>5. Rape/sexual assault</li> <li>6. Suicide</li> <li>7. Stabbed/slashed (specify if multiple)</li> <li>8. Shot (specify if multiple)</li> <li>9. Mutilation</li> <li>10. Burned</li> <li>11. Other (specify)</li> <li>12. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>31 - 33. Part(s) of body attacked (circle all that apply)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sex organs</li> <li>2. Head</li> <li>3. Throat</li> <li>4. Back</li> <li>5. Multiple locations</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>34 - 35. Weapon(s) Used (circle all that apply)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Firearm</li> <li>2. Knife or cutting instrument</li> <li>3. Blunt object (hammer, club, etc)</li> <li>4. Personal Weapon (hands, feet, teeth, etc)</li> <li>5. Poison</li> <li>6. Fire</li> <li>7. Narcotics and drugs</li> <li>8. Drowning</li> <li>9. Strangulation</li> <li>10. Other (specify)</li> <li>11. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>36. Police/Emergency Response (specify)</p> <p>37. Overkill?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol>
<p>38. Name of offender 1</p> <p>39. Sex of offender 1</p> <p>40. Age of offender 1</p>	<p>41. Offender relationship to victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stranger</li> <li>2. Lover, current or former</li> <li>3. Family (specify)</li> <li>4. Acquaintance</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> <li>6. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>42. Race of offender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Caucasian (non-hispanic)</li> <li>2. African-American</li> <li>3. Latino/a (any race)</li> <li>4. Asian or Pacific Islander</li> <li>5. American Indian</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>43. Outcome for offender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Arrested</li> <li>2. Charged (specify)</li> <li>3. Convicted</li> <li>4. Released</li> <li>5. Sentenced (specify)</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>
<p>44. Name of offender 2</p> <p>45. Sex of offender 2</p> <p>46. Age of offender 2</p>	<p>47. Offender relationship to victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stranger</li> <li>2. Lover, current or former</li> <li>3. Family (specify)</li> <li>4. Acquaintance</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> <li>6. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>48. Race of offender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Caucasian (non-hispanic)</li> <li>2. African-American</li> <li>3. Latino/a (any race)</li> <li>4. Asian or Pacific Islander</li> <li>5. American Indian</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>49. Outcome for offender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Arrested</li> <li>2. Charged (specify)</li> <li>3. Convicted</li> <li>4. Released</li> <li>5. Sentenced (specify)</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>
<p>50. Name of offender 3</p> <p>51. Sex of offender 3</p> <p>52. Age of offender 3</p>	<p>53. Offender relationship to victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stranger</li> <li>2. Lover, current or former</li> <li>3. Family (specify)</li> <li>4. Acquaintance</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> <li>6. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>54. Race of offender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Caucasian (non-hispanic)</li> <li>2. African-American</li> <li>3. Latino/a (any race)</li> <li>4. Asian or Pacific Islander</li> <li>5. American Indian</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>	<p>55. Outcome for offender</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Arrested</li> <li>2. Charged (specify)</li> <li>3. Convicted</li> <li>4. Released</li> <li>5. Sentenced (specify)</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. Unknown/unspecified</li> </ol>



<p>56. Name of media source 1</p> <p>57. Queer status of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GLBT</li> <li>2. Trans specific</li> <li>3. Non-GLBT</li> </ol> <p>58. Type of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Newspaper</li> <li>2. Magazine</li> <li>3. Blog</li> <li>4. TV news</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> </ol> <p>59. Readership of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local</li> <li>2. State</li> <li>3. National</li> <li>4. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>60. Name of article (specify)</p> <p>61. Date of article (specify)</p> <p>62. Victim name reported</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Birth name</li> <li>2. Chosen name (if different)</li> </ol> <p>63. Chosen name also reported?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>64. Chosen name in quotes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>65. Article mostly pertains to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Victim</li> <li>2. Offender</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>66. Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>67. Source of sex worker allegation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police</li> <li>2. Friends</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> <li>4. Source not reported</li> </ol> <p>68. Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>69. Pronouns used to describe victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> <li>3. Both</li> </ol>	<p>70 – 72. Deceiver quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>73 – 75. Other interesting quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>76. Reference to trans status</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transgender</li> <li>2. Transvestite</li> <li>3. Transsexual</li> <li>4. Man in women’s clothing</li> <li>5. Female Impersonator</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. No mention</li> </ol>
<p>77. Name of media source 2</p> <p>78. Queer status of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GLBT</li> <li>2. Trans specific</li> <li>3. Non-GLBT</li> </ol> <p>79. Type of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Newspaper</li> <li>2. Magazine</li> <li>3. Blog</li> <li>4. TV news</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> </ol> <p>80. Readership of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local</li> <li>2. State</li> <li>3. National</li> <li>4. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>81. Name of article (specify)</p> <p>82. Date of article (specify)</p> <p>83. Victim name reported</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Birth name</li> <li>2. Chosen name (if different)</li> </ol> <p>84. Chosen name also reported?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>85. Chosen name in quotes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>86. Article mostly pertains to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Victim</li> <li>2. Offender</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>87. Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>88. Source of sex worker allegation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police</li> <li>2. Friends</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> <li>4. Source not reported</li> </ol> <p>89. Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>90. Pronouns used to describe victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> <li>3. Both</li> </ol>	<p>91 – 93. Deceiver quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>94 - 96. Other interesting quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>97. Reference to trans status</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transgender</li> <li>2. Transvestite</li> <li>3. Transsexual</li> <li>4. Man in women’s clothing</li> <li>5. Female Impersonator</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. No mention</li> </ol>

<p>98. Name of media source 3</p> <p>99. Queer status of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GLBT</li> <li>2. Trans specific</li> <li>3. Non-GLBT</li> </ol> <p>100. Type of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Newspaper</li> <li>2. Magazine</li> <li>3. Blog</li> <li>4. TV news</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> </ol> <p>101. Readership of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local</li> <li>2. State</li> <li>3. National</li> <li>4. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>102. Name of article (specify)</p> <p>103. Date of article (specify)</p> <p>104. Victim name reported</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Birth name</li> <li>2. Chosen name (if different)</li> </ol> <p>105. Chosen name also reported?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>106. Chosen name in quotes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>107. Article mostly pertains to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Victim</li> <li>2. Offender</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>108. Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>109. Source of sex worker allegation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police</li> <li>2. Friends</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> <li>4. Source not reported</li> </ol> <p>110. Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>111. Pronouns used to describe victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> <li>3. Both</li> </ol>	<p>112-114. Deceiver quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>115-117. Other interesting quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>118. Reference to trans status</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transgender</li> <li>2. Transvestite</li> <li>3. Transsexual</li> <li>4. Man in women's clothing</li> <li>5. Female Impersonator</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. No mention</li> </ol>
<p>119. Name of media source 4</p> <p>120. Queer status of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GLBT</li> <li>2. Trans specific</li> <li>3. Non-GLBT</li> </ol> <p>121. Type of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Newspaper</li> <li>2. Magazine</li> <li>3. Blog</li> <li>4. TV news</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> </ol> <p>122. Readership of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local</li> <li>2. State</li> <li>3. National</li> <li>4. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>123. Name of article (specify)</p> <p>124. Date of article (specify)</p> <p>125. Victim name reported</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Birth name</li> <li>2. Chosen name (if different)</li> </ol> <p>126. Chosen name also reported?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>127. Chosen name in quotes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>128. Article mostly pertains to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Victim</li> <li>2. Offender</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>129. Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>130. Source of sex worker allegation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police</li> <li>2. Friends</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> <li>4. Source not reported</li> </ol> <p>131. Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>132. Pronouns used to describe victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> <li>3. Both</li> </ol>	<p>133-135. Deceiver quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>136-138. Other interesting quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>139. Reference to trans status</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transgender</li> <li>2. Transvestite</li> <li>3. Transsexual</li> <li>4. Man in women's clothing</li> <li>5. Female Impersonator</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. No mention</li> </ol>

<p>140. Name of media source 5</p> <p>141. Queer status of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GLBT</li> <li>2. Trans specific</li> <li>3. Non-GLBT</li> </ol> <p>142. Type of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Newspaper</li> <li>2. Magazine</li> <li>3. Blog</li> <li>4. TV news</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> </ol> <p>143. Readership of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local</li> <li>2. State</li> <li>3. National</li> <li>4. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>144. Name of article (specify)</p> <p>145. Date of article (specify)</p> <p>146. Victim name reported</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Birth name</li> <li>2. Chosen name (if different)</li> </ol> <p>147. Chosen name also reported?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>148. Chosen name in quotes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>149. Article mostly pertains to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Victim</li> <li>2. Offender</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>150. Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>151. Source of sex worker allegation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police</li> <li>2. Friends</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> <li>4. Source not reported</li> </ol> <p>152. Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>153. Pronouns used to describe victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> <li>3. Both</li> </ol>	<p>154-156. Deceiver quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>157-159. Other interesting quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>160. Reference to trans status</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transgender</li> <li>2. Transvestite</li> <li>3. Transsexual</li> <li>4. Man in women's clothing</li> <li>5. Female Impersonator</li> <li>6. Other (specify)</li> <li>7. No mention</li> </ol>
<p>161. Name of media source 6</p> <p>162. Queer status of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GLBT</li> <li>2. Trans specific</li> <li>3. Non-GLBT</li> </ol> <p>163. Type of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Newspaper</li> <li>2. Magazine</li> <li>3. Blog</li> <li>4. TV news</li> <li>5. Other (specify)</li> </ol> <p>164. Readership of media source</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Local</li> <li>2. State</li> <li>3. National</li> <li>4. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>165. Name of article (specify)</p> <p>166. Date of article (specify)</p> <p>167. Victim name reported</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Birth name</li> <li>2. Chosen name (if different)</li> </ol> <p>168. Chosen name also reported?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>169. Chosen name in quotes?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>170. Article mostly pertains to</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Victim</li> <li>2. Offender</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> </ol>	<p>171. Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>172. Source of sex worker allegation?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Police</li> <li>2. Friends</li> <li>3. Other (specify)</li> <li>4. Source not reported</li> </ol> <p>173. Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol> <p>174. Pronouns used to describe victim</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Male</li> <li>2. Female</li> <li>3. Both</li> </ol>	<p>175-177. Deceiver quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>178-180. Other interesting quotes (up to 3)</p> <p>181. Reference to trans status</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Transgender</li> <li>2. Transvestite</li> <li>3. Transsexual</li> <li>4. Man in women's clothing</li> <li>5. Female Impersonator</li> <li>6. Cross Dresser</li> <li>7. Other (specify)</li> <li>8. No mention</li> </ol>

<p>182. Other interesting things from news source 1</p>	<p>183. Other interesting things from news source 2</p>	<p>184. Other interesting things from news source 3</p>	<p>185. Other interesting things from news source 4</p>
<p>186. Other interesting things from news source 5</p>	<p>187. Other interesting things from news source 6</p>	<p>186. Total number of articles</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. None</li> <li>2. 1-2</li> <li>3. 3-5</li> <li>4. 5-10</li> <li>5. 11-99</li> <li>6. More than 100</li> </ol>	<p>187. NOTES</p>

## APPENDIX B: CODEBOOK

### CODED VARIABLES

INC\_ID Incident ID  
Specify Code Sheet number

YEAR Year of Death  
Specify four-digit year

NAME\_CH Chosen Name  
Specify full name

NAME\_B Birth Name  
Specify full name

NAME\_OTH Other Aliases, nick names, stage names  
Specify all (in one space)

CITY Location of Attack, City  
Specify full name of city

STATE Location of Attack, State  
Specify state (or DC)  
Name of state spelled out (not abbreviated)

VIC\_RACE Race of Victim  
RACE\_VIC\_OTH

1	Caucasian (non-Hispanic)
2	African-American
3	Latino/a (any race)
4	Asian or Pacific Islander
5	American Indian
6	Other (specify)
99	Unknown/unspecified

DATE\_ATK Date of Attack  
Specify MM/DD/YYYY

DATE\_DTH Date of Death  
Specify MM/DD/YYYY

DATE\_REP Date first reported  
Specify MM/DD/YYYY

HOUSING Victim housing situation at time of death  
HOUS\_OTH

- 1 Homeless
  - 2 Living with friends
  - 3 Living with strangers
  - 4 Living with spouse/partner
  - 5 Living with family (other than spouse/partner)
  - 6 Living alone
  - 7 Other (specify)
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- STATUS Trans status of victim  
STAT\_OTH
- 1 Self-identified trans
  - 2 Reporter-identified trans
  - 3 Perceived to be trans
  - 4 Proximity to a trans person
  - 5 Other (specify)
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- MOTIVE Potential motive of attack (according to article)  
Specify
- VIC\_BSEX Victim sex at birth  
VIC\_BSEX\_OTH
- 1 Male
  - 2 Female
  - 3 Intersexed
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- PRESENT Gender presentation at time of attack  
PRESENT\_OTH
- 1 Presenting as female
  - 2 Presenting as male
  - 3 Other (specify)
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- IDENTIFY Gender identifiers (circle all that apply)  
IDENT\_1, IDENT\_2, IDENT\_3, IDENT\_OTH
- 1 Dress or “female” clothing
  - 2 Purse or other “female” accessories
  - 3 Wig
  - 4 Makeup
  - 5 Male attire
  - 6 Other (specify)
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified

- OCC Occupation of victim  
OCC\_OTH
- 1 Sex worker
  - 2 Other (specify)
  - 3 Minor
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- VISIBILITY Victim degree of visibility (circle all that apply)  
VIS\_1, VIS\_2, VIS\_3, VIS\_OTH
- 1 Public Performer
  - 2 Sex Worker
  - 3 Activist
  - 4 Presented in Public
  - 5 Witness of Prior Crime (including victimization)
  - 6 Queer Event Participant
  - 7 Community Volunteer
  - 8 Other (specify)
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- VULN Victim vulnerabilities (circle all that apply)  
VULN\_1, VULN\_2, VULN\_3, VULN\_OTH
- 1 Drug Use
  - 2 Sex Work
  - 3 Psychiatric Problems
  - 4 Homelessness
  - 5 Undocumented Immigrant
  - 6 Other (specify)
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- NUM\_OFF Single or Multiple Offenders
- 1 Single
  - 2 Multiple
  - 99 Unknown/unspecified
- ATTACK Type of attack (circle all that apply)  
ATTACK\_1, ATTACK\_2, ATTACK\_3, ATTACK\_DET1, ATTACK\_DET2,  
ATTACK\_OTH
- 1 Strangulation
  - 2 Neglect
  - 3 Beating (using body parts)
  - 4 Bludgeoning (using object)
  - 5 Rape/sexual assault
  - 6 Suicide
  - 7 Stabbed/slashed (specify if multiple)
  - 8 Shot (specify if multiple)
  - 9 Mutilation

- 10 Burned
- 11 Other (specify)
- 99 Unknown/unspecified

PARTS Part(s) of body attacked (circle all that apply)

PART\_1, PART\_2, PART\_3, PART\_OTH

- 1 Sex organs
- 2 Head
- 3 Throat
- 4 Back
- 5 Other (specify)
- 6 Torso/abdomen
- 99 Unknown/unspecified

WEAPON Weapon(s) used (circle all that apply)

WEAPON\_1, WEAPON\_2, WEAP\_OTH

- 1 Firearm
- 2 Knife or cutting instrument
- 3 Blunt object (such as hammer or club)
- 4 Personal weapon (body parts)
- 5 Poison
- 6 Fire
- 7 Narcotics and/or drugs
- 8 Drowning
- 9 Strangulation
- 10 Other (specify)
- 99 Unknown/unspecified

POL\_RESP Police or Emergency Reponse

Specify

DOA if body found

OVERKILL Was the incident overkill?

(Definition: many more wounds were inflicted than necessary to kill a human)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Unknown/unspecified

OFF\_NAME Name of Offender

OFFNAME\_1, OFFNAME\_2, OFFNAME\_3

Specify full name of offender

OFF\_SEX Sex of Offender

OFFSEX\_1, OFFSEX\_2, OFFSEX\_3

Specify sex (okay to assume male if name stereotypically male and/or male pronouns are used)



OFF\_AGE     Age of Offender  
            OFFAGE\_1, OFFAGE\_2, OFFAGE\_3  
            Specify age at time of attack

OFF\_REL     Offender relationship to victim  
            OFFREL\_FAM, OFFREL\_OTH for 1, 2, 3  
            1     Stranger  
            2     Lover, current or former  
            3     Family (specify)  
            4     Acquaintance  
            5     Other (specify)  
            99    Unknown/unspecified

OFFRACE     Race of Victim  
            OFFRACE\_OTH for 1, 2, 3  
            1     Caucasian (non-Hispanic)  
            2     African-American  
            3     Latino/a (any race)  
            4     Asian or Pacific Islander  
            5     American Indian  
            6     Other (specify)  
            99    Unknown/unspecified

OUTCOME     Outcome for offender (specify all that apply)  
            OUT\_CH, OUT\_CON, OUT\_SEN, OUT\_OTH for 1, 2, 3  
            1     Arrested  
            2     Charged (specify)  
            3     Convicted (specify)  
            4     Released/acquitted  
            5     Sentenced (specify)  
            6     Other (specify)  
            99    Unknown/unspecified

MED\_SOURCE     Name of Media Source  
            MED\_SOURCE\_1, MED\_SOURCE\_2, MED\_SOURCE\_3  
            Specify full name of media source

MED\_Q         Queer status of Media Source  
            MED\_Q1, MED\_Q2, MED\_Q3  
            1     GLBT  
            2     Trans specific  
            3     Non-GLBT

MED\_TYPE     Type of Media Source  
            MED\_TYPE1, MED\_TYPE2, MED\_TYPE3, MED\_OTH for 1, 2, 3

- 1 Newspaper
- 2 Magazine
- 3 Blog
- 4 TV News
- 5 Wire service
- 6 Other (specify)

MED\_ART Title of Article  
 MED\_ART1, MED\_ART2, MED\_ART3  
 Specify full title of article

MED\_DATE Date of Article  
 MED\_DATE1, MED\_DATE2, MED\_DATE3  
 Specify date MM/DD/YYYY

MED\_NAME Primary or first victim name reported  
 MED\_NAME1, MED\_NAME2, MED\_NAME3

- 1 Birth name
- 2 Chosen name

MED\_CHNM Chosen name reported?  
 MED\_CHNM1, MED\_CHNM2, MED\_CHNM3

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Not applicable

MED\_QUOTE Chosen name in quotes?  
 MED\_QUOTE1, MED\_QUOTE2, MED\_QUOTE3

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Not applicable

MED\_PERT Article primarily pertains to (more than half of content)  
 MED\_PERT1, MED\_PERT2, MED\_PERT3, MED\_OTH1, MED\_OTH2,  
 MED\_OTH3

- 1 Victim
- 2 Offender
- 3 Other (specify)

MED\_SEX Does the article refer to the victim as a sex worker?  
 MED\_SEX1, MED\_SEX2, MED\_SEX3

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

- MED\_ALL Source of sex worker allegation  
 MED\_ALL1, MED\_ALLOTH1, MED\_ALL2, MED\_ALLOTH2, MED\_ALL3,  
 MED\_ALLOTH3
- 1 Police
  - 2 Friends
  - 3 Other (specify)
  - 4 Source not reported
  - 5 Not applicable
- MED\_DEC Does the article refer to the victim as a deceiver?  
 MED\_DEC1, MED\_DEC2, MED\_DEC3
- 1 Yes
  - 2 No
- MED\_PRON Pronouns used to describe victim  
 MED\_PRON1, MED\_PRON2, MED\_PRON3
- 1 Male
  - 2 Female
  - 3 Both
  - 4 Neither
- MED\_DECQ Deceiver quotes  
 MED\_DECQ1A, MED\_DECQ1B, MED\_DECQ1C; MED\_DECQ2A,  
 MED\_DECQ2B, etc  
 Specify up to three quotes that use deceiver language
- MED\_INTQ Interesting quotes  
 MED\_INTQ1A, MED\_INTQ1B, MED\_INTQ1C; MED\_INTQ2A,  
 MED\_INTQ2B, etc  
 Specify up to three interesting quotes
- MED\_TRANS Word used to refer to trans status (specify first or primary term used)  
 MED\_TRANS1, MED\_TRANS1OTH, MED\_TRANS2, MED\_TRANS2OTH,  
 etc.
- 1 Transgender
  - 2 Transvestite
  - 3 Transsexual
  - 4 Man in Women's Clothing (includes similar terms that refer to clothing)
  - 5 Female Impersonator
  - 6 Cross-Dresser
  - 7 Other (specify)
  - 8 No mention
- MED\_OTHER Other interesting things from the news articles  
 MED\_OTHER1A, MED\_OTHER1B, MED\_OTHER1C, MED\_OTHER2A,  
 MED\_OTHER2B

Other interesting notes or quotes from each article (up to 3)

MED\_TOT Total number of articles  
Specify total number of articles (continuous) that pertain to the incident

NOTES Additional notes  
NOTES\_1, NOTES\_2, NOTES\_3  
Any additional notes about the victim/offender/incident/coverage (up to 3)

INOUT Indoor or Outdoor  
Specify if attack happened indoors or outdoors  
“Outdoor” includes bodies found outdoors or in a vehicle

### CREATED VARIABLES

VICRACE Race of victim, in fewer categories  
VICRACE1 Caucasian/Other/Unknown  
VICRACE2 African American  
VICRACE3 Latino/a (any race)

WIRE Wire service  
1 Victim had at least one article from a wire service  
0 No articles from a wire service

NATIONAL National coverage  
1 Victim had at least one article in one of the top ten newspapers in the United States, by circulation<sup>5</sup>  
0 No articles from a national newspaper

REGION<sup>6</sup>  
1 Northeast: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania  
2 Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas  
3 South: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas

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<sup>5</sup> Top ten newspapers by circulation (2008): *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Post*, *New York Daily News*, *The Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Arizona Republic* (Burrelles Luce 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Regions based on U.S. Census Geographical Definitions for regions (U.S. Census Bureau 2001).

4	West: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii
5	Puerto Rico
YOUTH	Age as a dummy variable
1	29 and younger
0	30 and older
CRIM	Victim as criminal
1	Victim's criminal background was discussed, more than being called a sex worker
0	No criminal background was discussed for the victim
DECEIVER	Victim as deceiver
1	At least one article where deceiver language was used to describe victim <sup>7</sup>
0	Victim was not discussed as a deceiver in any articles
SEXWORK	Victim as sex worker
1	Victim was called a sex worker in at least one article (e.g. using prostitute, sex worker or hooker)
0	Victim was not called a sex worker in any articles
OVER	Dummy variable for overkill
1	Homicide was known to be a case of overkill
0	Homicide was not a case of overkill, or it was unknown if the homicide was a case of overkill

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<sup>7</sup> Deceiver language includes any discussion of a “true” sex, a “real” identity, a “double life,” a “secret identity” or anything about discovering the victim was “really” a “man.”

## APPENDIX C: CORRELATION TABLE OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

**Table 4. Correlation table of independent variables**

	Caucasian/ Other/ Unknown	African American	Latina/o	National	Wire	South	West	Northeast	Midwest	Overkill	Clothing	Victim as Criminal
Caucasian/ Other/ Unknown	1											
African American	-0.6873***	1										
Latina/o	-0.4205***	-0.3701***	1									
National	-0.1948*	0.057	0.178*	1								
Wire	-0.0055	-0.0444	0.0625	0.0119	1							
South	-0.0528	0.0852	-0.039	0.1898*	-0.0688	1						
West	-0.0011	-0.1865*	0.2344**	-0.0461	0.1747*	-0.4817***	1					
Northeast	-0.0378	0.1038	-0.0813	0.0293	-0.0754	-0.4113***	-0.2788**	1				
Midwest	0.1171	-0.0073	-0.1407	-0.2413**	-0.0329	-0.3487***	-0.2364**	-0.2019**	1			
Overkill	0.0875	-0.0247	-0.0811	-0.036	-0.0365	0.0059	0.0559	-0.0445	-0.0268	1		
Clothing	0.0491	-0.0026	-0.0595	0.0707	0.0295	0.013	0.122	0.013	-0.1815**	0.0578	1	
Victim as Criminal	0.2677**	-0.1997*	-0.093	-0.1017	-0.0034	-0.0566	0.1028	0.0083	-0.0557	0.0601	0.1315	1

\* p > .05 \*\* p > .01 \*\*\* p > .001

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