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SEX WORK, RACE, AND BIAS: EXPLORING POLICE VIOLENCE AND MISCONDUCT
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SEX WORK, RACE, AND BIAS: EXPLORING POLICE VIOLENCE AND MISCONDUCT
AGAINST TRANSGENDER PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

Transgender people face widespread abuse and violence from the criminal justice system in the United States, and sociological research has paid more attention to this issue in recent years.

Still, there is little research exploring trans peoples' experiences with the police. Using a framework of intersectional subjection, this paper examines trans peoples' experiences with police violence and misconduct and how sex work, race, and transphobia affect these relationships. To do so, I use the 2015 United States Transgender Survey to see how engagement in sex work affects trans peoples' risk of interacting with the police, how sex work and race affect trans peoples' risk of experiencing police violence, and how being visibly trans to the police affects trans peoples' experiences with police misconduct. I find that trans women have the highest risk of police interaction among those who had not engaged in sex work, trans men had the highest risk of police interaction among those who had engaged in sex work, non-white trans people who police thought were engaged in sex work had the highest probability of experiencing police violence, and that those who police knew were trans had higher probabilities of experiencing police misconduct when the police believed them to be engaged in sex work. This study adds important context to the widespread police violence facing trans people and to discussions of intersectional subjection.

Keywords: transgender; sex work; race; transphobia; police violence; intersectional subjection

Sex Work, Race, and Bias: Exploring Police Violence and Misconduct Against Transgender People in the United States

Introduction

In recent years, sociological and criminological researchers have put increasing effort into the study of how queer and trans (QT) people are treated by and interact with the criminal justice system.^{1 2} Recent studies have investigated the relationships between the QT community and different levels of the criminal justice system, how QT people are treated within the criminal justice system, and the causes of QT peoples' disproportionately high involvement in the criminal justice system (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Schilt and Lagos 2017; Woods 2014). While these studies make important headway into a desperately under-studied area, many solely focus on the experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people, despite transgender peoples' high risk of involvement in the criminal justice system (Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015).

Past literature examining trans peoples' specific involvement in these systems has largely consisted of qualitative studies investigating the relationship between trans people and the criminal justice system (Lyons et al 2017; Robinson 2020; Woods et al 2013). These studies are vital in beginning to understand how trans people become involved in the criminal justice system and interact with different levels of the criminal justice system. The current study will further this literature by investigating the relationships between experiencing police abuse, involvement in sex work, race, and gender visibility for trans people. This is the first quantitative analysis of

¹ "Queer" in this paper refers to those who consider themselves queer and/or who are a part of the LGBTQ+ community.

² "Trans" in this paper refers to those who identify or present differently from the sex they were assigned at birth.

police violence against trans people who have engaged in sex work or interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work.

Background

Intersectional Subjection

Recent literature examining the experiences of trans people with the police have centered the role control plays in police abuse, and how this control is used against Black, Latinx, and non-white trans people, trans women, and those experiencing homelessness or engaged in sex work more heavily (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blesset 2022; Robinson 2020). This analysis of social control builds on intersectional theory, which holds that having multiple marginalized identities such as trans, woman, Black, and poor, compounds discrimination within society (Crenshaw 1989). It then specifically applies this marginalization to how the criminal justice system attempts to control the movement of non-white people, women, and those who do not adhere to western norms of gender or sexuality (Allen 2015; Daum 2015; Edelman 2014; Gaynor and Blesset 2022). Daum (2015) specifically connects how policies claiming to target solicitation warranted police control against trans women of color through trans-profiling and explains that this control was forced upon all trans women, regardless of any real engagement in sex work. She argues that police violence against trans women is a mechanism through which the police control the movement and freedom of trans women and is thus a form of social control meant to limit trans women's freedom and visibility. This control is then forced onto those who most directly challenge the cisnormativity, the patriarchy, and white supremacy. Thus, intersectional subjection helps frame why transgender people, specifically trans people of color, trans women, and poor trans people, experience such high rates of police violence and criminal justice involvement. This project will further the current understanding of intersectional subjection as it

will demonstrate how gender, race, and perceived involvement in sex work increase the risk of abuse from the police.

History of QT Criminalization

QT people have a long history of criminalization. To understand the global scope of queer criminalization, we should give particular attention to British colonialism. Beginning with the India and Queensland Penal Codes, the British empire criminalized homosexuality between men as they colonized Asia and Africa (Han and O'Mahoney 2014). These statutes set lasting precedents for the criminalization of homosexuality; a 2008 study conducted by the Human Rights Watch found that 39 nations across Africa, Asia, and Oceania all directly inherited laws from the British Empire that criminalize homosexual relationships (Human Rights Watch 2008). Studies have, in fact, established a causal relationship between British colonialism and the criminalization of homosexuality in former British colonies, finding that previous British colonialism is a stronger predictor of current laws against homosexuality than a country's religiosity or current government (Han and O'Mahoney 2014; Ireland 2013). More recent studies have examined how colonization from Britain, Spain, the United States in specific nations such as Uganda, the Philippines, Jamaica, and Egypt, have led to homophobia and violence against homosexual, trans, and two-spirit Indigenous peoples (Ildefonso 2022; Kizito 2017; Loughheed 2016; Walsh-Haines 2012). Kizito (2017) also elaborates on how modern colonization and surveillance from the United States serves to further and maintain homophobic legislation in Uganda, showing that western efforts to maintain cultural power have not subsided and continue to force QT people globally into criminalization (Kizito 2017). While this study focuses on the United States, it is important to understand how such colonial history has inspired institutional

heteronormativity across the globe. Further, it will help to better understand how the colonial history of the United States set the stage for persistent discrimination against transgender people.

As British colonizers came to North America, they reproduced the criminalization of queerness within their own communities and forced such criminalization on Indigenous peoples (Lougheed 2016; Mogul, Richie, and Whitlock 2012; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015). This criminalization of the Indigenous populations was both heteronormative and racialized, as settlers aimed to force western gender roles and ideals onto Native people. This criminalization paved the way for later violence against racialized QT people at the hands of the criminal justice system. In *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States*, Mogul, Richie, and Whitlock (2013) trace how this early colonial criminalization set the foundation for heteronormative legislation, later raids of gay bars, and an unequal treatment of QT people within the criminal justice system. This history of colonization, racism, and cisheteronormativity instilled across the globe and into the foundation of the United States continues within the criminal justice system today, including the criminalization of trans people.

Current QT Discrimination in the Criminal Justice System

While gender nonconformity is no longer criminalized to the extent it was in the past, the continual, prevalent view in society and academia that transness is inherently deviant serves to further discriminate against QT people today. Throughout their history, criminology and sociology as disciplines have almost exclusively discussed gender and sexual minorities as deviant, both reifying and furthering the stigma of QT identities (Ball 2019; Buist and Lenning 2015; Woods 2013; Woods 2014). The practice of discussing and viewing homosexuality and gender nonconformity as inherently deviant continues to force QT people – especially those who are trans and/or visibly gender nonconforming – to face constant discrimination and violence

within our society, particularly within the criminal justice system and when interacting with the police.

Studies of police culture since the latter half of the twentieth century have found that police officers often view themselves as the only line of defense between good citizens and those who may threaten social order (Skolnick 2011), believe that they are best suited to identify potential criminals and to respond to those people (Skolnick 2011), and have a strong “us vs. them” mentality (Nahn 2013). These aspects of police culture pose a huge threat to trans people when gender nonconformity is viewed as deviant and a threat to social order. As long as gender nonconformity and transness are viewed as deviant by society and as long as police culture emphasizes maintaining social order and the punishment of those who threaten it, trans people will continue to be discriminated against by law enforcement. This discrimination has targeted visibly trans and gender nonconforming people, as those who do not fit into the gender binary and those who transverse the gender binary are specifically at risk of being targeted by the criminal justice system (Baams 2018; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015). The academic and social history of associating homosexuality and gender nonconformity with deviance has led many trans people to experience high levels of discrimination and violence from the police.

Trans people face high risks of gender-based violence, discrimination from peers and family, and poor mental health (Koken, Bimbi, and Parsons 2009; Miller and Grollman 2015; Nemoto, Bodeker, and Iwamoto 2011; Staples and Fuller 2021). Risks of discrimination from family and experiencing gender-based violence are both higher for trans people of color (Koken, Bimbi, and Parsons 2009; Nemoto, Bodeker, and Iwamoto 2011). This all increases trans and visibly gender-nonconforming peoples’ risk of later involvement in the criminal justice system as gender victimization, mental health, and family adversity are all correlated with involvement in

the criminal justice system (Goodkind, Ng, and Sarri 2006; Kurlychek and Johnson 2019; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015).

These risks have been well-documented through trans peoples' experiences with incarceration and policing. Sexton, Jenness, and Sumner (2010) documented the realities of trans women in prisons for men in California. They found that incarcerated trans women experienced high rates of homelessness (another criminalized aspect of survival), involvement in sex work, and police violence both before and during incarceration, illustrating the discrimination trans people face across levels of the criminal justice system (Amster 2003; Sexton, Jenness, and Sumner 2010; Robinson 2019). Multiple qualitative studies have documented trans peoples' experiences with the police, and they all found that race coupled with law enforcement's assumption that trans women are involved in sex work have worsened trans women's experiences with police violence (Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015; Woods et al 2013). This again points to how law enforcement uses social control more heavily against populations that threaten white, cisheteronormative society's conceptions of legitimate behavior.

An example of the specific marginalization faced by trans sex workers of color is Louisiana's "Crimes Against Nature by Solicitation" (CANS) Act. An archaic law criminalizing "unnatural carnal copulation" (i.e., any oral or anal sex act) for compensation, CANS was enacted in 1805 to more harshly punish QT sex workers who had sex with men compared to cisgender women sex workers.³ In the 1980s, moral panic around AIDS and prostitution brought this Act back into the public eye, and cisgender men who engaged in sex work became more heavily targeted by CANS (Nadel and Fischel 2021). When the number of cisgender male sex

³ "Cisgender" refers to people whose gender identity aligns with the sex they were assigned with at birth.

workers in New Orleans decreased as the AIDS epidemic subsided from public attention, trans women became the central target of CANS (Nadel and Fischel 2021). Additionally, since its inception, CANS has disproportionately punished Black QT people with harsher sentences. With the increased visibility and targeting of trans women, this meant that Black trans women have suffered the brunt of CANS arrests and convictions (Nadel and Fischel 2021; Ritchie 2013). After 1992, those charged with CANS were forced to register as sex offenders, further discriminating against poor trans women and women of color.

Although the penalty of registering as a sex offender was overturned in 2013 due to the massive efforts of community organizers and legal advocates, it served to augment the discrimination faced by those convicted, as they were barred from housing and employment and experienced increased stigmatization and violence (Dewey and St. Germain 2015; McTighe and Haywood 2018; Nadel and Fischel 2021; Ritchie 2013). Police and prosecutors have full discretion regarding the enforcement of this law, and as such, they have continued to apply harsher sentences to trans women of color in particular (Dewey and St. Germain 2015; Ritchie 2013; Sheree and Blessett 2021). While Louisiana is singular in its adoption of such an overtly discriminatory law, it is not alone in its mistreatment of QT people of color. CANS is indicative of the discrimination faced by Black QT people when the police and criminal justice system are given the opportunity to charge them with harsher sentences.

Gaynor and Blessett (2022) further examine the relationships between the police and QT people of color in New Orleans. They discuss the predatory nature of the police and how the police use their authority to control Black, queer, and transgender people. The authors note how economic marginalization increases Black and QT peoples' exposure to sexual victimization at the hands of the police and how involvement in sex work or presumed involvement in sex work

worsens Black QT people's experiences with the police (Gaynor and Blessett 2022). Their study investigates the perceptions Black QT people in New Orleans have of the police and clearly explains how Black QT people are disproportionately targeted by the police and disproportionately experience violence from the police. This study demonstrates that the more marginalized identities or experiences a person holds, the more likely they will be subjected to further marginalization through the police and criminal justice system (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Kattari and Bugan 2017). This is in line with Crenshaw's (1991) explanations of intersectionality, in which she describes how individuals facing multiple systems of discrimination are placed in particularly disadvantaged situations, and their study explicitly supports the use of intersectional subjection as a framework to understand how social control is applied more heavily to those with intersecting marginalized identities.

Sex Work and the Criminal Justice System

Because trans and gender nonconforming people, particularly trans women of color, experience higher rates of unemployment, poorer mental health outcomes, discrimination, and homelessness, many are pushed into sex work to survive (Kattari and Begun 2017; Leppel 2016; Schilt and Lagos 2017; Woods et al. 2013). Furthermore, transgender people face discrimination within their workplace, particularly when they are in the process of transitioning (Barclay and Scott 2006; Lombardi et al 2001; Schilt and Connell 2007), and as a result, many engage in sex work due to discrimination in employment and limited formal employment opportunities (Nadal et al 2012; Nadal et al 2015; Sausa et al 2007). Because sex work is criminalized in the United States, and because of specific laws criminalizing queer sex work, transgender and gender nonconforming people engaged in sex work are much more likely to interact with and experience discrimination by the police (Lyons et al. 2017; Ritchie 2013; Gaynor and Blessett 2022;

Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015). Furthermore, trans women, particularly trans women of color, often experience police harassment due to the police profiling trans women as sex workers (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015; Woods et al 2013). This reality, often described as “walking while trans,” means that all trans women face a risk of police harassment and abuse, even when they are not engaged in sex work, but trans women who have actually engaged in sex work experience distinct dangers moving through the criminal justice system (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Edelman 2014).

Studies centering trans women who engaged in sex work find higher rates of arrest and incarceration of trans women compared to more general studies of trans women (Cohan et al 2006; Escobar 2007; Stotzer 2013), and others have found strong relationships between trans peoples’ involvement in street-based sex work and police violence both in the United States and across the globe (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Rhodes et al 2008; Woods et al 2013). Furthermore, trans women sex workers experience particular risks of gender-based violence and mental health risks, both of which are associated to higher involvement with the police and criminal justice system (Nemoto 2011). Though all street-based sex workers face significant health risks, discrimination, violence, and strained relationships with the police, trans women who engaged in sex work are more likely to have been arrested or convicted of sex work than cisgender sex workers (Cohan et al 2006; Footer et al 2019; Grant 2014; Miller 1993; Shannon et al. 2009).

Prior research in four cities in the United States found that trans women who were stopped and found to be in possession of condoms were frequently arrested for sex work (Human Rights Watch 2012). Wurth et al. (2013) discuss the health and justice implications of these practices and advocate for the decriminalization of sex work. While this may decrease the

negative experiences trans sex workers have with the police, trans sex workers have reported higher rates of arrest and conviction than cisgender sex workers, indicating that trans women may face negative encounters with the police and discrimination regardless of the criminal status of sex work (Abel 2014; Cohan et al 2006).

Transmisogyny

Studies and documentation of trans women's experiences have determined that trans women – particularly trans women engaged in sex work, trans women of color, and low income trans women – experience high rates of police discrimination, harassment, and assault (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Lyons et al. 2017; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015; Woods et al. 2013). The particular discrimination trans women face illustrates the intersection of being a woman and being transgender, an intersection Serano (2007) coined as transmisogyny. Although all trans people face violence and discrimination within the criminal justice system, because of transmisogyny, trans women are at a particularly high risk of trans profiling and negative experiences within this system (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett; Sexton, Jenness, and Sumner 2010). Experiences of transmisogyny are intensified for non-white trans feminine people as they face even more discrimination in the wider society and within the criminal justice system specifically (Nadal et al 2012; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015). Carpenter and Marshall (2017) describe the trans profiling faced by trans women as the “walking while trans” phenomenon. “Walking while trans” refers to police officers’ assumptions that trans women are engaged in sex work with little to no evidence, and this profiling is forced upon non-white and poor trans women more heavily (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Robinson 2020). These assumptions about trans women allow the police to interact with and control trans women’s freedom and movement; once again, this points to how those with

intersecting marginalized identities (in this case, woman, trans, and non-white) have heightened experiences with social control as police and the criminal justice system attempt to control the behavior and movement of non-white trans women (Carpenter and Lenore 2017; Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett 2020; Robinson 2020).

This social control is pervasive and affects those with little social power, such as youth, those experiencing homelessness, and those who are non-white even more heavily (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Robinson 2020). Robinson (2020) conducted a study of homeless LGBTQ youth in Austin and San Antonio, Texas, and found that vast majority of homeless LGBTQ youth had experienced harassment from the police and that the police often assumed trans-feminine youth to be engaged in sex work. This assumption often brought on further harassment or arrest (Robinson 2020). This study demonstrates how often the police assume trans feminine people to be sex workers, even among transgender youth, and how this assumption brings on transphobic harassment and further involvement in the criminal justice system (Robinson 2020; Human Rights Watch 2015). Robinson argues that this treatment of trans people by the police is a form of controlling trans youths' gender expressions, identities, and movement in an attempt to uphold western standards of gender and sexuality, and this analysis is in line with previous discussions of intersectional subjection (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Robinson 2020). Trans women and non-white trans people to are subjected to violence as police attempt to control and force conformity onto them for not fitting society's prescribed roles.

The Current Study

The current study investigates police violence towards trans people. The existing literature on trans people and their experiences with the police is limited, and this study aims to

fill this gap by analyzing the experiences of trans people who engage in sex work or interact with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work by investigating the following research question: What are trans peoples' experiences with police misconduct when they are thought to be engaged in sex work? To do so, I propose five hypotheses:

H1: Respondents who had ever engaged in sex work were more likely to have experienced a significant police interaction in the past year compared to those who had not.

H2: Trans women who had ever engaged in sex work were more likely to have interacted with the police in the past year than trans men and gender nonconforming people.

H3: Respondents who had ever engaged in sex work or interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work were more likely to experience police violence in the past year compared to those who had not.

H4: Non-white respondents who had ever engaged in sex work or ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work were more likely to experience police violence compared to their white counterparts.

H5: Respondents who had ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work were more likely to experience police misconduct if they reported that the police knew they were trans in their past year police interaction(s) compared to those who the police did not know were trans.

Data

To answer the proposed research questions, I use the 2015 United States Transgender Survey (USTS). This survey was conducted in the summer of 2015 and includes trans people 18 years old and older from all 50 United States, the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, and US military bases overseas. The USTS was conducted as an online survey and

was available to respondents in both English and Spanish. Participants were recruited for the survey through snowball sampling; thus, the sample is not representative of the transgender population, and I make no claims about generalizability. Despite this limitation, the USTS received 27,715 responses and is the largest ever survey of transgender people in the United States.

Measures

Dependent Variables

Police Interaction in the past year

The USTS asked respondents if they had any significant interactions with police or law enforcement in the past year (coded 1) or not (coded 0). I use this measure to examine what factors increase the probability of interacting with the police. 11,014 respondents (42% of the sample) had significant police interactions in the past year. I use the full sample of 26,451 respondents to conduct this analysis, and I use this dependent variable to answer my first two research questions.

Police Violence in the Past Year

To analyze the effects of ever engaging in sex work on experiencing victimization at the hands of law enforcement, the next outcome variable measures if the respondent had been physically or sexually assaulted during any past year police encounters. The measure for experiencing physical or sexual assault includes being physically attacked, forced to engage in sexual activity to avoid arrest, and being sexually assaulted (0 = not physically or sexually assaulted; 1 = physically or sexually assaulted). This question was only asked of respondents who indicated that the police knew the respondent was trans in their past year police interaction(s), so analyses using this dependent variable are limited to respondents who had

police encounters in the past year and who indicated the police knew that they were trans at least some of the time in order to isolate and understand interactions between trans people and police. I use this dependent variable to answer my third research question. The sample for these analyses is 3,462 respondents.

Police Misconduct When Stopped for Sex Work

The USTS asked if respondents had ever been stopped by the police when engaged in or thought to be engaged in sex work. Those who answered yes for this were asked if they were verbally harassed, physically attacked, or sexually assaulted by the police in these encounters (0 = never experienced police misconduct when stopped for sex work; 1 = ever experienced police misconduct when stopped for sex work). This variable includes all measures of misconduct because the sample size is more limited. This question was asked of every respondent who had ever interacted with the police while engaged or thought to be engaged in sex work, regardless of whether the police knew the respondent was trans or not. The sample is further limited to those who had significant police interaction in the past year, as these respondents were asked whether the police knew the respondent was trans. Thus, this sample only includes respondents who had ever been stopped by the police while thought to be engaged in sex work and who had at least one experience with the police in the past year (N = 364). This is justified for these analyses because it allows me to isolate the influence of police knowing that the respondent was trans on experiencing police misconduct when stopped for sex work.

Independent Variables

Ever Engaged in Sex Work

My first key independent variable measures whether respondents had ever engaged in sex work (0 = no; 1= yes). This key variable will help indicate the effect that having ever engaged in

sex work has on the probability of experiencing any kind of police misconduct. This will be used to answer my first two research questions examining what factors affect the probability of having at least one significant police encounter in the past year and to investigate the effect of ever engaging in sex work on experiencing police violence.

Gender

To understand the specific discrimination facing trans people of different genders, I split the analysis of past year police interactions by gender. The USTS offers an extensive list of gender identities to choose from, and gender is then recoded to include trans women (coded 1), trans men (coded 2), and genderqueer/non-binary/other (coded 3). Trans men and genderqueer/non-binary/other are recoded as indicator variables with trans women as the reference group.

Interacted with Police while Thought to Be Engaged in Sex Work

In addition to whether respondents have ever engaged in sex work, I include whether respondents have ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work (0= no; 1= yes). Police often assume trans people are engaged in sex work without any evidence other than their gender, so the inclusion of this variable will allow those who have never engaged in sex work but who have been stopped for sex work to be included in the analysis (Carpenter and Marshall 2017). This inclusion works to isolate the specific experiences of trans people who have specifically been stopped for sex work, regardless of whether the respondent had ever engaged in sex work or was engaging in sex work at the time. This variable will be used to examine how direct interaction with the police while engaged or thought to be engaged in sex work affects the probability of having a significant police interaction in the past year. It will also allow me to compare the probability of experiencing police violence for those who directly

interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work compared to probability of those who had ever engaged in sex work.

Race

Respondents indicated their race from a list of options. Due to the low response rate of non-White people, I recoded race as white (coded 0) and non-White (coded 1). White includes all respondents who indicated that they were white only. The non-white category includes respondents who were Black, Native American, Alaska Native, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, North African, mixed race, or a different race.⁴ While the low response rate of non-White trans people is a major limitation of this data, this dataset remains best suited to explore the relationship between trans identity, race, involvement in sex work, and police abuse. This variable will be used to determine the effect of race on probability of having a significant police interaction in the past year and the effect of race on experiencing police violence. To understand how race and sex work or interacting with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work interact to affect the probability of experiencing police violence, I include interactions between race and these variables.

Police Knew Respondent was Trans

Respondents who indicated that they had a significant experience with the police in the past year were asked if the police knew that they were trans (0=no; 1= yes). This variable will indicate the effect of the police knowing if a respondent was trans on respondents' predicted probabilities of experiencing police misconduct when thought to be engaged in sex work. This variable will be used to answer my second research question examining how the police knowing

⁴ Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) individuals are coded as non-white in adherence with Maghbouleh, Schachter, and Flores' (2022) findings that MENA individuals experience discrimination, a worse economic standing, and different circumstances from white Americans.

a respondent was trans affects the probabilities of experiencing police violence while engaged or thought to be engaged in sex work.

Control Variables

In each model, I control for gender, age, disability status, homelessness, employment, surgical transition, and education. Age is a continuous variable measured in years and age squared measures the curvilinear effect of age. Disability measures whether a respondent has a disability (coded 1) or not (coded 0). The measure for experiencing homelessness measures whether respondents had ever experienced homelessness (coded 1) or not (coded 0). I recoded respondents' employment as variables that indicate whether a respondent is unemployed or out of the labor force with "employed" as the reference group. Surgical transition indicates whether respondents had ever had any surgical transition procedures (coded 1) or not (coded 0). Education is recoded as a categorical variable (1= less than high school; 2 = high school or equivalent; 3 = some college/Associate's; 4= Bachelor's degree or higher).

Analytic Strategy

As little quantitative research has been done on the rates of police misconduct experienced by trans people and the involvement of trans people in sex work, I first analyze descriptive statistics of my samples, shown in Table 1. I use logistic regressions to explore how engagement in sex work and race affect the probability of having any significant police interactions in the past year, and I split this model by gender. This is shown in Table 2. To examine the relationships between engagement in sex work, interacting with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work, race, and police violence, I ran a series of multinomial logistic regressions shown in Table 3. Model 1 is an un-interacted model showing the main effects of engagement in sex work, encountering the police when engaged or thought to be

engaged in sex work, and race on police abuse. Model 2 includes an interaction between engagement in sex work and race. Model 3 includes an interaction between interacting with the police when engaged or thought to be engaged in sex work and race. Model 4 includes both interactions. I show the predicted probabilities of police violence by race, sex work, and interactions with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work in Table 4. To explore the relationship between the police knowing whether a respondent was trans and experiencing police misconduct when thought to be engaged in sex work, I present the results of another multinomial logistic regression shown in Table 5. In each analysis, I use listwise deletion for the missing variables.

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of my sample. I split this table by trans women, trans men, and non-binary people/people of other genders. Trans women had the highest rate of interaction with the police in the past year, the highest rate of engagement in sex work, and the highest rate of interacting with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work. This all suggests that trans women may have specifically tenuous relationships with the police as they are forced into higher contact with them. This is heightened by the fact that 51% of trans women reported that the police knew they were trans in their past year interaction (only 32% of trans men and 18% of people of other genders reported that the police knew they were trans). This increases trans women's risks of being profiled by the police and forced into police engagement, particularly as trans women engaged in sex work at higher rates than the rest of this sample.

The rates of experiencing physical or sexual assault by the police in the past year is roughly equal across genders, however trans women had the highest rate of experiencing police misconduct when specifically interacting with police while thought to be engaged in sex work.

This suggests that trans women face specific discrimination from the police when they are believed to be engaged in sex work, and this points to the use of social control against trans women in a cisheteronormative and patriarchal society. Still, each gender experienced high rates of police misconduct when they were believed to be engaged in sex work, pointing to the police abuse facing trans sex workers and sex workers in general.

[Table 1 About Here]

As seen in Table 2, engagement in sex work was a significant predictor of having any significant past year police interactions for trans women, trans men, and non-binary people and people of other genders. This supports my first hypothesis and confirms what past literature has explained in depth: sex work is a crucial factor in increasing trans peoples' police interactions. While this effect was present for each group, only trans men and trans women were significantly different in this effect.

[Table 2 About Here]

Trans men who had engaged in sex work had .418 higher logged odds of interacting with the police in the past year and trans women who had engaged in sex work had only .191 higher logged odds of interacting with the police in the past year. In predicted probabilities, trans men who had interacted had ever engaged in sex work had a 10% higher predicted probability of interacting with the police, while trans women who had engaged in sex work only had a 4.6% higher predicted probability. While this rejects my second hypothesis that trans women who had ever engaged in sex work would be more likely to have interacted with the police in the past year, trans women overall had higher rates of past year police interaction (42.4%) than both trans men (38.6%) and gender non-binary people or people of other genders (36.6%). This suggests that trans women are in higher contact with the police in general, and this supports previous

discussions of the trans-profiling of trans women (Lenore and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015). Not only does this profiling put all trans women into higher contact with the police, but police often assume that trans women are engaged in sex work because of this profiling, and this in itself might lower the effect of actual engagement in sex work on trans women's risk of police interaction. The effect of sex work on trans women, trans men, and non-binary/other peoples' predicted probabilities of having a past year police interaction is shown in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 About Here]

This analysis does suggest that trans men who engage in sex work also face significant and specific discrimination from the police, and future research should examine this relationship. For each gender, however, it is clear that sex work heightens trans peoples' probability of police interaction, and given the police's treatment of trans sex workers, it also forces trans people into higher risks of experiencing violence.

Table 3 shows the relationships between police violence, sex work, interacting with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work, and race. Model 1 shows the un-interacted effects of engagement in sex work, interacting with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work, and race on police violence. Each independent variable is significant. Those who had ever engaged in sex work had 0.501 higher logged odds of experiencing violence than those who had not, those who had interacted with the police while engaged or thought to be engaged in sex work had 1.095 higher logged odds of experiencing violence than those who had not, and non-white respondents had 0.827 higher logged odds of experiencing violence than white respondents. This confirms my third hypothesis that respondents who had ever engaged in sex work or had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work would be more likely to experience police violence in the past year. In predicted probabilities, respondents who

had ever engaged in sex work were predicted to experience police violence 6.0% of the time, respondents who had ever interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work were predicted to experience violence 9.9% of the time, and non-white respondents were predicted to experience abuse 7.4% of the time.

Those who had specifically interacted with police when thought to be engaged in sex work were predicted to experience police abuse 3.8% more often than those who had just ever engaged in sex work. I ran a linear combination test and found that this difference is significant ($p > .028$). This indicates that interacting with the police when believed to be engaged in sex work, whether engaged in sex work or not, predicts higher rates of police abuse than ever engaging in sex work. This finding supports discussions of the “walking while trans” phenomenon as it shows that interaction with the is in itself a greater danger than any individual choice trans people may make to engage in sex work, particularly considering that 44% of those who had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work had never actually engaged in sex work, and 65% of those who had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work were trans women (Lenore and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015). This finding in particular supports past literature that has examined the violent consequences of the profiling of trans women as sex workers, and confirms that this is a widespread reality for trans women.

[Table 3 About Here]

Models 2 and 3 include interactions between race and engagement in sex work and between race and interacting with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work respectively. Model 4 includes both interactions. While neither interaction is significant, according to Allison (1999) the reported significance for interactions in binary outcomes are not indicative of the actual effects of the interaction. Long and Mustillo (2021) suggest that instead

of relying on the reported significance for interactions, we should use probabilities to compare across groups, and these probabilities are shown clearly in Table 4.

[Table 4 about here]

I conducted linear combination tests to determine if the differences in experiencing police abuse across these variables were significantly different. These tests confirmed that there are significant differences between the predicted rates of police abuse for white respondents who had ever engaged in sex work and had not ($p < .025$), between both non-white ($p < .001$) and white ($p < .035$) respondents who had ever interacted with the police when believed to be engaged in sex work and respondents who had not, between non-white people who had ever engaged in sex work and non-white people who had specifically interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work ($p < .026$), and between non-white and white respondents who had ever engaged in sex work ($p < .047$) and who had interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work ($p < .004$). There are significant differences in the predicted probabilities of violence for white and non-white people who had never engaged in sex work or interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work. Figure 2 illustrates these differences.

Non-white people who had ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work were predicted to experience police violence 18.85% of the time in the past year. This is the highest predicted probability among the groups and shows the importance of race in understanding police violence against trans people. Compared to white respondents who had ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work, non-white respondents had nearly triple the probability of experiencing violence, and white respondents' highest probability of experiencing violence (6.83%) is roughly the same probability of experiencing violence as non-white people who had never engaged in sex work or had never interacted with

the police while thought to be engaged in sex work. Thus, it is important to keep in mind that while police violence against trans people does affect all trans people, non-white trans people are in a particularly dangerous position in police interactions. This supports my fourth hypothesis that non-white trans people who had ever engaged in sex work or had ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work would be more likely to experience police violence than their white counterparts.

Non-white trans people who had ever engaged in sex work did not have a significant difference in the probability of experiencing violence compared to non-white people who had not engaged in sex work, but there was a significant difference between non-white people who had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work and those who had not, once again suggesting that it is direct police interaction, not an individual's decision to engage in sex work, that is the danger for trans people. While engaging in sex work does increase the odds of interacting with the police and trans sex workers do face a specific disadvantage to that effect, police profiling of trans people is not limited to those who had just ever engaged in sex work. It is this direct interaction with police that is forced upon trans people, but especially non-white trans people, that puts them into higher risks of experiencing violence.

Non-white respondents who had interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work and non-white respondents who had not had a 12.02% difference in the predicted probabilities of experiencing abuse. White trans people who had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work had a 3.70% increase in their predicted probability of experiencing abuse. This stark difference shows how the intersections of being non-white and believed to be engaged in sex work puts non-white trans people in a specifically dangerous situation and speaks to Crenshaw's (1991) explanation of how combinations of marginalized

identities (i.e., perceived involvement in sex work, marginalized gender status, and marginalized race) compounds discrimination. Furthermore, it speaks to discussions of intersectional subjection, as police are more willing to use force to control those who more heavily challenge the white cisheteronormative society (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blesset 2022).

[Figure 2 About Here]

Table 5 shows that respondents who had ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work had higher odds of experiencing police misconduct if they reported that the police knew they were trans in their past year police interaction(s), and this supports my final hypothesis. Whether the police knew the respondent was trans in their past year police interaction is one of only two significant predictors of experiencing police misconduct in this model and had the strongest correlation out of any other variable in the model. It is crucial to note that 67.7% of this sample consists of trans women, 22.2% are non-binary or another gender, and 10.1% are trans men. Equally important is that 37.6% of this sample is non-white and that 42.8% of this sample reported that they had never engaged in sex work. The gender composition of this sample shows that while interacting with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work is a serious risk to all trans peoples' safety, trans women are in particular danger of interacting with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work. Non-white people made up only 18.3% of the full sample, however, when limiting to those who had ever interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work and to those who had at least one significant police interaction in the past year, their representation doubles, indicating that non-white trans people face high rates of contact with the police.

[Table 5 About Here]

The fact that nearly half of those who had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work *had never actually engaged in sex work* points to the pervasive nature of trans profiling. Given that respondents had 1.159 higher logged odds of experiencing police misconduct when the police knew they were trans, this specific profiling of visibly trans women as sex workers shows the danger of the “walking while trans” phenomenon. In predicted probabilities, respondents who believed that the police knew they were trans were predicted to experience police misconduct 91.1% of the time when they interacted with the police when engaged or thought to be engaged in sex work, and those who were not visibly trans were expected to experience misconduct 77.5% of the time. When the police knew the respondent was trans, respondents were expected to experience police abuse 13.6% more often than when police did not know the respondent was trans. This confirms that transphobic bias and profiling play a large role in trans peoples’ experiences with police, and also points to the high risk of police misconduct facing all sex workers.

Figure 3 shows this difference starkly. While this difference is so large, it is worth reiterating that even those who the police did not know were trans were expected to experience misconduct 77.5% of the time when they interacted with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work. More than three-fourths of respondents were expected to experience assault when interacting with the police when thought to be engaged in sex work. This speaks to the violence all sex workers face when interacting with the police, and this violence becomes even worse for those who the police knew were trans. Again, this demonstrates how multiple marginalized identities intersect to worsen discrimination and increase the risk of violence from the police.

While this analysis is purely suggestive given the small sample size and non-representative nature of the data, this is still an important finding and speaks to the role

transphobic bias plays in police interactions with trans people believed to be engaged in sex work.

[Figure 3 About Here]

Controls

The only other variable besides race, engagement or perceived engagement in sex work, and whether the police knew respondents were trans that significantly increased police interaction, violence, or abuse in each analysis was whether respondents had ever experienced homelessness. In the final analysis shown in Table 5, homelessness was the only other variable besides whether the police knew respondents were trans that significantly increased the logged odds of experiencing police violence. This suggests that homelessness is highly correlated with negative experiences with the police, and this is in line with literature documenting the criminalization of homelessness and its negative effects, particularly for trans people (Robinson 2020; Robinson 2009). Future research should continue to examine the experiences of trans people experiencing homelessness and how this increases the risk of victimization from the police.

Employment is also significant in some of the models. In the first analysis, being unemployed or out of the labor force significantly decreased respondents' logged odds of experiencing any significant police misconduct compared to those who were employed for trans women, trans men, and people of other genders. In the analysis of police violence, being unemployed significantly increased respondents' logged odds of experiencing police violence compared to those who were employed. Future research should examine how employment operates to both increase and decrease risk of police interaction and violence for trans people.

Discussion

This study finds that, in this sample, 1) engaging in sex work increases trans peoples' risks of engagement with the police and that this increase in risk is greatest for trans men, 2) when police believe trans people are engaged in sex work, trans people have significantly higher risks of experiencing police violence, 3) non-white trans people are at a particular risk of experiencing violence when interacting with police while thought to be engaged in sex work, and 4) when the police knew respondents in this sample were trans, respondents had significantly higher risks of experiencing police misconduct when they were thought to be engaged in sex work. These findings overwhelmingly support past work that has described negative experiences of trans people with the police. Daum (2015), Gaynor and Blesset (2022), and Robinson (2020) have all documented how police profiling of transgender people as sex workers serves to control transgender people and reinforce racialized and gendered hierarchies. This phenomenon, described as "walking while trans," is well understood through past work examining trans peoples' experiences with and perceptions of the police and is further illustrated through this study (Lenore and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blesset 2022; Robinson 2020; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015). This study strongly suggests that trans people who are thought engaged in sex work, regardless of actual engagement in sex work, have a higher risk of experiencing police violence or misconduct, and that this risk is higher for those who are non-white and for those who the police know are transgender. This therefore provides support for the "walking while trans" phenomenon and intersectional subjection, as the risk for violence is increased for non-white transgender people who were thought to be engaged in sex work. This assumption is simply another way for police to justify the control and abuse of trans people, and in this way, it is clear police violence is often used specifically against transgender people as a way to control those who transgress white, cisheteronormative norms.

Furthermore, those who had ever engaged in sex work faced a specific risk of encountering the police, therefore increasing their probability of experiencing police violence. In the analysis exploring the effect of visible transness on police misconduct, the sample is overwhelmingly trans women and gender non-conforming people: 67.7% of this sample consists of trans women, 22.2% are non-binary or another gender, and 10.1% are trans men. This speaks to the gendered nature of police's assumptions of trans people, and more specifically to the role of transmisogyny in trans women's experiences with labor and the police. In the first analysis, trans women who had never engaged in sex work had the highest probabilities of interacting with police compared to the other genders, and this could be because of the extensive profiling trans women face from the police (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015). In the other analysis, though I was unable to split them by gender, trans women make up over two-thirds of each sample, and in each, nearly half of those who interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work had never actually engaged in sex work. Again, this reinforces the validity of the "walking while trans" phenomenon as it shows how gendered assumptions about trans women force them into higher contact with the police and into situations where they are at high risks of experiencing police abuse (Carpenter and Marshall 2017; Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Robinson 2020).

While trans women were disproportionately represented in the samples of those who experienced violence and misconduct, suggesting that they are more at risk of trans profiling and transphobic violence associated with sex work, trans men who had ever engaged in sex work had the highest risk of experiencing any police contact in the past year. There is very little literature exploring trans men's experiences in general, but there is even less examining their experiences with the criminal justice system and sex work. Given the high risk of experiencing police contact

for trans men engaged in sex work, future research should seriously begin studying trans men's experiences with policing and the criminal justice system and the specific discrimination they may face within it.

Non-white people had the highest predicted probability of experiencing police violence when they were thought to be engaged in sex work, and they were disproportionately represented in the final analysis examining police misconduct and trans visibility. In the analysis of police violence, non-white people who were thought to be engaged in sex work were predicted to experience nearly triple the violence of white respondents. Furthermore, though the risk of experiencing violence increased for white respondents who had interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work, white respondents who had interacted with the police had roughly the same probability of experiencing police violence as non-white respondents who had never engaged in sex work nor interacted with the police while thought to be engaged in sex work. This shows the importance of race in trans peoples' experiences with police violence and how drastically racism affects the discrimination and violence non-white people face within the criminal justice system (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blessett 2022; Robinson 2020).

Given the damning evidence that transgender people face specific risks of violence from the police, we must begin to consider how to address the dangers the police pose to transgender people. Because the whole history of law enforcement is rooted in cissexism and racism, many QT activists and queer criminologists argue that instead of reform, those concerned with ameliorating the relationship between police and trans people should seriously consider abolishing the prison industrial complex and defunding the police (Ball 2021; Davis 2003; Lamble 2015; Stanley, Smith, and McDonald 2015; Walker et al 2022). Because the police have a long history of marginalizing and abusing QT communities and people of color, we should be

hesitant to trust that funneling more money and resources into law enforcement in the name of reform will have any positive effect on the relationship between QT people and the police (Panfil 2018; Spade 2013; Walker et al 2022). Furthermore, we can see through theories of intersectional subjection that the police operate in a way to control marginalized populations and uphold white supremacy and cisheteronormativity, even under seemingly neutral policies (Daum 2015; Gaynor and Blesset 2022; Robinson 2020). In this way, policing as an institution is invested in maintaining social norms and achieve this through violence and transphobic abuse. Thus, it is unreasonable to expect that any reforms to this institution will reduce the transphobic foundation of policing, and abolition should be seriously considered by those invested in trans liberation (Walker 2022; Lamble 2015). In lieu of police, many communities have built transformative justice movements to address harm and support victims of violence in their communities (Kaba 2021; Walker 2022). Avenues away from policing must be considered in order to address the violence police force upon the trans community.

Limitations and Future Research

While this study is a crucial contribution to the understanding of how the police harm trans people, it is not without its limitations. Due to the way the data were collected, the data are not nationally representative of trans people in the United States and cannot be generalized to the trans population. As Black, Latinx, and Indigenous trans people have specific relationships to and experiences with the police, ideally research attempting to isolate non-white trans peoples' experiences would be able to examine each race and ethnicity separately, but as the USTS is overwhelmingly white (81.7%), this is not feasible with these data. Still, relationships between race and experiencing police violence were still found, which speaks to the salience of race in police encounters even in a limited sample. Given that the transgender population in the United

States is only 54.7% white, future data collection efforts and future quantitative research should put a heavy emphasis on including the experiences of non-white trans people (Herman, Flores, O'Neil 2022).

An additional limitation is the small sample size of my final analysis ($N=364$). While constraining my analysis to this is warranted and necessary, it does limit its reliability. Still, because the data is non-representative, all analyses conducted with the USTS are only suggestive of the experiences of transgender people in the US, so sample size is not a major limitation of this project. Furthermore, police knowing a respondent was trans was still a significant predictor of experiencing police misconduct when stopped for sex work, suggesting that even in a small sample, transphobic police bias is prevalent. Future research should investigate the role of transphobic bias in all police interactions instead of interactions limited to where trans people are believed to be engaged in sex work. Furthermore, the high predicted probabilities of police misconduct among those who the police knew were trans (91.1%) and those who the police did not (77.4%) shows the danger that all sex workers face in police interactions, and future research should examine how police use violence and harassment to control sex workers more generally.

Future research should emphasize qualitative methods to understand their experiences with policing and the criminal justice system more in depth, particularly in regard to non-white trans women's experiences of trans profiling. Studies should also emphasize the ways trans people may take care of each other, particularly in the face of marginalization such as poverty or homelessness, in an attempt to emphasize the community resilience of trans people (England 2022). Studies of police attitudes towards trans people are also vital in understanding how transphobia operates at an institutional level to encourage the use of violence and control against trans people. Finally, as homelessness was a strong correlate of police interaction, violence, and

abuse, research should continue to investigate trans peoples' experiences with homelessness and how this affects their experiences with police and trans profiling (Robinson 2020).

Conclusion

This is one of the first quantitative studies of how race and perceived involvement in sex work affect transgender peoples' experiences of police violence and misconduct. It supports past literature that suggests that trans people, particularly trans sex workers and trans people of color, experience high levels of police misconduct, and provides further support for intersectional subjection, which argues that social control is used heavily on those who hold multiple marginalized identities in an attempt to control their movement and freedom. This study supports the understanding that policing in the United States is built specifically to control Black, Indigenous, and non-white peoples and those who transgress western gender norms, and thus, moving forward, abolition and community-oriented, transformative justice efforts should seriously be considered as a solution to the violence transgender people experience from the police. Future research should continue to investigate how race affects trans peoples' experiences with the police and examine the specific ways police violence is used to control Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and other non-white trans people differently and should examine the different experiences trans women, trans men, and people of other marginalized genders have with the police.

This study explores what is well-known amongst QT people and those committed to trans justice: the police are a threat to trans peoples' safety. Hopefully, this study will encourage further investigation of the polices' treatment of trans and gender nonconforming people and how police violence and misconduct are used as tools of controlling marginalized populations.

Appendix

Tables and Graphs

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N = 27715)

	Trans Women (N=8,584)	Trans Men (N=7,687)	Non-Binary/Other (N=10,180)
Police Interaction in Past Year	43%	39%	37%
Police Knew Respondent was Trans in Past Year Interaction	51%	32%	18%
Physically or Sexually Assaulted by the Police in the Past Year	5%	4%	6%
Interacted with Police While Thought to be Engaged in Sex Work	5%	1%	2%
Experienced Police Misconduct While Thought to be Engaged in Sex Work	88%	78%	79%
Ever Engaged in Sex Work	14%	7%	9%
Non-white	15%	20%	19%
Age	38.21	28.16	27.42
Disability	21%	25%	36%
<i>Employment Status</i>			
Employed	66%	68%	62%
Unemployed	12%	13%	14%
Out of the Labor Force	22%	19%	23%
Ever Experienced Homelessness	33%	30%	24%
<i>Education</i>			
Less than high school	3%	3%	4%
High school grad (incl. GED)	12%	14%	12%
Some college (no degree)/Associate's	46%	46%	47%
Bachelor's degree or higher	40%	37%	37%
Any Surgical Transition	53%	39%	10%

Source: 2015 United States Transgender Survey
N = 27,715

Table 2: Logistic Regressions on Past Year Police Interaction by Sex Work and Gender

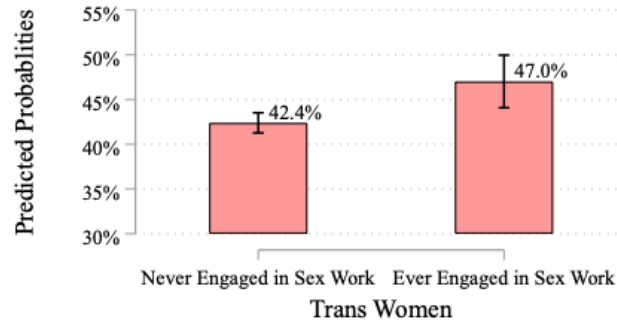
	Trans Women		Trans Men		Non-Binary/Other	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Ever Engaged in Sex Work	0.191**	(0.07)	0.418***	(0.09)	0.303***	(0.07)
Non-White	-0.077	(0.06)	0.055	(0.06)	0.053	(0.05)
Age	0.002	(0.00)	-0.004	(0.00)	-0.000	(0.00)
Identifies as Disabled	0.249***	(0.06)	0.273***	(0.06)	0.191***	(0.04)
<i>Employment (ref Employed)</i>						
Unemployed	-0.201**	(0.07)	-0.190*	(0.08)	-0.275***	(0.06)
Out of the Labor Force	-0.230***	(0.06)	-0.430***	(0.07)	-0.444***	(0.05)
Ever Experienced Homelessness	0.476***	(0.05)	0.522***	(0.05)	0.498***	(0.05)
Any Surgical Transition	-0.014	(0.05)	0.036	(0.06)	0.132	(0.07)
<i>Education (ref No High School)</i>						
High school grad (incl. GED)	0.148	(0.15)	0.049	(0.15)	0.233	(0.13)
Some college (no degree)/Associate's	0.266	(0.14)	0.253	(0.14)	0.442***	(0.12)
Bachelor's degree or higher	0.119	(0.15)	0.305*	(0.14)	0.431***	(0.13)
Constant	-0.672***	(0.15)	-0.752***	(0.15)	-1.028***	(0.13)
Observations	8584		7687		10180	
<i>AIC</i>	11575.457		10091.059		13159.670	
<i>BIC</i>	11660.149		10174.426		13246.408	

Standard errors in parentheses. All Coefficients Presented in Logged Odds.

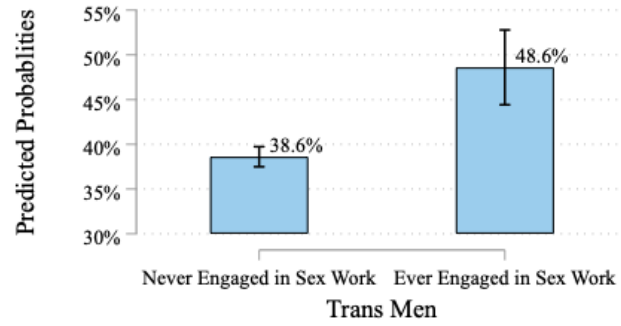
Source: United States Transgender Survey 2015. N = 26,298

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

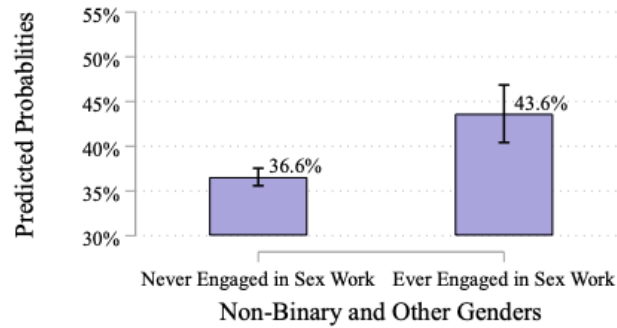
Figure 1: Past Year Police Interaction by Engagement in Sex Work Split by Gender



2015 United States Transgender Survey
N=8,584



2015 United States Transgender Survey
N=7,687



2015 United States Transgender Survey
N=10,180

Table 3: Logistic Regressions on Police Violence by Sex Work and Race

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>
Ever Engaged in Sex Work	0.501**	(0.19)	0.568*	(0.24)	0.499**	(0.19)	0.617*	(0.24)
Interacted with Police When Engaged in Sex Work	1.095***	(0.22)	1.099***	(0.22)	0.897**	(0.31)	0.857**	(0.31)
Non-White	0.827***	(0.18)	0.897***	(0.24)	0.725***	(0.21)	0.827***	(0.24)
<i>Gender (ref. Trans Women)</i>								
Trans Men	-0.112	(0.23)	-0.116	(0.23)	-0.108	(0.23)	-0.113	(0.23)
Genderqueer/Non-Binary	0.310	(0.23)	0.305	(0.23)	0.310	(0.23)	0.302	(0.23)
Age	-0.026**	(0.01)	-0.026**	(0.01)	-0.026**	(0.01)	-0.026**	(0.01)
Identifies as Disabled	0.261	(0.18)	0.265	(0.18)	0.263	(0.18)	0.271	(0.18)
Ever Experienced Homelessness	1.012***	(0.20)	1.009***	(0.20)	1.016***	(0.20)	1.013***	(0.20)
<i>Employment (ref. Employed)</i>								
Unemployed	0.796***	(0.22)	0.794***	(0.22)	0.800***	(0.22)	0.797***	(0.22)
Out of the Labor Force	0.480*	(0.23)	0.479*	(0.23)	0.477*	(0.23)	0.475*	(0.23)
Any Surgical Transition	-0.010	(0.19)	-0.008	(0.19)	-0.018	(0.19)	-0.014	(0.19)
<i>Education (ref. No High School)</i>								
High school grad (incl. GED)	-0.373	(0.40)	-0.385	(0.40)	-0.360	(0.40)	-0.379	(0.40)
Some college (no degree)/Associate's	-0.718*	(0.36)	-0.733*	(0.36)	-0.709*	(0.36)	-0.732*	(0.36)
Bachelor's degree or higher	-0.264	(0.38)	-0.277	(0.38)	-0.249	(0.39)	-0.269	(0.39)
Ever Engaged in Sex Work x Non-White			-0.165	(0.36)			-0.297	(0.38)
Interacted with Police When Engaged in Sex Work x Non-White					0.412	(0.42)	0.513	(0.44)
Constant	-3.284***	(0.48)	-3.291***	(0.48)	-3.248***	(0.48)	-3.252***	(0.48)
Observations		3462		3462		3462		3462
<i>AIC</i>		1115.990		1117.782		1117.017		1118.406
<i>BIC</i>		1208.234		1216.176		1215.411		1222.949

Standard errors in parentheses. All Coefficients Presented in Logged Odds.

Source: United States Transgender Survey 2015

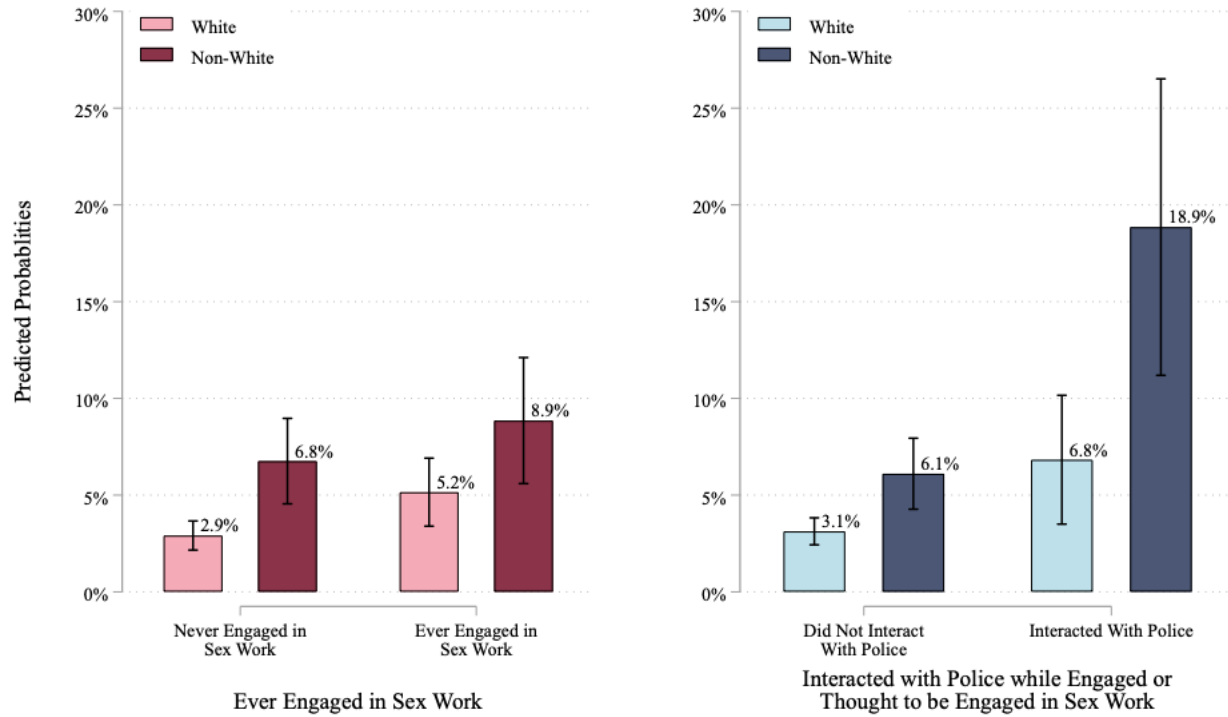
N = 3,462

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: Probabilities of Experiencing Police Violence in the Past Year

Engagement in Sex Work				
Never Engaged in Sex Work		Ever Engaged in Sex Work		
<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	
2.90%	6.76%	5.15%	8.85%	
Interaction with Police While Thought to be Engaged in Sex Work				
Never Interacted with the Police while Thought Engaged in Sex Work		Interacted with the Police while Thought Engaged in Sex Work		
<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-White</u>	
3.13%	6.11%	6.83%	18.85%	

Figure 2: Probabilities of Experiencing Police Violence by Race and Sex Work



2015 United States Transgender Survey
N=3,462

Table 5: Logistic Regressions on Police Misconduct by Police Knew

	Model 1	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Police Knew Respondent was Trans	1.159**	(0.35)
Non-White	0.054	(0.35)
<i>Gender (ref Trans Women)</i>		
Trans Men	0.428	(0.69)
Genderqueer/Non-Binary	-0.879	(0.46)
Age	-0.017	(0.01)
Identifies as Disabled	-0.010	(0.38)
Ever Experienced Homelessness	0.839*	(0.34)
<i>Employment (ref Employed)</i>		
Unemployed	-0.074	(0.53)
Out of the Labor Force	-0.312	(0.45)
Any Surgical Transition	-0.581	(0.39)
<i>Education (ref no High School)</i>		
High school grad (incl. GED)	0.052	(0.97)
Some college (no degree)/Associate's	0.162	(0.86)
Bachelor's degree or higher	-0.141	(0.89)
Constant	1.757	(1.06)
Observations	364	
<i>AIC</i>	279.209	
<i>BIC</i>	333.769	

Standard errors in parentheses

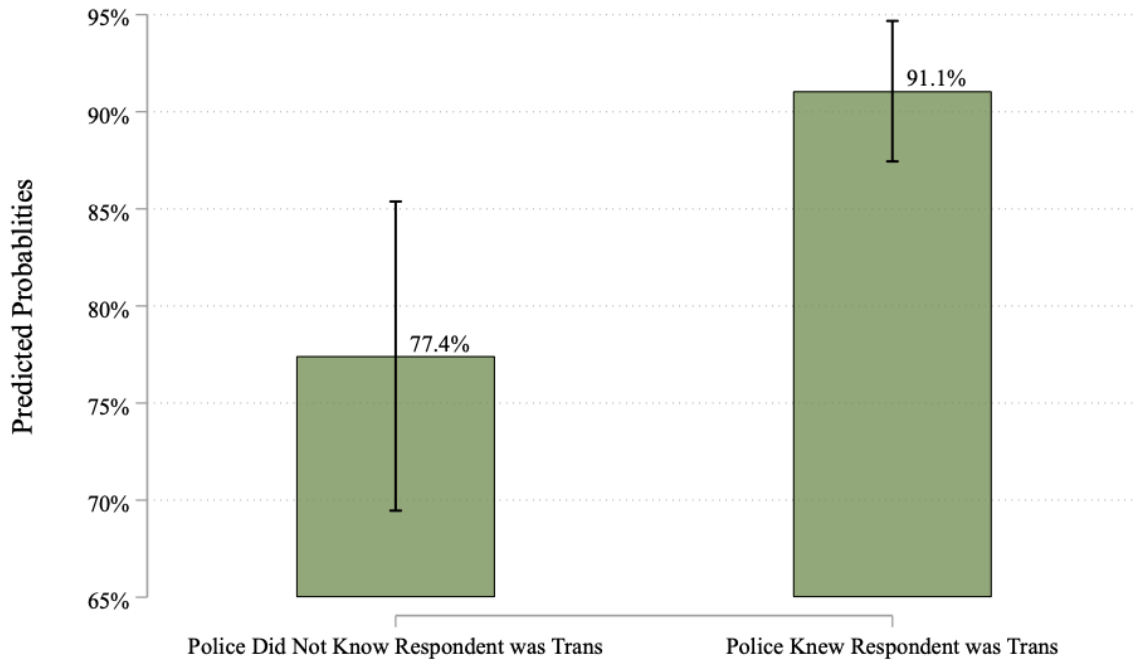
Source: United States Transgender Survey 2015

All Coefficients Presented in Logged Odds

N = 26,298

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 3: Probability of Experiencing Misconduct by Whether the Police Knew the Respondent was Trans



2015 United States Transgender Survey
N=364

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