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To cite this article: José Devís-Devís, Sofía Pereira-García, Alexandra Valencia-Peris, Jorge Fuentes-Miguel, Elena López-Cañada & Víctor Pérez-Samaniego (2017) Harassment Patterns and Risk Profile in Spanish Trans Persons, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 64:2, 239-255, DOI: [10.1080/00918369.2016.1179027](https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1179027)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1179027>



Accepted author version posted online: 19 Apr 2016.
Published online: 19 Apr 2016.



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Harassment Patterns and Risk Profile in Spanish Trans Persons

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ABSTRACT

This article describes the harassment patterns and the risk profile in trans people living in Spain. A sample of 212 trans persons, aged 10–62, participated in this cross-sectional study. Results showed a high percentage of harassment (59.9%) and frequency of daily harassment (12.6%), especially verbal attacks (59%) that occurred in public spaces (49.1%) and within educational contexts (46.2%). Harassment is more prevalent in trans women than men. Those who disclose their gender identities at a younger age experience higher percentages and frequency of harassment than those who disclose at an older age. They also suffer more harassment of different types. The risk profile of harassment indicates that older trans women are more likely to suffer harassment than younger ones, and the risk decreases each year they delay their gender identity disclosure. The elimination of transphobic attitudes and the promotion of gender justice should be priority strategies in Spain.

KEYWORDS

Bullying; harassment; transgender; transphobia; transsexuals

Harassment is a widespread phenomenon in Western societies (Juvonen & Graham, 2001; Monks et al., 2009; Pörhölä & Kinney, 2010). It is a harmful action or actions based on a power imbalance of different kinds between the aggressor and the victim (Holmes & Holmes-Lonergan, 2004). Vulnerable groups are more prone to suffer harassment because they lack the necessary resources to deal with difficult situations. Particularly, vulnerability of trans people (persons whose gender do not conform to the biological sex assigned at birth) is increased by social stigmatization, as well as a weak institutional and legal support. For instance, discrimination and harassment against trans people has not been yet addressed by the enactment of certain Spanish laws about sex rectification and sex equality promotion (see Ley, 2007; Ley Orgánica, 2007). Moreover, the public display of trans identities also produces transphobic attitudes because cisgender identities (non-trans) are

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challenged, gender hierarchies are threatened, and cisgender people lose their gendered privileges existing within sociocultural contexts in which a binary sex/gender system is prevailing (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Witten & Eyley, 1999). Some authors consider harassment against trans people a structural violence or systemic oppression that punishes whoever transgresses gender social rules (Kidd & Witten, 2010; Lombardi, Wilchins, Priesing, & Malouf, 2002; Puche, Moreno, & Pichardo, 2013). Others emphasize the consequences of harassment on the health of trans persons (suicide, drug use, alcohol consumption, anxiety, or depression) as well as the effects harassment has on their future social development (e.g., school dropout, choice of spaces or types of leisure activities) (Doan, 2010; Grant et al., 2011; Haas et al., 2010; Kosciw, Greytak, Bartkiewicz, Boesen, & Palmer, 2012).

Several empirical studies highlight prevalence data on the harassment experienced by trans people. For instance, Lombardi et al. (2002) found, in a survey study, a harassment prevalence of 59.6% in the United States between 1996 and 1997. Xavier and Simmons (2000) showed that 43% of 252 trans residents in the District of Columbia (Washington, DC) suffered some kind of violence, 75% of them for transphobic or homophobic reasons. A recent European study with 6,579 trans participants from 28 European Union countries revealed a harassment prevalence of 58% (FRA, 2014). Moreover, according to Factor and Rothblum (2007), trans people are subject to a higher percentage of harassment or discrimination than cisgender people (non-trans).

Certain studies focus on the different types of harassment according to social categories such as age, ethnic group, socioeconomic status, and gender identity that trans persons are victims of. Some researchers have indicated that harassment is more frequent in trans women than trans men (Cano Oncala et al., 2004; Factor & Rothblum, 2007). Others have pointed out that it depends on the context in which harassment occurs and the age and ethnicity of the victims. For instance, more trans men than women suffer harassment in schools and other educational settings (Grant et al., 2011), the youngest have a higher probability of suffering different kinds of violence than the oldest (Cano Oncala et al., 2004; Lombardi et al., 2002), and Black people receive more attacks in certain contexts than other ethnicities (Grant et al., 2011). In addition, trans people with high economic levels have a significantly lower probability of experiencing some kind of violence (Lombardi et al., 2002).

Regarding the contexts of harassment, the Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey provides relevant results. Based on data from 6,456 participants, this report indicates that 78% of North American students who disclose their gender identities during primary and secondary education suffer some kind of harassment, and, in particular, 35% of them suffer physical harassment (Grant et al., 2011). The fifth National School

Climate Survey of North America points out that 87% of trans students (aged 14 to 20) suffered verbal harassment due to their gender identity or expression, and 53% of them were physically attacked for the same reason (Greytak, Kosciw & Díaz, 2009). In public spaces, such as parks, streets, bus stops, and other public areas, research reports 55.5% of verbal harassment, especially insults and negative comments in the streets (Lombardi et al., 2002). Within a family setting, 57% of American trans people are rejected by their relatives, and 19% of them are victims of domestic violence (Grant et al., 2011). Additionally, 66% of them are physically harassed within their own families (Kenagy & Bostwick, 2005). As the inclusion of trans persons in the work environment grows, recent research reports that 50% of trans men and women surveyed at their jobs suffer different kinds of harassment, and 7% of them are victims of physical aggressions (Grant et al., 2011).

In other contexts such as the health system, sport facilities, and prisons' premises, harassment is documented to a lesser extent. Available research has indicated that 28% of trans people in the United States suffer harassment in the health system (Grant et al., 2011). In penitentiaries, the Silvia Rivera Law Project Organization (2007) evidenced a higher vulnerability of transsexual women, although all interviewees denounced some kind of verbal, emotional, physical, and sexual harassment. In a study carried out in Australia, 25% of trans participants admitted to receiving verbal harassment within sport facilities (Symons, Sbaraglia, Hillier, & Mitchell, 2010). In fact, verbal is the type of harassment that most of the recent research has focused on. This is the sort of harassment more frequently reported in educational, health, work, and family contexts (Grant et al., 2011; Greytak et al., 2009; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007; Lombardi et al., 2002; Reback, Simon, Bemis, & Gatson, 2001; Symons et al., 2010).

According to this review, although internationally a great interest in harassment experienced by trans people is observed, there is still a dearth of research in many countries. In the case of Spain, although 2014 police records show that 39.9% of all hate crime is sexuality/sexual identity related (Ministerio del Interior, 2015), the specific characteristics of harassment suffered by trans persons are still unknown.

The current study

To the best of our knowledge, this study is the first empirical approach on harassment experienced by trans people in Spain. Moreover, this is the first study to undertake a wide variety of types of harassment within different contexts, as well as to consider a sensitive variable in the study of harassment among trans people, such as the age of self-defined gender disclosure (ASEGDI). Particularly, the purpose of this cross-sectional study is twofold. First, it describes the patterns of harassment experienced by trans people: its

prevalence, frequency, types (physical, verbal, gestural, and with material damage) and contexts (public, educational, family, work, health, sport, religious, and penitentiary) where harassment happens, according to sociodemographic variables of interest (self-defined gender identities, chronological age, and the ASEGDI). Second, it describes the risk profile of harassment in trans people based on the probability to experience harassment by types, contexts, and sociodemographic variables.

Methodology

Participants

A sample of 212 trans persons, aged 10 to 62 ($M = 30.6$, $SD = 10.7$), from different regions of Spain participated in this study during the years 2012 and 2013; 44.1% defined themselves as a trans woman or girl, and 51.1% as a trans man or boy. Also, 4.7% of this sample defined themselves in a different category.

The process of gathering a sample was influenced by the fact that public institutions and private associations do not register trans people in Spain, and trans persons do not leave a record of their transition process. Therefore, the research team used a sampling procedure formed by volunteers who were given no economic incentive for participation. The research team contacted Spanish lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) associations to recruit voluntary members and then used a snowball strategy to ask participants to facilitate contact with other trans persons or groups who might voluntarily participate in the study. This strategy has been used in other studies with hidden or low visibility groups such as sex workers, drug consumers, or trans people (e.g., Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007; Stotzer, 2009; Xavier & Simmons, 2000). In our case, this granted us access to a number of trans persons who attended various Gender Identity Units, care programs for trans people, and participants in different conferences and meetings about this issue, as well as other persons individually. Some people, such as health professionals or other participants, facilitated the access to participants not linked to any LGBT associations or health system.

Measures and procedure

A survey to obtain information about different psychosocial issues related to trans people's experiences in different moments and contexts of their daily life was elaborated. This study uses only the data from perceived harassment items.

In contrast to other surveys based on data collected by telephone, e-mail, or other electronic media, in order to achieve reliable and valid data in this

study the survey was self-administered to individuals or small groups ($n \leq 4$) monitored by at least one member of the research team. Questions were informed from harassment literature and revised several times to facilitate participants' understanding. To refine the questionnaire, to avoid misunderstandings, and, of special importance, to agree on possible answers to gender identity of participants (see below), a pilot test with 12 trans persons from a LGBT association was performed. A diary was kept during the entire elaboration process to improve the survey and its application. Questions of varying structures (closed, semi-closed-ended, and open questions) were designed to satisfy the purposes of the study. Examples of these are (a) Closed: "Have you ever been harassed?"; (b) Semi-closed-ended: "Which of the following expressions do you use to refer to your actual gender identity? (1) woman; (2) man; (3) other—specify"; and (c) Open: "How old were you when you first disclosed your new gender identity?"

Information on the specific meaning of the kinds of harassment inquired (physic, verbal, gestural, or with material damage) was included in the written survey and also was clarified by members of the research team when needed. At the end of the survey, some space was provided to add any extra information participants deemed relevant. Additionally, a survey protocol was established with information about its administration and application instructions for the team members in charge of this task. During the survey procedure, participants were encouraged to pose questions to resolve any doubts they might have, thus improving its understanding. They fulfilled the survey in 35 minutes on average.

Materials and procedures were approved by the Ethics Committee of the Universitat de València to guarantee ethical principles in social research with human beings. The survey respected the self-determination of trans people gender identities, and no personal data were requested. Informed consent forms authorizing the research team to publish the data of this study were signed by adult participants or by their parent or guardian if under 18 years of age. The surveys and informed consent forms were kept separately, and the data were entered in a database for its subsequent statistical usage.

Variables and data analysis

Study variables (or dependent variables) in this study were (a) harassment (experienced or not); (b) frequency of harassment (every day, once a week, several times a month, occasionally); (c) types of harassment (physical, verbal, gestural, or material damage); and (d) harassment contexts (work, educational, health, religious, penitentiary, sport, family, and public areas). Sociodemographic variables (or independent variables) were (e) self-defined gender; (f) age; and (g) ASEGDI.

Data analysis used the IBM SPSS 22.0 statistical program. Variables were encoded, and data were typed into the program. Afterwards, some variables were recoded to facilitate the analysis and data comparison. In particular, age, harassment frequency, and the ASEGDI were subsequently regrouped to avoid decrease of subgroup size and to facilitate comparisons.

The statistical analysis consisted in the calculation of frequencies and percentages, and the findings were presented in figures and tables. Chi-square tests of independence were carried out to determine the existence of significant differences ($p < 0.05$) among the variables. The corrected standardized residuals were calculated to establish in which categories significant differences (corrected standardized residuals ± 1.96) emerged. Binomial logistic regression was used to define the probability of experiencing harassment by types, contexts, and sociodemographic variables. The odds ratios were also determined, using 95% confidence intervals (CI).

Results

Harassment prevalence and frequency

The results indicate that 59.9% of the participants have experienced some kind of harassment at some point in their lives. Moreover, 12.6% of them suffered harassment daily, 12.1% once a week, and 35.2% occasionally.

Harassment variability and its frequency by sociodemographic variables are observed in [Table 1](#). Chi-square analysis showed significant differences in perceived harassment according to gender ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.991$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.141$) and the ASEGDI ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 6.519$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.177$). The study of corrected standardized residuals revealed differences in the following categories: female and male and the ASEGDI (≤ 16 and 17–24 years of age). That is, harassment

Table 1. Percentage of harassment and frequency of harassment by sociodemographic variables.

	Harassment		Frequency of Harassment					
			Every day		Once a week		Occasionally	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Gender Identity								
Trans woman	62	66.7	12	19.0	13	20.6	38	60.3
Trans man	57	52.0	10	20.0	10	20.0	30	60.0
Age								
≤ 20 years old	24	61.5	4	19.0	6	28.6	11	52.4
21–39 years old	71	57.3	16	23.5	13	19.1	39	57.4
≥ 40 years old	29	64.4	3	10.0	4	13.3	23	76.7
ASEGDI								
≤ 16 years old	51	70.8	15	32.6	10	21.7	21	45.7
17–24 years old	34	50.0	3	8.8	8	23.	23	67.6
≥ 25 years old	39	57.4	5	12.8	6	15.4	28	71.8

The groups where standardized residual show ± 1.96 are marked in bold lettering. ASEGDI: Age of self-defined gender disclosure.

was experienced more often by trans women (66.7%) than trans men (52.8%) and also more frequently by trans people who disclosed their gender identities at a younger age (70.8%) than by those who disclosed their identities between 17–24 years of age (50%).

Significant differences are observed in the frequency of harassment, according to the ASEGD ($\chi^2_{(4)} = 10.468$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.210$). Specifically, the study of corrected standardized residuals found differences only in the category of those who disclosed their gender at ≤ 16 years of age. Therefore, people who disclosed their gender identities at a younger age suffered harassment occasionally (45.7%) as opposed to on a daily basis (32.6%).

Types of harassment

The types of harassment that trans people reported are seen in Figure 1. Verbal harassment was the type experienced the most (59%), followed by gestural (47%), physical (28%), and harassment that involved material damages (19%).

The different harassment types according to the demographic variables from our study are shown in Table 2. Chi-square analysis revealed significant differences in harassment types according to gender identity and the ASEGD. Particularly, differences derived from the study of corrected standardized residuals indicated that physical harassment ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.325$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.147$) and verbal harassment ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.878$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.139$) were suffered by more trans women (33.3% and 65.6%) than trans men (20.4% and 51.9%). Moreover, the different sorts of harassment (physical: $\chi^2_{(2)} = 12.933$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.249$; verbal: $\chi^2_{(2)} = 7.494$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.190$; gestural: $\chi^2_{(2)} = 6.624$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.178$; material damage: $\chi^2_{(2)} = 6.883$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.182$) were experienced by more trans people who disclosed their gender identities at an early age (≤ 16 years old) than at an older age (17–24 years old and ≥ 25), such as is indicated in Table 2.

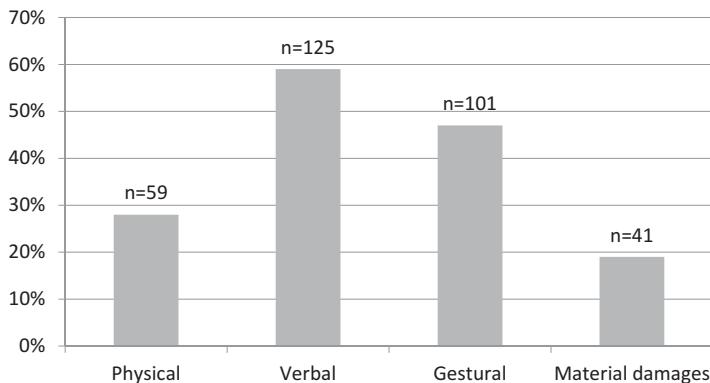


Figure 1. Percentage of types of harassment.

Table 2. Types of harassment according to sociodemographic variables.

	Physical		Verbal		Gestural		Material Damage	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Gender Identity								
Trans woman	31	33.3	61	65.6	49	52.7	20	21.5
Trans man	22	20.4	56	51.9	44	40.7	17	15.7
Age								
≤20 years old	11	28.2	24	61.5	16	41.0	6	15.4
21–39 years old	36	29.0	69	55.6	60	48.4	28	22.6
≥40 years old	10	22.2	29	64.4	23	51.1	6	13.3
ASEGDI								
≤16 years old	31	43.1	51	70.8	42	58.3	20	27.8
17–24 years old	12	17.0	33	48.5	25	36.8	13	19.0
≥ 25 years old	15	22.1	38	55.9	31	45.6	7	10.3

The groups where standardized residual show ± 1.96 are marked in bold lettering.
ASEGDI: Age of self-defined gender disclosure.

Contexts of harassment

Trans people experienced harassment in the contexts or areas of social life as indicated in Figure 2. Public space was the context where more trans people experienced harassment (49.1%), closely followed by the educational context (46.2%). The third context where trans people suffered more harassment was in the family setting (31.1%), followed by health system (24.1%) and sport (18.9%) contexts. Religious (11.8%) and penitentiary (3.8%) contexts showed the lowest percentage of trans people who suffered harassment. It is also important to highlight that 8.5% ($n = 18$) of trans people suffered harassment in only one context, 20.8% ($n = 44$) in two or more contexts, and 30.7% ($n = 65$) suffered it in four or more contexts.

The variability of harassment contexts according to sociodemographic variables can be seen in Table 3. Chi-square analysis showed significant differences by gender in public spaces ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.611$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.151$),

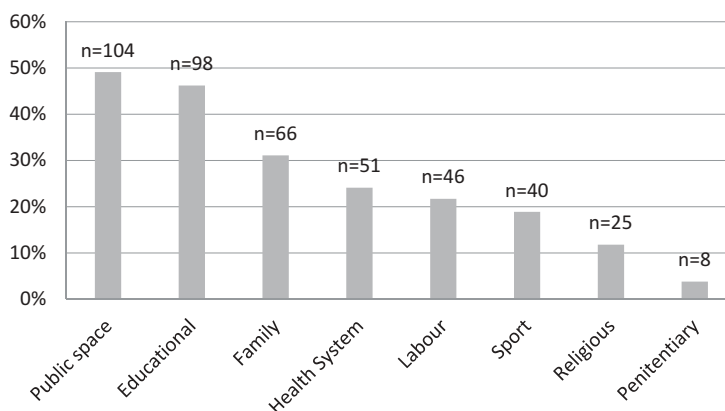
**Figure 2.** Percentage of harassment by contexts.

Table 3. Harassment contexts by sociodemographic variables.

	Work		Educational		Health		Religious		Penitentiary		Sport		Family		Public spaces		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Gender Identity																	
Trans woman	21	22.6	42	45.2	21	22.6	11	11.8	5	5.4	18	19.4	31	33.3	52	55.9	
Trans man	19	17.6	48	44.4	24	22.2	12	11.1	2	1.9	19	17.6	28	25.9	44	40.7	
Age																	
≤20 y.o.	2	5.1	23	59.0	8	20.5	6	15.4	2	5.1	6	15.4	5	12.8	16	41.0	
21–39 y.o.	33	26.6	61	49.2	33	26.6	15	12.1	3	2.4	30	24.2	44	35.5	61	49.2	
≥40 y.o.	11	24.4	11	24.4	10	22.2	3	6.7	3	6.7	4	8.9	16	35.6	26	57.8	
ASEGDI																	
≤16 y.o.	18	25.0	45	62.5	22	30.6	13	18.1	6	8.3	22	30.6	25	34.7	39	54.2	
17–24 y.o.	10	14.7	28	41.2	14	20.6	6	8.8	2	2.9	10	14.7	19	27.9	30	44.1	
≥ 25 y.o.	17	25.0	22	32.4	13	19.1	6	8.8	0	0	8	11.8	21	30.9	33	48.5	

The groups where standardized residual show ± 1.96 are marked in bold lettering.
 ASEGDI: Age of self-defined gender disclosure.

and corrected standardized residuals indicated that more trans women suffered harassment (55.9%) than trans men (40.7%). Analysis also showed differences by age in work ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 8.132$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.198$), family ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 7.588$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.191$), and educational ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 11.573$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.236$) contexts. The study of corrected standardized residuals revealed that the younger group of participants (≤ 20 years old) experienced a lower percentage of harassment in work (5.1%) and family (12.8%) contexts compared to the other groups (21–39 years old and ≥ 40 years old). In contrast, the older group (≥ 40 years old) suffered a lower percentage of harassment in educational context (24.4%) than the younger participants.

Furthermore, significant differences were observed in sport ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 9.282$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.211$) and educational ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 13.633$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.256$) contexts related to the ASEGDI. Corrected standardized residuals suggested that trans persons who disclosed their identities at an early age (≤ 16 years old) suffered more harassment in sport (30.6%) and educative (62.5%) contexts than the rest of the participants who disclosed their identities at a later age. Chi-square analysis also displayed significant differences in penitentiary contexts ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 6.791$; $p < 0.05$; $V = 0.181$) according to the ASEGDI of participants. Nevertheless, the existence of some cells with fewer than five subjects (see Table 3) could cause overestimation of statistical significance.

Risk profile of harassment

Binomial logistic regression analysis was employed to determine the probabilities of suffering harassment according to sociodemographic profile and the types and contexts of harassment. The risk profile of harassment comes from the analysis of prediction model indicated in Table 4, once the significant differences were identified in women (see Table 1). It revealed that trans women were more likely to suffer physical harassment (OR = 2.15) than trans men. Moreover, the likelihood to suffer different types of harassment in different contexts decreased each year that a trans person delayed the disclosure of his or her gender identity. Particularly, gestural harassment toward trans people diminished by 4%, and material damage diminished by 8%. The risk of harassment was also reduced by 6% in educational contexts and 15% in penitentiary settings, as well as 6% in sport contexts. Chronological age emerged as variable to predict harassment in work contexts since the risk of harassment increased 1.07 times as trans people got older.

Discussion

Data reveal that harassment is a serious problem for trans people in Spain since 59.9% of the sample are victims of harassment. This percentage is

Table 4. Prediction model of harassment experience ($n = 195$).

	B (SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI	p
<i>Physical Harassment</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.77 (0.35)	4.71	2.15	1.07–4.29	0.03
Age (years old)	0.02 (0.02)	0.77	1.02	0.98–1.05	0.38
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.08 (0.02)	11.10	0.92	0.88–0.97	<0.01
<i>Gestural Harassment</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.47 (0.31)	2.41	1.60	0.88–2.92	0.12
Age (years old)	0.03 (0.02)	2.16	1.03	0.99–1.06	0.14
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.04 (0.02)	4.90	0.96	0.92–0.99	0.03
<i>Harassment with material damage</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.36 (0.39)	0.83	1.43	0.66–3.07	0.36
Age (years old)	0.02 (0.02)	0.55	1.01	0.97–1.06	0.46
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.08 (0.03)	8.61	0.92	0.87–0.97	<0.01
<i>Work Context</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.01 (0.39)	0.00	1.01	0.47–2.15	0.99
Age (years old)	0.07 (0.02)	10.53	1.07	1.03–1.11	<0.01
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.04 (0.02)	3.54	0.96	0.92–1.00	0.06
<i>Educational Context</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.22 (0.32)	0.49	1.25	0.67–2.33	0.49
Age (years old)	–0.02 (0.02)	1.74	0.80	0.94–1.01	0.19
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.06 (0.02)	7.31	0.94	0.90–0.98	<0.01
<i>Penitentiary Context</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.94 (0.88)	1.12	2.55	0.45–14.40	0.29
Age (years old)	0.06 (0.04)	2.51	1.06	0.99–1.13	0.11
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.16 (0.07)	5.52	0.85	0.75–0.97	0.02
<i>Sports Context</i>					
Gender ⁽¹⁾	0.27 (0.39)	0.48	1.31	0.61–2.78	0.49
Age (years old)	–0.02 (0.02)	0.47	0.98	0.94–1.03	0.49
Age of Identity Disclosure	–0.07 (0.03)	5.15	0.94	0.89–0.99	0.02

Trans women. OR = odds ratio. CI = confidence interval.

Physical Harassment: $R^2 = 0.09$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow), 0.09 (Cox & Snell), 0.13 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 204.97$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 19.14$, $p < 0.001$.

Gestural Harassment: $R^2 = 0.03$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow), 0.04 (Cox & Snell), 0.05 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 260.31$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 8.53$, $p < 0.05$.

Harassment with material damage: $R^2 = 0.06$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow), 0.06 (Cox & Snell), 0.09 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 174.76$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 11.77$, $p < 0.01$.

Work Context: $R^2 = 0.06$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow), 0.06 (Cox & Snell), 0.09 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 186.02$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 11.87$, $p < 0.01$.

Educational Context: $R^2 = 0.08$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow), 0.10 (Cox & Snell), 0.14 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 245.54$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 21.56$, $p < 0.001$.

Penitentiary Context: $R^2 = 0.21$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow); 0.05 (Cox & Snell), 0.20 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 49.67$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 10.65$, $p < 0.05$.

Sports Context: $R^2 = 0.06$ (Hosmer and Lemeshow); 0.05 (Cox & Snell), 0.09 (Nagelkerke). $-2\text{Log} = 177.97$. Model $\chi^2_{(3)} = 11.50$, $p < 0.01$.

substantially higher than total hate crimes committed for sexuality/gender identity (39.9%) and racist/xenophobic (37%) reasons in Spain. And it is far above the 15.5% of hate crimes committed toward other vulnerable persons and groups such as disabled people (Ministerio del Interior, 2015). Compared to other countries, this behavior is more prevalent in Spain than in Europe as a whole, which registers an average 43% of harassment (FRA (European Union Agency for the Fundamental Rights), 2014). It is also more prevalent than 58% of violence or crime against trans people in the United

States (Xavier & Simmons, 2000) and similar to 59.5% of violence or harassment experienced by trans persons in the same country (Lombardi et al., 2002). However, it is the frequency that is so alarming since 12.6% of trans persons suffer harassment on a daily basis. It is not possible to compare these percentages to the harassment experienced specifically by the cisgender population in Spain due to a lack of studies on this issue. Nevertheless, it is assumed that more trans people suffer harassment than cisgender people do as reported in other studies from the United States (Factor & Rothblum, 2007).

The results also indicate that the important transphobic environment existing in Spain spreads through different primary and secondary socialization contexts. However, not all the contexts are affected in the same way. This study finds a different prevalence of harassment depending on the contexts where the social interactions with trans persons take place. Particularly, the highest percentage of harassment experienced by trans people in Spain is found in public areas with 49.1%. Nevertheless, this is lower than the 53% and 55.5% of harassment reported by two North American studies of the same context (Grant et al., 2011; Lombardi et al., 2002). The educational environment also registers a high percentage of harassment, 46.2%, which is much more than the 25% reported for primary, secondary, and higher education as a whole in Spain (Oñate & Piñuel, 2007). Although harassment drops to 31.1% within the family setting, these situations are probably even harder to determine considering the protective function trans persons assign their families regarding harassment (Simons, Schrage, Clark, Belzer, & Olson, 2013). However, this percentage is lower than the 66% in the United States, particularly in the city of Chicago (Kenagy & Bostwick, 2005). Results also indicate a 24.1% of harassment within the health system, a percentage slightly different than the 28% identified in the United States (Grant et al., 2011). Participants in our study report 18.8% of harassment in sports, 11.8% in religious, and 3.8% in penitentiary contexts. These percentages are lower than the 25%, 29%, and 14% reported, respectively, in the United States (Minter & Daley, 2003; Pew Research Center, 2013; Symons et al., 2010).

Regarding types of harassment, 59% of trans people suffer verbal harassment, which represents the highest percentage among the participants in this study. It is worth noting that this result is consistent with data from other studies since verbal harassment is the most common type of harassment within the different contexts (educational, health, work, and family) (Grant et al., 2011; Greytak et al., 2009; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007; Lombardi et al., 2002; Reback et al., 2001). The 28% of physical harassment reported in this study falls between the 3% and 66% of harassment found in North American and Australian studies (Grant et al., 2011; Kenagy & Bostwick, 2005; Symons et al., 2010).

Variability analysis by sociodemographic variables of interest indicates that harassment is more prevalent in trans women than men, as suggested by other studies (Cano Oncala et al., 2004; Factor & Rothblum, 2007). This result is also supported by binomial logistic regression since trans women are more likely to be harassed than men. Moreover, women are specifically more prevalent to be verbally and physically harassed than men, and also in public spaces or areas. On the contrary, age does not affect overall harassment and the frequency harassment, results which are similar to other studies (Cano Oncala et al., 2004; Lombardi et al., 2002). Neither is the type of harassment affected by age. However, younger participants (≤ 20 years old) claim to suffer less harassment within work and family contexts than older trans people. This is probably due to the current tendency of younger people to enter the workforce later and also because the younger generations of trans persons may receive more support from their families than the older ones, as previously observed (PFLAG Transgender Network, 2007). It is worth highlighting that older participants (≥ 40 years old) experience a lower percentage of harassment than younger ones within educational context. A possible explanation to this is that the ASEGDI is decreasing, meaning that older trans people probably disclosed their gender identities after finishing compulsory schooling (Gobierno de Canarias, 2013; Reguero, 2014). This makes protecting trans persons at a younger age even more important for two reasons. First, older trans persons experience less harassment in educational settings, and, second, those who disclose their gender identity at a younger age are more likely to suffer different types of harassment than those who disclose their gender identity at an older age.

In summary, the results of this study indicate that the inclusion of trans people into the Spanish society is an uncompleted task. Spain has a higher frequency of harassment and prevalence than other European countries and the United States and is probably higher than cisgender harassment. Verbal is the highest type of harassment experienced by trans people in Spain, as in other countries. Those who disclose their gender identities at a younger age experience higher percentages and frequency of harassment than older trans. The findings also indicate the presence of transphobic attitudes in Spanish society. Harassment is especially suffered by trans youngsters and women, who are also more likely to suffer physical harassment than trans men. Finally, harassment is still present in all social contexts examined in this study, and it is increasing within educational contexts.

Limitations and implications

Some potential weaknesses need to be considered in this study to accurately interpret the results. First, it was not possible to establish a representative sample due to the inexistence of a register or reliable estimation of the

number of trans people who reside in Spain. Furthermore, because of the procedure followed to recruit participants, some marginalized trans persons with presumably different profiles of harassment may have been disregarded in the sample. However, this limitation is a common factor in most studies concerning trans people (FRA (European Union Agency for the Fundamental Rights), 2014; Grant et al., 2011; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007; Lombardi et al., 2002), and a more comprehensive sample would have probably increased the figures of the types of harassment reflected in this study. Second, the measurement of harassment was based on the perception of participants gathered in the survey instead of an objective measure based on the researchers' observations. Nevertheless, in the case of trans participants, the limitation is not an overrepresentation as often happens in other pattern studies. On the contrary, a risk of data underrepresentation exists with this population since trans people are more likely to perceive harassment as normal in some situations (Browne, Bakshi, & Lim, 2011). Third, comparisons to some studies framing the discussion of results need to be cautiously considered. It must be taken into account that crime and harassment, though related, are not exchangeable realities. Therefore, specific figures of crime rate would illustrate consequences that some forms of harassment may have. Likewise, as long as our study is specifically focused on harassment, it must be considered more restricted than others also including violence and crime rates (e.g., Lombardi et al., 2002; Xavier & Simmons, 2000). Moreover, our informants were asked whether they had ever experienced harassment and not whether they had experienced harassment for a certain period of time (e.g., 5 years, last year, last month), as is the case in other studies (e.g., FRA (European Union Agency for the Fundamental Rights), 2014; Greytak et al., 2009; Pew Research Center, 2013).

Despite these limitations, this study offers useful insights about the patterns of harassment experienced by trans people and the risk profile of harassment in Spain. This is one of the first studies to empirically address the issue of harassment in trans people living in Spain and the first one, nationally and internationally, to examine harassment according to the ASEGDI. Moreover, it analyzes the types and contexts of harassment according to sociodemographic variables of interest. Future research needs to provide in-depth understanding on how harassment actually affects trans people's lives or how they dealt with it and its consequences. Therefore, further qualitative studies that focus on the social and personal circumstances and consequences of harassment are necessary. The results of this study also urge development of intervention programs at individual, community, social, and intersectional levels, as it has been suggested for sexual minorities elsewhere (Hatzenbuehler, 2009). Harassment in public spaces, educational, and family contexts require special attention through a combined prevention strategy among local, regional, and national Spanish

institutions. As Álvarez (2015) recently proposed, beyond medical attention and legal issues, integral trans policies become urgent in order to prevent discrimination and harassment, as well as to promote positive social attitudes and values to facilitate the inclusion of trans people in the Spanish society. Community and school interventions with families, students, teachers, and teacher educators emerge as paramount to prevent harassment among young trans people. Finally, the findings compel us to develop and debate strategies among politicians, social workers, police departments, justice staff, and Spanish social agents to promote social justice for trans people. This study aims to contribute to such ends since the results confirm that transphobic attitude change is a priority to prevent harassment of trans persons.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the participants, associations, and persons who collaborated in the field work of the research project that provides data for this article. Likewise, the authors would also thank the anonymous reviewers for contributing to the improvement of this work.

Funding

This work was supported by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación of Spain under Grant number DEP2011-28190.

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