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Has There Been a Transgender Tipping Point? Gender Identification Differences in U.S. Cohorts Born between 1935 and 2001

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Abstract

Using a probability-based sample from 39 U.S. states from a general health survey, the author evaluates popular claims of a "transgender tipping point" by estimating probabilities of identifying as transgender and gender nonconforming among cohorts of respondents born between 1935 and 2001. Respondents born after 1984 are significantly more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than respondents in earlier cohorts. However, cohort changes in identification as transgender and gender nonconforming vary along lines of sex assigned at birth, race/ethnicity, and college attendance. Within different cohorts, these factors have different associations with higher or lower odds of identifying as transgender or gender nonconforming, sometimes contrasting with popular narratives and media representation patterns. Analyzed in context, these findings provide empirical evidence that several distinct population-level biographical availability patterns, including convergences, reversals, and persistence of demographic associations, have shaped the prevalence and composition of U.S. transgender and gender nonconforming populations over time.

INTRODUCTION

Just as attitudes and opportunities related to gender can change over time (Knight and Brinton 2017; Herd et al. 2019), patterns of social change may shift the distribution of gender itself. In 2014, *Time* magazine proclaimed that the United States had reached a "transgender tipping point" in its cover story featuring transgender actress and television producer Laverne Cox, who told *Time* that the United States had reached a point "where more and more trans people want to come forward and say, 'This is who I am'" (Steinmetz 2014; Garrison 2018). Three years later, *National Geographic* released a special issue declaring that a "gender revolution" was underway around the world, marked by major changes in approaches to gender in legal frameworks, science and technology, and media visibility, particularly among the millennial generation (Goldberg 2017). While assessments made by popular media may not always map accurately to periods of social change, historians, sociologists, and other scholars in transgender studies have tended to agree that

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transgender visibility and civil rights activism increased dramatically at some point in the mid-2010s (Stryker 2017; Taylor, Lewis, and Haider-Markel 2018; Travers 2018).

This potential change in the distribution of gender itself may also intersect with the unequal distributions of outcomes and opportunities along other social dimensions. High-profile developments in transgender visibility and rights associated with the transgender tipping point have had uneven social salience along lines of race/ethnicity and class (Ellison et al. 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018). Furthermore, there is uncertainty about whether the overall gains associated with this potentially singular tipping point will continue to accumulate, stall, or be rolled back due to changing political contingencies (Embser-Herbert 2020; Westbrook 2021). If the expansion of social opportunities and civil rights goes hand in hand with increased prevalence of people identifying as transgender and gender nonconforming, pauses or reversals of social opportunities and rights may lead to pauses or reversals of the increase in individuals identifying as transgender and gender nonconforming. Indeed, activists opposed to transgender rights point to perceived increases in transgender identification as evidence of a need to take corrective measures aimed at reducing the likelihood that individuals identify as transgender or gender nonconforming, at times invoking the language of “epidemics” or “crazes” to cast these changes in a negative light (Ashley 2020; Shrier 2020).

Perhaps as part of the transgender “tipping point,” there is increasing availability of large-scale population data that include options for respondents to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming (Baker and Hughes 2016). Although there are many existing accounts of how transgender and gender nonconforming identities have developed and changed over time, most of this research has been qualitative and based on community or convenience samples (Schilt and Lagos 2017). The analysis of large-scale demographic data on other specific population groups, such as same-sex and interracial couples (Rosenfeld 2007), has been important in providing context to media accounts and popular narratives of social changes and political developments, by examining whether and how perceptions of these groups’ size, behaviors, and circumstances are reflected at the population level.

Transgender and gender nonconforming people are estimated to constitute between 0.4% and 0.6% of the U.S. population, or around 1–1.4 million people (Flores et al. 2016; Meerwijk and Sevelius 2017). While young people are more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than older U.S. residents, people of all ages identify as transgender and gender nonconforming (Herman et al. 2017). Transgender and gender nonconforming people tend to face widespread stigma, discrimination, and disadvantages in interpersonal and institutional settings (Bradford et al. 2013; Hughto, Reisner, and Pachankis 2015). In this study, I analyze a probability-based sample drawn from residents of 39 U.S. states who were born between 1935 and 2001, to evaluate whether and how the tipping point narrative in U.S. media coverage and politics is reflected in cohort differences in transgender and gender nonconforming identification at the population level. I also evaluate whether there are other cohort dynamics or demographic factors that may have shaped the prevalence and composition of transgender and gender nonconforming populations born during these years.

Because narratives around the transgender tipping point tend to feature claims about generational change (Goldberg 2017; Risman 2018), this study compares differences between and within birth cohorts. Popular generational definitions are not a precise unit of demographic or sociological analysis (Kelan 2014), but they can have salience through claims made in media, politics, and historical analysis by framing issues in relation to population groups based on birth year cohorts such as baby boomers, Generation X, and millennials (White 2013). There is some empirical imprecision inherent to attempting to distinguish among the effects of age, periods, and birth cohorts in populations (Bell and Jones 2014). Nevertheless, a general understanding of differences that correspond to some combination of aging, the life course, and experiences of historical events can still inform meaningful analyses of social change (Voas and Chaves 2016).

While the transgender tipping point narrative is primarily concerned with changes between birth cohorts, patterns of differences within cohorts can also be socially significant (Lersch, Schulz, and Leckie 2020). Within a given birth cohort, the experience of particular events, opportunities, and pressures could vary significantly according to differences in demographic factors. With this in mind, this study will account for differences in transgender and gender nonconforming identification along demographic lines within cohorts in addition to comparisons of overall probabilities of transgender and gender nonconforming identification between cohorts.

Biographical Availability and the Distribution of Gender Itself

Gender is widely conceptualized as a fundamental and historically contingent structure or series of structures through which social distinctions and status inequalities are reproduced at the micro-, meso-, and macrolevels of families, institutions, communities, and populations (Acker 1990; Risman 2004; Ridgeway 2011). The major raison d’être of a theoretical distinction between sex and gender is the supposition that gender is not a congenital and immutable attribute inscribed within the individual (West and Zimmerman 1987). Although sex is also acknowledged to have social components undergirding its social functions (Fujimura 2006; Davis, Dewey, and Murphy 2015), gender is typically considered to be even more socially constructed and contingent than sex and its associated physical attributes (Heller 2019).

The distribution of sex itself at the population level has long been acknowledged and attended to as an important factor in social life (Willcox 1896; Clark 2000), even if there is still much about sex that remains to be examined further (Watkins 1993). Population-level changes to the distribution of gender itself, as a social category distinct from sex, may have entirely different implications for populations than sex ratios. Yet, even with all of the conceptual freedom at its disposal for deployment in social analysis, gender is still often operationalized as a characteristic or attribute that is present in individuals ontologically prior to their experiences of gender inequality (Deutsch 2007). Even in cases when gender is ostensibly elevated from its operationalization as a “variable” and is granted more analytic wherewithal as a “social category” (Stacey and Thorne 1985), the bulk of gender inequality research continues to primarily attend to the interactional, institutional, and population-level differences between people who somehow happen to be either men or women or people

who somehow happen to not fit neatly into social situations and institutions that reference these categories. There is much to be learned from ongoing investigations into this aspect of gender, but if "one is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (Beauvoir [1949] 2011, p. 279), the etiology of whether one becomes a member of one gender category or another may influence gender inequality as much, if not more, than other social factors.

Studies of transgender and gender nonconforming identities necessitate analyses of gender that venture beyond the oft-trodden questions of how closely individuals conform to binary sex roles. Living with identities that constitute a wholescale departure from the correspondence of sex to gender appears to come at particularly high social costs (Schilt and Westbrook 2009; Garrison 2018; Lagos 2018) in comparison to the costs borne by individuals who may hold some contradictory preferences or attributes but remain largely invested in maintaining their sex roles of origin (Komarovsky 1946; Bridges and Pascoe 2014). Investigations of other status inequalities, such as those along lines of race and ethnicity, have demonstrated that the various statuses associated with significant social inequalities are themselves distributed in populations nonrandomly according to historical contingencies such as colonization patterns (McNamee 2020). In contrast to the study of race and ethnicity, the study of gender has a less coherent framework for putting its implicit critique of essentialism into practice, inviting the adaptation of approaches from related subfields where this framework is more developed (Lagos 2019). Adapting some of these frameworks more explicitly could reinvigorate inquiries into elements of gender, such as its distribution, that are often taken for granted as a matter of course.

Biographical availability, or "the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks" of social action (McAdam 1986, p. 70), is a theoretical framework originally developed to assess the confluence of individual and structural factors in the likelihood of engaging in high-risk political activism. In McAdam's original formulation, factors such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities play an important role in whether someone committed to the 1964 Freedom Summer, since "those with less time to engage in activism or more personal responsibilities constraining involvement will be less likely to participate even if they are predisposed (and their structural location enables them) to do so" (p. 83). This framework provides a way to recast gender as a multifaceted social phenomenon subject to opportunities and constraints rather than as an individual attribute or even as an identity stemming from an accumulation of individual attributes.

Gender, in its common operationalization as a social category, has been evaluated as a factor in biographical availability, having been revisited as a mediator in the original study of the 1964 Freedom Summer (McAdam 1992) and as a basis for within-group comparisons of women in guerilla groups (Viterna 2006). In this I study I extend the theoretical application of biographical availability, by exploring its role in whether one identifies and lives with a particular gender itself. Looking at gender through the lens of biographical availability enables an important theoretical shift—moving beyond gender *identity* as an attribute that is simply present in individuals as they navigate society with it to looking at gender *identification* as something in which people actively participate with at least some degree of agency within particular historical, material, and social contexts of opportunity and constraint.

The concept of “sex category” as an intermediary between sex assigned at birth and gender (West and Zimmerman 1987, p. 127) already accounts for how sex assignment at birth places individuals in a social location that very strongly correlates with a particular gender identity. This can account for how, upon birth assignment, someone assigned male at birth, for example, is structurally positioned to be treated and expected to identify as a boy or a man. However, this alone cannot account for how sex assigned at birth may also be associated with a higher likelihood of identifying as transgender or gender nonconforming. Neither of these categories is definitionally associated with a particular sex assigned at birth to the same degree that being assigned male at birth is commonly associated with identifying as a boy or a man or being assigned female at birth is commonly associated with identifying as a girl or a woman.

Sex assigned at birth may be just one part of any number of factors, such as social change, racialization, or class position, that raise or lower the social costs of identifying as transgender in various contexts. From the 1950s through the 1970s, for instance, doctors working to establish transgender medicine in the United States would actively screen patients for characteristics of a “worthy” patient and turn others away who did not present the demographic, physical, or socioeconomic characteristics they desired (shuster 2021). Not everyone who was turned away may have ceased to identify as transgender, but they certainly were not given the same opportunities to facilitate life with this identity as other people. Given that the biographical availability framework analyzes social costs and opportunities of engaging in high-risk activities that also affected identities to some extent, it may be particularly well suited toward accounting for the differential roles of social risks and costs associated with membership in highly marginalized gender minority groups.

Although age and birth cohort are just some of the many facets that can be taken into consideration when evaluating biographical availability, there is reason to believe that generational differences and differing experiences of historical events along demographic lines are a meaningful factor in recent social and political changes (Milkman 2017), including the transgender tipping point (Risman 2018). Research on same-sex relationships and lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) populations identifies substantial differences in behavior, attitudes, experiences, and identity that correspond strongly to birth cohort (Rosenfeld 2007; Hart-Brinson 2014; Hammack et al. 2018). Some of these observed changes in social attitudes have been directly linked to gradual cohort-based increases in the number of people who have engaged in same-sex sexual behavior (Mishel et al. 2020). However, other factors that differentiate birth cohorts, such as changing patterns in the age at which young adults live independently from their parents, may have also indirectly contributed to an overall increase in the prevalence of people in same-sex unions (Rosenfeld 2007). Beyond same-sex sexual behavior and unions, there is evidence for numerous cohort-linked changes in other gendered patterns in education, family life, and attitudes (DiPrete and Buchmann 2013; Shu and Meagher 2018; Herd et al. 2019; Piotrowski et al. 2019).

Alongside these narratives of biographical availability and social change, it is also important to note that at various points in history, popular perceptions of rapid increases in the prevalence of certain sexual minority groups have been associated with social and policy interventions aimed at keeping these groups from growing in size and influence. Motivated

by a perception of an increase in same-sex sexual activity due to "the social and family upheavals of World War II" (Johnson 2004, p. 56), lawmakers and police departments in the late 1940s pursued campaigns such as the "Pervert Elimination Campaign" aimed at "[steering] men away from homosexual activity, to prevent them from moving up Kinsey's scale to becoming habitual offenders" (Johnson 2004, p. 62). Amid periods of increased biographical availability to certain identities, actors opposed to the presence or recognition of individuals with these identities may aim to directly counter any associated increases in minority group identification directly.

In response to this period, known as the Lavender Scare, and other mobilizations against sexual and gender minority rights since then (Stone 2019; Robinson 2020), many LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) groups and individuals have employed strategically essentialist narratives that claim that sexual orientation and gender identity are immutable characteristics rooted in biological factors, or randomly distributed in populations, and not a matter of individual choice (Schilt 2015; Vogler 2016; Jones 2020). However, other queer theorists and activists have long maintained that periods of dramatic social change have played a crucial role in facilitating a nonrandom secular increase in the number of gender and sexual minority individuals, and they even speculate that the presence of gender and sexual minority individuals as a share of the total population could eventually be even higher given particular historical and material conditions (D'Emilio 1993). From a variety of contemporary queer perspectives, sexual and gender minority rights need not be based on biological claims associated with being "born this way" or promises of nonproliferation (Bersani 1996; Weber 2012; Lane 2016). Nevertheless, the historical backlash to perceived periods of increased biographical availability toward LGB identities may explain why claims invoking biological and nonrandom etiologies for sexual orientation are dominant in rights claims.

Transgender and Gender Nonconforming Identities in U.S. Historical Contexts

While transgender and gender nonconforming are terms that have developed in the 20th and 21st centuries, many people across recorded history and in the present-day United States and around the world have lived with identities that do not conventionally correspond to the sex they were assigned or assumed to have at birth (Feinberg 1996; Meyerowitz 2004; Driskill 2016; Snorton 2017; Stryker 2017). Scientific research and medical practice also played an important role in the development of transgender and gender nonconforming identities from the mid-19th century onward, as psychiatric diagnoses, legal frameworks, and surgical techniques developed to address what was then conceived of as "sex change" (Meyerowitz 2004; Stryker 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018; shuster 2021).

One of the first events recognized by historians as a major inflection point in transgender history during the lifespan of the cohorts covered in this study is the popular media coverage of the transition of Christine Jorgensen in 1952, representing the first instance of major mass media coverage of a transgender person (Skidmore 2011; Snorton 2017; Stryker 2017). Coverage of Jorgensen, an American-born veteran of World War II who underwent hormone and surgical treatment in Denmark, sparked an unprecedented wave of media coverage and popular interest in gender transitions. Jorgensen's cover story in the *New York Daily*

News became its most read story of 1953 and "made sex change a household term" in the 1950s (Meyerowitz 2004, p. 51). While surgical and hormonal treatment did not become more common until the mid-1960s unless individuals presented an intersex condition (Gill-Peterson 2018), Jorgensen's popularity led to the popularization of the term "transsexual," and its emergence as a social category led both medical and scientific researchers and the popular press to distinguish gender identity as a factor distinct from sex and sexual orientation (Meyerowitz 2004; Stryker 2017).

Widely known as a decade of sexual revolution and counterculture, the 1960s featured numerous inflection points for transgender and gender nonconforming people's visibility and organization into social communities and activist groups, which overlapped at many points with developments in feminist movements, racial/ethnic civil rights struggles, and particularly gay liberation (Stryker 2017). While the Stonewall Riots of 1969 are widely recognized and commemorated as the major inflection point of this era for both the transgender and gay liberation movements, transgender and gender nonconforming people were active in various significant moments of resistance within the same time period, such as a 1959 confrontation between transgender and gay patrons of Cooper Do-Nut and police officers in Los Angeles, a 1965 sit-in at Dewey's lunch counter in Philadelphia, and the Compton's Cafeteria Riot of 1966 in San Francisco's Tenderloin district (Armstrong and Crage 2006; Stryker 2017).

Before these major confrontations, large transgender and gender nonconforming networks and organizations, such as *Transvestia* magazine and the Foundation for Personality Expression, were mainly composed of white, middle-class people (Meyerowitz 2004; Ekins and King 2005; Stryker 2017). However, the events at Cooper Do-Nut, Dewey's, Compton's Cafeteria, and Stonewall represented growing public assertions of communal power by working-class people and people of color who faced repression by police vice squads and business owners in places where transgender and gender nonconforming people without the means to afford private clubs would congregate (Stryker 2017). Alongside these developments, the 1960s were also marked by a development of dedicated gender clinics at major research universities that made gender-identity-related treatment generally more accessible to transgender and gender nonconforming people who could pay for treatment (Meyerowitz 2004; Stryker 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018).

The relationship between transgender movements and the broader gay liberation and feminist movements reached a decisive breaking point around 1973—during which drag was banned from gay pride parades around the country and organizers of the Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally attempted to prevent Puerto Rican transgender activist Sylvia Rivera from addressing attendees (Ng 2013; Gill-Peterson 2018). Conflicting interests between transgender and gender nonconforming activists and gay and feminist movements appear to have been particularly heightened among groups of lesbian feminists in the 1970s, due to debates over lesbian feminist separatism and the exclusion of transgender women and transgender men from definitions used to identify women in many "women-identified" feminist movements (Stone 1991; Rubin 2003, 2006; Meyerowitz 2004; Stryker 2017). While homosexuality was removed from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1973 to great acclaim from gay liberation activists, transgender and

gender nonconforming identities would be conversely added to the DSM and medicalized as "gender identity disorder" by 1980 (Meyerowitz 2004; Stryker 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018).

Until the 1980s and 1990s, transgender women had tended to be more visible representatives of U.S.-based transgender movements in popular media and activism than transgender men (Rubin 2003; Meyerowitz 2004). However, organizations and media initiatives such as FTM International contributed to the increased visibility of transgender men in activism and popular culture (Rubin 2003; Stryker 2017). New conflicts emerged within certain lesbian and feminist circles, this time around the inclusion of transgender men and the perceived threats they posed to butch-identified lesbian identity, often referred to as the "Butch-FTM border wars" (Halberstam 1998; Hale 1998; Rubin 2003). Through its de-emphasis on particular labels for gender and sexual identities (Stein and Plummer 1994), the development of queer theory in the 1990s and its eventual mainstreaming in the 2000s (Halperin 2003) may have been particularly influential in tempering the border wars between transgender men and butch lesbians to some extent (Pfeffer 2010), as well as a potential increase in biographical availability toward gender nonconforming identification. Concurrently, the impact of deaths and stigma associated with the HIV/AIDS pandemic disproportionately affected transgender communities, particularly transgender sex workers and Black transgender women (Boles and Elifson 1994).

Transgender studies historians also identify the September 11, 2001, attacks as a significant inflection point for transgender and gender nonconforming politics, because of the increased emphasis on official documentation and other forms of surveillance, which added a new dimension to the salience of officially recognized gender identity and self-presentation in everyday life (Beauchamp 2019). The years following 9/11 saw the founding of several advocacy organizations specifically geared toward gaining transgender recognition and rights in a variety of legal and social avenues, such as the Transgender Law Center, Sylvia Rivera Law Project, and the National Center for Transgender Equality (Stryker 2017). These organizations, alongside transgender social movements and activists, would have some success in achieving expanded legal rights and social recognition for gender minorities throughout the United States over the first few decades of the 21st century (Taylor et al. 2018; Travers 2018). These changes included a growing number of opportunities to have official documents reflect gender identity rather than sex, the inclusion of gender identity in discrimination protections in the Affordable Care Act of 2010 (Baker 2017), and the removal of "gender identity disorder" from the DSM-IV in 2013 (Stryker 2017; Risman 2018).

Because social conditions for transgender and gender nonconforming people have varied so much over time, it is possible that the transgender tipping point narrative of the 2010s may not correspond to significant social changes for members of older cohorts. Furthermore, the transgender tipping point may only represent one of many inflection points, including points of progress, stalls in progress, and reversals of gains, that have been experienced by today's transgender and gender nonconforming populations over the courses of their lives. Conversely, it is also possible that this tipping point may have been so impactful that it effectively democratized biographical availability toward transgender and gender nonconforming identities across cohorts, minimizing the salience of demographic factors in transgender and gender nonconforming identity.

The Salience of Demographic Factors to Gender Identity Population Dynamics

While many accounts of queer identities overemphasize the experiences of out activists or members of particular communities where historically relevant events took place (Brekhus 1998), a probability sample can address the experiences of people who were not particularly active in social movements and do not live in close-knit queer communities or urban centers. Through the analysis of a probability sample of people who were born and grew up at various intervals over decades of social change and were recruited to participate in a general population health survey, it is possible to examine generational patterns among transgender and gender nonconforming people in the United States on their own terms and then analyze their relationship to broader historical contexts and narratives. The diversity yielded by a population-level sample will enable the evaluation of the first hypothesis, which assesses whether the overall probabilities of transgender and gender nonconforming identification have increased significantly between each cohort:

Hypothesis 1.—*In each successive cohort, respondents will be more likely to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming than respondents in the previous cohort*.

It is important to note that there can be significant distinctions between the social patterns and experiences of transgender women and men and transgender people who identify as gender nonconforming, nonbinary, genderqueer, or with other similar identities. These distinctions between transgender men and transgender women and individuals who identify as gender nonconforming or other identities are not always clear-cut (Garrison 2018). However, transgender individuals who identify as gender nonconforming tend to have worse overall health than transgender individuals who identify as men and women (Lagos 2018). This mirrors patterns observed among other groups with intermediate positions in gender and sexual minority populations, as individuals who identify as bisexual tend to have worse health than individuals who identify as heterosexual or as gay or lesbian (Gorman et al. 2015).

Although the perceived increase in nonbinary and gender nonconforming identity is often hailed as a major hallmark of the transgender tipping point (Goldberg 2017; Risman 2018), demographic studies of gender minority prevalence in populations still suggest that transgender men and transgender women outnumber transgender individuals who identify as gender nonconforming (Flores et al. 2016). Given these previously observed patterns and the persistent disadvantages that gender nonconforming individuals face in comparison to transgender women and men, I analyze gender nonconforming identity as distinct from other forms of transgender identity and hypothesize the following caveat to an otherwise steady predicted increase in gender nonconforming identification across cohorts.

Hypothesis 2.—*Within every birth cohort born between 1935 and 2001, respondents will be more likely to identify as transgender than as gender nonconforming*.

Scholars of transgender history report that it was far more common for individuals who were assigned male at birth to seek gender transition-related services or live openly as transgender than individuals who were assigned female at birth, until late in the 20th century (Rubin 2003; Meyerowitz 2004; Stryker 2017). This pattern, based partially on

the reports of medical practitioners who worked with transgender patients, may have been partially self-reinforcing, since the prevalence of transgender women as the most visible transgender patients in these clinics could have affected the quality of medical treatment that was available to people who were assigned female at birth who sought out medical treatment (Meyerowitz 2004). This, in turn, may have discouraged transgender men or gender nonconforming people who were assigned female at birth from reaching out to these same medical practitioners or considering it as an option.

At different points in history, people opposed to various forms of recognition and rights for transgender and gender nonconforming people have pointed to sex-based disparities in rates of transgender and gender nonconforming identification as a basis for their delegitimization. At points when transgender women were perceived to significantly outnumber transgender men, transgender women were cast as infiltrators into lesbian and feminist spaces whose "women only" policies were viewed as having emancipatory potential (Stone 1991; Stryker 2017; Ashley 2020). When transgender men first became more visible in the 1980s and 1990s, another conflict then emerged based on the perception that this growth would result in the loss and erasure of butch lesbians and other avenues for women to engage with masculinity (Halberstam 1998; Rubin 2006). In the period following the 2010s transgender tipping point, critics opposed to transgender rights and inclusion once again point to a perceived increase in transgender men as evidence of a "flight from womanhood" or the delegitimization of lesbian identities (Ashley 2020; Shrier 2020).

As mentioned earlier, gender is a common factor in analyses of biographical availability (McAdam 1992; Viterna 2006), but the study of transgender and gender nonconforming populations can further enrich the understanding of gender and biographical availability by assessing the correspondence between gender identity and sex assignment at birth. Given the historical accounts of an initial higher prevalence of transgender women through the 1970s, the growing visibility of transgender men in the 1980s and 1990s in comparison to prior decades, and the potential democratizing influence of the transgender tipping point of the 2010s, I make the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3.—*Within earlier cohorts (born 1935–84), respondents who were assigned male at birth will be more likely to identify as transgender than respondents in the same cohort who were assigned female at birth. In later cohorts (born 1985–2001), within-group differences along lines of sex assigned at birth will be smaller*.

Transgender and gender nonconforming lived experiences in the United States vary significantly by race and ethnicity (Vries 2012; Hughto et al. 2016; Lagos 2019; Robinson 2020). While major media attention to transgender people in the early 20th century focused on white subjects like Christine Jorgensen, the concurrent experiences of nonwhite individuals have been fundamental to the development of transgender and gender nonconforming identities in the United States (Skidmore 2011; Snorton 2017). Despite the active roles played by transgender and gender nonconforming people of color in watershed moments such as the Compton's Cafeteria Riot and the Stonewall Riots, trans and LGBTQ historiography has often ignored or erased the pivotal role that they have played (Ware 2017). Even after gender-affirming medical treatment became more

widely available in the 1960s and 1970s, nonwhite transgender children were usually more likely to be misclassified as homosexuals or diagnosed with mental or personality disorders than white children (Gill-Peterson 2018), potentially inducing some degree of biographical unavailability toward transgender and gender nonconforming identification.

Popular media coverage of the transgender tipping point in the 2010s has featured greater visibility for transgender and gender nonconforming people of color through popular figures like Laverne Cox and Janet Mock. However, critics of this coverage suggest that this has not been accompanied with a substantial engagement with the relationship of racialization with trans identity and that "hyper-visibility" can have unintended consequences in the framing of transgender people, reifying certain racial disparities (Ellison et al. 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018; Westbrook 2021). Nevertheless, the transgender tipping point may have contributed to a growing similarity in the recognition and affirmation of transgender and gender nonconforming identities among both white and nonwhite young people. This study examines the salience of the transgender tipping point along racial/ethnic divisions in transgender and gender nonconforming identification by evaluating the following hypothesis:

HYPOTHESIS 4.—*Within earlier cohorts (born 1935–84), white respondents will be more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than nonwhite respondents in the same cohort. In later cohorts (born 1985–2001), within-group differences along lines of race/ethnicity will be smaller.*

Class and education-related differences have also marked major fault lines in transgender and gender nonconforming lived experiences throughout U.S. history (Vries 2012; Balay 2014; Hughto et al. 2016; Lagos 2018). Transgender movements in the 20th century were often stratified by class, with middle- and upper-class people having significant networks and resources that they employed to develop private associations and networks and seek out doctors for transgender-specific medical care. Working-class transgender people met in public places, which were more subject to policing and resulted in working-class transgender and gender nonconforming people being at the forefront of many of the pivotal public moments of trans liberation, but were also often systematically excluded from transgender-specific medical care (Ng 2013; Stryker 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018; shuster 2021).

Given the role that queer theory played in shaping attitudes toward transgender and gender nonconforming identities between the 1990s and the 2000s, and the academic context in which queer theory became formalized, it further stands to reason that people in each cohort who attended college may have been exposed to queer theory at earlier stages in life and in earlier periods of history than people who did not attend college. There may also be different understandings of what it means to be transgender and gender nonconforming that are associated with having attended college or not. This correspondence between college attendance and identification patterns may be particularly pronounced among people who identify as gender nonconforming, rather than as transgender men or women, because of queer theory's de-emphasis on binary gender identities and other conceptual dualisms (Stein and Plummer 1994).

The potential correlation between college attendance and transgender and gender nonconforming identification has not been ignored by those who see the rise of transgender and gender nonconforming identification as a problem. Many opposed to transgender rights and other gender-based rights point to research and teaching on queer theory as an alarming imposition of "gender ideology" by professors onto vulnerable young students and broader society (Geva 2019; Ashley 2020). This line of opposition may mirror the pattern of targeting other academic approaches over their perceived political implications, as was pursued through the Trump administration's ban on federal spending on training that invokes critical race theory (Vought 2020) and encouraged by activist organizations such as the Heritage Foundation and the Manhattan Institute (Butcher and Gonzalez 2020; Copland 2021).

Although transgender students are often marginalized and underserved on college campuses (Siegel 2019), some opponents of transgender and gender nonconforming inclusion further allege that transgender and gender nonconforming identification is rewarded and even incentivized more on college campuses than in other social settings through transgender-supportive policies and the undue influence of counselors employed by colleges and universities (Shrier 2020). Regardless of the influence of gender theory or whether universities are particularly supportive of transgender and gender nonconforming college students, the transgender tipping point itself may have democratized the likelihood of transgender and gender nonconforming identity in younger cohorts beyond college educated populations. This study examines the salience of the transgender tipping point on educational and class divisions in transgender and gender nonconforming identification by evaluating the following hypothesis:

HYPOTHESIS 5.—*Within earlier cohorts (born 1935–84), respondents who attended college will be more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than respondents in the same cohort who did not attend college. In later cohorts (born 1985–2001), within-group differences along lines of college attendance will be smaller*.

DATA AND METHODS

This study employs a pooled cross-sectional sample from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) collected in 2014–15, 2015–16, 2016–17, 2017–18, 2018–19, and 2019–20. The BRFSS is a general health survey designed to collect probability samples of the U.S. adult population, meaning that all respondents are over age 18. Because this study assesses the role of college attendance, and because data were not collected on respondents' precise age if they were 80 and over at the time of the survey, I focus on survey respondents who were between 19 and 79 at the time of the surveys. This results in a sample of cisgender women (n = 599, 914), cisgender men (n = 475, 961), transgender women (n = 2, 074), transgender men (n = 1, 525), and gender nonconforming respondents (n = 1, 005) born between 1935 and 2001—a range of 66 years. Sample characteristics are provided in table 1.

The pooled sample is analyzed through seven binary indicators identifying cohorts born between the following years: 1935–44, 1945–54, 1955–64, 1965–74, 1975–84, 1985–94,

and 1995–2001. Each of these cohorts spans the course of 10 years from the first available year in the data, except for the 1995–2001 cohort, which spans eight years because of the minimum age requirement for participation in the surveys. This division of cohorts follows the practice of measuring differences by decade, rather than by common but woolly generational terms like baby boomers, Generation X, and millennials (Cohen 2019; Dimock 2019). However, the cohorts employed in this study map on to broad generational definitions. Interpreted vis-à-vis the Pew Research Center's generational definitions, the cohort born between 1935 and 1945 could be considered the younger half of the silent generation; the cohorts born between 1945 and 1954 and 1955 and 1964 could be considered part of the baby boomer generation; the cohorts born between 1965 and 1974 and 1974 and 1984 could be considered somewhat analogous to Generation X; while cohorts born between 1985 and 1994 could be defined as millennials, and cohorts born between 1995 and 2001 could be considered Generation Z or as younger millennials (Dimock 2019).

Although currently available population-level data do not account for the ages at which respondents began to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming, birth years and dates of historical events can still be analyzed together to gauge the age of people in different birth cohorts at the time of these events, in order to factor age at time of event into analyses of biographical availability. Figure 1 juxtaposes birth year cohorts with various significant events in transgender history, as a guide to understanding the ages that people in each birth year cohort were during these events. The experiences of transgender and gender nonconforming people who were born in the first half of the 20th century are very distinct from those experienced by people born more recently (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al. 2014; Witten 2014), particularly if this tipping point in acceptance has only been reached recently, toward the end of their lives. For instance, at the beginning of the Christine Jorgensen media blitz in 1952, members of the cohort born between 1935 and 1944 would have been between 8 and 17, while members of the cohort born between 1945 and 1954 would have been 7 or younger or not alive at the time. During the transgender tipping point in 2014, members of the cohort born between 1995 and 2001 would be between 13 and 19 years old, while members of the cohort born between 1935 and 1944 would be between 70 and 79 at the time.

The BRFSS is administered by the public health departments of each U.S. state and territory, and each department is given the option to include a survey module that asks respondents whether they identify as transgender. If respondents answer yes, they are then asked whether they identify as male to female, female to male, or gender nonconforming (Baker and Hughes 2016). As of the 2019–20 administration of the BRFSS, 39 U.S. states have included these gender identity questions in all or some of their administrations of the survey. This makes available a pooled sample that includes all U.S. states with the exceptions of Alabama, Arkansas, New Mexico, Maine, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, and South Dakota. While it would be ideal to conduct this analysis with a sample that includes all U.S. states, the available subset of 39 states features a diverse set of states from every region of the country, with a variety of socioeconomic characteristics that are comparable to the states that have yet to include these questions.

There are several methodological issues that have been identified with the BRFSS's approach to identifying the gender of respondents, which can complicate the accuracy with which the survey can account for sex assigned at birth separately from gender (Lagos 2018, 2019; Cicero et al. 2020). This analysis follows the practice of past research that uses the BRFSS to study transgender populations by working with the following assumptions: (1) all respondents who identified as not being transgender were classified consistently with the sex they were assigned at birth; (2) all respondents who identified as male to female were assigned male at birth; (3) all respondents who identified as female to male were assigned female at birth. Finally, this analysis (4) makes no assumptions or claims about the sex assigned at birth among gender nonconforming respondents, since the varied sex classification practices in BRFSS surveys do not consistently distinguish between sex assigned at birth and other designations of sex produced by survey interviewers and through self-reports (Lagos 2018, 2019).

In order to account for demographic differences in the biographical availability of members of each cohort, this study looks at race/ethnicity as an indicator of social difference. The BRFSS measures a variety of racial/ethnic identities such as Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American. However, even the pooled sample used in this study is currently too small to generate meaningful cohort-based analyses accounting for specific race/ethnicity groups in categorical terms beyond the level of distinguishing between white and nonwhite respondents. This dilemma has arisen in studies of sexual minority populations that have had to measure respondents as white, Black, or other (Mishel et al. 2020), and the gender minority population is even smaller than the percentage of the population that has had a same-sex sexual experience (Flores et al. 2016). Respondents who identify as white but not Hispanic are coded as white, while all other responses to racial/ethnic categorization questions are coded as nonwhite.

As another indicator of biographical availability, this study incorporates a binary measure of whether respondents have attended college or not. As is the case for this study's analysis of race/ethnicity, data constraints foreclose a more fine-grained look at differences between college graduates, people who have attended college but not graduated, high school graduates, and people who have not finished high school. Nevertheless, just as college attendance can predict the likelihood of having been exposed to queer theory in an academic setting, it can also reflect wealth and relative access to support networks (Schneider, Hastings, and LaBriola 2018; Zhou 2019) and other significant fault lines in lived experiences.

ANALYTIC PLAN

This study employs survey-weighted logistic regression models to gauge whether and how birth cohorts predict the probability of transgender and gender nonconforming identification. The first part of this analysis evaluates overall differences in transgender or gender nonconforming identification between cohorts, testing hypotheses 1 and 2 through logistic regressions of the association between birth cohort and identifying as transgender or gender nonconforming. In order to compare results for separate models predicting two different outcomes (identifying as transgender vs. identifying as gender nonconforming), I compare

the predicted probabilities and average discrete changes (ADCs) across these two different outcomes through tests of cross-model covariances by stacking data and fitting two models simultaneously using seemingly unrelated estimation (SUEST; Mize, Doan, and Long 2019).

After estimating the initial overall cohort-based differences in identification as transgender and as gender nonconforming, I assess how patterns in transgender identification vary by sex assigned at birth, as well as how patterns in transgender and gender nonconforming identification vary by race/ethnicity and college attendance.[2] To do this, I reestimate the logistic regression models for the two different outcomes and add interactions between cohort indicators and the demographic indicators of interest (sex assigned at birth, race/ethnicity, and college attendance). I evaluate the significance of group differences based on these interactions, using the predicted probabilities and average marginal effects of being born during a particular birth cohort separately by each demographic factor, and I then evaluate whether these average marginal effects vary significantly by these demographic factors (Mize 2019), including interactions between multiple demographic factors.

FINDINGS

Overall Cohort Differences in Identification as Transgender and Gender Nonconforming

In hypothesis 1, I posit that respondents in each successive birth cohort will be more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than respondents in the birth cohort directly before it. Figure 2 displays the predicted probabilities of transgender and gender nonconforming identification in the sample across birth cohorts. In this figure and in all subsequent figures, changes in predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender are displayed through solid lines connecting dots at each cohort, and 95% confidence intervals for these predicted probabilities are displayed in dashed lines.

Figure 2 indicates that there is no evidence that overall transgender identification has changed dramatically between any cohorts born between 1935 and 1984. Cohorts born between 1985 and 1994 appear more likely to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming than cohorts born between 1975 and 1984, and cohorts born between 1995 and 2001 appear significantly more likely to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming than cohorts born between 1985 and 1994. While I predicted a linear increase in transgender and gender nonconforming identification across each cohort through hypothesis 1, it appears that most of the cohort-level increases in transgender and gender nonconforming identification happen in the later cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. The visual evidence from figure 2 also suggests that hypothesis 2 ought to be accepted, since respondents across every cohort in the sample are more likely to identify as transgender than as gender nonconforming. This is even the case for cohorts born between 1985 and 2001, among whom there is also an apparent increase in identification as gender nonconforming.

Table 2 presents the predicted probabilities and the ADCs corresponding to the logistic regressions for transgender and gender nonconforming identification. The ADCs corroborate

[2]Because of the phrasing of survey questions in the BRFSS, it is not possible to account for sex assigned at birth in the probability of identifying as gender nonconforming.

the visual evidence from figure 2, suggesting that the only significant changes in identification as transgender or gender nonconforming between cohorts occur at two points: between the 1975–84 cohorts and the 1985–94 cohorts and between the 1985–94 cohorts and the 1995–2001 cohorts. Table 2 also compares the results of models predicting two different outcomes (identifying as transgender vs. identifying as gender nonconforming) using SUEST-based estimates of cross-model differences between both the predicted probabilities and the ADCs between cohorts. In each cohort, the cross-model differences between the predicted probabilities are significant at the $P \leq .001$ level, further supporting hypothesis 2 since the predicted probabilities of identifying as gender nonconforming are significantly lower than those of identifying as transgender in every cohort.

Interactions between Birth Cohort and Demographic Factors

In hypothesis 3, I predicted that, within each cohort born between 1935 and 1984, respondents assigned male at birth will be more likely to identify as transgender than respondents assigned female at birth but that the association between sex assignment at birth and transgender identification would be smaller in cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. Figure 3 displays the predicted probabilities from logistic regression models predicting transgender identification based on the interaction between birth cohort and sex assigned at birth. The graph shows that respondents assigned male at birth appear more likely to identify as transgender than respondents who were assigned female at birth across every cohort born between 1935 and 1984. The predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender are still somewhat higher among respondents assigned male at birth in cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. However, the 95% confidence intervals overlap significantly in these two cohorts, to the point where sex assigned at birth does not appear to strongly predict transgender identification, supporting hypothesis 3.

Table 3 provides estimates and tests of the predictive magnitude of the interaction between sex assigned at birth and birth cohorts. I use average marginal effects to compare gaps in predicted probabilities, as well as gaps between ADCs, displayed in column 3. In column 4, I also provide tests of second difference to indicate where interactions between sex assigned at birth and cohort differ between individual cohorts (labeled “Contrast in Gaps”). This indicates whether any gaps observed here or in subsequent analyses are different across all, some, or just two cohorts being compared (Mize 2019).

In every cohort born between 1935 and 1984, respondents assigned male at birth are significantly more likely to identify as transgender than respondents assigned female at birth (table 3, predicted probabilities, col. 3). In every cohort born between 1985 and 2001, gaps corresponding to sex assignment are not statistically significant. These observations further suggest that hypothesis 3 ought to be accepted, since the interaction between cohort and sex assigned at birth is predictive of transgender identification in cohorts born between 1935 and 1984 but is not significantly predictive among cohorts born between 1985 and 2001.

A closer look at the ADCs and their corresponding gaps can help illuminate some of dynamics of this convergence pattern. For respondents who were assigned female at birth, those born in cohorts between 1985 and 2001 are more likely to identify as transgender than the cohorts before them, whereas for respondents who were assigned male at birth,

only the cohort born between 1995 and 2001 is significantly more likely to identify as transgender than any cohort before it (table 3). It is possible that the observed increase in transgender identification among respondents assigned male at birth born between 1985 and 1994 may only fall short of statistical significance due to sample size constraints. However, the main import of these ADCs is that they suggest that while sex assigned at birth becomes insignificant as a predictor of transgender identification, transgender identification itself increased among both respondents assigned female at birth and among respondents assigned male at birth in some or all of these later cohorts.

In hypothesis 4, I predict that white respondents will be more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than nonwhite respondents in each cohort born between 1935 and 1984 but that the association between race/ethnicity and transgender identity would be smaller among cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. Figure 4 displays predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender (fig. 4A) and as gender nonconforming (fig. 4B) from logistic regression models that control for the interactions between cohort and race/ethnicity. According to figure 4A, white respondents born between 1945 and 1984 may be less likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents, but there is significant overlap between the confidence intervals between white and nonwhite respondents in the 1935–44 cohort. This suggests that there is no major evidence of a gap corresponding to race/ethnicity in transgender identification within this cohort. The predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender appear to converge between whites and nonwhites in the 1985–94 cohort. However, among the 1995–2001 birth cohort, white respondents appear to identify as transgender at significantly higher rates than nonwhite respondents.

Figure 4B shows that white respondents in cohorts born between 1945 and 1984 also appear somewhat less likely to identify as gender nonconforming than nonwhite respondents. White respondents born between 1985 and 1995 appear to be equally as likely to identify as gender nonconforming as nonwhite respondents. White respondents in the 1995–2001 cohort may appear to be marginally more likely to identify as transgender than their nonwhite counterparts, although there is significant overlap between the 95% confidence intervals. Given the many points at which the 95% confident intervals overlap in figures 4A and 4B, and the potential for some degree of overlap in 95% confidence intervals to not rule out statistical significance (Schenker and Gentleman 2001), I present additional formal tests in table 4 to evaluate hypothesis 4.

In hypothesis 4, I posited that white respondents born between 1935 and 1984 would be more likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents and that the gap along lines of race/ethnicity would be smaller among cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. However, white respondents are not more likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents in any cohort born between 1935 and 1984, and white respondents are in fact significantly less likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents in the 1945–54, 1965–1974, and 1975–84 cohorts (table 4). While race/ethnicity does not significantly predict transgender identification in the 1985–94 cohort, the predicted probabilities from the 1995–2001 cohort suggest that there has been an inversion of the trend observed in earlier cohorts: white respondents in this cohort are now more likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents. This reversal of an earlier pattern in which nonwhite respondents

were more likely to identify as transgender than white respondents is potentially driven by consistent increases in transgender identification between cohorts of white respondents born between 1985 and 2001 (table 4, ADCs). There does not appear to be a significant increase in transgender identification between any observed cohorts of nonwhite respondents.

Table 5 displays the predicted probabilities and ADCs for identifying as gender nonconforming based on the interaction between cohort and race/ethnicity. Race/ethnicity does not significantly predict whether a respondent identifies as gender nonconforming in any cohorts other than the 1955–64 and the 1965–74 cohorts (table 5). Even though race/ethnicity does not significantly predict gender nonconforming identification in the later cohorts born between 1985 and 2001, it also does not significantly predict gaps in gender nonconforming identification among cohorts born between 1945 and 1954 or between 1975 and 1984. Hypothesis 4 is not supported overall, since there is not a consistent gap between white and nonwhite respondents' probability of identifying as transgender or gender nonconforming among cohorts born between 1935 and 1984. Where any gaps exist in these before 1985, it is nonwhite respondents who are more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming.

In hypothesis 5, I posited that respondents born between 1935 and 1984 who have attended college would be more likely to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming than respondents who have not attended college but that this gap would be smaller among respondents born between 1985 and 2001. Figure 5 displays the predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender (fig. 5A) and gender nonconforming (fig. 5B) based on models of interactions between birth cohort and college attendance. It appears that it is actually respondents who did not attend college who are more likely to identify as transgender across every observed cohort, including among respondents born between 1985 and 2001. However, the gap in identification as gender nonconforming based on college attendance in most cohorts is not as clearly visibly distinguishable, with the potential exception of the cohort born between 1935 and 1944.

Table 6 presents the predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender, along with the associated ADCs and average marginal effects from models of interactions between birth cohort and whether respondents have attended college. Within every cohort, respondents who attended college are significantly less likely to identify as transgender than respondents who did not attend college. The ADCs and the gaps between them give more context for these patterns. Among members of cohorts born between 1985 and 1994, there is a significant increase in identification as transgender by respondents who attended college (table 6, ADCs), but there is a sharper increase in identification as transgender among respondents born between 1995 and 2001 who did not attend college. This dramatic rise in transgender identification among respondents who did not attend college within the 1995–2001 cohort may help explain why there is not a convergence in trends along lines of college attendance.

Table 7 presents the predicted probabilities of identifying as gender nonconforming with the corresponding ADCs from interactions between birth cohort and whether respondents have attended college. Respondents born between 1935 and 1944 who attended college are

significantly less likely to identify as gender nonconforming than respondents in that cohort who did not attend college. However, college attendance does not appear to significantly predict patterns of gender nonconforming identification in any other cohort after it. Within both the 1985–94 and 1995–2001 cohorts, identification as gender nonconforming increases significantly among both groups of respondents who attended college and those who did not attend college. Hypothesis 5 is rejected because not attending college significantly predicts transgender identification in each cohort. Not attending college ceases to predict identification as gender nonconforming after the 1935–44 cohort, but even if this represents some form of convergence pattern, it takes place well before cohorts that would have come of age during the transgender tipping point.

Interactions between Birth Cohort and Sex Assigned at Birth with Other Demographic Factors

Because the third hypothesis positing a convergence in probabilities along lines of sex assigned at birth is the only hypothesis about demographic predictors that is sustained, this next portion of the analysis focuses on disaggregating the correspondence of the interaction among transgender identification, birth cohort, and sex assigned at birth by adding interactions between these factors and race/ethnicity. Figure 6 displays the predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender based on interactions among birth cohort, sex assigned at birth, and race/ethnicity, broken down by sex assigned at birth. In Figure 6A, it appears that among respondents who were assigned male at birth, nonwhite respondents may be more likely to identify as transgender than white respondents across cohorts born between 1945 and 1984 but not across cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. There is also much visible overlap between the 95% confidence intervals of the two groups in the 1935–44 cohort in figure 6A. Figure 6B suggests that among respondents who were assigned female at birth, race/ethnicity may have been less predictive of transgender identification overall, with the significant exception of the 1995–2001 cohort. In this cohort, white respondents who were assigned female at birth appear to be much more likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents who were assigned female at birth, with no overlaps between the 95% confidence intervals between white and nonwhite respondents within this cohort.

Table 8 presents the predicted probabilities and ADCs in identification as transgender based on interactions among cohort, sex assigned at birth, and race/ethnicity among respondents who were assigned male at birth. Nonwhite respondents assigned male at birth appear to be significantly more likely to identify as transgender than white respondents assigned male at birth in the following cohorts: 1945–54, 1965–74, and 1975–84 (predicted probabilities). The only significant ADCs observed among respondents who were assigned male at birth is among white respondents, whose increases in transgender identification among the 1985–94 and the 1995–2001 cohorts likely account for this convergence along lines of race/ethnicity. However, it is important to note that rates of transgender identification may have also increased for nonwhite respondents assigned male at birth in the 1995–2001 cohort (ADCs), but this observed increase may fall short of statistical significance due to sample constraints.

Table 9 presents the predicted probabilities and ADCs in identification as transgender for respondents who were assigned female at birth, based on the interaction among birth cohort, sex assigned at birth, and race/ethnicity. Among respondents assigned female at birth, there are only two cohorts among respondents for which there are significant race/ethnicity gaps: in the 1945–54 cohort, nonwhite respondents are more likely to identify as transgender than white respondents, and in the 1995–2001 cohort, white respondents are significantly more likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents. Given the ADCs on table 9, there is a statistically significant decrease in transgender identification among white respondents who were assigned female at birth within the 1945–54 cohort, while there are significant increases among white respondents who were assigned female at birth among the 1985–94 and 1995–2001 cohorts. Therefore, race and ethnicity appear to correspond significantly to the changes in transgender identification among respondents who were assigned female at birth in these three cohorts.

Upon analyzing the interaction among transgender identification, birth cohort, sex assigned at birth, and college attendance, it became clear that college attendance is still consistently associated with lower probabilities of identifying as transgender. Figures and tables for this analysis are provided in the appendix.

DISCUSSION

This study finds that the perceived transgender tipping point is characterized by three more specific dynamics: (1) a convergence in the likelihood of transgender identification between people assigned male at birth and people assigned female at birth, (2) the reversal of an initial association between being nonwhite and identifying as transgender toward a closer association between being white and identifying as transgender (especially among respondents who were assigned female at birth), and (3) the persistence of the close association between attending college and being less likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming.

As predicted, being assigned male at birth is a steady predictor of transgender identification among cohorts born between 1935 and 1984, but sex assignment at birth ceases to significantly predict transgender identification among cohorts born between 1985 and 2001. While this pattern is in part associated with significant increases in transgender identification among respondents assigned female at birth born between 1985 and 2001, transgender identification also increases significantly among respondents assigned male at birth born between 1995 and 2001. Therefore, overall increases in transgender identification have not been driven exclusively by increases among individuals assigned female at birth. Instead, the overall observed increases represent a convergence in growth patterns between the two groups and the reduced overall relevance of sex assigned at birth in more recent cohorts.

By extending the role of sex assigned at birth through the biographical availability framework, I provide evidence that sex assigned at birth has implications for gender itself that go beyond the common sociological understanding that sex assigned at birth structurally locates individuals in relation to particular gender identities. Sex assigned at birth does not just strongly predict that individuals will identify with a gender that conventionally

corresponds to it. Among older cohorts, sex assigned at birth has also strongly predicted how likely one is to identify outside of the gender associated with it, while among younger cohorts, it does not.

This study cannot point to a precise reason for why there was potentially a higher social cost to identifying as transgender for respondents assigned female at birth in earlier cohorts that went away for later cohorts. However, one notable social change that could be interpreted as pivotal for members of cohorts born after 1984 is the decline in lesbian separatism and the dialing down of the FTM-Butch border wars of the 1990s, which would have led to greater acceptance of transgender men in peer groups, particularly in queer communities (Pfeffer 2010), after a long period when they were ostracized in these circles (Rubin 2006). My finding that the rise in transgender identification among respondents assigned female at birth is particularly driven by changes in the identification patterns of white respondents supports this possibility, since lesbian separatism and the FTM-Butch border wars were far less prominent in, and were in fact actively rejected by, many predominantly nonwhite feminist and lesbian groups active in the later 20th century (Combahee River Collective 1977; Moore 2011).

Along broader lines of race/ethnicity, there is a notable presence of gaps in transgender identification, a period of convergence, and then the reemergence of a gap in the reverse direction. Among cohorts born between 1945 and 1954, 1965 and 1974, and 1975 and 1984, nonwhite respondents are significantly more likely to identify as transgender or gender nonconforming than white respondents. A gap along racial/ethnic lines is not present in the cohort born between 1985 and 1994, but a new gap reemerges in the 1995–2001 cohort in the reverse direction, with white respondents in this cohort being significantly more likely to identify as transgender than nonwhite respondents.

Although I predicted that identification patterns along racial/ethnic lines would converge beginning with the 1985–94 cohort, this prediction operated under the flawed assumption that white respondents would be more likely to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming than nonwhite respondents in earlier cohorts. This assumption in hypothesis 3 was based on the relative lack of mainstream visibility of nonwhite transgender celebrities until the transgender tipping point of the 2010s, assuming that a lack of visibility would limit biographical availability among groups that did not see themselves represented in popular media. However, this study corroborates claims that dominant patterns of media representation have obscured a sizable nonwhite population that has identified as transgender and gender nonconforming throughout U.S. history (Ellison et al. 2017; Snorton 2017; Gill-Peterson 2018), rather than accurately reflecting lower levels of transgender and gender nonconforming identification relative to whites.

Furthermore, it is notable that the main change in the probability of identifying as transgender and gender nonconforming has taken place through an increase in the likelihood of white respondents to identify as transgender, going beyond the predicted convergence to a reversal of the initial trend. This may reflect the adoption of queer culture by more structurally powerful people amid increased social and legal recognition (Ellison et al. 2017), particularly during and after periods of crisis for the most marginalized segments of

queer populations (Schulman 2013). This change in the racial/ethnic composition of the U.S. trans population may also, in turn, change its political and structural location.

This macrolevel context also enables a reevaluation of assumptions regarding racial/ethnic representation and its implications for biographical availability. While much of the increased visibility for transgender people of color associated with the tipping point features successful transgender people of color who work as models, actors, and business leaders (David 2017), another concurrent genre of transgender visibility efforts heavily emphasizes the vulnerability of transgender women of color to violence as the basis for political mobilization and prioritization (Westbrook 2021). This latter form of increased representation may further marginalize nonwhite transgender people, as "the publicness of black trans women and trans women of color is registered, paradoxically through ongoing forms of social death that reduce their personhood to the barest zero degree, hiding it from view and converting their images and names more often into objects of necropolitical value" (Gill-Peterson 2018, p. 1).

If representation for transgender people of color is so polarized between an emphasis on either a life of extreme marginalization and violent victimization or exceptional fame, beauty, and material success, the social costs of identifying as transgender may appear as either too risky to safety and well-being or out of reach for most people. Meanwhile, the less polarized and narrativized representations of trans white people, particularly in the predominantly white representation of trans children (Gill-Peterson 2018), may lead to a perception of lower social costs and more accessible opportunities to identify as transgender among white individuals in recent cohorts.

Another surprising finding is that rather than respondents who attended college in earlier birth cohorts being more likely to identify as transgender and gender conforming than respondents who did not attend college, it is respondents who did not attend college who are more likely to identify as transgender and gender nonconforming among earlier cohorts. Furthermore, this gap remains consistent across cohorts, even among cohorts in which I predicted that the democratizing effects of the transgender tipping point would flatten the association between college attendance and identification as transgender or gender nonconforming. As with the assumptions made about race/ethnicity, the initial assumptions about college attendance in the hypotheses did not correspond to the underlying pattern.

The potential support that college attendance provides to transgender and gender nonconforming biographical availability does not appear to outweigh the strong association between not attending college and identifying as transgender and gender nonconforming. This pattern may also be explained by the many obstacles that transgender and gender nonconforming individuals experience in primary and secondary school settings that inhibit the potential to eventually attend college in the first place (Palmer, Greytak, and Kosciw 2016; Day, Perez-Brumer, and Russell 2018). Although the causal pathways that influence this association are outside of the purview of this study, these findings confirm that transgender and gender nonconforming identities are by no means concentrated among people who have been exposed to queer theory or other institutional factors unique to colleges or universities.

Because this study only covers cohorts of respondents born between 1935 and 2001 through cross-sectional observations that took place between 2014 and 2020, it is limited in what it can contribute to the understanding of cohorts born before 1935, as well as cohorts born since 2001. Research on these younger generations identifies key differences between these generations and those observed in this study—namely, that many parents are far more involved and active in their children's gender identity development and participation in transgender communal life than before (Meadow 2018). Moreover, the losses of transgender and gender nonconforming lives throughout the HIV/AIDS pandemic, in addition to ongoing patterns of violent victimization and incarceration against transgender women of color in particular (Reisner, Bailey, and Sevelius 2014), loom large over this study. Many transgender and gender nonconforming members of each of these cohorts have been disproportionately censored from being present and counted in contemporary population-level research.

There are important differences between the experiences of transgender and gender nonconforming people who are Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Pacific Islander, or identities that are even more specific at the level of national or diasporic origin (Hughto et al. 2016; David 2018), and these cannot be fully addressed through a grouped comparison between white and nonwhite respondents. As a U.S.-based study, the cohort patterns identified here may also not align exactly with patterns around the world, as definitions, social practices, and policy contexts around gender identity vary so widely (Boellstorff et al. 2014; Nisar 2018). Nevertheless, research on disparities in health care access among U.S. transgender and gender nonconforming populations finds wholescale fissures in several outcomes between transgender people based on whether they are racialized as white or nonwhite (Kattari et al. 2015).

Despite these limitations, this study leverages a probability-based sample of 39 U.S. states to reevaluate many of the general patterns previously reported on vis-à-vis media visibility, patterns of referrals to gender clinics, and claims made by members of a variety of social movements. In some ways, gender and its distribution in populations may truly be shifting in a significant manner, including through the increase in people identifying as transgender and gender nonconforming. However, these changes occur unevenly along demographic lines—at times indicating points of convergence (corresponding to sex assigned at birth), at times indicating a reversal of historical trends (corresponding to race/ethnicity), and at times indicating a persistence in the prevailing demographic trend (corresponding to college attendance) despite large-scale overall increases in transgender and gender nonconforming identification.

These findings provide important context for many of the assertions made about the demographic character of the transgender tipping point, particularly as they correspond to rights and political power. From certain vantage points, increases in transgender identification by individuals assigned female at birth and born between 1985 and 2001 may have been experienced as a dramatic increase in transgender identification rates that only took place among people assigned female at birth, prompting renewed accusations of a "flight from womanhood" (Ashley 2020; Shrier 2020). However, the benefit of a probability-based study drawn from most U.S. states is that it places perceptions typically drawn from interactional and institutional observations in a macrolevel context. Through this

study, I provide evidence that these demographic changes mean that sex assigned at birth is less relevant to transgender identification than ever, since the increase of identification as transgender among individuals assigned female at birth simply brings these levels to mirror those observed among individuals assigned male at birth in recent cohorts, which are also rising.

Another popular narrative surrounding the transgender tipping point focuses on the influence of college policies and academic queer theory in promoting transgender and gender nonconforming identification, at times referred to as the imposition of "gender ideology" or "genderism" (Geva 2019; Ashley 2020). This argument is advanced through speculations that "if you are a college freshman looking for friendship, hoping to be included, there's perhaps no more expedient means of obtaining a social life than signing up as 'LGBTQ.' … Virtually everything that transgender activists hope to achieve in the broader culture has already been achieved on college campuses" (Shrier 2020, p. 155). These speculations do not appear to be borne out by empirical studies of the experiences of transgender college students (Siegel 2019) or account for the many obstacles faced by transgender young people that discourage college attendance (Palmer et al. 2016; Day et al. 2018). The probability sample-based findings of this study add further context to suggest that, if anything, attending college is associated with lower odds of identifying as transgender or gender nonconforming.

The practical stakes of demonstrating a role for biographical availability in gender identification at the population level should not be understated. Many civil rights claims on behalf of transgender and gender nonconforming individuals employ strategic essentialism through narratives that gender minority individuals are "born this way" or "born in the wrong body," using immutability as a line of defense (Schilt 2015; Garrison 2018; Vogler 2019). Other identity-related characteristics that are subject to nonrandom distribution, including religion (Voas and Chaves 2016) and primary spoken language (Tran 2010), receive various forms of protection under extant rights frameworks, while other similarly distributed characteristics, such as obesity, do not (Kirkland 2008). Perceived increases in the prevalence of unfavored groups in populations based on religion, primary spoken language, and obesity, among others, have at various times been met with attempts to counteract, reduce, or eliminate their numbers through a variety of policy and social interventions, regardless of whether these groups have legal recognitions or protections (Lio, Melzer, and Reese 2008; Saguy 2012; Dahab and Omori 2019; Strings 2019).

However, for those concerned with the practical stakes of this study's findings, it may be neither necessary nor advantageous to base claims in support of transgender and gender nonconforming rights on strategic essentialism (Kirkland 2006; Weber 2012; Lane 2016). Indeed, attempts to marginalize unfavored groups have long hinged on reframing mutable, socially contingent characteristics as immutable and inherent to individuals (Fields and Fields 2014; Luft 2017). Even as the explicitly eliminationist goals of the Lavender Scare aimed at converting people's sexual orientation gave way to expanded rights and recognition for sexual minorities in the latter half of the 20th century (Johnson 2004), many activists and lawmakers still seek to curtail the rights of both sexual and gender minorities by framing certain aspects of their presence in public life as pernicious and

dangerous regardless of etiology (Stone 2019; Robinson 2020). However, because even these “corrective” prescriptions do not rise or fall on etiology alone, avoiding questions of biographical availability may come at the unnecessary expense of better understanding how sex assignment at birth, race/ethnicity, educational institutions, and class factor into a fuller account of gender itself.

The findings presented here suggest that perceptions of prevalence operate in tandem with actual patterns of biographical availability and social change in populations when it comes to transgender and gender nonconforming identification. However, these patterns do not always correspond to dominant narratives or approaches to rights claims in a social context where these remain highly contested. The macrolevel insights from this study point toward the urgency of renewing efforts to fully leverage the power of gender itself as an analytic tool rather than as a static category. As political and social contingencies continue to change around the world, this approach could help make fuller sense of patterns of social progress, stagnation, and reversal for gender minority groups, as well as for all other individuals living in societies where gender persists as a salient unit of social distinction.

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APPENDIX

Figure A1 displays the predicted probabilities of transgender identification by the interaction among birth cohort, sex assigned at birth, and college attendance, with visualizations broken down by sex assigned at birth. Among both groups of respondents assigned male at birth (fig. A1A) and respondents assigned female at birth (fig. A1B), not having attended college appears to consistently predict higher probabilities of identifying as transgender than having attended college across each birth cohort in all but one group: respondents assigned female at birth born between 1935 and 1944.

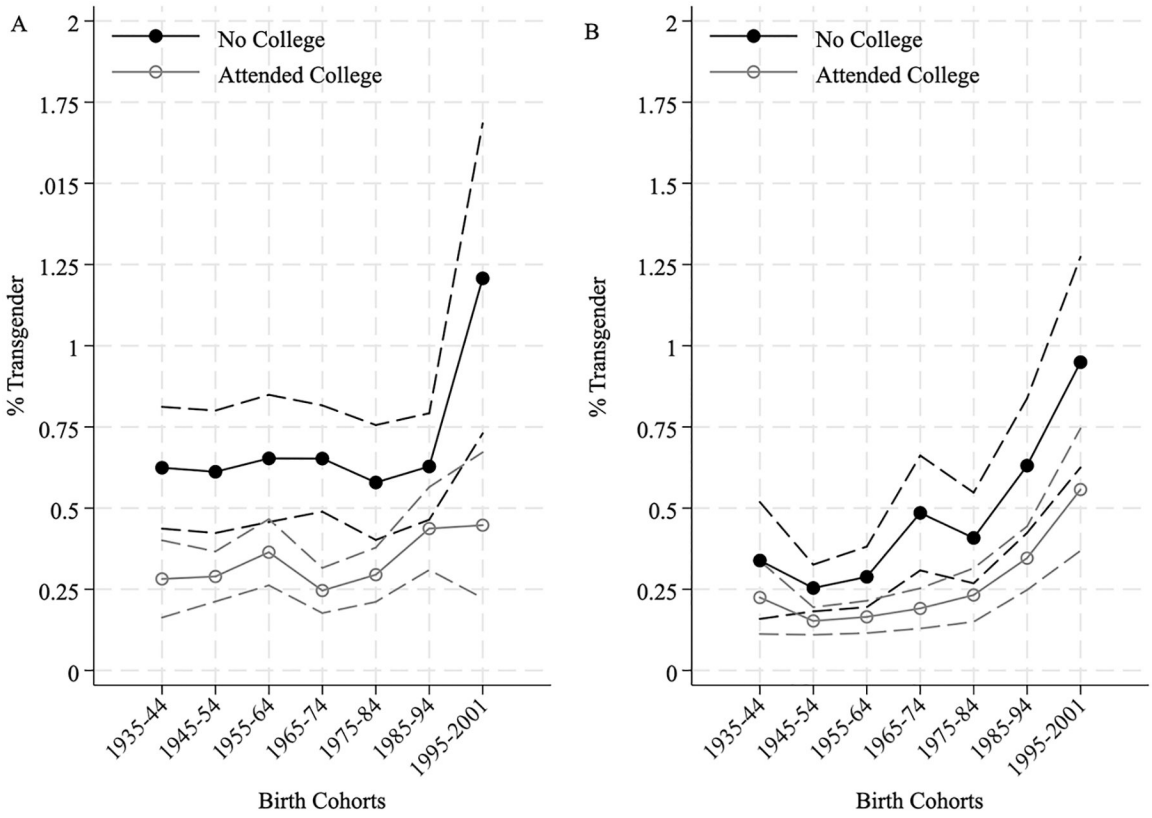

Fig. A1.—.
Probability of transgender identification: *A*, assigned male at birth; *B*, assigned female at birth.

Tables A1 and A2 display the corresponding predicted probabilities and ADCs in transgender identification based on birth cohort, sex assigned at birth, and college attendance, each table displaying results from the same model broken down by sex assigned at birth. Among both respondents assigned male at birth and respondents assigned female at birth, those who did not attend college are significantly more likely to identify as transgender than those who attended college in almost every observed cohort (tables A1 and A2, predicted probabilities). Among respondents who were assigned female at birth, college attendance does not correspond to a significant gap in identification as transgender for respondents born in the 1935–44 cohort. In every other observed cohort, however, the interactions between attending college and birth cohort and sex assigned at birth appear to be associated with lower probabilities of identifying as transgender.

TABLE A1

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Transgender Identification by Cohort, Sex Assigned at Birth, and College Attendance (%)

	Assigned Male at Birth, No College (1)	Assigned Male at Birth, Attended College (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……	.62	.28	.34 ** (.11)	
b) 1945–54 ……	.61	.29	.32 ** (.10)	
c) 1955–64 ……	.65	.36	29 ** (.11)	
d) 1965–74 ……	.65	.25	.41 *** (.09)	
e) 1975–84 ……	.58	.29	.28 ** (.10)	
f) 1985–94 ……	.63	.44	.19 $^{+}$ (.11)	*g*
g) 1995–2001 ……..	1.21	.45	.76 ** (.27)	*f*
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……	−.01 (.14)	.01 (.07)	−.02 (.15)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] …….	.04 (.14)	.07 (.07)	−.03 (.15)	*m*
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] …….	−<.01 (.13)	−.12 $^{+}$ (.06)	.12 (.14)	
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……	−.07 (.12)	.05 (.06)	−.12 (.13)	*m*
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] …….	.05 (.12)	.14 $^{+}$ (.08)	−.09 (.15)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ….	.58 * (.26)	.01 (.13)	.57 * (.29)	*i, k*

Note.—Marginal effects of sex assigned at birth and college attendance across cohorts—respondents assigned male at birth. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which college attendance gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

$^{+}P \leq .10$.

$^{*}P \leq .05$.

$^{**}P \leq .01$.

$^{***}P \leq .001$.

TABLE A2

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Transgender Identification by Cohort, Sex Assigned at Birth, and College Attendance (%)

	Assigned Female at Birth, No College (1)	Assigned Female at Birth, Attended College (2)	Gap between (1)and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				

	Assigned Female at Birth, No College (1)	Assigned Female at Birth, Attended College (2)	Gap between (1)and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
a) 1935–44 ……	.34	.22	.11 (.11)	
b) 1945–54 ……	. 25	.15	.10* (.04)	
c) 1955–64 ……	.29	.16	.12* (.05)	
d) 1965–74 ……	.49	.19	29** (.09)	
e) 1975–84 ……	.41	.23	.18* (.08)	
f) 1985–94 ……	.63	.35	.28* (.12)	
g) 1995–2001 ……..	.95	.55	.39* (.19)	
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……	−.08 (.10)	−.07 (.06)	−.01 (.12)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] …….	.03 (.06)	.01 (.03)	.02 (.07)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] …….	.20+ (.10)	.03 (.04)	.17 (.11)	
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……	−.08 (.11)	.04 (.05)	−.12 (.13)	
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] …….	.22+ (.13)	.11+ (.07)	.11 (.14)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ….	.32 (.20)	.21+ (.11)	.11 (.22)	

Note.—Marginal effects of sex assigned at birth and college attendance across cohorts—respondents assigned female at birth. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which college attendance gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.

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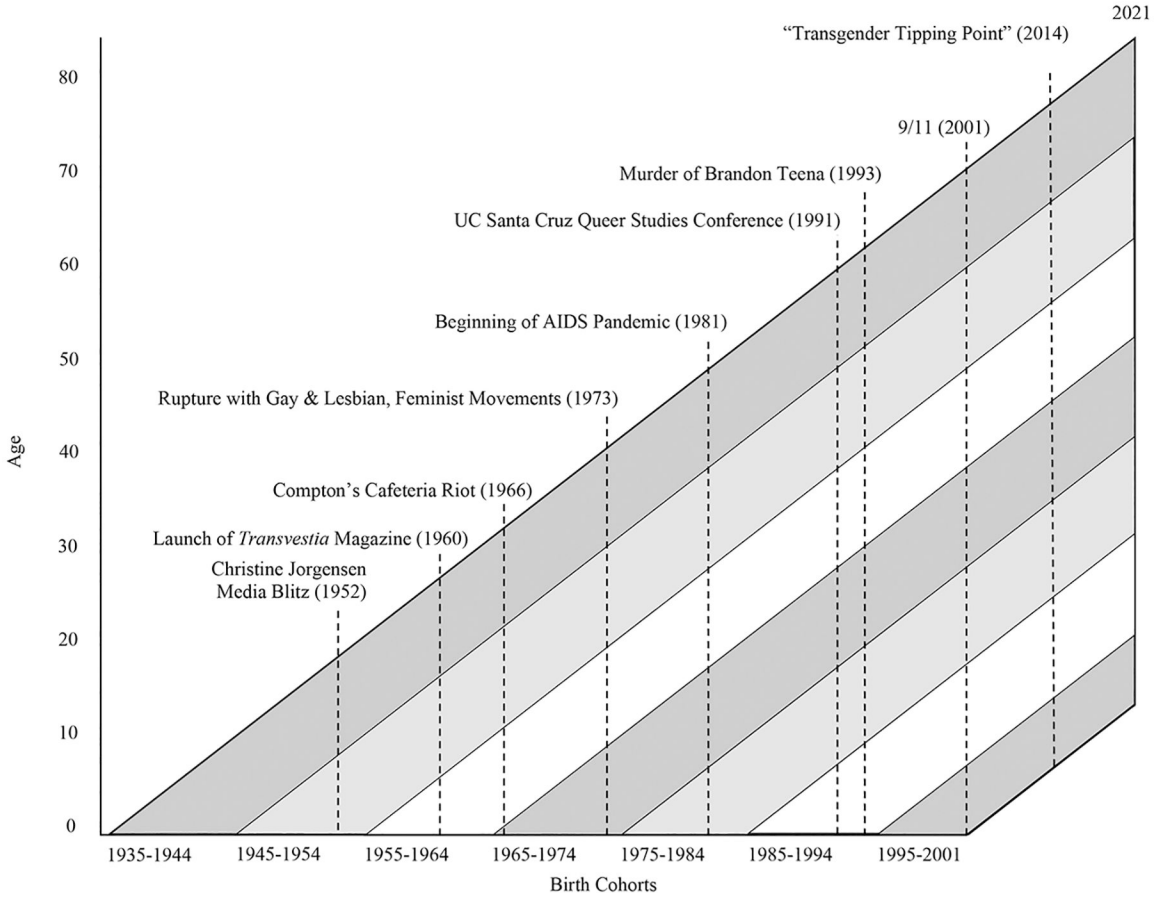

Fig. 1.—.

Timeline of notable events in transgender history and corresponding ages of cohort members at the time of each event.

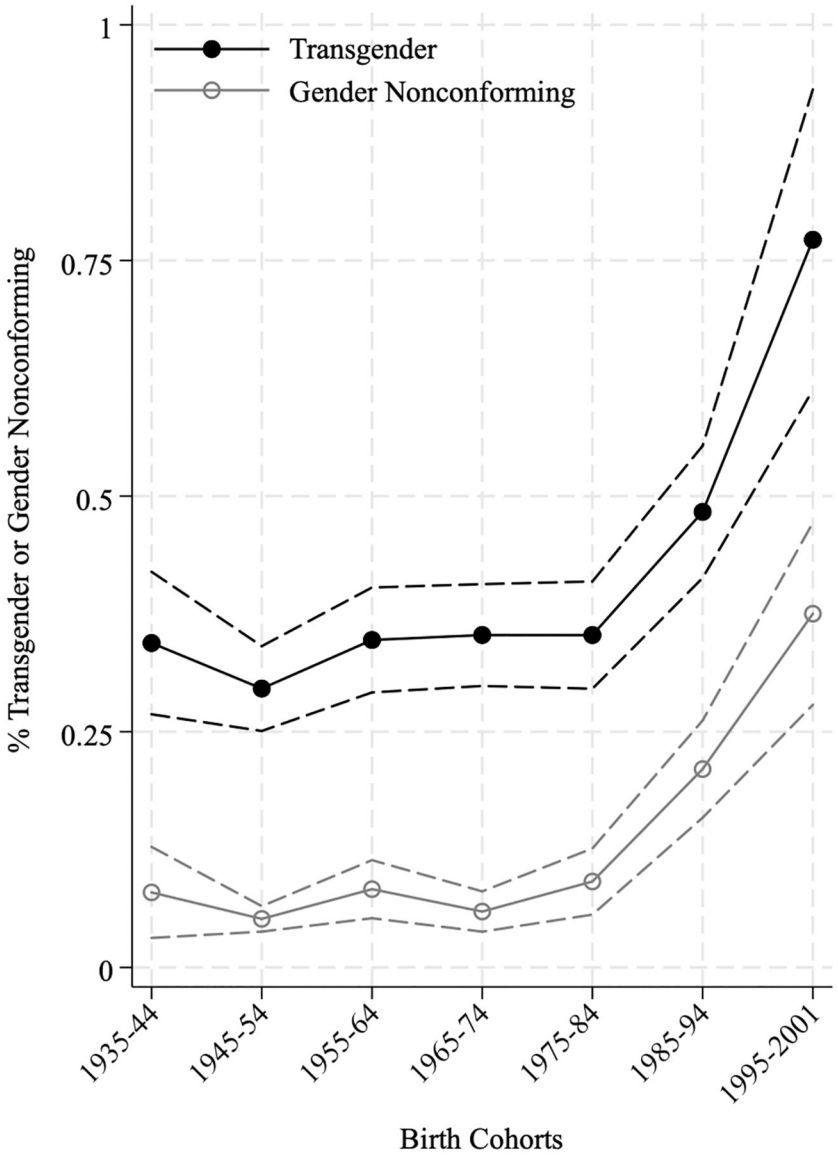

Fig. 2.—.
Predicted probability of identifying as transgender or gender nonconforming by birth cohort.

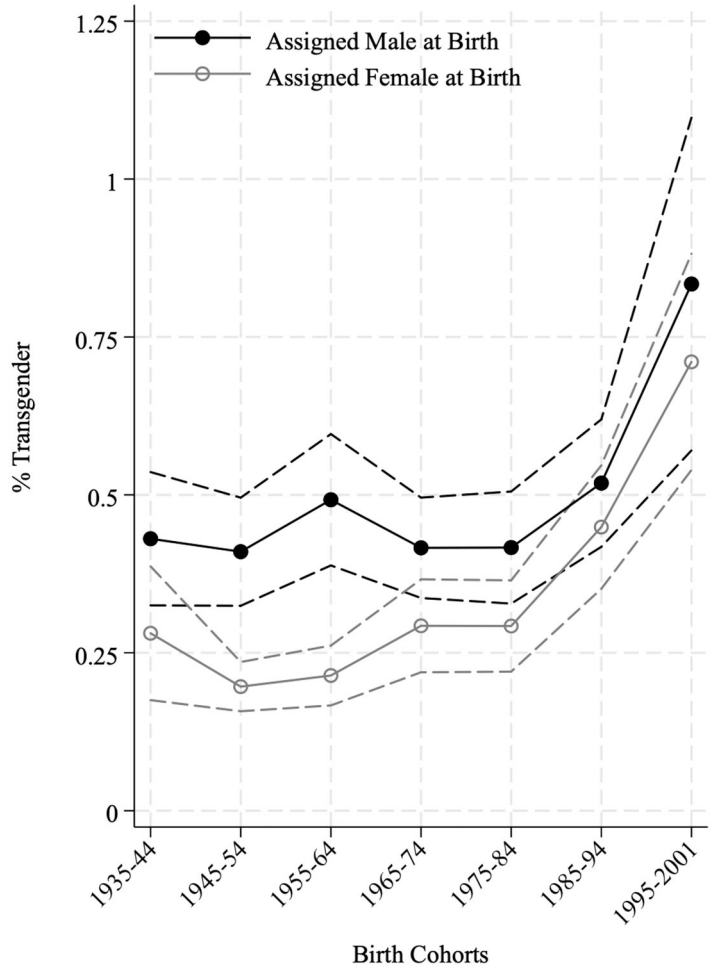

Fig. 3.—.
Predicted probability of identifying as transgender by sex assigned at birth and birth cohort.

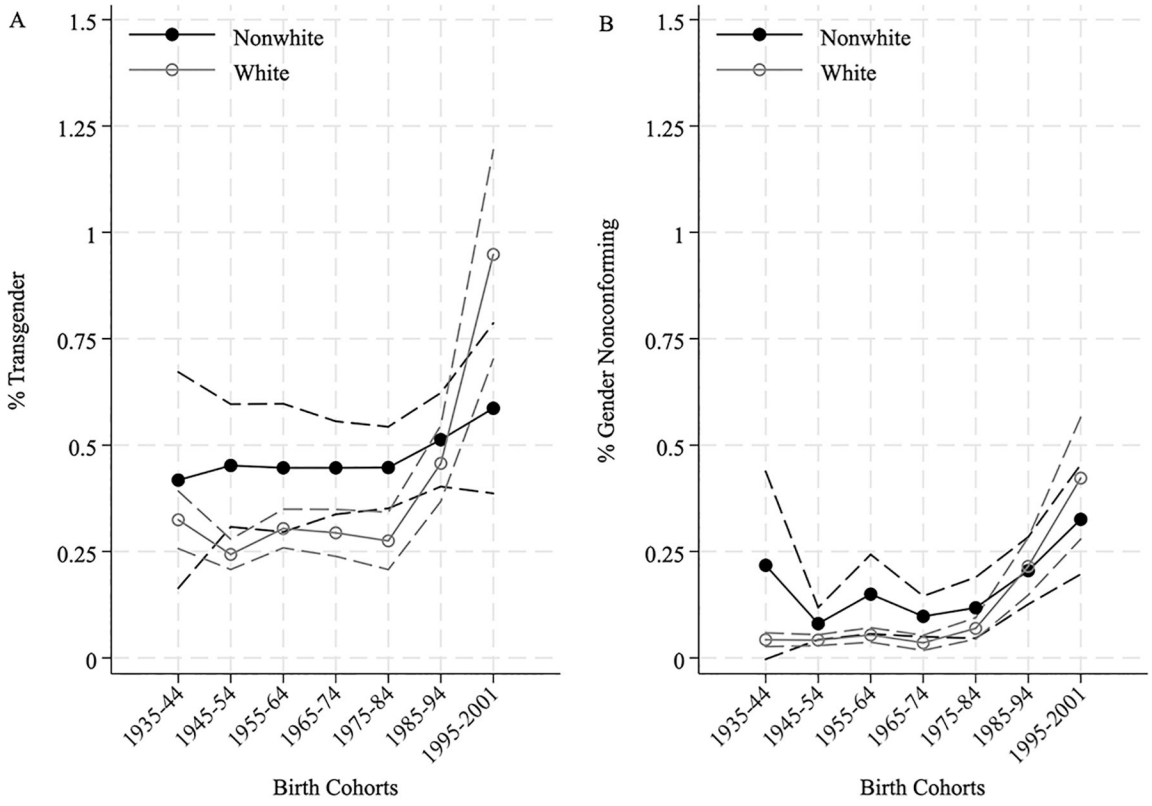

Fig. 4.—.

Predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender (*A*) and gender nonconforming (*B*) by cohort—interactions with race/ethnicity.

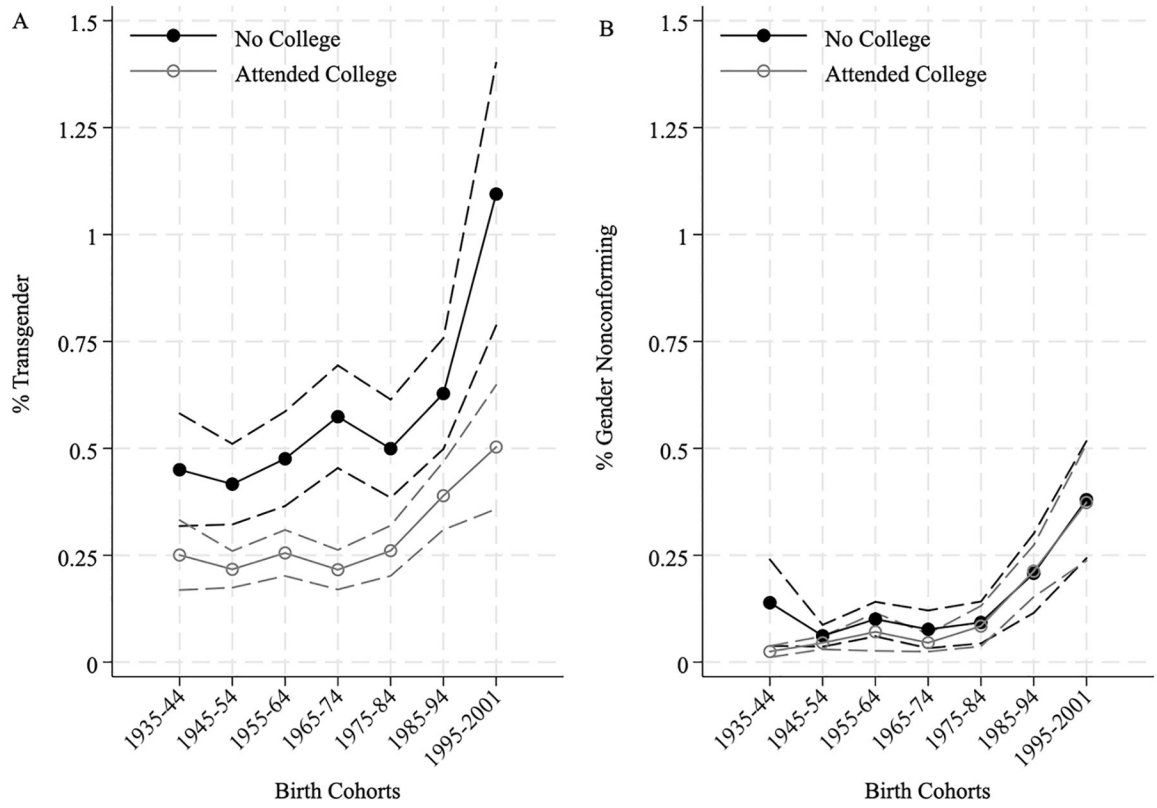

Fig. 5.—.

Predicted probabilities of identifying as transgender (*A*) and gender nonconforming (*B*) by cohort—interactions with college attendance.

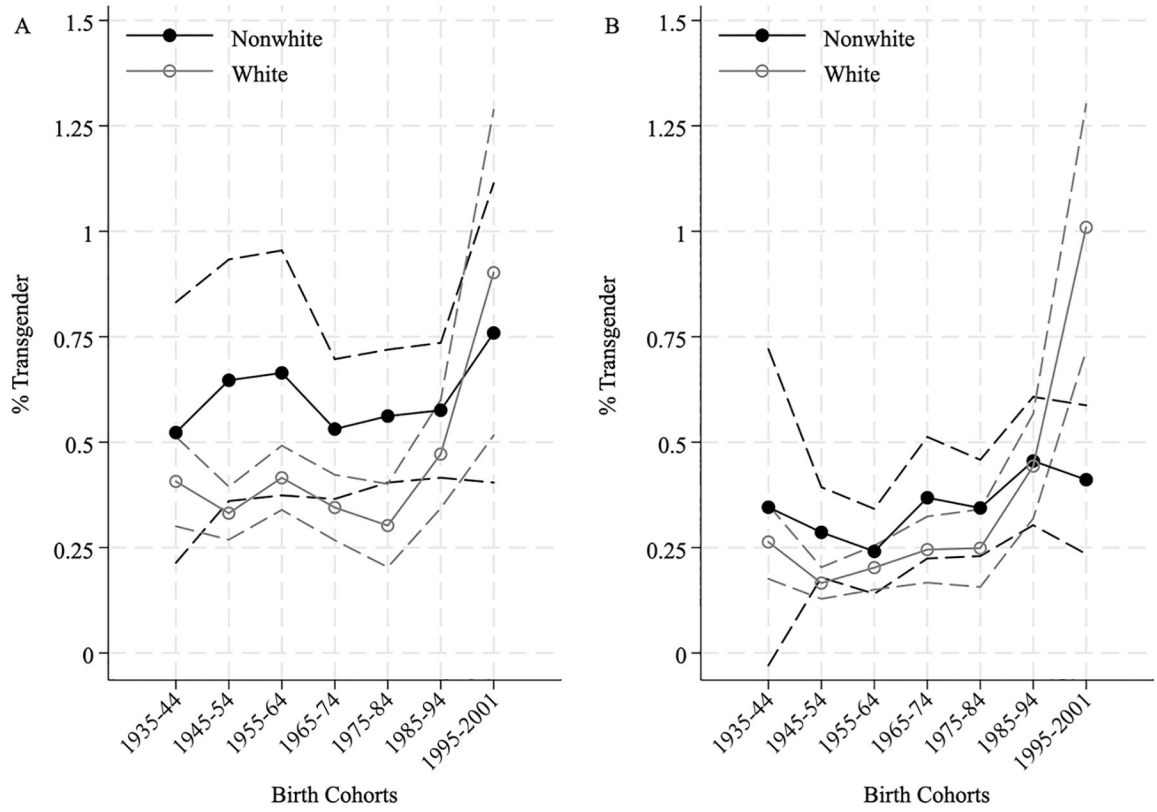

Fig. 6.—.

Predicted probability of identifying as transgender—interactions among cohort, sex assigned at birth, and race/ethnicity: *A*, assigned male at birth; *B*, assigned female at birth.

TABLE 1

Raw Frequencies and Survey Weighted Means of Sample Characteristics, by Gender Identity Category

	Age in 2014	Year When Reached Age 18	Total Transgender or Gender Nonconforming	Transgender Women	Transgender Men	Gender Nonconforming
Cohort:						
1935–44 ……	70–79	1953–62	426 (.42)	194 (.43)	153 (.28)	79 (.08)
1945–54 ……	60–69	1963–72	888 (.35)	440 (.41)	280 (.20)	168 (.05)
1955–64 ……	50–69	1973–82	1,005 (.43)	516 (.49)	316 (.21)	173 (.08)
1965–74 ……	40–49	1983–92	645 (.41)	298 (.42)	232 (.29)	115 (.06)
1975–84 ……	30–39	1993–2002	569 (.44)	254 (.42)	193 (.29)	122 (.09)
1985–94 ……	20–29	2003–12	702 (.69)	270 (.52)	218 (.45)	214 (.21)
1995–2001 …….	12–19	2013–19	369 (1.15)	102 (.83)	133 (.71)	134 (.36)
Race/ethnicitv:						
White ……..			3,008 (.44)	1,371 (.41)	999 (.35)	638 (.09)
Nonwhite ……..			1,596 (.63)	703 (.6)	526 (.29)	367 (.16)
Education:						
No college ……..			2,192 (.69)	1,083 (.68)	708 (.43)	401 (.13)
Attended college …			2,392 (.39)	982 (.33)	813 (.24)	597 (.10)

Note.—Survey weighted means (included in parentheses below raw frequencies) represent the percentage of each group that is estimated to belong to each of the gender identity categories.

TABLE 2

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Identification as Transgender and Gender Nonconforming by Birth Cohort (%)

	Transgender	Gender Nonconforming	Cross-Model Differences
Predicted probabilities:			
1935–44 …….	.34	.08	.26*** (.04)
1945–54 …….	.29	.05	.24*** (.02)
1955–64 …….	.35	.08	.26*** (.03)
1965–74 …….	.35	.06	.29*** (.03)
1975–84 …….	.35	.09	.26*** (.03)
1985–94 …….	.48	.21	.27*** (.04)
1995–2001 ……..	.77	.37	.40*** (.10)
Average discrete changes:			
[1945–54] – [1935–44] …….	−.05 (.04)	−.03 (.02)	−.02 (.04)
[1955–64] – [1945–54] …….	.05 (.04)	.03+ (.02)	.02 (.04)
[1965–74] – [1955–64] …….	<.01 (.04)	−.02 (.02)	.03 (.04)
[1975–84] – [1965–74] …….	<.01 (.04)	.03 (.02)	−.03 (.04)
[1985–94] – [1975–84] …….	.13** (.05)	.12*** (.03)	.01 (.06)
[1995–2001] – [1985–94] …..	29*** (.09)	.16*** (.06)	.12 (.11)

Note.—Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.

TABLE 3

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Identification as Transgender and Gender Nonconforming by Sex Assigned at Birth and Cohort (%)

	Assigned Male at Birth (1)	Assigned Female at Birth (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……..	.43	.28	.15* (.08)	
b) 1945–54 ……..	.41	.20	21*** (.05)	
c) 1955–64 ……..	.49	.21	.28*** (.06)	*f*
d) 1965–74 ……..	.42	.29	.12* (.05)	
e) 1975–84 ……..	.42	.29	.12* (.06)	
f) 1985–94 ……..	.52	.44	.07 (.07)	*c*
g) 1995–2001 …….	.83	.71	.12 (.16)	
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] …..	−.02 (.07)	−.08 (.06)	.06 (.08)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] …..	.08 (.07)	.02 (.03)	.06 (.08)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] ……	−.08 (.07)	.08+ (.04)	−.15+ (.08)	
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] …..	<.01 (.08)	−<.01 (.05)	<.01 (.08)	
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] ……	.10 (.09)	.16* (.06)	−.05 (.09)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] …	.31* (.19)	.26** (.10)	.05 (.18)	

Note.—Marginal effects of sex assigned at birth across birth cohorts. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which sex gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.

TABLE 4

Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Transgender Identification by Race/Ethnicity and Cohort (%)

	Nonwhite (1)	White (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……	.42	.32	.09 (.13)	*g*
b) 1945–54 ……	.45	.24	.21** (.08)	*g*
c) 1955–64 ……	.45	.30	.14+ (.08)	*g*
d) 1965–74 ……	.45	.29	.15* (.06)	*g*
e) 1975–84 ……	.45	.27	.17** (.06)	*g*
f) 1985–94 ……	.51	.46	.06 (.07)	*g*
g) 1995–2001 ……..	.59	.95	−.36* (.16)	*a, b, c, d, e, f*
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……	.03 (.15)	−.08* (.04)	.12 (.15)	*m*
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] …….	−<.01 (.11)	.06 (.03)	−.07 (.11)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] …….	<.01 (.09)	−.01 (.04)	.01 (.10)	*m*
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……	<.01 (.07)	−.02 (.04)	.02 (.09)	*m*
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] …….	.07 (.07)	.18*** (.06)	−.15 (.09)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ….	.07 (.12)	.49*** (.13)	−.42* (.18)	*h, j, k*

Note.—Marginal effects of race/ethnicity across birth cohorts. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which race/ethnicity gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.

TABLE 5

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Gender Nonconforming Identification by Race/Ethnicity and Cohort (%)

	Nonwhite (1)	White (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……..	.22	.04	.17 (.11)	
b) 1945–54 ……..	.08	.04	.04^{+} (.02)	
c) 1955–64 ……..	.15	.05	.10* (.05)	
d) 1965–74 ……..	.10	.03	.06* (.03)	
e) 1975–84 ……..	.12	.07	.05 (.04)	
f) 1985–94 ……..	.20	.22	−.01 (.06)	
g) 1995–2001 …….	.33	.42	−.10 (.10)	
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……..	−.14 (.11)	<.01 (.01)	−.14 (.11)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] ……	.07 (.05)	.01 (.01)	.06 (.05)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] ……..	−.05 (.05)	−.02 (.01)	−.03 (.05)	
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……..	.02 (.04)	.03* (.02)	−.01 (.05)	
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] ……	.09 (.05)	.14*** (.04)	−.06 (.07)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ……	.12 (.08)	.21** (.08)	−.09 (.11)	

Note.—Marginal effects of race/ethnicity across birth cohorts. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which race/ethnicity gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

$^{+}P \leq .10$.

$^{*}P \leq .05$.

$^{**}P \leq .01$.

$^{***}P \leq .001$.

TABLE 6

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Transgender Identification by College Attendance and Cohort (%)

	No College (1)	Attended College (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……..	.44	.25	.20* (.08)	*g*
b) 1945–54 ……..	.42	.22	.20*** (.05)	*g*
c) 1955–64 ……..	.47	.25	22*** (.06)	*g*
d) 1965–74 ……..	.57	.22	.36*** (.07)	
e) 1975–84 ……..	.50	.26	.24*** (.07)	*g*
f) 1985–94 ……..	.63	.39	.24** (.08)	
g) 1995–2001 …….	1.09	.50	.60*** (.17)	*a, b, c, e*
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……..	−.03 (.08)	−.03 (.04)	−<.01 (.09)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] ……	.06 (.07)	.04 (.03)	.02 (.08)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] ……..	.10 (.08)	−.04 (.04)	.14 (.09)	*m*
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……..	−.07 (.08)	.04 (.04)	−.12 (.09)	*m*
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] ……	.13 (.09)	.13* (.05)	<.01 (.10)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ……	.47** (.17)	.11 (.08)	.35^{+} (.19)	*j, k*

Note.—Marginal effects of college attendance across birth cohorts. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which college attendance gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

$^{+}P \leq .10$.

$^{*}P \leq .05$.

$^{**}P \leq .01$.

$^{***}P \leq .001$.

TABLE 7

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Gender Nonconforming Identification by College Attendance and Cohort (%)

	No College (1)	Attended College (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……..	.14	.02	.11* (.05)	
b) 1945–54 ……..	.06	.05	.02 (.02)	
c) 1955–64 ……..	.10	.07	.03 (.03)	
d) 1965–74 ……..	.08	.05	.03 (.02)	
e) 1975–84 ……..	.09	.08	.01 (.03)	
f) 1985–94 ……..	.21	.21	−<.01 (.07)	
g) 1995–2001 …….	.38	.37	.01 (.10)	
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……..	−.08 (.05)	.02* (.01)	−.10+ (.05)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] ……	.04 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.01 (.03)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] ……	−.02 (.03)	−.02 (.02)	<.01 (.04)	
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……..	.02 (.03)	.04 (.03)	−.02 (.04)	
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] ……	.11* (.05)	.13*** (.04)	−.01 (.07)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ……	.17* (.04)	.16* (.08)	.01 (.11)	

Note.—Marginal effects of college attendance across birth cohorts. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which college attendance gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.

TABLE 8

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Transgender Identification by Cohort, Sex Assigned at Birth, and Race/Ethnicity (%)

	Assigned Male at Birth, Nonwhite (1)	Assigned Male at Birth, White (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……..	.52	.41	.12 (.17)	
b) 1945–54 ……..	.65	.33	.32* (.15)	
c) 1955–64 ……..	.66	.42	.25 (.15)	
d) 1965–74 ……..	.53	.34	.19* (.09)	
e) 1975–84 ……..	.56	.30	.26** (.09)	
f) 1985–94 ……..	.57	.47	.10 (.09)	
g) 1995–2001 …….	.76	.90	−.14 (.27)	
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] ……..	.12 (.21)	−.08 (.05)	.20 (.22)	
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] ……	.02 (.02)	.08+ (.05)	−.07 (.21)	
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] ……	−.13 (.17)	−.07 (.05)	−.06 (.18)	
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] ……..	.03 (.12)	−.04 (.06)	.07 (.13)	
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] ……	.01 (.11)	.17* (.08)	−.16 (.14)	
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] ……	.18 (.20)	.43* (.21)	−.25 (.29)	

Note.—Marginal effects of sex assigned at birth and race/ethnicity across cohorts—respondents assigned male at birth. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which race/ethnicity gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.

TABLE 9

Predicted Probabilities and Average Discrete Changes for Transgender Identification by Cohort, Sex Assigned at Birth, and Race/Ethnicity (%)

	Assigned Female at Birth, Nonwhite (1)	Assigned Female at Birth, White (2)	Gap between (1) and (2) (3)	Contrast in Gaps (4)
Predicted probabilities:				
a) 1935–44 ……..	.34	.26	.08 (.20)	*g*
b) 1945–54 ……..	.29	.16	.12* (.06)	*g*
c) 1955–64 ……..	.24	.20	.04 (.06)	*g*
d) 1965–74 ……..	.37	.25	.12 (.08)	*g*
e) 1975–84 ……..	.34	.25	.10 (.07)	*g*
f) 1985–94 ……..	.45	.44	.01 (.10)	*g*
g) 1995–2001 …….	.41	1.01	−.60*** (.17)	*a, b, c, d, e, f*
Average discrete changes:				
h) [1945–54] – [1935–44] …..	−.06 (.20)	−.10* (.06)	.04 (.20)	*m*
i) [1955–64] – [1945–54] ……	−.05 (.08)	.04 (.03)	−.08 (.08)	*m*
j) [1965–74] – [1955–64] ……	.13 (.09)	.04 (.05)	.08 (.10)	*m*
k) [1975–84] – [1965–74] …..	−.02 (.09)	<.01 (.06)	−.03 (.11)	*m*
l) [1985–94] – [1975–84] ……	.11 (.10)	.19* (.08)	−.08 (.12)	*m*
m) [1995–2001] – [1985–94] …	.04 (.12)	.57*** (.16)	−.61** (.20)	*h, i, j, k, l*

Note.—Marginal effects of sex assigned at birth and race/ethnicity across cohorts—respondents assigned female at birth. Estimates presented as percentages for legibility. Column 4 reports which race/ethnicity gaps are significantly different across cohorts (second differences). SEs are in parentheses. Two-tailed significance tests.

+ $P \leq .10$.

* $P \leq .05$.

** $P \leq .01$.

*** $P \leq .001$.