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[Introduction to] Black Lives and Bathrooms: Racial and Gendered Reactions to Minority Rights Movements.

J. E. Sumerau

Eric A. Grollman

University of Richmond, egrollma@richmond.edu

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Introduction

Shawna¹ was a teenager living in Sanford, Florida when Trayvon Martin was killed by George Zimmerman in the same city in 2012. As she explained to a group of other students on a college campus in the spring of 2018, news of the murder, “Swept through the schools and neighborhoods, and I remember feeling even more conscious of my blackness and what that could mean to other people.” An African-American, bisexual, cisgender woman in her early twenties now, Shawna completed high school and came to college interested in learning about Black history and engaging online and at events with Black Lives Matter movement efforts. As she put it on that spring day in conversation with other students, “I never met Trayvon, but I recognized what happened to him on a deep level that called me to do something.”

In another part of the country, Luca was starting their early twenties in 2012 when they began identifying as a nonbinary transgender person, presenting themselves in an androgynous fashion at a small college in the Midwest, and beginning medical procedures to adjust aspects of their body that, as they put it, “Never fit right.” As Luca explained over drinks at a tea shop in Chicago in the summer of 2018, “Those early days when I was kind of in transition physically and with my appearance taught me a lot about bathroom politics. I don’t think I ever really understood how hard it could be to just go to the bathroom if you did not fit into the segregated ideas of men or women only.” As a white, queer, nonbinary transgender person, Luca has worked in the years since with groups seeking to obtain bathroom access for transgender people of all types and educate cisgender others on transgender experience. As they put it after a small sip of tea on that summer afternoon, “I just felt like it was never going to get any better if I didn’t do something, and I found others who felt the same way.”

While Shawna and Luca represent people invested in two major social movements taking place at the same time in the contemporary United States, Sandy lives her life at the intersection of both of these movements. As an African-American, heterosexual, transgender woman living in the northeast, Sandy navigates a social context where, as she put it sitting on a bench in an urban area on a break from work in the summer of 2018, “Both Black and trans people are under attack, or at least it feels that way, every day.” Like many people, Sandy spends much of her spare time working online and within groups seeking community action and solutions for these issues while navigating work and personal spaces in real life where these issues feel omnirelevant. As she put it on that summer afternoon, “You got to do whatever you can to get by because what else can you do. I mean, it just feels like you’re not really okay anywhere, either white or cis supremacy, or both, are going to come around no matter where you’re at.”

Each of these stories reflect a common thread in much social movements scholarship (Reger et al. 2008; Rohlinger 2006; Schrock et al. 2004; Ray et al. 2017). Put simply, researchers have often examined the ways people become active in social movements in relation to their own social locations within systems of race, sex, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and other identities (see also Almeida and Chase-Dunn 2018; Amenta and Polletta 2019; Wang, Piazza, and Soule 2018). Further, researchers have often focused on the ways people in social movements narrate their introduction to and participation within such movements over time. In fact, researchers have noted how the combination of individual and collective identities often forms the basis and foundation for movement activity, cohesion, commitment, and overall participation (Polletta and Jasper 2001). While such literature, as well as the stories shared above, has dramatically expanded our understandings of social movements and the ways people become active within them in different ways, researchers have spent much less time examining the ways people who are not affiliated with a given movement respond to such endeavors (see also Mathers et al. 2018; Sumerau and Cragun 2018; Sumerau et al. 2017).

As we have noted elsewhere (Sumerau and Grollman 2018), this pattern mirrors broader social scientific scholarship wherein researchers typically focus on the members of groups marginalized by a given system of inequality (see also McDermott and Sampson 2005; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009; Schwalbe et al. 2000). When scholars focus on race or racial movements, for example, such work is more likely to focus on Black people and other people of color harmed by racism and seeking to challenge white supremacy rather than on the white people who benefit from the system (Bonilla-Silva 2018). Likewise, when scholars focus on sexualities, such work much more often focuses on the experiences and movement efforts of sexual minorities than the ways heterosexuals respond to and benefit from systems of heterosexual privilege or react to such movements (Schrock et al. 2014). Recognizing

these patterns, scholars including but not limited to those cited above have emphasized the importance of flipping this script to examine how people who benefit from an existing system of inequality respond to attempts to shift or change such systems in various ways (Collins 2005 and 2015).

In the case of social movements, this type of shift raises many interesting questions that rarely receive attention in current literatures. Considering that much literature focuses on the ways movement participants frame or define the aims of a given movement or political policy (Rohlinger 2014), for example, how do people not affiliated with a given movement define or frame movements they encounter in relation to their own lives and social locations? Similarly, since much social movements research shows that participants' racial, classed, gendered, sexual, religious, and other beliefs and identities influence the shapes and forms movements take (Broad 2011), how might the race, class, gender, sexual, religious, or other beliefs and identities of people outside these movements impact how said people react to such movements? Further, as prior studies show that major social events and media coverage can impact movement funding and tactics (Rohlinger, Pederson, and Valle 2015), how do people outside of movements utilize and make sense of coverage such movements receive when developing their own opinions of these political efforts, social groups, or organized political activities? While these are only a few of the questions studies focused on non-movement participants' reactions to social movements could uncover, they suggest that understanding social movements within society necessarily requires not only studying how they operate, but also how outsiders react to these efforts.

Building on work we've done elsewhere (Sumerau and Cragun 2018; Sumerau and Grollman 2018), here we focus on the ways people who are unaffiliated with two major social movements make sense of these movements in their own words and within the context of their own social locations and lives. Throughout this book, we argue that such efforts emerge as people draw upon their own beliefs and identities related to race, class, gender, and sexuality to frame minority movements in specific ways that justify existing systems of racial, class, sexual, and gender inequality (see also Mathers et al. 2018). Specifically, we highlight the ways their reactions to and conceptualizations of minority movements rely upon and reinforce their own privileged positions within existing social systems. In so doing, our analyses throughout this book demonstrates the importance of examining the ways non-social movement members make sense of minority movements seeking to challenge existing social norms.

THE STUDY

In this book, we explore the ways people who are not active in two specific minority-rights-based social movements make sense of those movements. In developing the study, we drew upon studies noted above that suggest such analyses may be useful and important to both social movement and minority-based scholarship. For example, researchers have noted that we only often learn anything about the outcomes of social movement efforts via proxy measures including but not limited to policy changes, attitudinal studies, and retrospective narratives after a given specific movement has ceased operation (see, e.g., Fetner 2008; Heath 2012; Reger et al. 2008). Such studies, however, do not demonstrate the ways people respond to a social movement, as Bonilla-Silva (2018) puts it, “in situ” or in the moment, but rather provide a record of continuity and change that “could have possibly” (i.e., predicted probabilities and explanations there of as the data and interpretive source) been impacted by movement activities (see Adamczyk 2017; Sumerau and Grollman 2018; Worthen 2013). In this book, we seek to begin the process of examining the space between movement activities and after-the-fact analyses by outlining the ways people respond to such movements in their own words and in relation to current circumstances (see also Sumerau and Cragun 2018).

To this end, we explicitly designed our study around two contemporary minority social movements with active presences on social media, regular commentary in mainstream media, and current engagement on college campuses throughout the U.S. First, we focused on the Black Lives Matter movement founded as a movement and non-profit organization in 2012 following the death of Trayvon Martin (Khan-Cullors and Bandelle 2018). We selected this movement because it centralizes contemporary race relations in the U.S. and provide a rallying point for both commentators seeking to challenge white supremacy in the nation and commentators seeking to promote arguments that white supremacy is a thing of the past (Ray et al. 2017). Put simply, the movement and its activities receive attention from each side of current racial debates in the U.S., and as a result, provide a flashpoint of controversy, discussion, and debate within and beyond varied social groups today (Jackson and Welles 2016).

Second, we focused on the modern movement for transgender civil rights started in the 1990s with an explicit focus on the push for transgender bathroom access in the U.S. (Stryker 2008; Stryker and Aizura 2013; Stryker and Whittle 2016). We selected this case to capture a movement gaining similar attention to Black Lives Matter and creating significant tensions concerning sex and gender in mainstream political and media discussions (Serano 2016 and 2013). We further focused on the bathroom access aspect of this movement because this topic has garnered increasing attention in media, political campaigns, on college campuses, and in social media in the past decade

(Mathers 2017a; Stone 2018; Sumerau and Mathers 2019). Finally, we selected this movement due to survey findings noting that, at present, transgender people are the most negatively rated population in U.S. society by both religious and nonreligious populations (Cragun and Sumerau 2015, 2017; Grant et al. 2011; James et al. 2016; Sumerau and Mathers 2019; Worthen 2013). Put simply, we sought to utilize this case as another example, like Black Lives Matter, of a movement garnering significant attention and representing a significant political debate at the present stage of U.S. history.

Throughout this book, we utilize these two movements as case studies for examining the ways people outside of a given movement make sense of such groups and efforts in society. To this end, we specifically built this work around a sample of respondents who all identified as white and cisgender (i.e., outside of the populations most associated with the two movements). Specifically, the first author collected in-depth, semi-structured interviews with all respondents concerning their thoughts, feelings, and opinions about the Black Lives Matter and Transgender Bathroom Access movements wherein respondents were given latitude to talk about as much or little as they wished to share. Following Bonilla-Silva (2018), we adopted this approach in order to capture how people made sense of the topics of interest in their own words, within the context of their own current information and lived experiences, and in relation to their own desires to discuss or comment on the subjects in question (see also Sumerau and Cragun 2018).

Although we have utilized a bigger data set from this study that includes respondents of color in other works,² we focus specifically on the white and cisgender respondents in this book. We do this for two interrelated reasons. First, we sought to understand how people who are not part of the movements made sense of the movements in question. Although the people of color we interviewed as part of the larger study were mixed in their participation in one or the other movement, none of the white cisgender respondents were members of either of the movements or considered themselves to be active or involved in either movement. However, despite not identifying as part of either movement, our respondents were split on their initially stated opinions on the movements (i.e., for or against) rather than wholly against or wholly supportive of the movements in question. Their own narration of their thoughts on these movements thus provides examples of people outside of movement groups responding to and making sense of such movements in relation to their own experiences.

Second, we sought to understand how people who benefit from existing systems of social inequality respond to minority-based efforts to challenge or change such systems. If, for example, one is socialized into white and/or cisgender identities throughout the course of their lives, then existing research would hypothesize that it would be difficult for such persons to understand or appreciate the experiences of Black and/or transgender others in

society (see, e.g., Collins 2005; Crenshaw 1989; James et al. 2017; Sumerau and Mathers 2019). Focusing on the dominants within the systems movement participants are challenging thus provides an opportunity to see how white and cisgender people experience and make sense of racial and gender inequalities that benefit them in society at present, and how such interpretations become relevant when minority groups push for change to such systems. As such, our respondents reveal some ways white and cisgender people may utilize their own racial and gender privilege when responding to movements seeking racial and/or gender change.

Finally, it is important to note that we specifically selected current college students for these interviews for two reasons. First, we sought to gather information from people who are currently being exposed to the latest information scientific and educational systems have on racial and gender history, politics, and experiences in the nation. We sought this opportunity because it may create a baseline for how other white cisgender people with more or less exposure to educational and scientific materials may respond to a given minority movement. Second, we sought to garner reactions from a population typically seen as moderate to more liberal leaning (i.e., young adults gaining a college education) in existing societal debates about race, class, sex, gender, sexualities, and other social factors (Bonilla-Silva 2018; Sumerau and Cragun 2018; Worthen 2013). Once again, we did this because it may allow for the establishment of a baseline for the ways others across the political spectrum may respond to minority movements in relation to their own social locations. In sum, we sought to establish what might be a moderate reaction to minority movements by people who are not associated with such movements and benefit from the systems those movements are challenging at present.

From this starting point, our study explores the ways cisgender white college students make sense of current movements for racial and gender change in the U.S. While scholars often focus on the ways members of minority movements seek to gain support and attention from people in the broader society (Reger et al. 2008), we focus on the ways those potential supporters respond to and make sense of movement efforts, representations in the media, and the issues at the heart of such political and social debates. Likewise, whereas much scholarship focuses on the ways movements frame or define themselves (Rohlinger 2014), here we focus on the ways people outside of movements frame movements in relation to their own social locations, experiences, and opinions about social norms and groups. Throughout this book, we argue that understanding social movements requires not only examining the work of movements, but also the efforts of those beyond the movement to make sense of and respond to such endeavors.

FRAMING RACIAL AND GENDER MINORITY MOVEMENTS

To accomplish these goals, we draw upon existing work in social movement, race, and gender fields. Although social movement research generally focuses on the work of movement organizations, participants, and leaders, such work also reveals the importance of ascertaining both how movements define themselves and how others interpret such efforts of self-definition (Benford and Snow 2000; Ghaziani, Taylor, and Stone 2016; Inclan 2018; Reger et al. 2008). Likewise, although racial and gender scholars mostly focus on the doings and outcomes of racial and gender systems beyond the contexts of specific movements, such work reveals how people's definitions of race and gender shape much of their ongoing lives, perceptions of society, and reactions to racial and gender others (Avishai 2008 and 2016; Barrett-Fox 2016; Bonilla-Silva 2018; Collins 1997; Hunter and Robinson 2016; Pitt 2010; Ridgeway 2011; Robinson 2008; Vidal-Ortiz, Robinson, and Khan 2018; Wingfield and Feagin 2012). In this section, we outline how work in these fields provides a background for the rest of the book.

In the first case, Erving Goffman (1974) outlined the ways that people, individually and collectively, defined what was going on in a given situation by "framing" the terms of a given social setting, group, or other phenomenon in specific ways. Rather than just the way things are, Goffman (1974) and many Interactionists since (see Schwalbe et al. 2000 for examples) have outlined how people construct, revise, and otherwise negotiate what a given situation, identity, structure, or other social phenomenon means by mobilizing existing notions of who we are and how we do things in particular ways (see also Collins 2005; Ridgeway 2011; Schrock et al. 2014; Wingfield and Taylor 2016). As such, people negotiate interactional and structural realities throughout their lives by framing or defining what is going on here and how things should be.

Building on these insights, social movement scholars have demonstrated how movement organizations, participants, and leaders frame or define themselves and social issues in particular ways to resonate with the broader public (Benford and Snow 2000). Specifically, movements rely upon the construction and dissemination of a clear, easily understandable narrative concerning what is going on in society, how they seek to change it, and why it matters (Rohlinger 2014). Researchers have outlined such efforts—as well as the contents of frames—in cases as varied as allies to LGBT people (Broad 2011) and proponents of specific environmental policies (Almeida and Stearnes 1998). In so doing, social movement scholars have demonstrated that much movement activity, longevity, success, and/or failure revolves around their abilities—or lack there of—to frame causes and issues in ways that resonate with the broader public and encourage said public to take action

(see also Reger et al. 2008 for more examples). Although such work offers a multitude of methods whereby movements frame social issues, researchers have also, as Goffman (1974) suggested, increasingly noted that similar actions are undertaken by individuals and groups beyond the contexts of organized movements.

Throughout this book, we take up this observation by examining the space between scholarship focused on the ways movements define themselves for others and research focused on the ways people define and present themselves as individuals and groups in every day social interactions (see also Sumerau and Cragun 2018). To this end, we draw on the ways movements work to frame themselves for audiences to examine how people who may be considered part of the audiences in question in turn frame said movements. At the same time, we draw on the ways individuals and groups construct and perform social identities to examine how people then utilize these socially constructed self-impressions to make sense of movement groups active within their social world. To this end, we take from the above noted social movements scholarship and integrate such work with existing scholarship on gendered and racial meaning making in daily life and in relation to broader social norms and expectations.

In fact, exploring the ways that people frame, or define, taken-for-granted aspects of social life, West and Fenstermaker (1995) argued that such endeavors arise from people, individually and collectively, drawing upon existing societal definitions of what it means to be a given “thing” or how the world is supposed to operate, and then reproducing or doing these things in their own lives. Specifically, this often involves people learning what it means to be or do a given aspect of social life, and then holding themselves and others accountable for conforming to that shared, as Goffman (1974) put it, “definition of the situation” in their interactions with other people and social structures (see also West and Zimmerman 1987; Ridgeway 2011; Sumerau and Mathers 2019). In this way, as Ridgeway (2011) demonstrated in broad-scale studies of gender in the workplace, people learn to frame social phenomena in a certain way that allows them to then do or perform such phenomena throughout their lives and maintain such frames by expecting others to do the same.

As noted above, throughout this book we focus on two such social phenomena—race and gender. Specifically, we focus on the ways people draw upon existing frames or definitions of race and gender to then make sense of minority movements seeking to reframe these issues. To this end, it is important to be aware of the ways race and gender are framed in the broader society because these definitions, as scholars in racial (Bonilla-Silva 2018) and gender (Ridgeway 2011) studies note, provide the symbolic resources that allow people to make sense of and respond to any racial or gender phenomena that enters their realm of social activity (see also Allen and

Randolph 2020; Collins 2005). As such, we now turn to insights from racial and gender scholarship focused on the experiences of Black, trans, and Black trans people in contemporary U.S. society to provide background for the analyses contained throughout the rest of this book.

Turning to racial frames in the contemporary United States, scholars have increasingly noted the persistence of racial stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination despite systemic shifts race relations in the U.S. over time (see, e.g., Alexander 2012; Bonilla-Silva 2018; Collins 2005; Combahee River Collective 1977; Wingfield 2013 for reviews). Specifically, researchers have pointed out that people of color, and especially Black Americans, are often depicted in derogatory and stereotypical ways throughout U.S. media even as some, more positive, representations have emerged over time. Further, researchers have noted that, despite gains made during and following the Civil Rights Movement, Black Americans continue to face significant discrimination in every major area of U.S. society, and continue to experience worse outcomes in comparison to white Americans on most indicators of social well-being (see, e.g., Grollman 2012; Reskin 2012; Sewell 2017 for reviews). As Collins (2005) notes, such patterns reflect a period of “new racism” wherein Black Americans continue to face disproportionate disparities throughout society, but where such results are tied more closely to less visible denigration of racial minorities than the more overt forms of the past (see also Wingfield and Feagin 2012; Wingfield and Taylor 2016; Wingfield 2011 and 2008).

Examining these patterns utilizing in-depth interviews, Bonilla-Silva (2018) outlined how such patterns emerge from a social norm he refers to as “colorblind racism” wherein whites continue to engage in racial prejudice and discrimination of the past while at the same time framing race, racism, and white supremacy as problems that have ceased to exist (see also Picca and Feagin 2007). Even as research and media reports continue to document consistent marginalization of Black Americans throughout the U.S. (see also Pager and Shephard 2008; Ray et al. 2017; Sewell et al. 2016; Stewart, Cobb, and Keith 2019) and continuing—and potentially increasing—visibility of white supremacist movements (see, e.g., Blee 2017; Ferber 2000; Peters and Besley 2017), researchers find that white Americans downplay, dismiss, or oppose attempts to combat racism by framing such problems as a thing of the past.

In this book, we continue this line of work by outlining how white college students in the U.S. make sense of a movement specifically seeking to challenge both the notion that racism is a thing of the past and the ongoing marginalization and discrimination faced by Black populations in the U.S. To this end, we investigate reactions to an explicitly Black social movement from people who would have to experience significant change if the movement were successful in its goals. Especially as our respondents benefit,

consciously or otherwise and regardless of intentions, from the existing racial structure of the U.S., this provides an opportunity to ascertain how those in privileged racial positions respond to challenges to such privilege occurring within the context of their own lives and in relation to their present circumstances.

At the same time, Black Feminist scholars (see Collins 2005, 2015; Crenshaw 1989 for reviews) have long noted that understanding race requires paying attention to gender and other social systems that impact racial meanings, inequalities, and issues in society (see also Allen 2019; Brown 2009; Gurusami 2019 and 2017 for examples). Especially as Black Lives Matter represents a movement started by queer women of color and engages with other gender and racial justice movements including but not limited to the Say Her Name campaign, this factor is especially salient in our examination of cisgender white people's reactions to and understandings of minority movements. As such, we pay attention to the ways gender becomes relevant in reactions to the Black Lives Matter movement throughout our analysis, and further examine how the same cisgender white people respond to increasingly visible Transgender movement activities related to bathroom access in the U.S.

Turning to gender framing in contemporary U.S. social relations, scholars also note a pattern of persistent inequalities coupled with shifts in some aspects of social life (see, e.g., Costello 2016 and 2019; Davis 2013; Miller and Grollman 2015; Padavic and Reskin 2002; Ridgeway 2011; Schrock and Schwalbe 2008; Simula, Sumerau, and Miller 2019; Sweet and Decoteau 2018 for reviews). Specifically, researchers continuously demonstrate that feminine people—whether cis, trans, or otherwise identified—consistently face marginalization, discrimination, and other negative patterns and outcomes throughout contemporary U.S. society. Despite massive gains, especially for cisgender white women, from the Women's Liberation movements of the 1970s, U.S. society continues to fundamentally reflect patriarchal notions of male and man dominated, centered, and identified social organization and power (see, e.g., Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Johnson 2014; Sumerau 2012a for discussion). Although cisgender women have gained more opportunities than at prior historical periods and the current period includes greatly increased transgender representation in media and politics (Robinson 2008; Vidal-Ortiz 2002 and 2009; zamantakis 2019; zamantakis and Sumerau 2019), gender continues to operate alongside race as a fundamental organizing principle of U.S. society that benefits masculine people at the expense of feminine others.

Examining gendered patterns in contemporary U.S. society, Sumerau and Mathers (2019) outline how much of existing gender inequality relies upon the marginalization and disenfranchisement of transgender and gender non-conforming people and options (see also Califia 2012; Doan 2016 and 2017;

Johnson 2015; Johnson and Rogers 2019; Johnson et al. 2020; Shuster 2017 and 2018; Taliferro et al. 2019). Specifically, they outline how U.S. interactional and structural domains are fashioned in ways that encourage people to identify as and “do cisgender” by creating and enforcing social patterns that only allow cisgender existence predicated upon hierarchical divisions between female-women and male-men only. In so doing, the cisgender segregation of all aspects of U.S. life facilitates and relies upon the ongoing distinction of feminine and masculine possibilities, abilities, and experiential opportunities, which maintain the broader persistence of gender inequalities built upon the separation of humans into mutually exclusive sex/gender types (see also Connell 2010; Connell 2009; Pearce 2018; Schilt 2010; Schilt 2016; Schilt and Lagos 2017; Serano 2007).

In this book, we continue this work by examining the ways cisgender white people make sense of transgender people’s attempts to desegregate public bathrooms in the U.S. in terms of sex and gender only a few decades after such spaces were racially desegregated through the movement activities of Black Americans. In so doing, our work here allows for an observation of the ways even political battles more associated with the past (i.e., attempts to desegregate a public space for the benefit of a minority group) involve ongoing movement activity to accomplish. Further, our work here provides an opportunity to examine how cisgender people respond to challenges that could remove structural elements that encourage and facilitate cisgender norms and expectations within the public sphere. As such, our analysis reveals efforts at meaning making by members of privileged groups in response to movements seeking to transform everyday interactional and structural norms that facilitate such privilege.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

With this background in mind, we examine the ways our respondents define these two movements in chapter 1. First, we outline the ways they frame what the two movements stand for and their interpretations of what the movements seek to accomplish. Then, we outline the ways they argue these movements operate based on their own impressions of existing racial and gender issues in society, and what they have seen via media and friend groups. Next, we show how such impressions map onto existing racial and gender stereotypes in contemporary U.S. society. Throughout this chapter, we ask and provide answers for questions concerning what would happen if scholars began to focus on the ways members of the broader public frame minority movements based on their own experiences or ideas.

In chapter 2, we turn our attention to ways our respondents utilize existing notions of minority populations to discredit minority rights movements. Spe-

cifically, we outline how our respondents draw upon racial, classed, gendered, and sexual assumptions and stereotypes to define Black Lives Matter in negative terms and its members as the real threat facing society. Then, we demonstrate how our respondents utilize racial, classed, gendered, and sexual meanings concerning the vulnerability of (presumably cisgender) women and children and the danger of non-white strangers to paint a negative portrait of transgender people seeking bathroom access in public spaces. We further examine how these endeavors draw upon historical and more recent depictions of transgender people and people of color—especially Black people—as dangerous or untrustworthy in comparison to cisgender white Americans.

Chapter 3 builds on the previous chapters by examining the ways our respondents framed terms for—at least limited or conditional—acceptance of minority groups. Specifically, we examine the ways they suggest the movements should behave, and how they argue that conformity to such practices would better achieve movement goals. In so doing, however, we highlight that their suggestions for behavior represent actions unlikely to garner any substantial changes to existing gender and racial inequalities. Rather, their suggestions translate into a code of conduct whereby some minorities might receive support if they were willing to accept inequality instead of fighting against such patterns.

After outlining the ways our respondents made sense of the Black Lives Matter and Transgender Bathroom Access movements in the proceeding chapters, we explore the implications of these findings for minorities and social movements more broadly. Specifically, we ask what it means when efforts to challenge the status quo are met with responses that suggest any attempt to change things is automatically problematic. We further explore what such patterns could mean in relation to, for example, other minority movements, broader patterns in race and gender relations, and the lives of racial and gender minorities in the U.S. In closing, we address each of these issues in relation to both the interviews with our respondents, and existing political and media debates about race and gender in the U.S. today.

NOTES

1. All names used in this book are pseudonyms. The three stories noted here in the introduction derive from the first author's ongoing professional and personal collection of the oral histories of contemporary American sexual and gender minorities (Sumerau 2017). The formal interviews utilized throughout the rest of this book come from a formal interview study of college students perceptions of the Black Lives Matter and Transgender Bathroom Access movements in the U.S.

2. These analyses are available in peer reviewed journal articles we have published together and with co-authors, see Sumerau et al. Forthcoming; Sumerau and Grollman 2018. Other researchers have also begun publishing works concerning reactions from people of color concerning the Black Lives Matter movement, see for example, Ray et al. 2017, and Transgender Bathroom Access efforts, see for example, Sumerau and Mathers 2019.