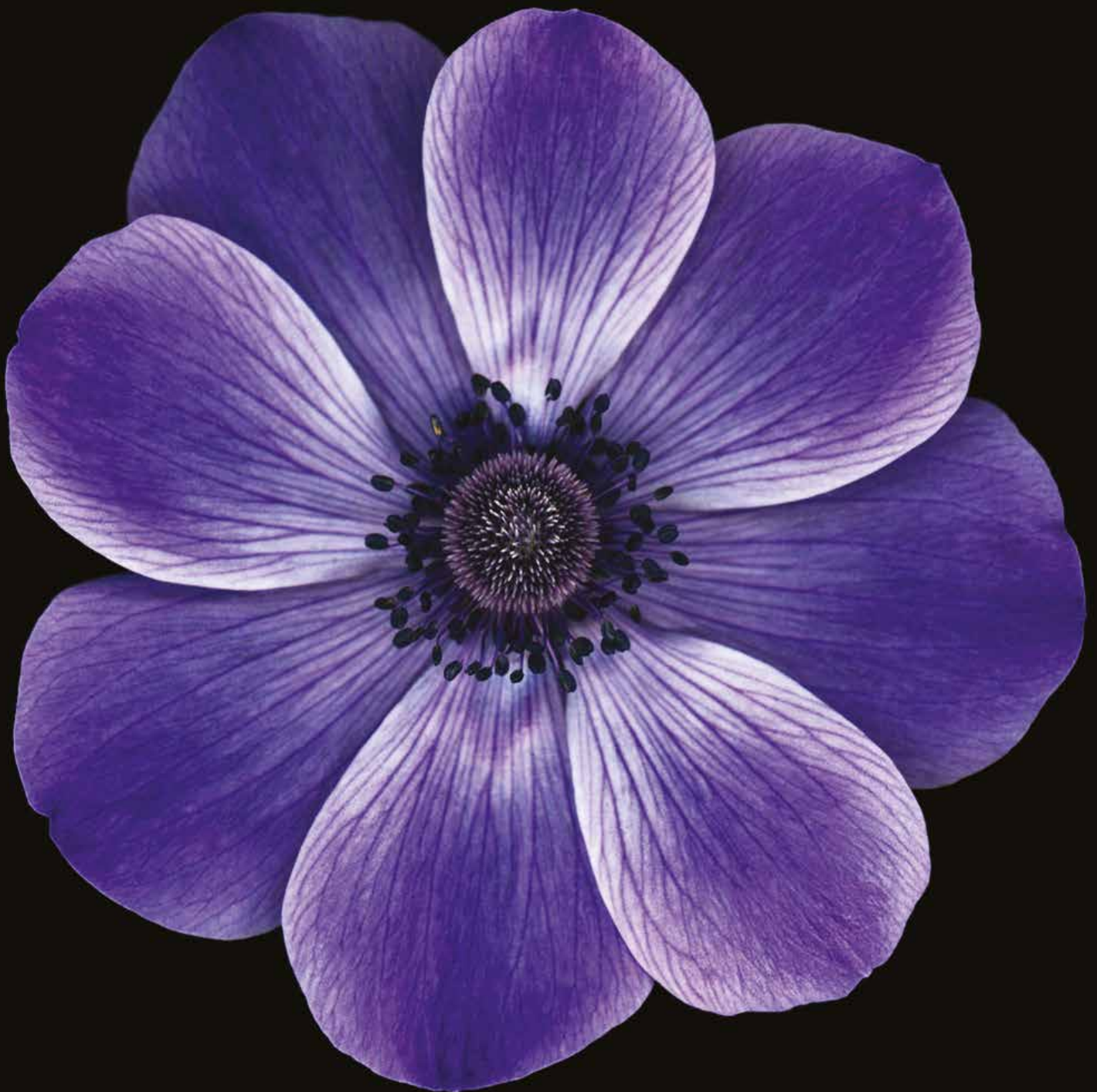


**RememberMe**

**WHO WERE THEY?  
TRANS IDENTITIES AND  
MEMORIALISATION**

**LOUIS BAILEY**



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## **Who Were They? Trans Identities and Memorialisation**

Dr Louis Bailey

University of Hull: Remember Me Project

University of Hull  
Cottingham Road  
Hull  
HU6 7RX  
United Kingdom

<https://remembermeproject.wordpress.com/>

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## *About the Author*

Dr Louis Bailey is a Research Fellow on 'Remember Me' and is leading the Trans case study, 'Who Were They? Trans People and Memorialisation'. His research explores issues of stigma and resilience in relation to transgender experiences across the life course and in relation to ageing and end of life. He was co-author of the Trans Mental Health Study (2012; recipient of the GIRES Research Award) and has published papers on health and social inequalities, suicide prevention, bereavement and memorialisation.



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<sup>1</sup> Deceased 28.8.2017



## Research Highlights

- Language, and accuracy around gendered terms and definitions, emerged as hugely important in relation to the memorialisation of trans people; misgendering and ‘deadnaming’ of the deceased (namely, using a trans person’s birth name instead of their social/legal name) caused significant distress for mourners from the trans community.
- Whilst some welcomed the opportunity for their trans status to be discussed as part of the memorialisation process, others wanted no reference to their previous gendered life. In all cases however, post-social transition identity was to be prioritised when acknowledging a person’s life course (i.e. using preferred pronouns when referencing previous gendered experiences – ‘when he was a girl’ etc).
- Chosen families (those who are not biologically related to the deceased but who have taken on important familial roles) can take on an important role as chief mourners, advocating for the deceased and presenting a necessary challenge to normative grieving practices.
- Memorial events can serve to erase identity, confirm identity and even re-establish identity. As such, this research highlights the notion of a continued and evolving social identity after death as mourners work to re-imagine a person’s identity based on their own understandings and interpretations of the deceased’s lived social gender.
- Active engagement with ritual emerged as an important source of comfort and closure for the bereaved. For mourners denied the opportunity to be involved with any part of the memorialisation process, the need for a ritualistic process or mechanism emerged as a powerful means of coming to terms with, and being able to integrate, loss. As part of this, there may be the need for multiple memorial services in order to cater for the differing needs of bereaved groups and to acknowledge the multi-faceted identities of the deceased.
- Where a trans person’s felt gender was not commemorated after their death, it followed that the person had encountered some resistance to their identity from their birth families when they were still alive. Any tensions and issues became exacerbated after death, particularly in cases where the deceased was young, died unexpectedly and/or had recently transitioned. Where the deceased did not have someone to advocate for their social gender, birth sex was the default option by coroners and funeral professionals.

## Executive Summary

### 1. Background

Whilst there is a growing body of research exploring trans identities and lives, the studies have, without exception, focused on transgenderism as it is experienced, embodied and expressed ‘in life’. This study – focusing on trans identities during the course of memorialisation – is the first research of its kind to explore what happens to trans identities after death. The research explores a previously uncharted field, and highlights the ways in which trans+ people are remembered and their lives commemorated, drawing on the experiences of trans people themselves, as well as family, friends and wider community networks. It raises important questions about gendering over the life course and across the sphere of death vis-à-vis memorialisation practice, contributing to discussions around post-modernity and multiplicity, and challenging normative models of grief through its discussion of chosen family, disenfranchisement and marginality.

### 2. Method

Research was undertaken between November 2016 and November 2017. The study was comprised of three sections - 1) participant-observation at the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance memorial service in Manchester, 2) an online survey with the UK trans population and 3) semi-structured interviews with the bereaved of a trans person who had died. Data was coded and triangulated via NVivo and analysed using thematic analysis.

*i) Transgender Day of Remembrance Service, Manchester (UK):* The Transgender Day of Remembrance (TGDOR) is an annual memorial event which happens in towns and cities around the world in late November. Starting in 1998, the event commemorates those who have been murdered because of their trans status. For this phase of the project, the researcher attended the Manchester TGDOR event on Sunday, November 30<sup>th</sup>. The event was organised by the national transgender charity Sparkle and was held in Sackville Gardens, Manchester. Just over 200 people were in attendance. The researcher observed the event and made extensive field notes both during the formal service and after the subsequent candlelit vigil. Observations centred on the forms of memorial employed and the behaviour of attendees regarding memorial use and associated symbolism. An interview was also conducted with one of the event organisers – the Vice-Chair of the charity Sparkle - regarding the priorities and politics around the event.

*ii) Online Survey:* The second part of the study comprised an online survey which ascertained the views and experiences of the UK trans population regarding memorialisation practices. The survey, conducted via Bristol Online Surveys (BOL) also explored the role of religion, spirituality and ritual in trans and non-binary people’s every days lives. It was launched via Bristol Online Surveys (BOS) on January 16<sup>th</sup> and closed on March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2017. A total of 141 participants accessed the survey, which was promoted via the third sector.

*iii) Interviews:* Following on from the survey, the final part of the study focused on the experiences of family members, friends and significant others of a trans person who had died. The interviews explored the ways in which trans people's identities are represented after death through private memorialisation practices. 14 interviews were conducted in total. After transcription, the interviews were coded via NVivo and analysed using an inductive thematic analysis approach. The interview data was then triangulated with the data from sections one and two.

### 3. Research Findings

- Whilst TGDOR emerged as an important event for building community solidarity and highlighting the international scale of transphobic violence, there is a growing criticism within the trans community that the event serves to whitewash issues of race and poverty.
- Community members were divided over whether TGDOR should only memorialise victims of transphobic murder or should include the names of those who have died from suicide, arguing that suicide deaths are symptomatic of wider systemic erasure and violence.
- In keeping with wider shifts towards secularisation, the majority of survey respondents wanted a humanist service (32%) whilst only 5% a traditional/religious service.
- Just over 1/5<sup>th</sup> of survey respondents had not attended or had been prevented from attending a funeral because of their trans status. A further 20% of respondents had experienced negativity and prejudice at a funeral because of their trans status (n=123).
- Respondents emphasised the positive aspects of being trans and wanted their trans status to be commemorated as just one aspect of their identity.
- There was a tendency for birth families where the deceased had died young to prioritise birth gender over felt gender identity. In contrast, chosen families prioritised a person's socially-defined gender. Where the deceased did not have someone to advocate for their social gender, birth sex was the default option by coroners and funeral professionals.

### 4. Conclusion

This research shows that when it comes to memorialisation the needs of trans people are relatively straightforward – to be acknowledged as their chosen gender. And yet, such a seemingly fundamental request serves to challenge societal norms around gender and, in turn, affects intimate relationships and family dynamics. In the absence of someone to advocate for the wishes of the deceased, a family of origin's 'right' over the identity of the deceased becomes privileged. In cases where a trans person's gender was not accepted, the result serves as a double erasure of selfhood with sometimes devastating consequences both for other mourners and the memory and legacy of the deceased. This data highlights the important role played by the chosen family of the deceased and the need for multiple and complementary memorials in order to honour the nuanced and sometimes multifaceted identities of the deceased.

## 5. Recommendations

- The data highlights the need for coroners and funeral professionals to undertake trans awareness training in order to prioritise a trans person's social gender over bodily status and to recognise the important role that chosen family play in trans people's lives.
- In keeping with the general population (32%), 34% of the trans population had not talked to anyone about their wishes. However, even when respondents felt that a friend or family member would respect their wishes, they still had concerns that other members of their family would not. In addition, there was some confusion over the legal definition of next-of-kin. The data highlights the need for awareness raising within the trans community so that people are informed about their rights at the end of life, and can make active choices about how to ensure their wishes are respected in the event of their death.

## 1. Introduction

Whilst there is a significant body of research exploring trans identities and lives, the studies have, without exception, focused on transgenderism as it is experienced ‘in life’ and, in particular, across the realms of health (Monro, 2000; Lombardi, 2001; Feldman and Bockting, 2003; Hines, 2007; Erickson-Schroth, 2014; Winter et al, 2016), citizenship (Monro and Warren, 2004; Monro, 2005; Hines, 2013), policy (Grant et al, 2010; McNeil et al, 2012; Whittle, 2012), bodies of power (Namaste, 2000; Sharpe, 2002; Whittle, 2007; Namaste, 2011), and cultural life (Ekins and King, 1996; Halberstam, 2005), and in relation to identity (Bullough, 2000; Stryker and Burke, 2000; Hines and Sanger, 2010), embodiment (Elliot and Roen, 1998; Prosser, 1998; Davy, 2016), social relationships (Sanger, 2010) and family life (Pfeffer, 2012; Dierckx et al, 2016). Indeed, the bulk of work that comprises Trans Studies, and discussions of trans vis-a-vis Gender Studies, has examined trans identities solely in relation to lived, and living, experience (Namaste, 1996; Stryker and Whittle, 2006; Butler, 2011).

This study – focusing on trans identities and during the course of memorialisation – is the first in-depth research study to explore what happens to trans identities after death. With the exception of Lamble’s 2008 article which explores the politics surrounding the Transgender Day of Remembrance, this research explores an otherwise uncharted field, focusing on trans remembrance across both the public and private spheres. It highlights the ways in which trans+ people are remembered and their lives commemorated, drawing on the experiences of trans people themselves, as well as family, friends and wider community networks. It raises important questions about gendering over the life course and across the sphere of death vis-à-vis memorialisation practice, contributing to discussions around post-modernity and multiplicity, and challenging normative models of grief through its discussion of chosen family, disenfranchisement and marginality. Central here is a discussion of the ways in which family members and friends of the deceased negotiate memorialisation, highlighting instances where the gender identity of the deceased is not recognised or accepted by the bereaved. This feeds into wider discussions around contested identity and the need to ensure respect for the deceased whilst also maintaining sensitivity towards the bereaved.

## 2. Background

The UK trans population has increased significantly in recent years and continues to rise at an exponential rate (Reed, 2009). The trans population is also much more visible as a result of landmark legal gains and policy protection, medical breakthroughs and a growing wealth of information and support, both online and offline. We are now witnessing the emergence of a new generation of trans people – those entering older age. These are the ‘gender pioneers’ who transitioned a number of years ago as well as the ‘second lifers’ who decide to transition after retirement (Age UK, 2010). Growing trends (predicted by Reed et al to be a doubling of the population every 6 ½ years), mean that coroners, pathologists, mortuary workers and funeral directors will encounter significantly more trans people than ever before but are they equipped to ensure that trans people’s needs are met after death, and to handle any issues that may arise for the bereaved?

The stigma of being trans in contemporary British society remains and it is not unusual for trans people to be estranged from their families of origin or, if they are still in touch, to experience significant fallout or relationship strain (Whittle et al; 2007). As a result, the following scenarios might occur after a trans person dies: families may refuse to accept the person's gender transition; some family members might be aware of the transition, others might not; family members might accept the gender transition when the person was alive but this may change after death. Each scenario will produce a conflict in terms of recognising and respecting a trans person's gender identity post-death.

On an international scale, trans people – and especially trans women of colour – are at significant risk of hate crime and transphobic-motivated murder. The annual Transgender Day of Remembrance is an international event that bears witness to the sheer number of trans people who have lost their lives due to transphobic violence. It is a time for the community to come together to mourn the deceased and to publically mark the honouring of their identities. It serves as a ceremony of resistance in a world that continues to erase trans people's identities and selfhood both during life and after death. This study maps the memorialisation practices of trans people both via private ceremonies and within the public domain, via the Transgender Day of Remembrance.

### 3. Method

The qualitative study is comprised of three parts: 1) Participant-observation at an annual Transgender Day of Remembrance (TGDOR) event, 2) an online survey, and 3) semi-structured interviews. Taken together, these components highlight a different aspect of trans memorialisation: participant-observation at TGDOR providing an important insight into a more public and politically motivated memorial event, whilst the online survey and in-depth interviews highlight the everyday aspects of private commemoration. Whilst the survey ascertains the views and experiences of trans people themselves – revealing the ways in which they would want to be commemorated after death and highlighting their experiences of previous memorial events – the interviews provide a useful snapshot of the bereaved and the ways in which they choose to remember a trans person in their life who has died. Data from each section was coded via NVivo and then triangulated and analysed using thematic analysis.

#### ***Part One: Participant-Observation at the Transgender Day of Remembrance***

The Transgender Day of Remembrance is an annual memorial event which commemorates those who have been killed as a result of transphobia-motivated hate crime. Every year on or around November 20<sup>th</sup> members of the trans community in towns and cities around the world come together to mourn the loss of those who have died on account of their trans status or perceived gender difference. The annual event serves as an important reminder of the sheer amount of violence that is directed towards those whose gender identity or expression does not match prevalent social norms of sex and gender.



The event started in 1998 after the murder of Rita Hester, an African-American woman living in Boston. Rita was misgendered in the resultant press and incorrectly referred to as a 'transvestite', a 'man who....preferred women's clothes', her name placed in quote marks. Sadly, the misgendering of trans people by the media is not uncommon and, in cases where a trans person's death is being reported, misreporting by the media can serve as a double erasure of a trans person's selfhood.. The Transgender Day of Remembrance (TGDOR) is a means of mourning the deceased and ensuring that trans people's gender identities are acknowledged and commemorated after death.

After hearing about the death of Rita Hester, Gwendolyn Ann Smith, a computer programmer in San Francisco, set up the 'Remembering Our Dead' memorial project, an online record of those who die each year as a result of transphobia-motivated violence. Smith then went on to create the first Transgender Day of Remembrance event in San Francisco. The event is a means of according dignity and respect to those lives that are shamed and denied both in life and after death due to deep-seated societal transphobia.

According to the Trans Murder Monitoring project (TGEU,<http://tgeu.org/tmm/>), there were 2115 reported killings of trans and gender variant people in sixty-five countries between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008, and April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016. Of these, 1654 deaths occurred in Central and South America. However, for every one murder case that is reported, there are many more that go unreported. According to the TGEU website, the figures reported are 'only the tip of the iceberg': *'In most countries, data on murdered trans and gender diverse people are not systematically produced, and it is impossible to estimate the numbers of unreported cases'*.

On Sunday, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the researcher attended the annual TGDOR event in Manchester as a participant observer. The event was organised by Sparkle, a national transgender charity (<https://www.sparkle.org.uk/>), and was funded with donations collected from the 2016 Sparkle weekend, held earlier in the year. According to one of the organisers, just over 200 people attended the order of service and around 80 attendees stayed for the candlelit vigil afterwards. Attendees were both trans and cis and comprised a range of ages.

## **Part Two: Online Survey**

The survey component of the study examined trans and non-binary people's experiences of and attitudes towards death and memorialisation. Designed and promoted via Bristol Online Surveys, the survey also explored the role of spirituality, religion and ritual in trans and non-binary people's everyday lives.

The survey (Appendix 3) was disseminated via the Trans and LGB voluntary and community sector, through email contact, news bulletin, poster dissemination and social media promotion (primarily Facebook and Twitter feeds). The survey was circulated to a range of local and regional groups, and national organisations and networks – including the Gender Identity Research and Education Society (GIRE), the Scottish Trans Alliance, Sparkle, the LGBT Foundation, Blackpool Renaissance, the Clare Project, Unity LGBT Centre, Outreach Cumbria, the National LGB&T Partnership, All About Trans and FTM London. A call for participants was also issued to groups focused on intersectional issues and

identities – such as trans faith groups and groups for trans people of colour (Imaan, the Sibyls, Rainbow Noir) – as well as groups focused on supporting families and loved ones (The Beaumont Trust, Depend, Mermaids).

The survey was launched on January 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017, and was open for six weeks until March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2017, and was accessed by a total of 141 participants. It was open to anyone living in the UK who self-identified as trans or non-binary. Participants were asked for their age and gender identity. The first section – on ‘Loss and Bereavement’ – asked respondents whether they had ever experienced a bereavement and, if so, if they had ever had issues attending a funeral service on account of their trans status. Respondents were then asked if they had personally known someone who was trans-identified who has died – how they were connected (allowing for more than one bereavement) and whether they attended a funeral service (with participants to expand on reasons for non-attendance). Participants were then asked if they were involved in planning/contributing to the service, if they experienced any issues during the service, and if they felt that the service accurately represented the gender identity of the deceased. There followed questions about any additional or alternative memorials held, use of mementos and experiences of grief/bereavement support. The next section centred on people’s experiences of and reasons for attending annual Transgender Day of Remembrance services. The third section explored people’s views about death and memorialisation, the ways in which people wanted to be remembered, how much they had thought about their funeral, whether they felt that next of kin would honour their wishes, and their views on type of service and disposal options (burial, cremation etc). The final section – on religion and spirituality – asked about people’s religious affiliation (if any) and experiences of attending a place of worship.

### ***Part Three: Semi-Structured Interviews***

The final part of this study explicitly focuses on the ways in which trans people’s identities and lives are remembered and represented post-death by family members, friends and significant others. The private and everyday memorials dedicated to trans people by both families of origin and chosen families are explored. Attention is paid to potential discrepancies and conflicts between these groups in relation to the acknowledgement and articulation of the gendered wishes and preferences of the deceased.

A total of fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted. Interviewees were selected via a call for participants, which was circulated alongside the online survey to a range of voluntary and community sector groups and third sector networks (described in the survey section above). In addition, the final question in the survey asked respondents if they had known someone who was trans who had died and, if so, they were prepared to talk about the ways in which they have memorialised that person (or people). Interviewees were friends, partners and chosen family of the deceased, predominantly white, with ages ranging from early twenties to mid-seventies. They included (trans)men, (trans)women and non-binary people from a mix of social backgrounds. In turn, the deceased comprised ten trans women, three trans men and one person who was in the early stages of exploring their gender. Their ages ranged from early twenties to mid-seventies. The majority of the deceased were white British but also included those who were white Irish, and mixed race. The



social class of the deceased ranged from working class to solidly middle class. Participants and the deceased were based in the north west, north east, the midlands, London, the south coast and east England. See Figure 1 (Appendix) for Table of Demographics.

## 4. Findings

### 4.1 *The Manchester Transgender Day of Remembrance 2016*

The event was held in Sackville Gardens, Manchester, a park adjacent to Canal Street – where bars and clubs line the street - in the heart of the ‘gay village’. The central path in the park was lined with alternating silver and purple ribbons – the Sparkle colours, which start at the transgender butterfly memorial, passing the Beacon of Hope and the Alan Turing statue and leading to the marquee where the memorial service was held. Upon arrival attendees are given a purple candle (and accompanying white cardboard holder) and have the opportunity to purchase a purple ribbon for a small donation. On the drop-down screen is a PowerPoint presentation showing the names of the 295 people who were murdered as a result of transphobic violence during 2016. The names mostly belong to trans women of colour. Some of the chairs have purple balloons tied to them, which the organisers later reveal are to symbolise the 64 people who died that year but who remained nameless; each person represented with a balloon so that they are ‘present’ and accounted for.

The transgender flag - comprised of a series of stripes of pink to purple through to blue – was raised by the Mayor of Manchester in the park prior to the start of the memorial service. The service opened with a welcome from Annie Wallace, an actress and patron of Sparkle, (who is openly ‘out’ as a trans woman), who laments the fact that the service is still relevant: ‘It saddens me that after 18 years it’s still necessary for our community to come together to mark the deaths of those who have been targeted purely for their gender variance.’ This was followed by a short talk by the Chair of Sparkle who notes that: ‘Society is forever changing and evolving, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse. Two huge political events this year have seen the pendulum swing more towards endorsing hatred and violence in an indirect way. This seems to be aimed at communities that are small in comparison to the world at large. The wider LGB&T community are such a target for some. Although the wider LGB&T community have made some major breakthroughs in spearheading and understanding tolerance amongst the wider world in past years, there is still lots of work to do.’

A young Muslim trans woman then described her experiences of growing up and coming out as trans, detailing the bullying she was subjected to at school for being perceived as ‘effeminate’, and how she was stabbed for being different as a teenager. She went on to describe how she defied her family’s plans for her to marry by coming out as ‘gay’ and the violent beating she received as a result, which forced her to leave home and move away from where she grew up, enduring homelessness. She then detailed how, soon after starting college to follow her dream of studying fashion, she was followed by a van with two men inside who subsequently kidnapped her, tied her up and raped her. Last year, her boyfriend – a gay Muslim from a physically abusive family - committed suicide. Her story is one of hope and resilience and the date marked her one year anniversary since coming out to her family.

The talks throughout the evening are interspersed with music from the Manchester Lesbian and Gay Chorus (songs include 'Something Inside So Strong').

The CEO of the LGBT Foundation – a local charity – starts his talk by saying the refrain (which is repeated throughout the evening): 'We remember them because they were known to us'. Mention is made of the fact that the event is live-streamed because although people want to attend, they are not always able to:

*...somebody had made a message and said that they really wanted to be here today but they weren't strong enough to leave the home and maybe they will be able to do it next year.*

Before saying that

*The reality is that even though today we are mourning more than 295 trans people around the world who have been murdered we are also remembering the fact that transphobia can affect people in lots of very, very difficult and insidious ways, the ways that somebody feels they cannot even have the strength to leave their house.*

He goes on to cite the case of Lucy Meadows, a local teacher, who committed suicide after being outed and vilified by the media simply because of her trans status. An LGBT Book of Remembrance is then placed at the back of the room inside the marquee for attendees to write messages and condolences. The book was started by the LGBT Foundation to commemorate the death of Lucy Meadows.

There followed a talk by a patron of the charity who discusses her own experiences of being attacked whilst out in public before saying that:

*It's not a surprise on a regular basis when a trans friend or acquaintance has taken their own life because they simply couldn't cope any more in this world*

There is a large emphasis within the service on young people and the work of charities focused on trans youth and supporting families of trans and non-binary children and adolescents, with talks from organisers of two trans youth focused charities, as well as young people themselves talking about their experiences.

The Vice-Chair of Sparkle discusses the importance of naming, especially for those 'on the edges of society' who 'slip through the cracks':

*As the accounts of trans homicide across the globe grow so does the number of people who have no name – human beings who are found or laid to rest without their preferred name and gender...Tonight you are more than a file, more than a statistic, you are known to us and you will remain known to us each year, throughout the world, on this day.*

This was followed by a few words given by Manchester's Deputy Police and Crime Commissioner. As we shall see later, the trans community is divided over police presence at TGDOR and other community events, such as Pride. Whilst the presence of the police at TGDOR can serve to create a platform for highlighting issues such as transphobic hate crime as well as potentially strengthening

relations between community and police, if the presence of police oversteps its mark then the results can serve to further disengage the community and weaken trust and rapport.

It is fitting that the service ended with a keynote from a trans woman of colour – who specifically mentioned how trans women of colour are disproportionately affected by transphobic violence, accounting for the majority of the deaths that have been recorded so far. After her talk, the choir ends the service by singing ‘All You Need is Love’. The Mayor of Manchester, Carl Austin-Behan, who is openly gay, also gave a few impromptu words during the service.

After the service, audience members followed a procession to the park gardens and formed a circle around the Transgender Memorial. Attendees were each given a purple candle – purple being the colour used to represent the trans community. Those present are then asked by one of the organisers if they would like to read out some of the names. Around a dozen volunteers are each given a list of up to 30 names to read out during the vigil. The entire vigil comprises the reading aloud the 295 names, where known, of those murdered in 2016 simply because of their trans or gender variant status.

The act of reading aloud the names is particularly important because so often in life and after death the identities of those on the list were erased as a result of transphobia and its effects – mis-naming, mis-gendering. The event of public declaration, the utterance of personal identity, and having public witness is a means of posthumously readdressing this erasure and neglect, of correcting an absence. It is a means of commemorating the deceased for who they were, and for honouring them into the present and into the continued public memory so that their lives, their identities and the violence endured is not forgotten.

After the vigil, the candles are placed onto the two sandboxes which have been positioned near to the Transgender Memorial. Some attendees also placed candles around the adjacent Beacon of Hope Memorial, which commemorates those who have died due to AIDs. The Transgender Memorial was created in 2013 by a local community group - The Friends of Sackville Gardens. It is a sycamore tree carving of a group of butterflies – the butterflies signalling metamorphosis and change, signalling the beauty of transition and transformation. Bouquets of flowers and a wreath were placed at the base of the memorial carving both prior and after the service by community members and local dignitaries. Plaques of other trans people – local and nationally – who have died – have been attached to the memorial by members of the community over the years. Some of the death are as a result of suicide, others due to illness.

After the TGDOR event, the organisers at Sparkle placed the following message on their website:

*Many Trans people were known by their true names within the Trans community, but to others (family, employers etc.) they were known by their previous names. Sadly, so many Trans people are buried with their former names, or are never properly identified - and so, They Were Known to Us.*

## 4.2 Online Survey of UK Trans and Non-Binary People's Experiences of and Attitudes Towards Memorialisation

### Demographics

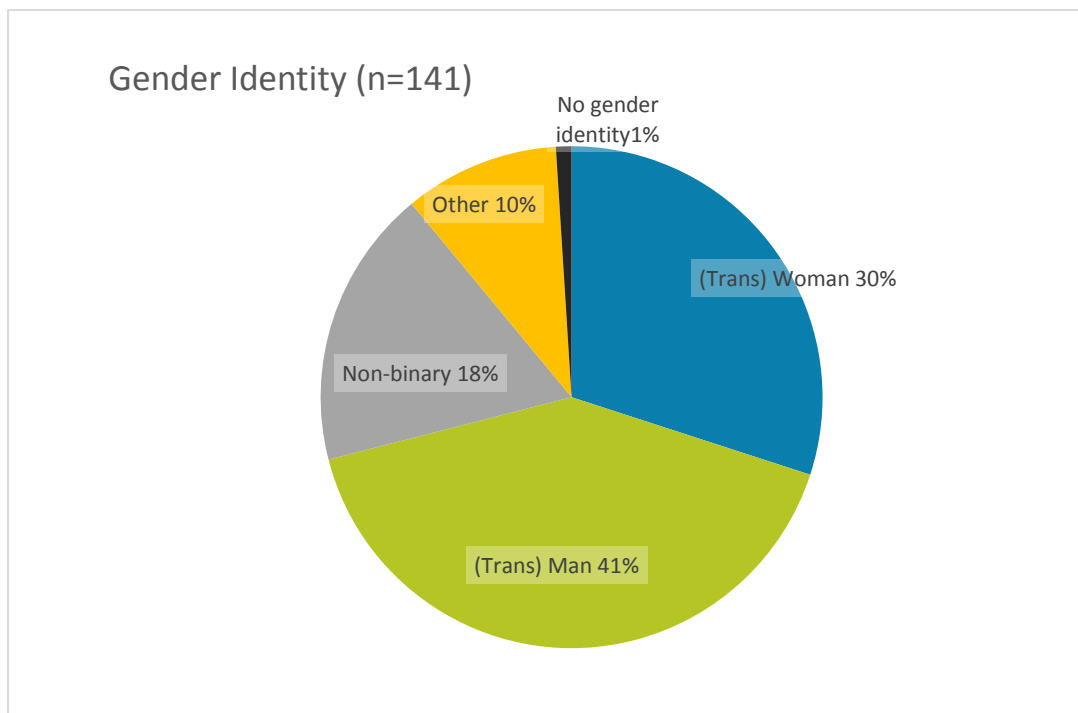


Figure 1: Gender identity of survey respondents.

Of the survey respondents, 41% identified as (trans)men, 30% as (trans)women and 18% as non-binary (n=141). 1% had no gender identity. Where respondents selected 'other', they listed themselves as having multiple gender identities (such as being both a 'trans man' and 'non-binary') or a different identity label to the options presented ('Genderqueer', 'two spirit', 'genderfluid').

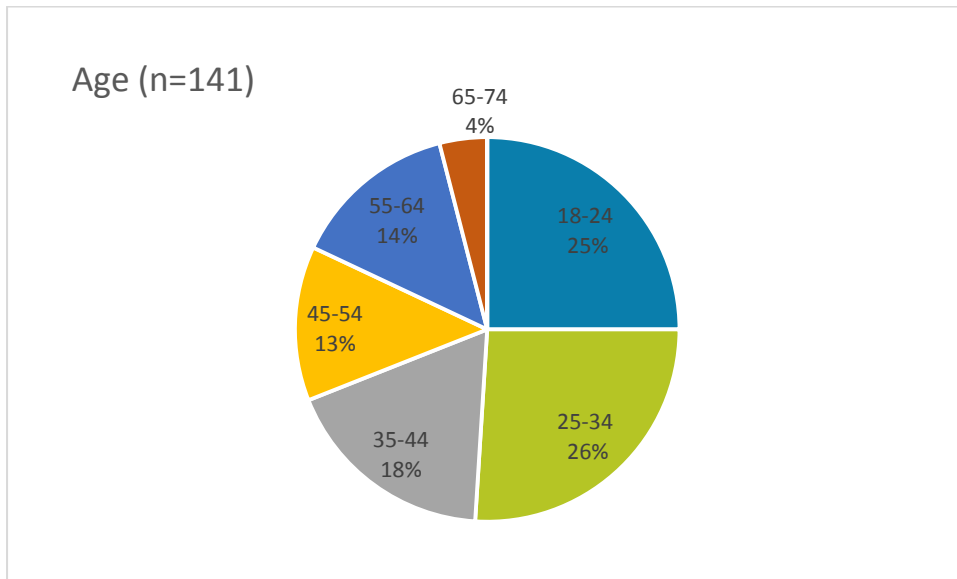


Figure 2: Age of survey respondents.

The majority of participants aged between 25-34 (26%), followed by 18-24 (25%). Only 4% were aged 65-74 and there were no respondents aged 75+. The younger sample might be explained by the fact that, within the trans community, there is a tendency for people to move away from social/support groups once they have transitioned. As a result, many of the groups, especially online groups, revolve around a younger cohort.

### Funeral Attendance

87% of respondents have experienced a bereavement (n=141). Of those (n=123), 16% had either not attended or been prevented from attending a funeral service because of their trans status. The following comments highlight some of the issues that respondents faced:

*My family barred me from attending my dad's funeral and made threats of violence should I turn up. This was in 2003. My mother died Christmas Eve 2016 and it wasn't possible to go to her funeral either. On both occasions I made my own alternate arrangements to respect them on the day of their funeral, at a local church/cathedral (Survey respondent 16);*

*I was married for 30+ years. When I transitioned I was forced to leave the marital home and never saw my in laws again. I was close to both of them. My father in law developed dementia and died and my mother in law died from cancer. I was prevented from going to both funerals. I haven't even been allowed to place flowers at their graves (Survey respondent 38);*

*Family asked me not to attend funeral so I stayed away because I didn't want to cause offence at an obviously difficult time (Survey respondent 135).*

When asked 'Have you ever experienced any issues during a funeral service due to your trans status?', 16% answered that they had (n=123). The following comments reveal some of the issues that arose for participants:

*Family members refused to write my new (legal might I add) name in the obituary, and read out my old name, also referring to me as a "granddaughter" (Survey respondent 44);*

*When I came out as trans was told by my aunt that I wouldn't be allowed into her house as a trans person. 3months after I came out my grandmother (who raised me from when I was 5) died and the wake was at my aunt's house. It was the first formal event I attended after coming out and it added huge extra anxiety to an already traumatic event. I was incorrectly pronounced constantly and the implication was that I'd done something wrong by being there or being trans (Survey respondent 60);*

*My mother asked me to sit at the back, not at the front with the family, at my aunt's funeral so they wouldn't have to explain my changed appearance and name to extended family etc. who didn't know of my transition. I complied but felt very hurt (Survey respondent 94).*

When it came to a trans person who had died, 34% had personally known someone who was trans who had died (n=141). In most cases, the deceased was a friend or acquaintance, but work colleague, service user, niece/nephew and partner/spouse were also cited. Of those, 35% attended the funeral service (n=48) and three people were actively involved in planning the service. 35% of attendees felt that the service accurately represented the gender identity/expression of the deceased (through use of words, names and pronouns throughout the speeches and the presence of photographs etc):

*All close family and friends in attendance were respectful of name and pronouns. She had been out for a number of years and the service reflected that in its entirety (survey respondent 62);*

*He planned much of his own funeral before he died as they knew his illness was terminal (survey respondent 94).*

However 19% felt that it did not:

*She died in a car accident. Her former spouse had her cremated as a man. We discovered about her death in a newspaper report (Survey respondent 39);*

*Deceased was a trans woman; had fully transitioned including undergoing gender reassignment surgery; but was buried as a man (Survey respondent 49);*

*Used correct name but deceased was dressed as wrong gender' (Survey respondent 101).*

For the 65% who did not attend, the reasons for non-attendance included standard reasons such as ill-health or feeling that they did not know the deceased well enough to attend. However, there were some reasons that directly related to the respondent's or the deceased's trans status - 'gatekeeping

by cis families' (survey respondent 6); 'Funeral was only for close family due to unpleasant press interest in circumstances' (survey respondent 137).

## Memorials

Twelve respondents held additional or alternative memorials for loved ones, which included reminiscing with friends over drinks, lighting a candle at a local trans support group, and having a private space to lay flowers and/or pray. These spaces were particularly important for those who did not attend, or were actively excluded, from the funeral or formal memorial service.

In terms of memorial objects that respondents used to remember loved ones, photographs were the most commonly used (28%). Jewellery was also mentioned as well as social media posts, videos, letters, clothing, perfume, toys and ornaments. A few participants mentioned the artwork or stories that the deceased had written, whilst another adopted his friend's cat. One respondent had a memorial tattoo, claiming: 'I have a tattoo that matches one my friend had' (survey respondent 140).

## Grief/Bereavement Support

16% of respondents had sought grief/bereavement support, which included talking with a GP, private counselling, NHS counselling, and accessing help from a bereavement charity. Seven respondents reported encountering issues which related to their trans status:

*It was more the fact that I was reluctant to contact counsellors because I was afraid we'd spend most of the session with me explaining my gender when all I'd want to do would be talk about my feelings around the death of my mother (Survey respondent 11);*

*I was told that they "don't deal with gender issues" even though that wasn't why I contacted them (Survey respondent 14).*

## Transgender Day of Remembrance

48% of respondents had attended a Transgender Day of Remembrance memorial service (n=141). Of those who had attended a service, the mean rate of attendance was 1.4, with the range of 1-8 services. Participants attended services at a range of cities across the UK including Hull, Manchester, London, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Bournemouth, Bristol, Norwich, Londonderry, Birmingham and Bangor. Respondents had also attended services outside of the UK at Las Vegas, San Francisco and Strasbourg.

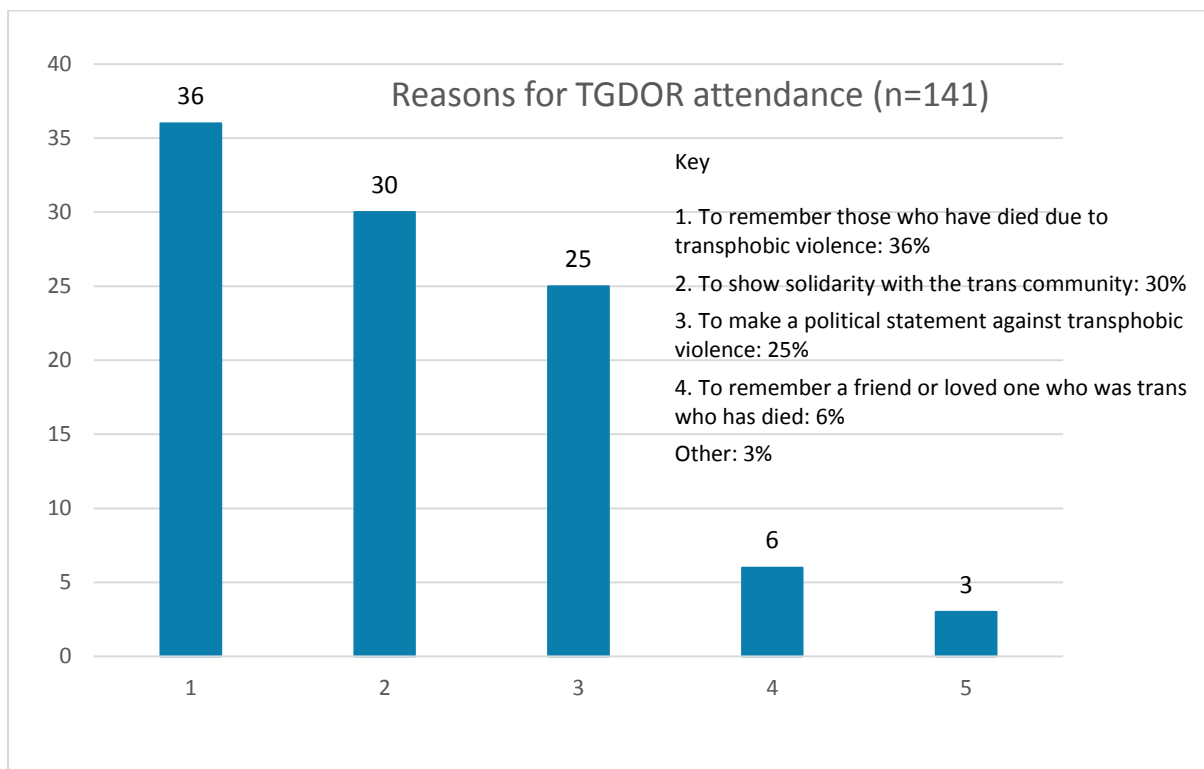


Figure 3: Respondents' stated reasons for attending TGDOR commemorations.

The most common reason for attendance was 'to remember those who have died due to transphobic violence' (36%), followed by the need 'to show solidarity with the trans community'. A quarter of respondents attended in order 'to make a political statement against transphobic violence'. In all cases, the motivations for attending were largely political – to increase awareness of transphobic violence and to stand up against it. A small minority of people attended in order 'to remember a friend or loved one who was trans' (6%). In a handful of cases, respondents were actively involved in organising the service or speaking at the event. The following comments are particularly illuminating: 'To attend an event that I know that I will be welcome, accepted and respected' (survey respondent 52); 'Because it was a reminder that it could have been me and I wanted to respect the fact that I was one of the 'lucky' ones' (Survey respondent 58).

Respondents were then asked about their experiences of attending TGDOR. The services elicited a range of emotions and responses, which are summarised in the below quotes:

*Cathartic. It was upsetting to be there but empowering to be surrounded by the community I am part of (Survey respondent 54);*

*I find it kinda morbid. I recognize the value of it, but I do wish it were balanced with a more positive celebration, where trans people across the globe came together for the joyful purpose of celebrating who we are, not simply mourning what others have done to us (Survey respondent 55);*

*Sobering to the continued dangers trans people can face on a day to day basis just because they choose to be themselves (Survey respondent 59).*



Whilst a clear majority found the services they attended to be well managed and appropriate, some respondents raised concerns about the people attending. One respondent resented the fact that there were ‘too many cis “allies”’ who were there merely ‘to be seen’ as well as the police presence ‘despite their role in so much transphobic violence’ (survey respondent 6). Another respondent felt that whilst, on the whole, attendees were ‘respectful’ during the service, but felt that ‘a few people weren’t respectful of the mourning’ (survey respondent 21). However, the respondent did not expand on what had happened. Elsewhere, another respondent found certain aspects of ceremony to be problematic: ‘Some I feel are disrespectful in that they just read out a list of names and then go on to describe what happened to them. I dislike this type of remembrance service as I can’t imagine I’d want people to remember me in that way - the violence and violation’ (survey respondent 31). Another respondent goes on to say that: ‘I’m not sure all the events I have been to have done well with the intersectional issues of race/class/gender/sex worker status etc’ (survey respondent 32), highlighting an important critique of TGDOR organising, which has been noted elsewhere by Lamble (2008). One respondent describes attending a vigil organised by other trans people who lived locally but explained that the group had not received authorisation to gather at the local church:

*We tried to light a candle and leave it on the steps, but it kept blowing out; in the end we just about managed to shelter it in a cranny on the wall. The organiser then made a speech about how we should remember trans victims of violence and "remember it's not just trans women, there are trans men too!" We held a minute's silence. I spoke to some undergraduates on the way back to the bar about how frustrating, insufficient and empty the experience had been. Back at the bar we gathered in a circle and someone suggested we go round the circle and share things that made us thankful to be alive as trans people; this was much more emotionally meaningful than the vigil itself and made me feel more like I had marked the day sufficiently (Survey respondent 119)*

51% of respondents said that they would attend a TGDOR service in the future, with only 6% saying ‘no’. However, 42% were not sure.

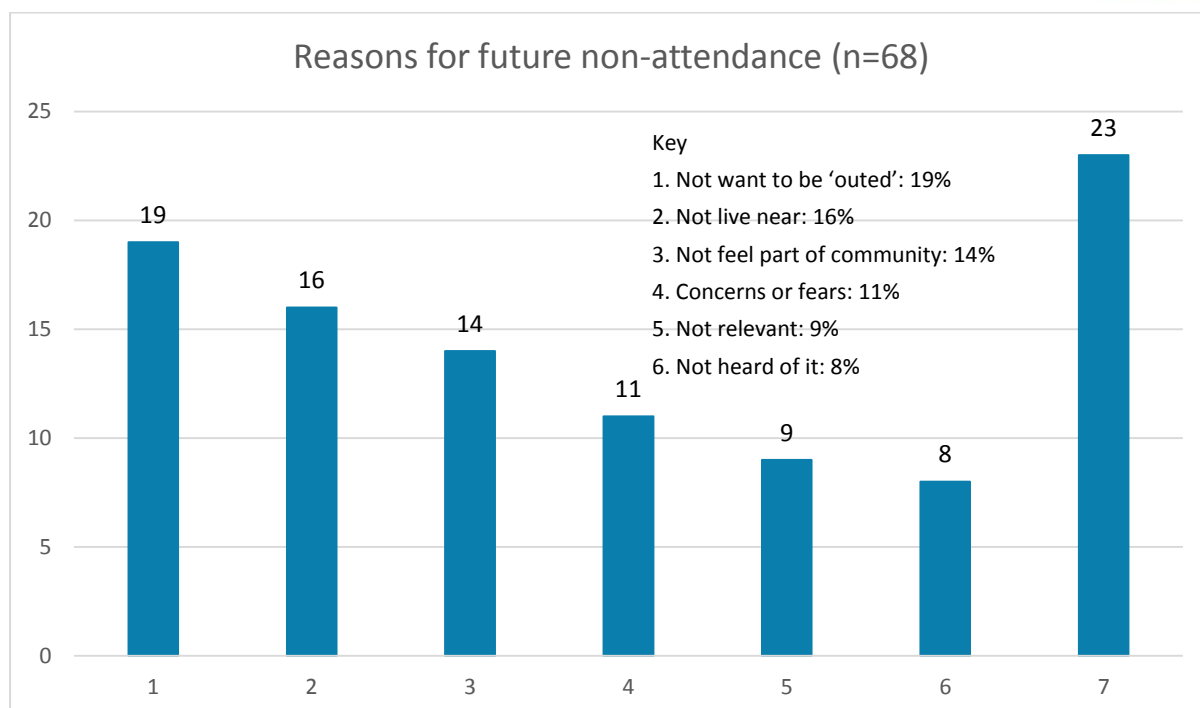


Figure 4: Respondents' reasons for possible non-attendance in the future.

Where respondents expressed doubts about whether they would attend a TGDOR service in the future (by answering 'no' or 'not sure'), the rationale was evenly spread across the categories. 23% selected the 'other' option and had the opportunity to expand upon their answers. Some cited ongoing health concerns and, elsewhere, were worried that attending a service would negatively impact their mental health ('For my wellbeing, I need to focus on the positives right now, not on the dangers we all face' – survey respondent 55). A few respondents did not feel safe travelling to the service for fear that they would be attacked, whilst another was concerned that by attending a trans community event, they would be attracting negative attention: 'I have found that the more you mix with other transgender people the more discrimination you attract. Therefore I avoid other trans people' (survey respondent 134). One trans man was not sure because he felt as though he 'would be intruding on women, as they suffer the majority of transphobic violence' (survey respondent 90). On a related note, two respondents spelled out why they felt uncomfortable with the events:

*Issues about organisers priorities esp. with racism, erasure of some trans deaths (trans male murder victims that haven't made it onto the list), assumption any male assigned person found in female clothing identified as trans, shoeorning non English language identities of victims into Anglophone concepts of transness (Survey respondent 15);*

*I've yet to encounter a TDOR event that didn't ignore the intersections of race and sex work that seem so important in the stories of the vast majority of trans women who are murdered. As a relatively secure white, middle class, British trans woman, claiming their deaths as if it meant I'm at risk of being murdered exclusively for being trans feels massively crass at best - and that's how TDOR always seems to be presented (Survey respondent 23).*

### Attitudes towards death

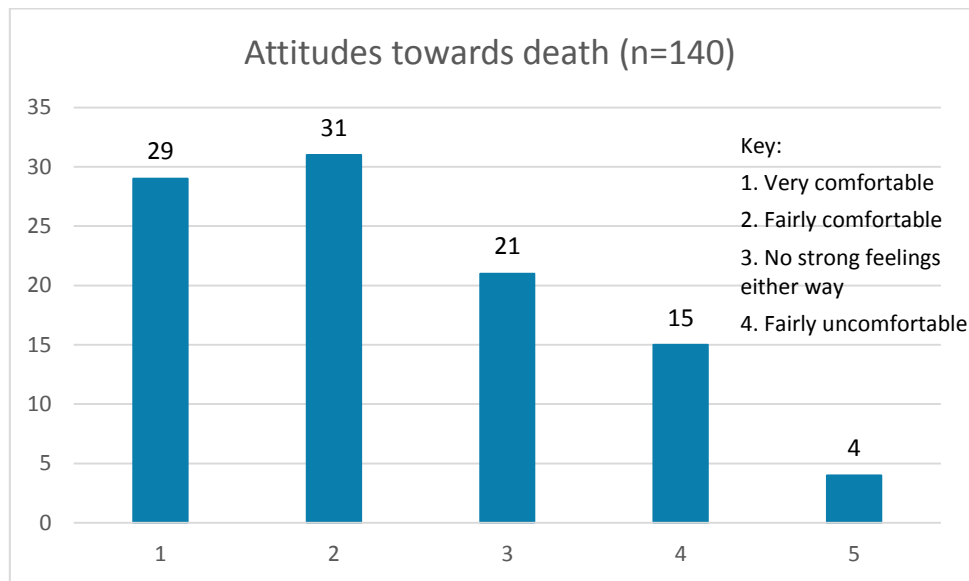


Figure 5: Attitudes towards death of survey respondents

The majority of respondents felt very comfortable (29%) or fairly comfortable (31%) talking about death (n=141). 19% felt uncomfortable talking about death compared with 13% of the general population. 16% had a Will compared with only 5% of the population. 9% have a funeral plan (n=140) and just 1% have pre-paid their funeral (n=133). Interestingly, however, 58% carry an organ donation card or are registered as an organ donor (n=139) – compared with 28% of the general population - and 21% have written wishes about organ donation (n=136), as compared with 12% of the general population.

<b>Have you made a will?</b>	
Already have this:	16%
Plan to do this:	67%
Not sure if I want this:	13%
Do not want this:	4%
n=141	

<b>Are you a registered organ donor?</b>	
Already have this:	58%
Plan to do this:	12%
Not sure:	17%
Do not want this:	13%
n=139	

<b>Do you have a funeral plan?</b>	
Already have this:	9%
Plan to do this:	63%
Not sure if I want this:	22%
Do not want this:	6%
n=140	

<b>Written wishes regarding organ donation?</b>	
Already have this:	21%
Plan to do this:	36%
Not sure if I want this:	28%
Do not want this:	15%
n=136	

<b>Do you have a prepaid funeral?</b>	
Already have this:	1%
Plan to do this:	26%
Not sure if I want this:	57%
Do not want this:	16%
n=133	

**Figure 6: Responses to questions about death planning**

With regards to next-of-kin, 37% of respondents had already talked to their next-of-kin and 29% had talked to someone else (such as a friend) about their funeral arrangements (n=139). Not surprisingly, only 1% had talked to a funeral professional about their funeral arrangements (although 26% stated that they planned to do so) – with exactly half stating that they were ‘not sure’ if they would do this. In keeping with the general population (32%), 34% of the trans population had not talked to anyone about their wishes.

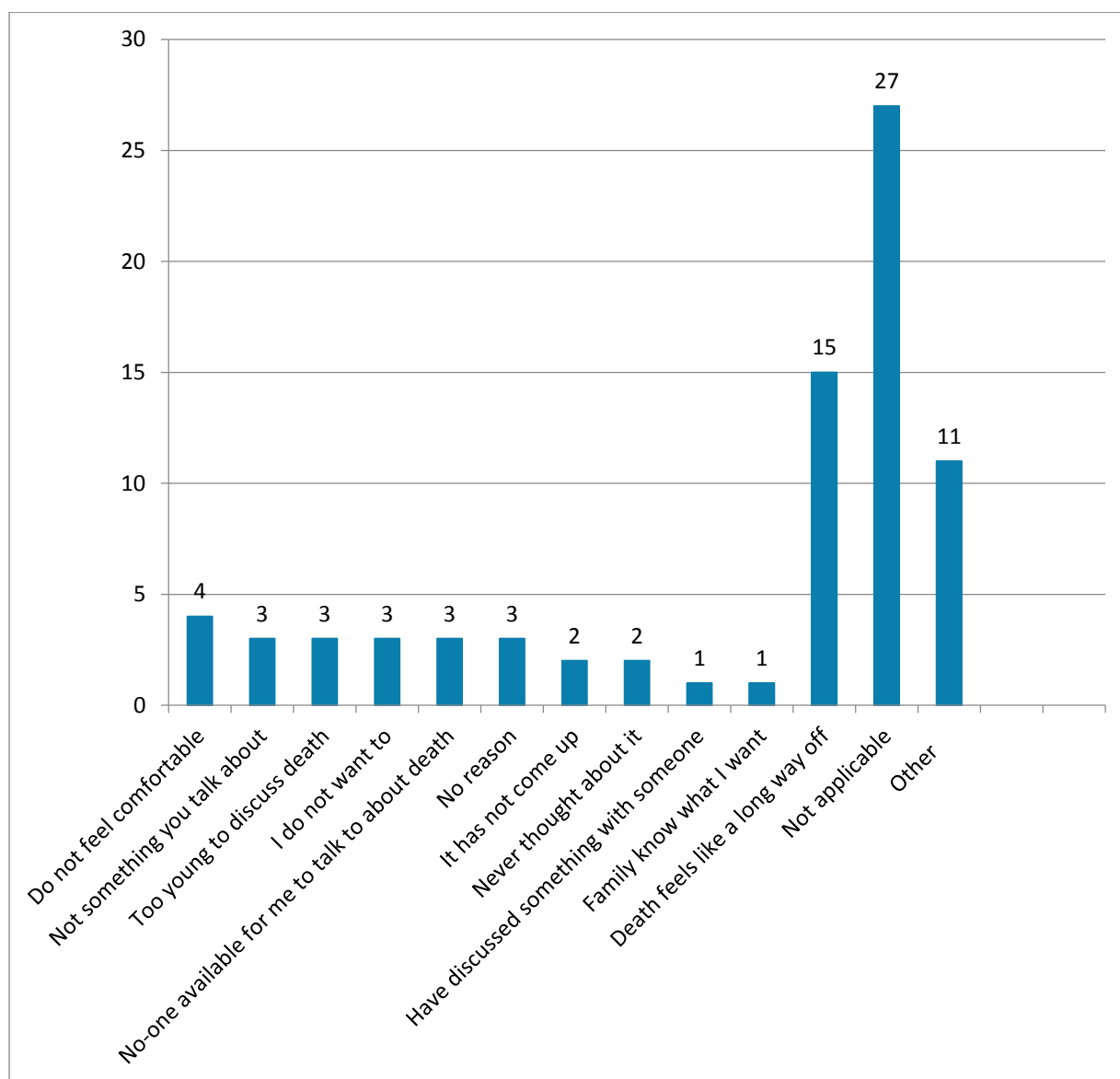
Talked to next of kin about funeral arrangements	
Already done this:	37%
Plan to do this:	33%
Not sure:	25%
Do not want to do this:	5%
n=139	

Talked to a funeral professional about funeral arrangements	
I have already done this:	1%
Plan to do this:	26%
Not sure:	50%
Do not want to do this:	23%
n=139	

Talked to someone else about funeral arrangements	
Already done this:	29%
Plan to do this:	31%
Not sure if I will do this:	29%
Do not want to do this:	11%
n=139	

**Figure 7: Talking about funeral arrangements.**

When asked why they had not discussed these issues with anyone, respondents stated that ‘death feels like a long way off’ (15%), followed by ‘not got around to it’ (10%) (figure 8).



**Figure 8: Reasons for not discussing funeral preferences (n=111).**

Where respondents selected ‘other’, their reasons where expanded on below:

*I have no family or friends’ (Survey respondent 9);*

*I’m just waiting for my deed poll to come back so I can organise it all in my new name (Survey respondent 73);*

*I don't want to upset my parents by saying I would not like to be referred to as my birth name or gender in a service. Also I don't want to upset anyone because I have made suicide attempts in the past and I don't want them to worry about me making plans for a funeral (Survey respondent 66).*

## Next of Kin

63.5% of participants felt that their next of kin would respect their wishes and preferences after death, whilst only 5% felt that no they would not (n=140). 28% of respondents, however, were not sure. The following are some of the comments received from those who felt that their next of kin would respect their wishes:

*My partner is supportive and I have made a letter of wishes to ensure unsupportive family have no say (Survey respondent 34);*

*My partner has an authentic understanding of my wishes; I would not trust my family in same way (Survey respondent 81);*

*My closest friend of many years is very trustworthy and my other friends will make sure. I don't have contact with my family (Survey respondent 138).*

As can be seen, even those respondents who felt that their next of kin would respect their wishes, there were still concerns that other family members might not be so supportive. In addition, who respondents think is their next of kin – such as a friend or partner - might not legally be recognised as such. Participants might not be aware of this important legal distinction and may assume that those who they are close to in life will be able to advocate for them after death, even if they have written down their wishes. Where legal family are involved, it is very difficult for chosen family to advocate for the needs of the deceased if there are existing tensions. Following on from this, even when respondents that they have positive relations with their next of kin in life, the event of death can trigger unresolved issues and emotions and it is not uncommon for the needs of the bereaved to take precedence over the wishes of the deceased, resulting in conflict and tensions after death.

Where respondents were not sure, the following comments were made:

*I hope that would respect my wishes in death more than they do in the living' (Survey respondent 42);*

*I am only a year into my transition, and I think that my wishes being respected depends on how much my parents have accepted me being male. They are working on it, but still calling me my birth name, so I think at this stage they would probably do everything in my birth name so as not to 'upset the family (Survey respondent 66);*

*My current partner would respect my wishes, assuming my parents did not find a way to prevent it, as we are not married, and my parents would certainly not respect my wishes or identity (Survey respondent 104).*

Those that commented 'no' gave the following as reasons:

*They hated me for thinking I was gay and I'm not out to them as trans (Survey respondent 6 talking about their parents);*

*Family probably doesn't care. My partner lives in the US and probably won't be able to do anything. I don't expect anyone to attend my funeral (Survey respondent 84);*

*My family are of a different religious background to me, and I fear having my wishes overruled (Survey respondent 121).*

Where respondents stated that it was 'not applicable' it was either because they had no next of kin or, in the words of one respondent:

*Won't matter to me either way (survey respondent 97).*

## Body Disposal

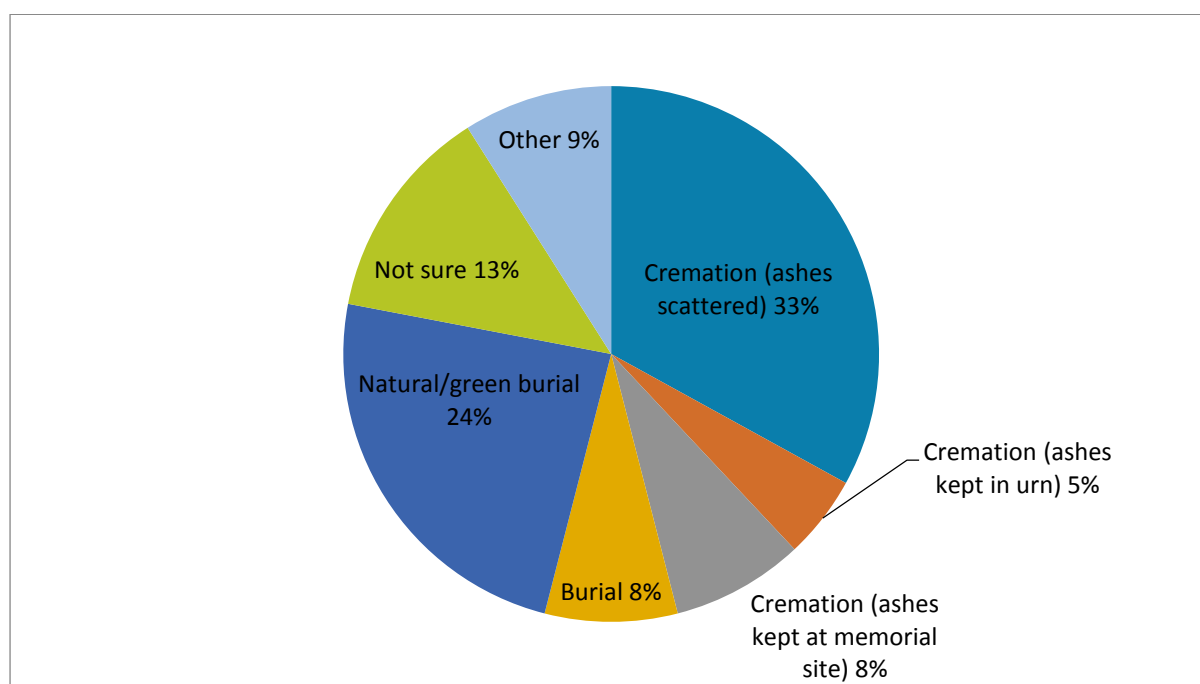


Figure 9: Preferred means of body disposal (n=141).

By far the most popular option for body disposal was cremation, with 46% of respondents wanting to be cremated (and 33% wanting their ashes to be scattered). The next most popular option was for a natural/green burial (24%). 13% of respondents remained unsure whilst only 8% wanted a traditional burial. 9% selected 'other' and their responses reveal how diverse people's opinions and preferences are on this topic:

*I would like any bits of my body that are not useful to science to be deposited in the sea. The ocean ecosystem has been damaged by the removal of large mammals by whalers; we can help significantly if many of us give it our flesh (Survey respondent 3);*

*Would like my ashes to be made into pencils, or a piece of art (can be mixed with paints, or fused into stained glass) (Survey respondent 17);*

*Cryogenic laboratory deposit bank and DNA preservation (Survey respondent 24);*

*A sky burial or to be burned openly on a wood pyre (Survey respondent 78).*



## Memorial Service

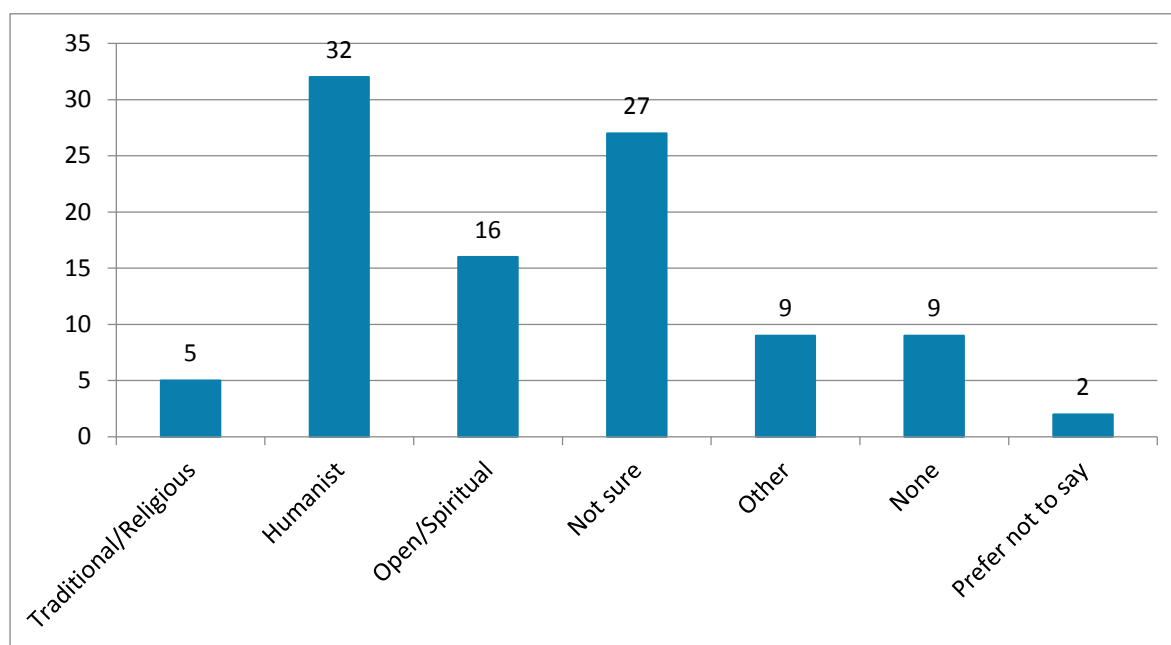


Figure 10: Preferred type of memorial service (n=141)

The majority of respondents wanted a humanist service (32%) whilst only 5% wanted a traditional/religious service. This was followed by an open/spiritual service (16%). 27% were not sure whilst 9% marked 'other'. 9% did not want a service whilst 2% preferred not to say. Of those who selected 'other', four respondents explicitly stated that they wanted a Pagan service, one respondent wanted a Buddhist service. Two wanted a religious service that was not traditional – in the words of one of the respondents: 'Religious, in that it contains Christian and Celtic pagan elements, but not traditional. My church (name removed) tend to invent our services to suit the occasion in any case' (survey respondent 104). Elsewhere, two respondents were keen that the service not be too formal: 'I'd like some sort of memorial event that doesn't feel too ceremonial, even secular services I've seem so rigid' (survey respondent 23); 'I wouldn't want it to be too formal. Hopefully there would be something positive for those attending' (survey respondent 127).

## How do you want to be remembered?

When asked how they would want to be remembered, respondents highlighted the importance of having their gender identity acknowledged. In addition, respondents placed great emphasis on the recognition of various achievements and contributions that they felt they had made over their lives, as highlighted in the selection of quotes below:

*A hard worker, an artist and all the better for being trans (Survey respondent 4);*

*I'd like to be remembered fondly. I'd hope they forget my old name (Survey respondent 64);*

*No reference to my gender. Just what I was like as a person (Survey respondent 75);*

*I would hope that they'd just remember me as a woman, and for the things I'd done: soldier, scientist, explorer and educator. I think these are more interesting things about me than the fact I was born trans (Survey respondent 139).*

Whilst some did not want their remembrance to reference their past:

*I'd like to be remembered as a man and have he him his pronouns used. I wouldn't like my past brought up (survey respondent 13).*

...others were happy for their entire life course to be acknowledged:

*I'd like to be remembered as the man I always was within - without neglecting the years and experiences before my transition (Survey respondent 35).*

But here, gendering is emerged as important – there is a big difference between having the wrong name and pronoun used (even as a past reference – which is referred to as ‘deadnaming’) and acknowledging someone’s lived experience but as tied to their current gender, as the following quote highlights:

*I would like to be remembered as my chosen name, and with ‘he’ pronouns. I wouldn't mind it if it was mentioned that I was born as [birth name] and that I am trans, but I wouldn't want it to be a big deal because that's not all I am. The most important thing to me would be being called my name now, and using male pronouns when referring to me (Survey respondent 66).*

However, other respondents did not want their trans status to be declared:

*As a man. I would rather my transgender status was not mentioned at the service (Survey respondent 56).*

Whilst another stated that:

*I wouldn't want any photos from before transition (Survey respondent 79).*

The following respondent had carefully considered their shifting identity and relationships:

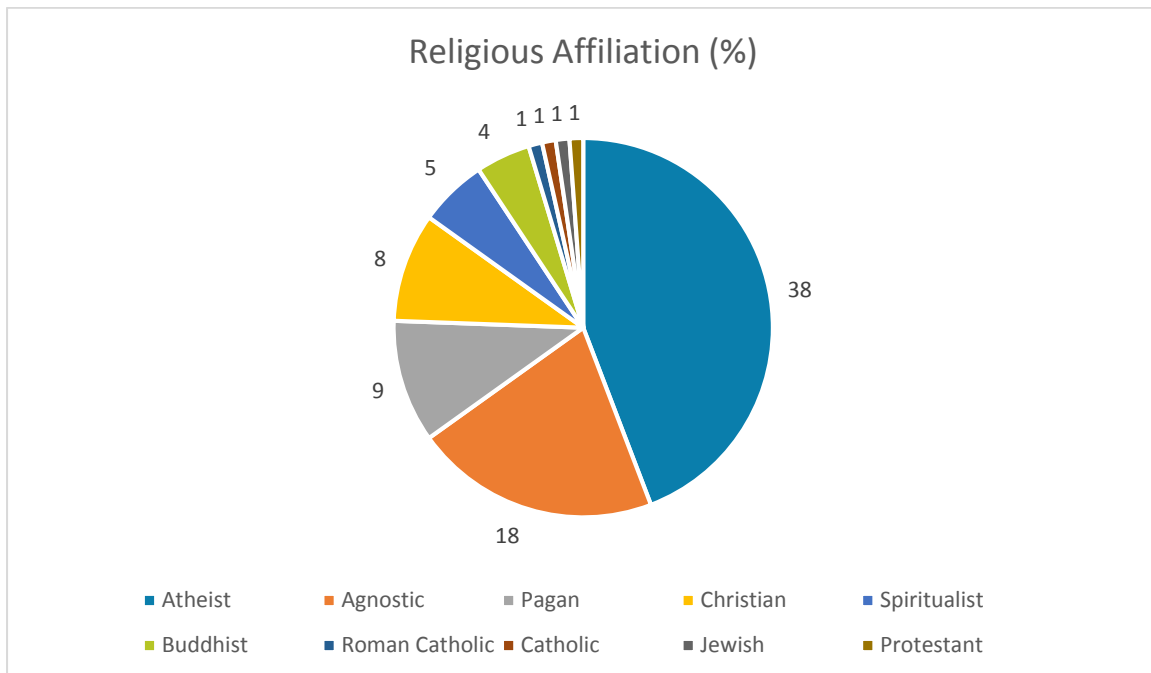
*Use of chosen pronouns and gender identity, but not to forget who I was to them before. Open about past and the present, including pictures from then and spoken memories from those who knew me before and currently. To be remembered as living not hiding from who I wanted to be (Survey respondent 59).*

The following quotes are of interest:

*In 2015 before coming out, I contemplated suicide and came so very close. The only thing that stopped me wasn't my children or family and the distress it would cause, what stopped me was the overwhelming fear of being remembered as male and having ‘he’ on the stone (survey respondent 82);*

*I'm happy to be forgotten (survey respondent 84).*

## Religious/Spiritual Affiliation



**Figure 11: Respondents' religious affiliations.**

38% of respondents identified as atheist, 18% as agnostic, 9% as Pagan, 8% as Christian, 5% as spiritualist, 4% as Buddhist, 1% as Roman Catholic, 1% as Catholic, 1% as Jewish, 1% as Protestant. Meanwhile, 11% marked the category 'other', 3% preferred not to say (n=139). Where respondents selected 'other', the following answers were given: 'Secular witch', 'Native American and Pagan', 'Unitarian', 'Humanist'. The following quotes were also particularly illuminating:

*I can't make my mind up whether I am Agnostic, Atheist or even Spiritualist. Past reactions of the Church to transgender people have, amongst other things, turned me away from religion (Survey respondent 16);*

*I'm not sure yet, I'm still finding my spiritual path although I have been drawn more towards Buddhism than anything else (Survey respondent 58).*

Respondents were then asked how often they attend a formal place of worship, such as a church, mosque or temple. The results (revealed in the table below) reveal that most respondents did not attend at all, followed by less than once a year. Only went a few times a week or more and once a week.

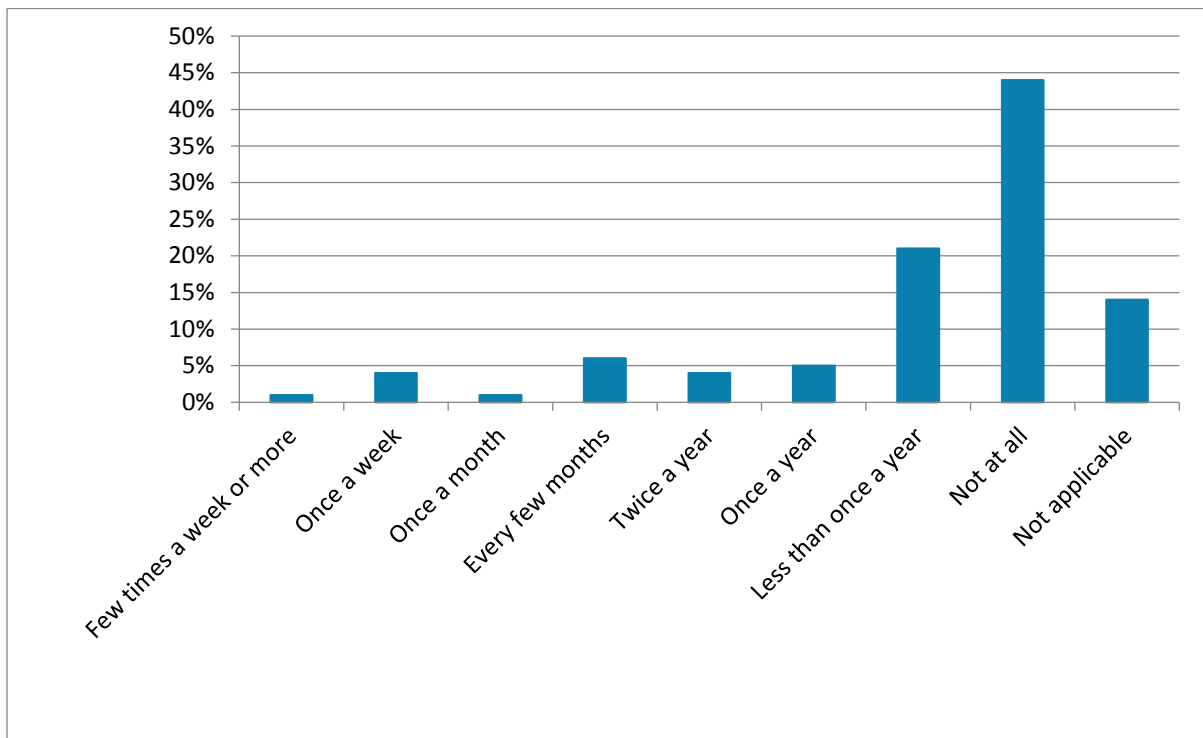


Figure 12: Respondents' regularity of attendance at formal place of worship (n=141) .

17% of respondents had experienced issues attending a formal place of worship specifically on account of their trans status/history. Respondents were then asked to expand on what happened. The following quotes reveal the ways in which prejudicial attitudes and barriers cut across all major religious institutions:

*I was due to get baptised and a couple of months before the service I came out as trans. I told the church because my name obviously changed, they said I couldn't get baptised because "god doesn't make mistakes." This was bad enough but then it was made clear that I wouldn't be welcome to be a serving part of the church, so I left (Survey respondent 14);*

*I was informed that being transgender was a sin at a Church of England establishment. It made me question whether or not God loved me and if he didn't then I must be a bad person and therefore the choices I make to express my gender identity must therefore be a sin and I was potentially going to hell, if it did exist (Survey respondent 58);*

*Massively abused by the Islam community when I worked within refuge services and told I couldn't attend a mosque until I had surgery (Survey respondent 61).*

Respondents were also asked if they had any positive experiences attending a formal place of worship on account of their trans status/history. After initially being refused a baptism due to their trans status (as cited above), the same respondent reported that:

*Another church made me very welcome in their congregation, I was able to be baptised in my new identity and felt very validated (Survey respondent 14).*

Other respondents had similarly positive stories to report:

*When I was barred from my father's funeral, I asked a local priest if I could visit his church to pay my own respects on the day. I'm not religious, and he knew my trans status, but he conducted a short service just for me, on the day, and said some nice things! (Survey respondent 16);*

*My vicar back when I first came out was really supportive, she gave me a space to talk about my identity without reproach and helped me find ways to tell my family (Survey respondent 60);*

*(Name of church removed) has been almost entirely positive, except for a few individuals. These individuals were spoken to by the leadership, and it was explained to them that transphobic attitudes were not tolerated in (name of church removed). My gender was, if anything, a positive factor in my approval for ordination, as they felt it showed character and strength to have faced the negative reactions of the world in general and maintained my strong sense of identity and faith. I have also experienced positive welcome and inclusion from Methodist, URC and Anglican colleagues and congregations, as an out transgender minister (Survey respondent 104).*

### **4.3 In-depth Interviews Exploring the Experiences of the Bereaved of a Trans Person Who Has Died**

The following are based on interview accounts of the bereaved of a trans person who has died and represent narrative summaries of the bereaved's memories of the deceased and their interpretations of the ways in which the deceased were remembered and commemorated.

#### **1) Julie**

Julie was a trans woman in her sixties whose death was the result of suicide. The interviewee, Zoe, met Julie via an online forum in 2006. Julie was a law professor and an activist who was very involved in human rights legislation. She transitioned in her early sixties but complications from surgery and the experiences of going through a difficult divorce with a woman she loved very much contributed to her suicide. She was survived by her mother and brother, the latter of whom rejected her after transition. Julie died in 2013.

Zoe felt close to Julie even though they only met face-to-face on two occasions. Zoe remembers Julie as:

*warm hearted, strong, clever and...reliable.*

She turns to saved online messages via the online forum they connected on as well as Julie's blog and their shared passion for trans health activism in order to remember her friend and to continue the legacy that she left behind. Issuing a word of warning to medical treatment protocols around gender transition, Zoe claims that Julie was:

*someone who was completely destroyed by the gender system because the system doesn't recognise the importance of love, and it destroys couples...the fact that our society is based on gender prejudice, it led to her couple breaking up, and that was the end of her.*

Julie was commemorated at a local TGDOR service held the year that she died. The event comprised a demonstration followed by a public ceremony. There was a banner with the names of those locally who have died, including those who died by suicide. According to Zoe:

*I think it is important to recognise that these suicides are as a direct consequence of the political system. They are not just...people don't just kill themselves because...for no particular reason, it is because they are excluded and ignored and they have lost what is most important to them, or they can't see a way out, and that is all caused by exclusion, and exclusion is caused by social division on the basis of sex and gender*

## 2) Emily

Emily was a trans woman in her sixties who died of cancer in 2012. Separate interviews were conducted with a) her close friend and b) an acquaintance. Patricia, an acquaintance, had met Emily through their local LGBT church group a few years prior to her death. Although she had not known Emily for long, Patricia was active at the local church and LGBT group that Emily attended and gave the opening prayers at Emily's memorial service (an unscripted 'off the cuff' prayer). The service was separate from the family service, being held specifically for friends and acquaintances and was organised some time (around a month) after Emily's death in order:

*to give lots of notice so that people could arrange to come.*

Although it was a religious service (presided by a female Minister), Patricia describes how Emily was not actively religious but joined a church group more for social reasons. The service reflected Emily's relationship to religion, which was primarily social, and included some religious elements (songs and prayers) but mainly comprised popular music and speeches from family and friends, marking it as a celebration of her life. Emily's children were present at the service and gave a few words. According to Emily, her daughters seemed accepting of Emily's identity and referred to her with the correct pronouns. The service made reference to Emily's 'former life' as a model maker.

Emily's Facebook page is still 'live' and was not memorialised after she died. In addition, Emily is still 'active' within social media, as shown by the following comment from Patricia:

*...when I join a new Trans-related Facebook group...she is the first person whose picture comes up as friends who are in this group,' largely, Patricia claims, because Emily was a founder member of many online Trans groups: 'I think this means that*

*other people see her the same as I do that she is still the 'mother figure' of many of us in (name of city removed), even after death we still see her that way.*

Even when Emily was not a member of a group in life, Patricia explains how she was subsequently posthumously added to groups by friends, marking an ongoing process of social involvement after death.

Emily had a memorial fund set up in her name which focuses on raising awareness of end of life care for trans people. It was set up by some friends after learning that Emily had experienced negative treatment from a member of staff in the hospice she stayed at the end of her life. Patricia had heard from a friend that a member of staff had been prejudiced towards Emily but did not know the details. She also reported the following incident which had occurred the last time she had visited Emily:

*...there was a couple of us there and we had to point out to a member of staff that it would be really good for her dignity if she were shaved, it hadn't been done' and that she was 'too far gone to have done it herself' but that 'That's the details that were important to her.*

Patricia made an interesting comment about the nuance of trans lives and how multiple social roles are memorialised within each:

*I remember one of the daughters speaking, and she said at the beginning that she was going to talk about her early life, and so she was going to refer to 'Dad' because that is who 'he' was in her early life, so I think she was aware probably, but referring to that part of her life, then 'he' was Dad, in that part of her life, and I think in a memorial you can do that because you are looking at history.*

The second interview concerning Emily was conducted with a close friend of hers, Janet. Janet describes how she met Emily at a support group picnic and thereafter food was mentioned both as a means by which they bonded and, by extension, as a means for Janet to remember Emily:

*where there was food available Emily was there!*

In her speech during Emily's memorial service, Janet spoke fondly and at length about Emily's love of food and how many of her memories of Emily are tied up with eating. This took on extra significance when, during the course of the interview, Janet revealed that she was also diagnosed with cancer and when Emily was still alive and how both of them would meet up after their various hospital appointments to go out for food. Janet still has to attend the same hospital for treatment but always ensures time to revisit some of their favourite 'haunts'.

Janet describes how Emily transitioned late in life, three or four years before her death, but, despite that, was a well-known figure within the trans community – always willing to help others. Janet also described how as well as helping an elderly mother, Emily had opened up her house to two homeless gay men with drug dependency issues.

Janet filmed Emily's memorial, partly, she says in order to make the service available to those who could not be there on the day and to memorialise Emily:

*...to keep that memory fresh, and to say 'well this was someone who was important to the trans community' and for 'those that knew her'.*

Janet has since made the recording publicly available via YouTube and has added a series of photographs of Emily at the beginning of the film. Janet felt that the service '*accurately reflected*' who Emily was. Janet also noted that the service:

*was the only time I have ever met a vicar who I felt comfortable with*

Because the Minister was affable and openly discussed the Church's treatment of LGBT people:

*There was certainly large elements of religion there, but it was certainly it was tempered by the way the vicar was just so accepting and she wasn't trying to ram it down your throat.*

Speaking about the respite that Emily received in the care home, Janet said:

*They really did look after her well, and they weren't perfect as far as looking after a trans woman was concerned...but...they were prepared to learn, and prepared to accept and they knew that they weren't doing everything as best they could.*

Her friends, who visited her daily, set up the end-of-life care fund in Emily's memory which, according to Janet:

*was mainly to help that Hospice, and help them cope with her, and obviously more and more trans people are going to be dying so, they need to be aware of all of that you know.*

Janet explains how she attended both services – the service for family and the second memorial service held for close friends. After the former service, Emily describes how everyone present went onto the local pub for a drink. During the course of the evening, Janet was reminiscing with friends, '*waxing lyrical*', about Emily when Emily's ex-wife overheard their conversation and said '*that's not how I remember him*', to which Janet responded:

*Look I am not going to get into any argument with you' I said, 'but the person that you knew, and the person that I knew were obviously quite different, and that's not unusual', I said 'you know she had found her way, and she was happy', and I said 'she did wonderful things for people', I said 'so whoever you knew was different to the person I knew.*

Janet went on to detail how, at the meal after the second memorial service, trans attendees started to attract the attention of other people at the restaurant:

*one trans woman on her own generally will pass, two together will get looked at, three will definitely attract attention, and there was a dozen of us, in the middle of this restaurant, you could see people looking...and I think there were a few comments*



*made towards some of us. There was a young lad, he was about 18 or something, and he was really staring. I had gone to the loo and as I came back and I spotted what was going on, and I walked over to him, and I said 'do you like that girl, do you want me to introduce you?' to which the lad 'went bright red and then walked off'.*

When describing the family service, Janet stated that:

*I was really pleased that they had had a family service beforehand, because it allowed them to grieve as a family. They didn't need about thirty or forty of us, they didn't need that, they didn't know us, they didn't know anything about us, they didn't know anything about that side of Emily's life, so I was glad that they had their own service.*

Janet then describes how in the pub afterwards, the family had the opportunity to talk with Janet and her friends and described how 'surprised' the family seemed that 'we are normal people'. Janet then went on to discuss how Emily would regularly give away her money in order to help others in need and that one time,

*when she was really broke...a couple of people collected some money for her and one of the girls arrived on the motorbike with a big shopping bag full of groceries, and a £100 as well.*

This was a heart-warming story about the importance of chosen family.

Emily had four children, all of whom were supportive of her transition. Her son, a stonemason, carved the urn for her ashes. For Janet the service:

*was a proper laying to rest you know, laying all those ghosts and all those fears, and yes, she has gone, but yeah we can celebrate what a great contribution she made to humanity, not just to the trans community but to humanity.*

### 3) Mark

Mark, a trans man, was twenty-five years old when he committed suicide in 2011. He was a bright postgraduate student and poet. Interviews were conducted (separately) with his partner, Jason, and his best friend, Ashley. Jason reveals how Mark's parents struggled with his transition and, six months before his death, Mark tried to break off contact because he was finding their interactions 'very destructive'. After Mark's death, Jason was forced into a battle with Mark's parents over the funeral arrangements. However, because Mark had nominated Jason as next-of-kin in his hospital records, Jason was recognised by the coroners and subsequently the crematorium as his next of kin. However, because Mark had died intestate, his parents were automatically granted control over his estate and locked Jason out of any inheritance, even though their finances were tied. During the subsequent 'tug-of-war' which followed, Jason was able to ensure that Mark was referred to as male during the funeral service and associated memorial events. Jason then gave Mark's ashes to his parents with the instructions to scatter them at sea, as per Mark's wishes, but later found out that the parents buried the ashes under Mark's former name, memorialising him as female in the cemetery of his hometown:

*And then after that service I gave, we did arrange that they would be able to take the ashes as arranged, and I subsequently found out that they didn't keep their side of the bargain, and that they actually buried the ashes under the wrong name in a cemetery in (name of city removed). I have never been there and I don't intend to go there, so... it was very much a kind, it felt really ugly, it felt like a tug of war over who owned him, whereas I felt it should have been about he himself, and he told you very clearly who he was...*

At the local TGDOR event a few weeks after Mark's death, he was mentioned alongside other trans people who had died that year.

The photograph on display at the service was of Mark wearing a t-shirt with the slogan 'some parts missing'. According to Jason:

*...I think it was important to him that he be remembered as a man, but a trans man, and I don't think he was one of those people who feel that being a trans man means that you should be indistinguishable from being a cis man, I think he felt like he was a trans man, and that gave him a particular angle on masculinity, a particular set of experiences and history, and so forth, and that was important to him, so I felt I didn't have any hesitation in kind of having that photograph or anything up, I can't remember but I am sure there were other things that might have indicated to people that Mark was trans, but I don't think that was a secret for anybody and I don't think anybody, I didn't have any concerns about that.*

The University LGBT library was named after Mark in tribute to his activism:

*...he had been involved in the student union LGBT as the trans officer, he had kind of made relationships there as you do and then obviously he died part way through that term, and I think probably, I certainly know that had impacted on a lot of the people*

In addition to the above, Jason is contemplating getting some of Mark's poems and writing published posthumously.

When asked how he thinks Mark would have wanted to be remembered, Jason replied:

*...I think people were probably the most important way that he wanted to be remembered; that he would be important to people and that people would remember him even perhaps not in a conscious way, and that he could spark those kind of connections, interactions, and I suppose including this one, in a meaningful and important way...*

#### 4) Eileen

Eileen, a journalist, died suddenly in 2009 when she was 62 years old. Originally from Ireland, she separated from her wife and moved to London shortly after coming out as a trans woman several years previously. An interview was undertaken with Eileen's close friend, Kelly, who describes how Eileen had a strained relationship with her wife - who did not accept her gender identity but who, as a staunch Catholic, would also not allow for a divorce. Kelly made the difficult decision not to attend her friend's funeral, which was organised by the deceased's wife in Ireland as she felt attending would be upsetting. Her fears were confirmed when it was revealed that Eileen had been buried as male and referred to with male pronouns and male name during the service. Kelly and friends attempted to memorialise their friend by holding an informal wake at their local pub in London but admitted that it felt 'inadequate' and that the lack of formal closure only served to exacerbate the grief that they felt: '...it felt kind of odd that there was no formality around the funeral or it was almost as if Eileen was suddenly kind of ripped out of everybody's life except for the kind of mess that was left.' By 'mess', Kelly was referring to Eileen's business and house, the arrangements for which had to be sorted out after her death. When asked if they attended another form of memorial event, Kelly replied that she, along with Eileen's other close friends, met up at a pub that they would all go to on a Sunday afternoon: 'and it was a very nice afternoon, but it wasn't a . . . it felt kind of inadequate.'

Kelly describes the delayed sense of closure that she felt when she, along with some mutual friends, came to organise the funeral of their close friend, Dennis, who recently passed away:

'...he had no actual family or living relatives, so we had to kind of organise the funeral. There literally was no next of kin...it was kind of a small service, at the Crematorium, maybe twenty people there, but it kind of felt good to do that, it felt kind of oddly quite good to have to do that kind of... to go through the formalities of organising it and sorting his stuff out... and I know that that kind of 'stuff' thing you have to go through and do after a bereavement is actually a kind of fairly key part of the process, it kind of helps you to kind of work through it over kind of time, and I think the thing with Eileen's death was that there wasn't even any of that stuff to do, because you know the funeral stuff was all kind of ripped back to Ireland'

Kelly felt that having an active role in organising and participating in her friend Tom's funeral gave her a sense of closure that she was otherwise denied after Eileen's death: '... it is probably different for everybody, but I certainly found in the instances of bereavement that we have had that people I have been close to, with the family and friends, that the involvement in kind of organising and helping after a death is quite kind of necessary because otherwise all you are doing is thinking about your loss...'

## 5) Tracey

Participant Claire discussed the death of one of her counselling clients in 2003 - a trans woman in her thirties who was diagnosed with MS. Claire met Tracey, her client, when Tracey was in a nursing home. According to Claire:

*...I was asked initially to go in and brief the staff on trans issues because this individual had come out as trans once they had been admitted into the nursing home, and they were suffering from, I think it was MS, so they were losing all their ability, as far as their muscles were concerned, in fact, even their speech was very difficult to understand, so and I was introduced to her, it was only at this stage of her life that she decided that she was trans.*

Claire met Tracey in June 2003 and by October, Tracey had died. Claire attended Tracey's funeral with a friend. According to Claire, the nursing home had started to refer to Tracey with her female name and:

*genuinely trying to do what they could to make her feel that gender and were very supportive of her, including...paying my expenses to go to the nursing home.' However, 'when it came to the funeral virtually the first line that the Minister said was that 'we are here to celebrate the life of so and so who had just started to be known as female' but because everybody in the congregation was used to the male name, they would use the male name during the service.*

This 'annoyed' Claire who thereafter:

*made a deliberate decision action that wherever I refer to the individual I use the female name.*

However, Claire is also sympathetic to the needs and memories of those in attendance:

*I don't think there was a maliciousness, no, clearly it wasn't so much a rejection of what they were it was just we knew this individual as 'him', so that is how we refer to 'him'.*

Because Tracey's speech had drastically deteriorated, Claire had to use closed questions, which allowed for 'yes'/'no' answers when communicating with Tracey. This, in combination with the fact that she only saw Tracey five or six times before she died meant that:

*it was difficult to get to know her as such. I could understand the trans experience that she was going through, but that was really all I could, I couldn't know her as an individual because I couldn't ask the questions because she couldn't answer them.*

Despite this, however, Tracey had a big emotional impact on Claire and Claire describes how Tracey was:

*probably the most difficult client I ever had to deal with in terms of emotional impact on myself. After each session I would go and sit in my car and cry for fifteen minutes before driving off.*

Claire describes how, at the funeral, there were around twenty people in attendance and, as far as she remembers, she was the main visitor that Tracey had towards the end of her life. The service was religious, conducted by a Minister, after which Tracey was cremated. Traditional hymns were played and as far as Claire remembers, no photographs of Tracey were on display. The Minister was the only person to speak during the service. After the service, those in attendance went on for food. Claire was later sent a 'thank you' letter from the nursing home agency. Due to her professional role as Tracey's former counsellor, after the funeral there was no longer the need for Claire to maintain contact.

## 6) Rae

In this interview, Jody describes the deaths of three trans people who she had known. The interviewee first described being part of an online forum between 2003 – 6, during which she got talking to another young trans woman. The woman's older cousin, Rae, unbeknown to them at the time, was struggling to come to terms with their own gender and subsequently went on to commit suicide. They were in their early twenties. Jody describes how she would talk with Rae from time to time online. The death was not discussed on the forum and the online friends are no longer in touch. The lack of closure, and lack of opportunity to memorialise, has haunted Jody.

## 7) Lizzie

The second death discussed by Jody, the interviewee, was in relation to an acquaintance- a young trans woman called Lizzie, who was a local student. Lizzie was from a strict Muslim family and had a difficult relationship with her father after she had come out as trans. She was also in an abusive relationship and had experienced abuse at home. Lizzie committed suicide in 2014. She was buried as male and presented as male during the funeral (male clothing, pronouns and name). Jody was not invited to the funeral but did attend the later memorial service, which was organised by Lizzie's friends and attended by her mother and sisters. She was also mentioned at that year's local Trans Day of Remembrance service.

## 8) Jackie

The third and final death that was described by Jody was in relation to her former housemate, Jackie. Jackie died as a result of suicide in 2013 when she was 23 years old. Jody explained how Jackie had a strained relationship with her parents. Despite this, however, Jody was entrusted with organising the music and order of service for Jackie's funeral. Whilst the service was felt by Jody to be an accurate representation of who Jackie was – referring to her with female pronouns and with her correct name, Jody went on to reveal that six months after her funeral, Jackie's parents changed her gravestone in order to add her previous male name. This was interpreted by Jody to be a '*violent*' act which had made her feel '*angry*' and '*powerless*':

*I remember we said afterwards it was like ‘we hacked her funeral’, that is what it felt like. It felt like we had turned it into a really ‘Jackie’ funeral.*

Jody was pleased with the service, which was humanist, and felt it accurately represented who Jackie was (correct use of pronouns, name and symbols to reflect her personality and who she was etc):

*...we all felt like that was a really good funeral, it was very moving, it felt like the community of her friends. In a sense like the chosen family, like the way she treated us, the way this house was, and the house almost felt like a part of it.’ ‘...we went to a Wake afterwards, and I remember just eating loads of delicious sponge cake and having some nice quite nice conversations with her parents, and so yeah, that felt like a really appropriate thing.*

But shortly after the funeral, Jackie’s parents:

*...added her old name to her gravestone’: ‘...It is still ‘Jackie’, but it also got her old name, but I mean she would have hated that, and that made me so angry, and I felt so powerless...It was like the funeral had gone as we had wanted it, but then it was like her parents then kind of retrenched, this weird \*\* cis control over the whole thing.*

Jody found out about the gravestone when her friend Hannah (Jackie’s girlfriend) went to visit. For Jody ‘it felt very violent’. She continues:

*...I think none of us wanted to deal with it. It is very distressing but my last interactions with her parents were at a time when I was just completely broken...*

## 9) Gillian

Gillian, a trans woman in her early 70s, was remembered fondly by her friend Richard. Richard described how he had met Gillian in her later years, after she had transitioned and after she had left the RAF. A divorcee, she had moved nearby and become a prominent trans activist during her retirement. According to Richard, she was a ‘battleaxe’ who was fiercely intelligent and persuasive and, in the late 90s, she ended up convincing the local police force that they needed training on trans awareness issues and that she was the person to do it. According to Richard:

*...she was extremely instrumental in the police really, completely changing the way they dealt with LGBT people, particularly trans people.*

Around this time, Richard recalls, Gillian was also writing her memoir which centred on her experiences working in the RAF as an engineer, working on bomber planes. The memoir was immensely successful and established Gillian as a known figure both within and outside of the Trans community. Sadly, Richard describes how, because of her transition, Gillian was estranged from her daughter and ex-wife who, he says, ‘couldn’t deal with it very well’. Gillian died in 2008 after a bleed on the brain. Richard attended her funeral, which was attended by the ‘top brass’ of the police force and the RAF, and described the unforgettable send-off that Gillian received:

*We all looked up and there was this enormous roar, and the thing was flying over, and we all, everyone just burst into tears, it was just amazing. It must have cost them thousands in fuel to fly it up, but that was you know, that was testimony to the respect that she had from the people who she worked with on the bomber...it was absolutely brilliant*

The bomber was an apt memorial to commemorate Gillian's character, legacy and life's work. The bomber was Gillian's life project – during her RAF years she worked on the Vulcan bomber – and even after she had retired she was called upon by the RAF to help them to get this particular bomber – the last of its kind in existence – back up into the sky again. The event was filmed and Gillian wore a Geri Halliwell union jack dress for the occasion. This was around 2006/7. After that tour, the plane had been retired but Gillian's funeral prompted the plane to make one of its final flights.

A few years later, Richard ended up renting Gillian's flat after it was put on the market and got to know Gillian's neighbours. He recalls how the neighbour's son, who he describes as 'very troubled', revealed that he was close to Gillian and that she was 'more like a father to me than my own father':

*... she taught him things, she taught him how to fix his pushbike and how to do very practical things, and he was still quite visibly distressed when he, this is a 25-year old man, you know, bit of a, you know he has got a baseball cap on the wrong way, covered in tattoos, but when he talked about Gillian, there were tears in his eyes, you know what I mean, and I just thought 'well that is lovely that he still, that she made a massive impact on him, this young tough lad who was very troubled, but a trans woman was finding influence in his life, and I think 'isn't that wonderful?'*

After death, Gillian was memorialised in a local heritage trail and on an LGBT history website. The content for both centred on her work with the RAF and her role in restoring the Vulcan bomber plane. She is also featured on a website dedicated to the bomber plane. As a result, Gillian's legacy is in the public domain and subsequent memorialising of her is inextricably bound with the Vulcan plane. According to Richard:

*her reputation preceded everything, you know, and exceeded everything.*

In a final and touching tribute, Richard and a mutual friend travelled to Scotland to see the final flight of the Bomber, after it had completed its last tour of the country:

*we met people, we met the crew who had got back into the sky, and she was in the photographs, and we went up and close and personal with the Vulcan bomber because it was parked on this, whatever you call it, where members of the public could go up to it, and touch it, and it was just really lovely to see it, and to see its final flight in Scotland anyway. We did that trip especially for Gillian really, myself and Tina'. Whilst there, Richard bought a postcard of the Bomber: 'I have never been interested in aeroplanes in my life, but you know, I see a Vulcan bomber and I see Gillian, and I have got the photograph now of the Vulcan bomber sort of to memorialise her.*

Richard has kept the obituary that appeared in the local newspaper after Gillian died:

*I actually wrote them a letter thanking them because in those days a trans person dies, and they would misgender them and everything, and they didn't...They talked about her being a transgender activist, and they called her 'she'...she wasn't misgendered at all. There was a lovely article about her, it was very short, but it was lovely, and really celebratory, and you know, she was really lucky.*

## 10) Unknown

The next case highlights the continuing legacy left by Gillian. It is a case study that Richard uses in his own training with the police – training that was previously undertaken by Gillian. According to Richard:

*Every new student officer group gets trained on trans awareness, and that is something that she started in 2005/6.*

He explains:

*It is a very simple straightforward story, but I think it really demonstrates the effect trans has on people's lives.*

He explains how the local police force got a request from someone who was trying to contact their brother. The man explained that he was in regular contact with his brother but had become increasingly worried after not being able to get hold of him for a while. The police agreed that they would go and visit the brother, to check that everything was ok. After getting no reply, the police spoke with neighbours who talked about a woman that lived in the flat. Upon breaking open the door the police found *'a trans women who had died in her sleep peacefully – she was elderly'*. According to Richard, the police were *'very confused'*. It turns out that the *'brother'* had moved to Blackpool ten years previously and had transitioned but had not told her brother. Richard recalls the phone call that he subsequently received from the local police, asking for advice:

*...they were saying 'well what shall we do about the brother?'...and I was like 'well, you can't pretend, because he is probably going to go to the flat, and he is going to find the clothes and everything and it is a difficult situation, but you can't lie, you have to tell the police when they go round to see the brother just to say 'look I am sorry, your brother is dead, and by the way...' But you can imagine the weirdness of that, the phone conversation every week or whatever how often it was, and you know, sitting there saying 'you know . . . I have been fishing with my mates or whatever'. However, says Richard: 'I am sorry, but you can't pretend, you know, we all find out things about people after they have died, and you know you can't pretend, you know, because they are probably going to go to their flat anyway, and meet the neighbours and you know, so you have just got to, they have got to bite the bullet and tell the brother 'this is what your brother was doing, you know'.*

Richard recalled one training session when he was referring to the case study, a participant said that they were actually there at the time as a Police Community Support Officer who admitted that all those present *'couldn't deal with referring to her in the wrong way'* and were *'confused'* about the



situation, 'not knowing how to deal with this at all'. However, because the case study is now used by Richard as a training tool, he hopes that

*there is a whole new generation of police officers who will have had that training, who will understand you know, how to deal with this, you know, so that is really really good.*

## 11) Maria

Maria, a former soldier in the Irish Guards, died as a result of suicide in 2015. After seeing a next-of-kin appeal which gendered Maria as male, close friend Sarah contacted the coroners to explain that Maria in fact identified as female and had lived the last several years as a woman. A lengthy battle followed between Sarah, the coroners and Maria's family. Although estranged, Maria's family were legally recognised as the next of kin but did not accept Maria's gender identity. Although the coroners' initially defaulted to Maria's family, they were finally convinced to record Maria as female after the intervention of various authorities who could testify as official witnesses to Maria's life as a woman. According to Sarah:

*I wasn't going to stop, I don't care, and I know you can get arrested for, what is it called, 'tampering with a dead body', but I... said to my mate 'if they don't bury her in a frock I am going to open up the coffin, I'm gonna put some lipstick on her so if I get arrested will you look after my cat'? Do you know what I mean...I wasn't going to have it that she wasn't going to be buried in the gender of her choice... She had fought so hard and she had suffered so much to be where she was, there was no way I was going to have it any other way, it was not going to happen'*

The battle to have Maria recognised as female continued with the funeral home who only relented when Maria's family stopped engaging with the funeral arrangements, informing the funeral home that Maria could be 'cremated as a pauper'. As chosen family, Sarah took on the role of chief mourner and organised Maria's funeral and accompanying memorial service. She organised a fundraiser to contribute towards funeral costs and made brooches for attendees to wear which comprised a black butterfly (symbolising metamorphosis) pinned onto a rainbow ribbon (signifying LGBT pride). A recent photograph of Maria was placed inside a wreath along with her name, which was on display during the service. Everyone in attendance wore bright coloured clothing.

A few days after the Wake, the local women's group organised another service and invited a Catholic nun to come in and say some prayers with the women in attendance. Sarah describes what happened next:

*they all did a thing where they had a little red wool and all plaited it together and they all made themselves a bracelet out of this one piece of wool to stay connected to Maria*

## 12) Lee

Lee, a trans man, was thirty nine years old when he died of a suspected pulmonary embolism in 2015. The interviewee, Neil, was a close friend and described how Lee's family were close but struggled to come to terms with his gender. Lee was subsequently buried as female and referred to as Lee during the funeral service but with female pronouns, both by the celebrant and by the family. However, Neil admits that the celebrant was put in a difficult position and managed to do the best she could given the circumstances:

*I think she did a really good job, in a really difficult situation, and I think she managed to very skilfully manage to kind of juggle a situation where she didn't want to cause offence to the trans people and she didn't want to cause offence to the family, and I think she did it really well*

However, despite the celebrant's best efforts, the misgendering of their friend caused significant distress to Neil and the other trans people in attendance: 'there was such a shock...and people were really upset'. Neil was the last to speak during the service and ensured that he addressed Lee as 'he', serving to have 'the final word' about his friend's memorialisation:

*It kind of felt a bit uncomfortable, and I just thought I have to do this, I have to do this for these people who are still here, and because I know that he (Lee) would be mortified, and I had to do this for him too, it was just like really important, but it was quite a difficult thing to do, and I had to be really respectful of the family too*

## 13) Lou

The interviewee, a PhD student, discussed the death of one of their research participants, Lou, who was an inmate at a women's prison. During his life, Lou was not out as 'trans'. Indeed, it was not until after his death that Jo, the participant, informed senior prison staff about his trans status and only then because they wanted that to be taken into account during the investigation into his death. According to Jo:

*Lou was a trans man, but he wasn't open to anyone really about his gender, so I think I was the first person that he had explicitly kind of like used the word 'transgender' to. I think he told a couple of his close friends, like 'I should have been born a boy', or that kind of thing, but he hadn't really discussed it in detail, hadn't told the prison, hadn't told his family or most of his friends, but he told me in the first couple of minutes of our first interview.*

Lou died as a result of suicide in 2016. He was 26 years old.

Jo found out about Lou's death whilst scrolling through their Twitter feed and coming across an article discussing the death within the context of an unusually large death toll within the prison concerned. Jo recalled that the article referred to Lou with female pronouns, addressing him as a 'woman'

throughout because that was how he was known to prison staff and the majority of people that he came into contact with.

After Lou's death, Jo contacted the prison ombudsman in order to provide some evidence around the circumstances of Lou's death:

*I figured basically I was the only one who knew that Lou was trans, and during our interviews he had said like that being trans pretty much led to like a lot of his problems, so he had been in like, he started using drugs like hard drugs when he was 13 or something when his body started changing, and he didn't know how like to communicate what he felt and thought about people, so he started using drugs, got into crime that way kind of thing, so I knew that like his gender or his inability to kind of like get the support he needed for his gender had kind of like led to mental health problems, drug use, so I guess that ultimately I felt like him being trans was a relevant factor in his death.*

Although initially torn about informing the ombudsman, Jo nonetheless was motivated by the following reasons:

*a) I didn't think it would come as a huge surprise to people, and b) it was like lessons can be learnt and that kind of thing.*

In addition, Jo felt that the media reporting of Lou's death, and the gendering of him as female, served to erase who he really was and who he felt himself to be.

Jo sent flowers but did not go to the funeral. Although they were fond of Lou they had not met the family and, as an academic whose only connection to Lou was through the research conducted with him in prison, did not want to impose themselves and make his family feel uncomfortable ("who is this person, what right have you got to be here?"):

*So obviously my loss like Lou's place in my life was so much less than his place in his friends and family's lives, so I felt like it would be essentially disrespectful, I don't know, it is hard...*

Reading newspaper articles and, in particular, the online comments about Lou's death exacerbating the grief that Jo felt:

*You get the comments about 'another scumbag off the street...another junkie out of the world'.*

When asked how they thought Lou would have wanted to be remembered, Jo said:

*I guess like he would want to be remembered for his personality, like he really was like, he was so liked, do you know everyone loved him, and he was like a really popular guy. He definitely, well I don't think, he definitely wouldn't want to be remembered as the (number removed) woman to die in prison this year, do you know what I mean, I think that is quite a sad way to be remembered...it is just so grim thinking that like that he died in a prison cell, it is really sad*

## 14) Emma

Emma was a trans woman in her fifties when she died suddenly and unexpectedly of cancer in 2016. The interview was conducted with her partner, Nigel, who discussed the memorial event that he organised for her. He describes how *'Emma wasn't religious in any kind of conventional way'* and that *'there wasn't an actual funeral'*. Instead, she was cremated and that the plan is to scatter her ashes in the same location as her parents' ashes, which were scattered by Nigel and the family a few years previously. Nigel will scatter Emma's ashes with Emma's brother. Nigel describes how the memorial event was for anyone who *'felt a connection (who) could gather together'* and:

*remember her life, remember how we met her and things like this, but do it in a kind of way that Emma would agree with rather than it just being some kind of like a time of sadness as it were.*

Nigel ensured to have the memorial event at the same venue as his commitment ceremony with Emma some years previously, using the same registry office: *'which was kind of like a full circle in a way'*. The memorial initially followed a presentation format, with a laptop, projector and screen which played some of the films that Emma, as a hobbyist film-maker, had made on a range of themes, from LGBT history to nature and wildlife. According to Nigel, around twenty people were in attendance, nearly all of whom spoke about Emma and how they met her, what Emma had meant to them etc. Nigel describes how:

*...a recurring theme that came up with friends that were there was about how they didn't think that they would be there if it wasn't for her, because they would have most likely not survived themselves, you know, they would have taken their own lives, or something bad would have happened to them.*

Nigel does on to describe how at buffet lunch following the morning *'presentations'*, people started to talk amongst themselves and that the atmosphere created had reminded him of the support group which Emma had founded and which they both regularly attended together. Central to the support group, explains Nigel, was the:

*element of socialisation, giving people some place to come out, and what happened in the memorial event was this very similar thing happened.'* He expands on this further: *'We had a room where there was a number of people that didn't know each other before, and then they are there, they are eating and drinking, and they are nattering away, and they are all getting to know each other, making connections with each other...smiling and remembering.*

*...so the event was about remembering her, the story of her, and that is what it ended up with...it was people mostly sharing each other's memories, and you know there were tears and stuff but there were also smiles as well.*

*I don't know how to feel about things like people on spirits, and spiritual ideas and stuff, but you could be forgiven for thinking that she was there in that sense, because we all had a sense of who Emma was and is, she was there.*

Nigel talks about his relationship with Emma:

*...when Emma and I first met, we were both in kind of very difficult places...and between the two of us we sort of healed each other and learnt about how to face the world together doing stuff that meant a lot to us, which is like the wildlife stuff and LGBT and particularly the trans thing.*

After Emma's death, Nigel was not sure of his 'place' in the Trans community. As someone who does not identify as trans, he nonetheless felt and continues to feel a strong connection to the community both because of Emma and because of the organising role that they both played within it when Emma was still alive: '*...I was thinking 'where is my place now?'* However, the memorial event served to confirm his place in the community as he got to know people who had previously been unknown to him but who, after Emma's death, became friends, maintaining a connection through Emma's memory but also on his own terms:

*...this is about me now, where is my place now, because you know, I had already thought that connection was through Emma, but I made a connection with people which has continued anyway.*

## Interview Summary

After coding in NVivo, the interview data was analysed via a thematic analysis approach. The following cross-cutting themes were then identified (please refer to the Appendix Table 2 for the complete codes):

Seven out of the fourteen deaths discussed were the result of suicide.

The formal memorials held for three of the fourteen deceased discussed were not known. Where the formal memorialisation processes were known, four out of the remaining eleven deceased were honoured as their felt gender identities. In three cases, the person had not endured a 'traumatic' death (namely, suicide), and had the support of family and friends who, during their lifetimes, had accepted them as their felt gender. In the last case, the person was consistently memorialised as their felt gender identity only due to the intervention of chosen family.

Four were not honoured according to their felt gender, instead being memorialised as their birth gender. In one case, this was because the person was not 'out' to their family as being trans. In another case, the deceased came out as trans towards the end of her life. Elsewhere, the deaths were sudden and the family had not come to terms with the gender of the deceased – in one case, this appeared to be out of ignorance whilst in another case this seemed actively malicious.

In the remaining three cases, memorialisation was mixed. All cases involved the death of a younger person due to suicide. In two of the three cases, the parents of the deceased had struggled to come to terms with their child's gender. In the third case, whilst the parents initially seemed 'on board' with their child's felt gender, they later felt a need to memorialise their child's birth gender. In all three

cases, chosen family were responsible for ensuring that the felt gender identity of the deceased was acknowledged and memorialised.

Three of those who died as a result of suicide were memorialised as part of a local TGDOR event the same year.

Elsewhere, in three cases, the bereaved mentioned social media as playing a part in the continued memorialisation of the deceased. In one case, the deceased was remembered via their participation in online support forums and, specifically, in the messages that they wrote which remained accessible via the online archival system. In the other two cases, the deceased were remembered via their Facebook profiles – in one case this was still ‘live’ and the bereaved discussed how the deceased continued to be socially active via their profile, which was still being added to various online support groups. In the other case, the deceased’s profile was memorialised, preventing continued social participation.

In all cases, the deceased had endured some form of difficulty or rejection by family on account of their trans status. Where this was particularly pronounced, and where chosen family were unable to intervene, the deceased were either incorrectly memorialised or had more than one form of memorial. In the case of the latter, this was usually instigated by chosen family as a means of ensuring that the felt gender of the deceased was acknowledged and commemorated.

In most cases, the shifts of identity over the life course were reflected during the memorialisation process. In cases where mourners were united in their grief and their memories of the deceased, the memorialisation was more unified and consistent. However, where some of the bereaved could not accept aspects of the deceased’s identity, or rejected the deceased altogether, memorialisation became multifaceted and fractious and highlighted multiple aspects of life course, memory and, taken together, the multiplicity of identity.

## Conclusion

### *Public Trans Commemoration*

The Transgender Day of Remembrance (TGDOR) emerged as an event which was organised by and for the trans community and which held at its core the honouring of those who had died as a result of transphobia. As such, it was a community event with an important political message – to name those who had otherwise been misnamed, and to honour those lives which would otherwise be erased through transphobic violence. It was an opportunity for the community to rally together against transphobia and to issue a wider message to society about the very real body-count that results from ignorance and prejudice.

A key tension at the core of TGDOR was the need for a community-led event with an important political message, on the one hand, versus the need for an event which stayed true to its grassroots origins, on the other. As such, the organisers had the difficult task of balancing the needs of the

community with the wider political message of TGDOR which was to increase awareness of transphobia. Whilst the organisers felt it was important to have a police presence at the event – inviting the local police commissioner to speak as part of the service – some members of the community had a well-founded distrust of the police and felt that a police presence made the event feel unsafe.

Another tension that emerged within the TGDOR events related to the perceived white-washing of issues of race, poverty and sex-work status. It was felt by some survey respondents that the TGDOR events that are held in the UK (and other parts of the West) fail to adequately engage with, and commemorate, those who are disproportionately affected by transphobia violence – mainly trans women of colour, engaged in sex work and living in central and south America. As a result, according to some members of the trans community, TGDOR had become an event created for and by white, middle-class Westerners, a focus which, they argue, serves to further marginalise and detract from the root cause of violence across the spheres of race and class.

In keeping with and in addition to the above tensions, data from the interviews highlights another potential source of tension within TGDOR commemoration – should the event just memorialise deaths as a result of transphobic murder or should memorial events also honour local deaths, as a result of suicide and even non-traumatic deaths?

### *Private Trans Commemoration*

The importance of naming and correct gender pronouns cannot be underestimated for trans people both during the life course and, subsequently, in the representations that follow after death. For many trans people, the first steps made in transition are to change one's name and gendered pronouns. Naming thus takes on utmost significance – signalling a new social identity and setting out a new gendered sphere of personal embodiment and, in the process, signalling changed social interactions and modes of being. Naming serves as a re-birth – a means of asserting one's identity in the face of legal definitions given at birth, and subsequent social assumptions there-in. Naming, in this context, is a means of self-definition in the face of overwhelming social pressure to conform to gendered expectations at birth. To be misgendered and misnamed both in life and after death is to fail to honour who a person felt themselves to be, is to erase the entity of 'I'. By extension, misgendering after death can be interpreted as another form of erasure, a 'double death', which has a knock-on impact for the bereaved. To prioritise an identity given at birth over an identity assumed over the life course is to deny the honour and promise of a continually evolving self and the integrity of a socially-defined selfhood.

Because of the array of social roles and relationships that trans people inhabit over the life course, the bereaved may form differing and, at times, conflicting memories of that person which are distinctly gendered. For example, in the case of Mark – his parents could not accept him as their son because, to them, he would always be their daughter. Their memories undoubtedly were tied up with him being born and raised as female and that became heightened after death. In contrast, Mark's partner, Jason, met Mark as 'Mark', henceforth his connection, and memories, of him were formed during Mark's

new gendered life as male. As a result, Jason's memories of Mark clashed with Mark's parents' memories, resulting in mourner conflict and a tug-of-war over Mark's identity during the memorialisation process.

A pattern emerged within the interview data whereby the younger the deceased and the more traumatic and sudden the cause of death, the more the deceased were to be misgendered after death by their birth families – as shown in the examples of Mark, Eileen, Lizzie, Jackie, Maria and Lee. Elsewhere, where the deceased were misgendered after death, it was either because the family did not know about their gender (as in the case of Lou) or where the deceased had made the decision to transition late in life (Claire). In a few cases, it was only due to the interventions of chosen family that the deceased were, at least in part, memorialised as their felt gender identity. It may be that the younger the participant, the more ownership parents felt over how their child would be memorialised, even if it did not match with how that person felt themselves to be. In addition, the fallout from suicide deaths cannot be underestimated and the grieving processes there-in are particularly heightened and complicated. It may be that even where birth families accept the deceased's gender identity in life, the grief that follows suicide may bring out unresolved or partially unresolved issues which affects the memorialisation process. However, in nearly all the cases of misgendering, it transpired that the deceased had a difficult and complicated relationship with their birth families. Death, especially sudden and traumatic deaths, served to exacerbate any latent or unresolved issues experienced within families over the life course.

As a result of the above, chosen families often took on the role of advocates for the deceased, arguing for the importance of honouring the deceased's name and gender change. In contrast, birth families often had a more complex and conflicted relationship to the deceased's identity, and often prioritised birth identity over the social and legal identity of the deceased. Chosen families were often created as or after the deceased had undergone transition. As such, the memories formed were relatively recent, but by no means less pertinent, and related almost exclusively to a post-transition identity. In contrast, birth families were forced to confront a range of differing and sometimes conflicting memories of the deceased, which crossed and reasserted gender lines from across the life course. The result was the creation of multiple social roles whereby the deceased could be remembered by a range of family and friends as, for example, a woman, a husband and a father. However, this begs the question: Can these roles ever become integrated in such a way so as to be respectful towards the deceased whilst simultaneously honouring the memories and needs of the bereaved? The answer perhaps lies in the creation of multiple memorials in order to acknowledge the differing aspects of the deceased's personhood over the life course and, by extension, the differing social relationships and memories that result among the bereaved. In addition, there is a need for the neglected bereaved (namely, those – especially chosen family – who have been excluded from formal memorial rituals and events) to create their own alternative memorial ceremonies and rituals in order to come to terms with, and integrate, loss. It is important that any alternative memorial serves as an opportunity for meaning-making for the bereaved as active engagement with meaningful rituals emerged as an important and necessary source of comfort and closure for the bereaved, especially amongst mourners who were excluded from 'official', often traditional, memorial events.



## Recommendations

- Data highlights the need for community education so that trans people are informed about their rights at the end of life, and can actively plan how to ensure their wishes are respected in the event of their death. Part of the education work that is needed is clarify the legalities around next-of-kin status and encourage trans people to write down their wishes and nominate a legal representative who can serve as their next-of-kin.
- The research supports the need for coroners and funeral professionals to undertake trans awareness training in order to prioritise a trans person's social gender over bodily status and to recognise the important role that chosen family play in trans people's lives.
- There is a need for multiple memorial services in order to cater for the differing, and sometimes conflicting, needs of bereaved groups and to- ensure respect for the deceased whilst also maintaining sensitivity towards the bereaved.

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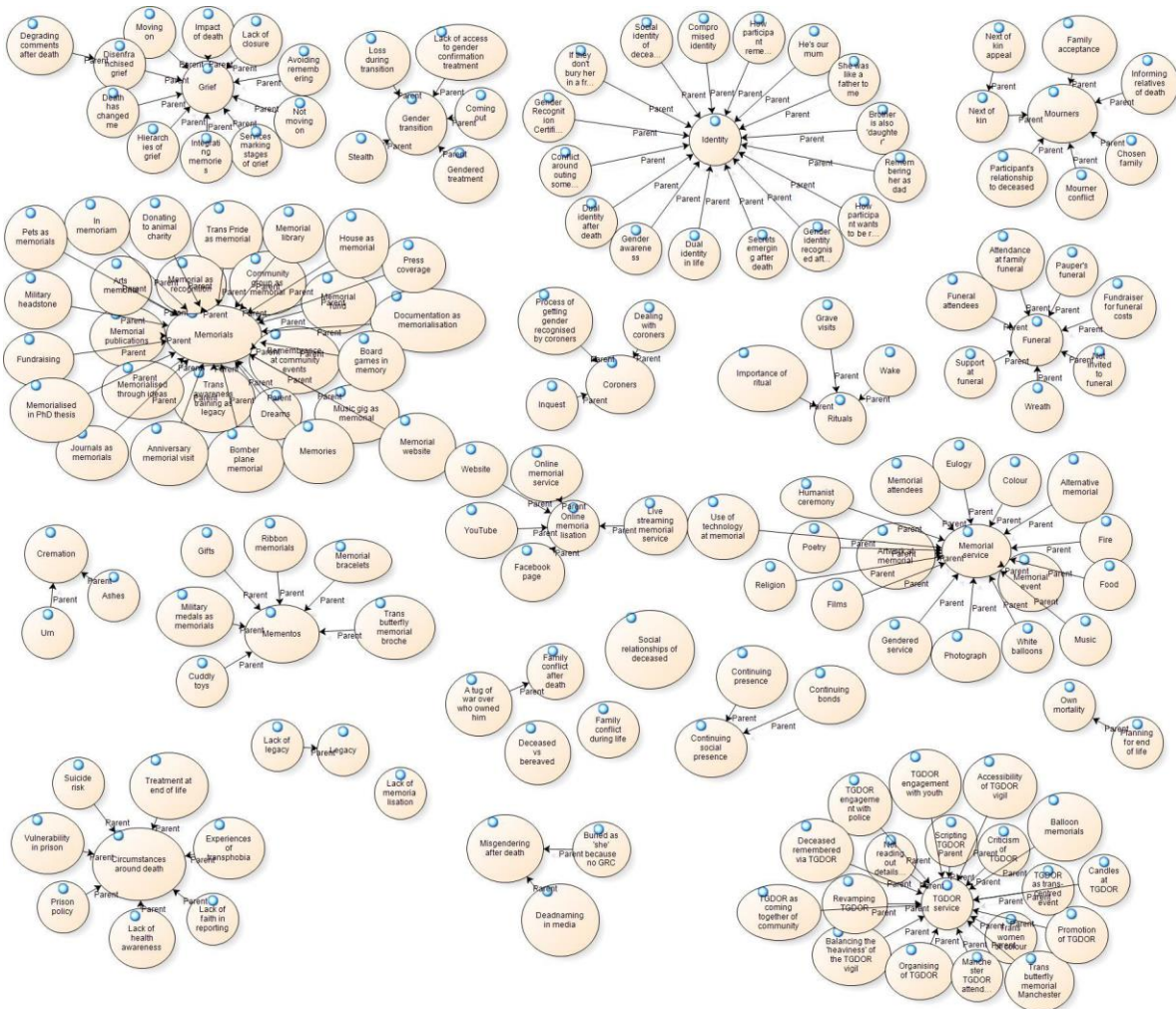
## Appendix 1: Table of Interview Participants

Table 1: Table of Demographics for Interview Data. \*Approximate to reduce risk of identification.

Participant	Relationship to Deceased	Deceased	Deceased's Gender	Cause of Death	Age at Time of Death*	Year of Death
Zoe	Friend	Julie	Trans woman	Suicide	60s	2013
Patricia	Friend	Emily	Trans woman	Cancer	60s	2012
Janet	Friend	Emily	Trans woman	Suicide	60s	As above
Jason	Partner	Mark	Trans man	Suicide	20s	2011
Ashley	Friend	Mark	As above	Suicide	20s	As above
Kelly	Friend	Eileen	Trans woman	Suicide	60s	2009
Claire	Counsellor	Tracey	Trans woman	M.S.	30s	2003
Jody	Online acquaintance	Rae	Gender questioning	Suicide	20s	2006
As above	Friend	Lizzie	Trans woman	Suicide	20s	2014
As above	Housemate	Jackie	Trans woman	Suicide	20s	2013
Richard	Friend	Gillian	Trans woman	Brain haemorrhage	70s	2008
Richard	Not known	Unknown	Trans woman	Unknown	70s	2006
Sarah	Friend	Maria	Trans woman	Suicide	30s	2015
Neil	Friend	Lee	Trans man	Pulmonary embolism	30s	2015
Jody	Research Interviewer	Lou	Trans man	Suicide	20s	2016
Nigel	Partner	Emma	Trans woman	Cancer	50s	2016

## Appendix 2: NVivo Coding Nodes

Table 2: NVivo Coding Nodes Showing Common Themes Emerging From Interview Data.



## Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire

### Trans Identities and Memorialisation

This survey is open to anyone who identifies as Trans\*, over 18 years of age and living in the UK.

The survey explores attitudes towards death and experiences of bereavement within the Trans community. The survey forms part of the case study, 'Who were they: Trans identities and memorialisation', which looks at the ways in which trans people are being remembered and commemorated after they have died.

The research is being conducted by Dr Louis Bailey (Research Fellow) at the University of Hull and feeds into the 'Remember Me: The Changing Face of Memorialisation' project (funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, AHRC). For more information about the 'Remember Me' study, please go to <http://www2.hull.ac.uk/fass/remember-me.aspx>

Some of the questions are sensitive and may be upsetting. You are under no obligation to answer these questions. Signposting to relevant grief and bereavement support and resources can be found at the close of the survey.

Please note that the information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. All data will be held on a secure database and any identifiable data removed so that your identity is not revealed in the writing up and dissemination of subsequent academic publications.

The survey will take around 20-30 minutes to complete. You can click 'back' to change your answers as you complete the survey but cannot do this once you press the 'finish' button at the end of the survey.

If you have any questions or encounter any problems during completion of the survey, please email the researcher at: [louis.bailey@hull.ac.uk](mailto:louis.bailey@hull.ac.uk)

*\*Trans: Anyone whose gender identity differs from the gender assigned to them at birth, whose gender expression does not conform to societal expectations or who do not identify with gender at all. The term includes those who self-identify as trans men, trans women, genderqueer, non-binary, non-gendered, polygender, bigender, transvestite etc, as well as those with a trans history or who cross-dress on a part-time basis.*

#### About you

**1 I confirm that I am over 18 years old**

Yes

No

**2 Is your gender identity different from the gender assigned to you at birth?**

Yes

No

**3 Which of the following best describes your gender identity?**

(Trans) Man

(Trans) Woman

Non Binary

No gender identity

Other

**a If you selected 'other', please specify your gender identity in the space below:**

**4 How old are you?**

18-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55-64

65-74

75+

**Loss and Bereavement**

**5 Have you ever experienced a bereavement?**

Yes

No

**a Have you ever not attended, or been prevented from attending, a funeral service because of your trans status?**

Yes

No

Not applicable

**i If you answered 'yes', please describe what happened in the space below.**

**b Have you ever experienced any issues during a funeral service due to your trans status?**

Yes

No

Not applicable

**i If you answered 'yes', please describe what happened in the space below.**

**6 Have you personally known someone who was trans-identified who has died?**

Yes

No

**a If 'yes', how did you know the deceased? (please tick all that apply)**

They were my mum/dad

They were my brother/sister

They were my son/daughter

They were my aunt/uncle

They were my niece/nephew

They were my cousin

They were a friend

They were an acquaintance

They were a work colleague

Other

**i If you selected 'other', please specify your relationship to the deceased:**

**b Did you attend their funeral service?**

Yes

No

Not applicable



**i** If you answered 'no', were there any particular reasons for not attending? (i.e. not getting invited to the service, being prevented from attending etc). Please describe the circumstances below.

**c** Did you experience any issues during the funeral service due to your trans status?

Yes

No

Not applicable

**i** If you answered 'yes', please describe what happened in the space below.

**d** Were you involved in planning and/or contributing to the service?

Yes

No

Not applicable

**i** If 'yes', please describe your contributions to the service below (e.g. assisting with decisions around the service, reading a poem as part of the service).

**e** Do you think that the service accurately represented the gender identity/expression of the deceased (e.g. use of words/names/pronouns, photographs etc)?

Yes

No

Not applicable

Not sure

**i** Please explain your answer in the space below.

**f** Did you hold an additional or alternative service for the deceased (e.g. a private memorial service)?

Yes

No

Not applicable

**i** If 'yes', please describe the service(s) held in the space below.

**g Have you used any of the following objects to help you remember the deceased?**

Photographs

Jewellery

Clothing

Video

Other

None

Not applicable

**i If you selected 'other', please describe what objects you have used:**

**7 Have you ever sought grief/bereavement support?**

Yes

No

Not applicable

**a If 'yes', please tick all that apply.**

GP

NHS counselling

Private counselling

A bereavement charity (e.g. Cruse)

Bereavement/grief counselling

Other

**i If you selected 'other', please state the form of support that you received in the space below.**

**ii How satisfied are you with the support that you received?**

Very satisfied

Satisfied

Neutral

Dissatisfied



Very dissatisfied

Not applicable

**iii Have you ever experienced any issues when accessing grief/bereavement support on account of your trans status?**

Yes

No

Not applicable

**a If 'Yes', please describe what happened in the space below.**

### **Transgender Day of Remembrance**

**8 Have you ever attended a Transgender Day of Remembrance (TGDOR) service?**

Yes

No

**a If 'yes', how many Transgender Day of Remembrance services have you attended, to date, in total?**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 or more

Not applicable

**b Please list below the name of the city (or cities) where the Transgender Day of Remembrance service(s) that you attended took place.**

**c What has been your reason for attending a Transgender Remembrance service? Please tick all that apply.**

To remember those who have died due to transphobic violence

To remember a friend or loved one who was trans who has died

To make a political statement against transphobic violence

To show solidarity with the trans community

Other

**i If you selected 'other', please specify:**

**d What has been your experience of attending a Transgender Remembrance service? Please describe this in the space below.**

**9 Will you be attending a Transgender Day of Remembrance service in the future?**

Yes

No

Not sure

**a If you answered 'no' or are 'not sure', are there any reasons why? Please tick all that apply.**

I have not heard of it before

The service does not feel relevant to me

I have concerns or fears about attending

I do not feel part of the Trans community

I do not want to be 'outed' by attending

There is no service near to me

Other

**i If you selected 'other', please specify:**

**Views on Death and Memorialisation**

**10 Which of the following best describes how you feel when talking about death?**

I feel very comfortable talking about death

I feel fairly comfortable talking about death

I have no strong feelings either way

I feel fairly uncomfortable talking about death

I feel very uncomfortable talking about death

**11 Do you have any of the following?**

	<b>I already have this</b>	<b>I plan to do this</b>	<b>I am not sure if I want this</b>	<b>I do not want this</b>
<b>A will</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox
<b>A written plan of my funeral wishes/plan</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox
<b>A pre-paid funeral</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox
<b>An organ donor card/I am a registered as an organ donor</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox
<b>Written wishes about organ donation</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox

**12 Have you done, or plan to do, the following?**

	<b>I have already done this</b>	<b>I plan to do this</b>	<b>I am not sure if I will do this</b>	<b>I do not want to do this</b>
<b>Talked to my next of kin (partner, child, parent, other relative etc) about my funeral arrangements</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox
<b>Talked to someone else (friend etc) about my funeral arrangements</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox
<b>Talked to a funeral professional about my funeral arrangements</b>	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox	Checkbox

**13 If you have not discussed these issues with anyone, why is this?**

I don't feel comfortable talking about death

Death feels a long way off

I am too young to discuss death

There is no one available for me talk to about death

Other people do not want to talk to me about my death

I don't want to

I keep putting it off/haven't got round to it

I've never thought about it

No reason / I just haven't

My family know what I want

I don't want to burden people

It's just not something you / we talk about

It hasn't come up / never comes up

There's no need

I have discussed something (with someone)

Other

Not applicable

**a If you selected 'other', please specify:**

**14 Which of the following do you think you might want?**

A traditional burial

A natural burial

A cremation (ashes kept in urn)

A cremation (ashes to be scattered)

Not sure

Prefer not to say

Other

**a If you selected 'other', please specify:**

**15 Which of the following services do you think you might want?**

Traditional/Religious

Humanist

Not sure

Prefer not to say

None

Other

**a If you selected 'other', please specify:**

**16 Do you think your next of kin would respect your wishes and preferences in the event of your death?**

Yes

No

Not sure

Not applicable

**a Please explain your answer**

**17 How would you like to be remembered? (words and descriptions you'd like people to use - in general, in relation to gender identity etc)**

**Religion and Spirituality**

**18 Which of the following best describes you?**

Agnostic

Atheist

Buddhist

Catholic

Christian

Hindu

Jewish

Mormon

Muslim

Pagan

Protestant

Roman Catholic

Sikh

Spiritualist

Other

Prefer not to say

**a If you selected 'other', please describe your religion or spirituality below**

**19 How often do you attend a formal place of worship (e.g church, mosque, temple)?**

Never

Once a year

Every few months

Once a month

Twice a month

Once a week

Every few days

Every day

Not applicable

**a Have you ever had any issues attending a formal place of worship on account of your trans status or history (e.g. turned away or treated negatively)?**

Yes

No

Not applicable

**i If you answered 'yes', please describe what happened in the space below.**

**b If you have had any positive experiences at a formal place of worship on the basis of your trans status or history, please describe this below.**





## Next Steps

20 If you have known someone who was trans who has died and you are willing to be interviewed about your experiences, please provide your name and contact details below (email or telephone number). A researcher will then get in touch with you to provide more information about the interview and to clarify any questions you may have.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey, your answers are greatly appreciated.

Thinking about death and dealing with bereavement can be upsetting. The following resources provide important information and support which may be helpful:

'Bereavement: A guide for transsexual, transgender people and their loved ones' (NHS) - <https://www.gires.org.uk/assets/DOH-Assets/pdf/doh-bereavement.pdf>

Bereavement Support Network - <http://bereavementsupport.co.uk/>

Cruse Bereavement Care charity - <http://www.cruse.org.uk/>

Mind bereavement resource - <http://www.mind.org.uk/information-support/guides-to-support-and-services/bereavement/>

NHS guide to bereavement - <http://www.nhs.uk/livewell/bereavement/pages/bereavement.aspx>



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