

Representing Sexuality: An Analysis of Coming Out in Contemporary Film

Sydney Dye

*Communication Design
Elon University*

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements in
an undergraduate senior capstone course in communications

Abstract

Coming out as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, or Transgender is often a very complex and vulnerable aspect of an individual's life. How this is represented in film can have significant impact, as film is often perceived as a perception of real events. Using a qualitative content analysis, this study analyzed ten films categorized by the Internet Movie Database as the top "coming out" films. The study sought to analyze how coming out, the reaction of others to a character coming out, the circumstances that pushed a character to come out, and the diversity of the primary characters each were portrayed in popular film.

I. Introduction

With the gradual increase of LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, and Others) representation in popular cinema over the past decade, the attention of the film industry is slowly shifting from solely increasing the number of queer characters on screen, to creating diversity within LGBTQIA+ characters. Annual reports from various organizations show the quantitative breakdowns of which production companies include which percentage of queer characters in major motion pictures. What's harder to find, or often cannot be found, is a similar breakdown of which production companies include queer characters that are essential to a film's plotline, have complex character development, or whose identity is centered around something other than their queerness. In 2017, only 12.8 percent of major studio films included LGBT characters. However, out of that 12.8 percent, only 64 percent of those films included LGBT characters that were "tied into the plot in such a way that their removal would have a significant effect" and not "solely or predominantly defined by their sexual orientation or gender identity" (Ifeanyi, 2018).

A commonly portrayed aspect of queer identity is "coming out," or when an LGBT character opens up or reveals their sexuality to other people. For individuals who use the portrayal of queer characters in film to determine their own sexual identity, they may view coming out as a necessary step in claiming their queer identity (Cover, 2000, p. 80). With the rise of queer representation in film comes the rise of framing coming out as the only aspect of queer life.

Keywords: cinema, diversity, sexuality, gender identity, qualitative content analysis
Email: sdye@elon.edu

Apparently, though, it's the only aspect Hollywood believes a largely straight audience wants to see. . . . Filmmakers seem to have no idea what to do with people who are already out, who are, to paraphrase the old protest slogan, here, queer and used to it. Coming out is a profound and dramatic moment, but what about all the other moments in our lives? (Giese, 2018)

Is it possible that production companies over-represent coming out in relation to the other aspects of queer character's lives and identities? How is coming out most commonly portrayed in popular studio films? The representation of coming-out narratives in popular film are both complex and revealing of the information being distributed to an entire generation of individuals looking for role models and guides to follow in the discovery of their own identities. This study will analyze the representation of coming-out narratives in contemporary major motion pictures, along with the events leading up to, reactions to, and results of the event.

II. Literature Review

The following is a review of articles on the history of queer representation in cinema, what queer representation in today's cinema looks like, and the impact of queer representation in cinema.

History of Queer Representation in Cinema

The conscious exclusion of LGBT representation began with the Motion Picture Production Code of 1934, which prohibited the inclusion of "sex perversion or any inference of it." These codes were created by the movie industry to self-regulate the moral content of films being produced. The goal was to ensure films were "wholesome" and of "correct thinking." By 1959, the code, which became more of a guideline for filmmakers wanting their films to play in American theatres, could deal with "pretty much any topic but homosexuality" (Mangin, 1989). In 1968, the code was replaced with a rating system that classified the appropriateness of content for each film, similar to the ratings of G, PG, PG-13, and R still used in American cinema today (Mondello, 2008). By replacing the Motion Picture Production Code, the film industry granted individuals and families more control over the content they chose to view. However, this change in production codes did not have a drastic impact on the portrayal of queer characters in films or attitudes towards queer individuals in society. In America, homosexuality was classified as a mental disorder until 1974 (Hulan, 2017). It was not until 1982 that a film, *Making Love*, produced by 20th Century Fox, gave a gay character a happy ending, an issue that is still prevalent with the portrayal of queer characters in the film, television, and literature industries today (Bays, 2019).

Queer Representation in Cinema Today

Today, there is much more of a variety in queer coming-of-age and love stories. One organization has taken it upon itself to monitor the progress, or lack of, of LGBTQIA+ characters in movies produced by major film companies. GLAAD, an organization created to monitor various media to create a more LGBT accepting culture, releases annually the GLAAD Studio Responsibility Index, which analyzes the inclusion of LGBT characters in studio films released the previous year. The 2019 report, which analyzed films released in 2018, found that 20 percent of all major motion pictures were considered "LGBT inclusive," a 6 percent increase from the 2018 report. GLAAD defines LGBT-inclusive films as any film that includes a character who identifies with the LGBT community. The significant increase in LGBT-inclusive films can be attributed to the increase in LGBT characters in leading roles and LGBT characters receiving 10 or more minutes of screen time. However, still over half of LGBT characters had less than three minutes of screen time, and transgender characters received a total of zero minutes of screen time in all major motion pictures released in 2018.

Within LGBT films, there is a subcategory of films that pass the "Vito Russo" test. This test, named for a co-founder of GLAAD, analyzes the inclusion of LGBT characters beyond merely putting a queer character on screen. For the film to pass the test, it must fulfill three requirements. The first requirement is, "The film contains a character that is identifiably lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer." The second requirement is, "That character must not solely or predominantly be defined by their sexual orientation or gender identity." The final requirement is, "That character must be tied into the plot in such a way that their removal would have a significant effect." Out of the 20 films that were considered LGBT inclusive in 2018, 13 passed

the Vito Russo test (GLAAD, 2019).

The guidelines put in place by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (M.P.P.A.) makes including queer characters potentially a financially risky choice. The M.P.P.A. is “generally harder on films featuring gay sex or characters than it is on movies featuring straight sex” (Abrams, 2018). Award-nominated films such as *Battle of the Sexes* and *Love, Simon* put the M.P.A.A. ratings into question, as there is speculation that if both of the films had featured straight relationships, their rating would have been PG rather than PG-13. The reason both films were rated PG-13 was due to, “thematic elements, sexual references, language, and teen partying.” The M.P.P.A. denies the higher viewer discretion based on the inclusion of same-sex relationships, saying:

The rating system does not make any judgment about the content, including sexuality, depicted in movies. Rather, raters ask the question any parent would ask: What would I want to know about this film before I decide to let my child see it? . . . Elements such as violence, language, drug use, and sexuality are continually re-evaluated through surveys and focus groups to better assist parents in making family viewing choices. (Abrams, 2018).

Stephen Follows, a researcher in the film industry, found that PG-13 rated films generally account for 47-53 percent of highest-grossing films, while R-rated films generally account for 18-24 percent (Follows, 2019). If the inclusion of same-sex relationships has the potential to change a film’s rating from PG-13 to R, then the inclusion of LGBT characters will only be an option for studios willing to potentially risk a smaller box office return.

Even if the inclusion of LGBT characters and relationships do not have a direct impact on a film’s rating, it can create other ways of negative financial impact, especially in films tailored towards families. In the 2017 live-action *Beauty and the Beast*, it was leaked that LeFou, the sidekick of the man vying for Belle’s love, was queer identifying, suggesting that the film would include an “exclusively gay moment.” In response, one theater in Alabama refused to show the film, Russia gave the film an “adults only” rating, and Malaysia pulled the film from theaters after Disney refused to cut more than four minutes of footage (Girard, 2017).

Interestingly, one of the most controversial scenes in *Beauty and the Beast* was problematic to LGBTQ+ advocates as well:

As the camera circles Belle and Beast during their ‘happily ever after’ dance number, for just a moment it shifts to LeFou, who steps into a single dance move with another man before the camera cuts back to Belle and Beast and the credits roll. It is nothing less than insulting to the LGBTQ+ community. (Girard, 2017, p.174)

Disney has faced criticism from LGBTQ+ advocates for portrayals in other films as well. “Every time Disney has supposedly included a queer character, any evidence of said queer identity was easily missed or misconstrued,” wrote one critic of the company. “Disney uses LGBTQ representation to drum up interest, but ultimately forces its audiences to draw its own conclusions” (Gupta, 2019).

Importance of Queer Representation in Popular Film

Do film companies have a responsibility to accurately represent LGBTQIA+ individuals in their films? Or is leaving the audience to their own conclusion a perfectly acceptable decision? Daniel Mangin estimates that “approximately 10% of the American population is homosexual” but their representation in film history is almost “invisible” (Mangin, 1989). While a more recent report conducted by The Williams Institute suggests that the LGBTQIA+ population in America is closer to 4.5% of the population, or roughly 9 million people, Mangin’s argument of the lack of queer representation in film still holds validity (The Williams Institute, 2017). A lack of representation in film can lead to difficulty for individuals who are looking to build an “understanding of sexuality” regardless of their sexual orientation. Even for those not looking to develop a deeper understanding, the representation, and portrayal of human sexuality in films is often perceived as truthful to viewers, especially those, “predominantly unaware of alternative, resistant, academic, or textual-reading discourses” (Cover, 2000, p. 76).

While the amount of representation that queer characters receive is important, production companies also need to consider how these people are being portrayed and what their circumstances are. Many times, the first interaction that individuals will have with non-heteronormative relationships and LGBT identity is through film and television programs that portray both the coming of age and the coming out of individuals. These films often portray “themes of painful adolescence, confrontation with the older generation, the contrast between socialization and selfhood, erotic pubescence, confusing infatuation, and the formation of sexual identity.” In addition, “the bullying of bashing of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) persons (particularly adolescents) have become common themes in popular communication of the 1990s and 2000s” (Padva, 2004, p. 365).

Through the late 1980s, LGBT identifying individuals were commonly misrepresented in popular film and television as “confused youth” that could not fit into the strict societal gender binary. This included male-identifying individuals portrayed both as not manly enough and gay, and female-identifying individuals portrayed both as not feminine enough and a lesbian. These characters were then bullied, verbally and physically, by peers, educators, and family members (Padva, 2007, p. 116). This content showcases the lack of acceptance, love, and understanding by people close to the individual, and can be damaging to the person’s identity and health. Media begins to influence an individual’s choices and role models from a very young age (Gomillion & Giuliano, 2011). This exposure to potentially traumatic content regarding sexuality can have a lasting impact on individuals.

III. Methods

Based on the literature review, the author developed the following research questions:

Research Question 1: How is coming out portrayed in contemporary films?

Research Question 2: What are the circumstances that compel a character to come out in these films?

This study applies a qualitative content analysis to a selection of movies that include characters coming out. First, a list generated by the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) was selected. This database lets users be very specific about what type of movies they may want to view based on the parameters they set. IMDb has a specific category for films that portray various aspects of LGBTQIA+ life, whereas most other databases only get as specific as “LGBT films.” A list titled, “Most Popular Coming Out Movies and TV Shows” was selected. From the list of films under “coming out,” the following two parameters were set by the author:

1. The media must be a feature film.
2. The media must have been released from 2010 to 2020.

These parameters ensure that the films are in fact feature-length motion pictures (rather than a short film or episode of a television series) and were released in the past decade. With these parameters set, IMDb listed the following ten films: *Rocketman*, *Call Me By Your Name*, *Vice*, *Blockers*, *The Imitation Game*, *Legend*, *Blumhouse’s Truth or Dare*, *Love, Simon*, *Boy Erased*, and *And Then We Danced*.

Multiple scenarios will be analyzed while watching the films. These include the opinions regarding sexuality the character is exposed to before coming out, the circumstances that compel a character to come out, and the reactions they receive to their coming out. However, the data collected will not be exclusively limited to these criteria. As additional information regarding a character’s coming out is given, it will be recorded as well.

IV. Findings

The ten films analyzed presented a wide range of circumstances and reactions to characters coming out as gay. But they do more than just showcasing reactions – the films also show a variation in framing different aspects of LGBTQIA+ individuals' lives. The films proved to be diverse in narrative, but occasionally similar in theme. The characters that came out were represented in a variety of ways, as were the characters that either supported or neglected the individual. In this analysis section, the author will elaborate on some of the more prominent themes and discoveries made throughout the research process looking at three of the 10 films watched: *The Imitation Game*, *Blockers*, and *Love, Simon*.

The Imitation Game:

The Imitation Game is a historical drama that centers on the code-breaking work of Alan Turing during World War II. The film is divided into three various time periods: Turing's childhood, the war, and the 1950s. While the film doesn't revolve around Turing's sexuality, it does give a wholistic view of the role his sexuality played in his life. From his first love, to a classmate named Christopher, his coming out to the woman he is engaged with, and his suicide attributed to government-ordered hormonal therapy, the audience witnesses the tragic arc of Turing's life.

The circumstances of Turing's coming-out while working at Bletchley Park are more complex than what was portrayed in the majority of other films viewed. Turing first came out to a colleague, John Cairncross, at a celebration for Turing's recent engagement to Joan Clarke. Cairncross replied by saying, "You can't tell anyone, Alan. It's illegal." Turing's reluctance to come out can be attributed to the criminalization of homosexuality in Europe during the mid-20th century. Turing comes out to Clarke in an effort to have her leave Bletchley Park, thinking she is in danger of violating the Official Secrets Act. When he tells Clarke he is a homosexual, Clarke says that she has always had her suspicions, but they love each other in their own way, and they could still be happy together. Turing then lies and says the only reason he kept her around was to use her for her knowledge, but now that they have broken Enigma, he no longer has a need for her.

At the end of *The Imitation Game*, the following text comes on screen:

After a year of government mandated hormonal therapy, Alan Turing committed suicide on June 7th, 1954. He was 41 years old. Between 1885 and 1967, approximately 49,000 homosexual men were convicted of gross indecency under British law. In 2013, Queen Elizabeth II granted Turing a posthumous royal pardon, honoring his unprecedented achievements. Historians estimate that breaking Enigma shortened the war by more than two years, saving over 14 million lives. It remained a government-held secret for more than 50 years. Turing's work inspired generations of research into what scientists called Turing Machines. Today we call them computers."

This additional information comes only moments after the audience sees the negative physical and mental impact of the hormonal therapy. This is an incredibly important inclusion because it frames the punishment of Turing's homosexuality as negative for the audience, rather than leaving them to form their own conclusion rather the events that occurred were justified. Clarke adds to this in the final moments of the film by tell Turing:

Do you know this morning I was on a train that went through a city that wouldn't exist if it wasn't for you. I bought a ticket from a man that would likely be dead if it weren't for you. I read up on my work, a whole field of scientific inquiry that only exists because of you. Now if you wish you could've been normal, I can promise you I do not. The world is an infinitely better place precisely because you are in it."

Learning that Alan Turing committed suicide after watching a film about his accomplishment likely leaves the audience feeling impacted and changed by the story (Tyldum, 2014).

Blockers

Blockers is a comedy about three parents attempting to block their three teenage daughters from losing their virginity on the night of their senior prom. This was one of two films of the ten watched that had a female-identifying character come-out. Throughout the film, one of the three main characters, Sam, is

struggling with her sexuality, and comes out as gay to her two closest friends at the end of the film. *Blockers* was one of only two films where the character's queer identity received only positive reactions from the people closest to them. While this film is monumental in portraying positive female sexuality, it would not pass the Vito Russo test.

The Vito Russo test has three requirements that a film needs to pass in order for it to be considered LGBTQIA+ inclusive, and *Blockers* only passes one of the three. One of the three main characters, Sam, does in fact identify as gay, which passes the first requirement of the test. However, of the three main characters, Sam is by far the most underdeveloped and the least complex character. She is predominantly defined by her sexuality, which goes against the second requirement of the test. Lastly, if Sam's storyline were to be completely removed from the film, there would be very little impact on the overall narrative of the film. This goes against the third requirement of the Vito Russo Test (GLAAD, 2017).

While this film doesn't pass the test, it is monumental in presenting a female-identifying gay character that receives nothing but positive reactions from both her friends and family when she comes-out. Additionally, Sam is not forced or pressured to come-out, she has complete control throughout the entire film. Sam's coming-out feels incredibly relatable and personal -- something that young adults could relate to. (Cannon, 2018)

Love, Simon

Love, Simon, a coming of age film, presents an aspect of LGBT life that is often not portrayed in film: the process of coming out over and over again. Many of the films build-up to the moment that a character comes out, but what is generally overlooked in cinematic productions is that if an LGBT-identifying character comes out to just one person, that does not mean everyone knows. Through the last half an hour of the film, Simon is consistently engaging in conversations regarding his sexuality. Simon's mother tells him:

I knew you had a secret. When you were little, you were so carefree. But these last few years, more and more, it's almost like I can feel you holding your breath ... I need you to hear this: You are still you ... you get to exhale now. You get to be more you than you have been in a very long time. You deserve everything you want.

Simon's father asks Simon how long Simon knew he was gay. When Simon replies with "since I was thirteen," the father is upset that he missed this part of his son's life for four years. The father says, "Just in case the message got lost somewhere. I love you and I'm really proud of you and I wouldn't change anything about you." The conversation ends with the father suggesting that they sign up for Grindr together, with Simon refuting that his father obviously does not know what Grindr is. These types of conversations show that there are in fact conversations and questions once a character comes out.

This film also touches on the rampant heteronormativity in society -- specifically "straight" being the default sexuality. This film asks, why do only gay people have to come out? This is then followed by a montage of Simon's friends coming out as straight to their parents while the parents respond with phrases such as, "Are you trying to kill me?", "Oh God, help me Jesus," and tears. Additionally, heteronormativity seems to be incredibly prominent in the town Simon lives in, because when one kid decides to anonymously come out on the school's gossip website, this becomes the talk of the town. There also only appears to be one kid attending Simon's school that is openly gay.

However, the film does not revolve around casual conversations regarding Simon's sexuality. For the majority of the film, Simon is forced between protecting his identity or betraying the trust of a friend when a character, Martin, discovers the emails where Simon has revealed his sexuality. Martin forces Simon to choose between being outed or setting him up on a date with Simon's friend Abby. The blackmail is incredibly damaging to Simon's mental health and his relationship with his friends. Simon spends the majority of the film doing everything he can to protect his secret, only to be outed by Martin, and ignored by his closest friends.

In the context of *Love, Simon*, coming out is portrayed as an almost impossible thing to do. Simon addresses in the film that he does not know why it's so hard for him to come out as he knows his liberal family won't have a problem with it. But far more negative interactions are shown than positive interactions in terms of embracing sexuality. Between the blackmailing, blatant homophobia, and present heteronormativity, it's clear to see the discomfort Simon feels in this environment. However, while the film is framed with these negative interactions, it does leave the viewers feeling hopeful and fulfilled. Simon sends a letter out to the

student body addressing his sexuality, in which he says, “I am done being scared. I’m done living in a world where I don’t get to be who I am. I deserve a great love story.” (Berlanti, 2018)

V. Conclusion

While these films were selected off of a list generated by IMDb, the questions “was this the most comprehensive list?” must be asked. One aspect that needs to be considered is that attitudes towards LGBTQIA+ individuals and relationships are rapidly changing. A film released as recently as 2012 may no longer represent the attitudes that are prominent in society today. A better study might have been taking the top films advertised with a queer character released in the last two years and analyzing these films instead. The problem with IMDb is it is never explicitly explained why these films were categorized under “coming out,” or how their rankings were determined.

Through watching the top ranked ten films recommended by IMDb, it is clear that there is a wide range in diversity of experiences and reactions regarding characters coming out in film, but not as much as diversity in gender, race, or specific sexual orientation of the characters. Eight of the ten films had characters come out as gay, one of the films had a character that identified as bisexual, and one of the films had a character that the audience can assume to be bisexual. While Black, Indigenous, and people of color were included in the narratives of these films, very few of these characters were LGBTQIA+. Almost all of the LGBTQIA+ individuals in the ten films were male-identifying, with only two female-identifying individuals coming out. Additionally, while sexual orientations such as gay, lesbian, and bisexuality were represented in these ten films, there were no transgender, non-binary, asexual, or intersex characters included in any of the narratives. While the films were diverse in reasons why the characters came out, and what the reactions were, there was little diversity in the people portrayed.

While this analysis answered the initial questions posed, many more have appeared. For example, both of the studied films with female identifying characters failed the Vito Russo test. What would a film look like that passed the Vito Russo test while portraying a female identifying character? How would coming-out events look if the character was non-binary, transgender, or pansexual? What would a film look like where characters happen to be different sexualities but have a variety of other defining characteristics? Is this a film that would make sense in 2020, where sexuality and gender identity other than straight and cisgender are still very much a big deal? What are the next steps needed to take to address and change the lack of representation in major studio films when it comes to individuals coming out?

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank professor Laura Lacy for her unwavering support and encouragement throughout the entire writing and research process. Professor Laura Lacy’s guidance and insight were two of the most valuable resources while writing this paper. Additionally, the author would like to thank her friends, parents, and sisters for their constant support during uncertain times.

References

- Abrams, S. (2018, March 2). The persistent trouble with movie ratings. Retrieved from <https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2018/03/movie-ratings-mpaa-donald-trump>
- Bays, R. (2019, November 13). The complicated history of queer representation in film. Retrieved from <https://advancetitan.com/opinion/2019/11/13/the-complicated-history-of-queer-representation-in-film>
- Bowen, M. (Producer), Godfrey, W. (Producer), Klausner, I. (Producer), Shabazian, P. (Producer) & Berlanti, G. (Director). (2018). *Love, Simon* [Motion picture]. United States of America: Fox 2000 Pictures.
-

- Cover, R. (2000). First contact: Queer theory, sexual identity, and “mainstream” film. *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies*, 5(1), 71–89. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1010189618801>
- Cowles, C. (Producer), Fenton, C. (Producer), Goldberg, E. (Producer), Hurwitz, J. (Producer), Kahane, N. (Producer), Rogen, S. (Producer), Schlossberg, H. (Producer), Weaver, J. (Producer) & Cannon, K. (Director). (2018). *Blockers* [Motion picture]. United States of America: Universal Pictures.
- Follows, S. (2019, November 22). Which MPAA rating earns the most money? Retrieved from <https://stephenfollows.com/which-mpaa-rating-earns-the-most-money/>
- GLAAD. (2019, May 22). *2019 GLAAD Studio Responsibility Index*. Retrieved from https://issuu.com/glaad/docs/glaad_2019_studio_responsibility_in
- Giese, R. (2018, April 6). *Lose the plot: Why there's more than one queer narrative*. Retrieved from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-lose-the-plot-why-theres-more-than-one-queer-narrative/>
- Girard, D. (2017). Beauty and the beast of queer misrepresentation. *Fantastika Journal*, 1(1), 172–175. <https://fantastikajournal.com/publications/>
- Gomillion, S. C., & Giuliano, T. A. (2011). The influence of media role models on gay, lesbian, and bisexual Identity. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 58(3), 330–354. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2011.546729>
- Grossman, N. (Producer), Ostrowsky, I. (Producer), Schwarzman, T. (Producer) & Tyldum, M. (Director). (2014). *The Imitation Game* [Motion picture]. United States of America: Black Bear Pictures.
- Gupta, H. (2019, October 23). Disney needs more LGBTQ characters in its children's movies. Retrieved from <https://www.34st.com/article/2019/10/disney-channel-childrens-shows-tv-film-lgbtq-lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-questioning-characters-acting-representation-diversity-intersectional-entertainment>.
- Hulan, H. (2017). Bury your gays: History, usage, and context. *McNair Scholars Journal*, 21(1), 17-19.
- Ifeanyi, K.C. (2018, June 11). *Studios fail with LGBTQ representation in 2017, GLAAD reports*. Retrieved from <https://www.fastcompany.com/40575998/studios-are-still-way-behind-with-lgbtq-representation-glaad-reports>
- IMDb. (n.d.). Most popular coming out movies and TV shows. Retrieved from <https://www.imdb.com/search/?keyword/?keywords=coming-out>
- Mangin, D. (1989). College course file: The history of lesbians and gays on film. *Journal of Film and Video*, 41(3), 50-66. www.jstor.org/stable/20687868
- Mondello, B. (2008, August 8). Remembering Hollywood's Hays Code, 40 years on. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=93301189>.
- Padva, G. (2004). Edge of seventeen: Melodramatic coming out in new queer adolescence films. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 1(4), 355–372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1479142042000244961>
- Padva, G. (2007). Media and popular culture representations of LGBT bullying. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 19(3–4), 105–118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720802161615>
- The Williams Institute. (2017). *LGBT Proportion of Population: United States*. Retrieved from <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/visualization/lgbt-stats/?topic=LGBT&compare=percentage#comparison>.
-