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University of Southampton

Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences

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An exploration of children, adolescent and young peoples' attitudes towards the transgender population.

by

Jenna Susanne Read

Thesis for the degree of Doctorate of Educational Psychology

June 2019

University of Southampton

Abstract

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This thesis explores children, adolescent and young peoples' (CYP) attitudes towards the transgender population. The first paper reviews the literature that explores the different factors that influence attitudes towards the transgender population. Three key themes that influenced attitudes towards the transgender population were present within the literature: Heteronormativity; Conservatism; and Gender Differences. These themes highlight the relationship between a sense of belonging, group membership and the subsequent negative attitudes towards the transgender population. Implications for future research and educational practice are discussed with a specific focus on equality and improvement within educational settings. The second paper explores adolescent understanding of, and attitudes towards, traditional gender role beliefs, gender stereotypes and the transgender population. Using semi-structured interviews, I sought to gather the perceptions of ten pupils aged 13-14 (9 females, 1 male) from a secondary school in the South of England. I analysed the data using Thematic Analysis and five core themes were identified: Systemic influences on attitudes; Gender roles; Understanding the transgender population; Observable difference; and Awareness and education. Implications for future research and educational practice are discussed.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

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2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the school, staff and young people who participated in this study. Thank you for the time you invested and trusting me with your ideas, attitudes and perceptions.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Sarah Wright and Dr. Cora Sargeant. The discussions and reflections that have stemmed from writing this thesis have been thought provoking and inspiring. Your guidance, support, advice and feedback have been invaluable.

I would like to thank my friends who have been an amazing support over the last 3 years. You have kept me motivated, ensured I celebrated, and have been an integral part of my work/life balance.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without your patience, love, support, guidance and constant supply of cups of tea.

Definitions and Abbreviations

Term or abbreviation	Definition
Benevolent sexism	The endorsement of traditional and stereotypical sex/gender roles towards women by heterosexual individuals; this may be perceived by the recipient positively despite the underlying intent to undermine women and maintain male dominance within society.
Cisgender	An adjective used to describe a person whose gender identity and gender expression is in line with the sex they were assigned at birth.
CYP	Children and Young People
CYPT	Children and Young People who identify as Transgender or elsewhere along the spectrum of gender.
Gender expression	The way one portrays one's gender identity, for example via behaviour and dress
Gender identity	An internal sense of the gender we feel, whether that is female, male or somewhere else on the continuum.
GTS	Gender and Transphobia Scale.
Heteronormativity	A set of socially constructed norms that favour a traditionalist binary gender system and heterosexual orientation.
Hostile sexism	Aspects of sexism that incorporates antipathy towards an individual or group of women.
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender.
Need for Closure	A situational and motivating construct that describes an individual's need for firm, non-ambiguous, consistent information.

Definitions and Abbreviations

NHS	National Health Service.
Psychological essentialism	the belief that social group membership is based on shared biological characteristics such as hormones, sex, brain and genes.
Rape-myth acceptance	Attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women.
Religious fundamentalism	It represents a distinctive attitude of certainty as to the ultimate truth of one's religious beliefs.
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	People value uniformity and legitimate authority and adhere to traditional, societal norms. Difference is seen as deviant and is met with hostility.
Sex	One's biological and physiological genitalia.
Sexual orientation	Whom one is sexually attracted to based on the gender identity of a preferred sexual party.
Social Dominance Orientation	A personality trait that predicts an individual's social and political attitudes; an individual prefers hierarchy and dominance over perceived lower-status social groups.
TGNC	Transgender and gender non-conforming.
Traditional gender/sex roles	The roles society determines we play based on our genitalia (Bornstein, 1998).
UK	United Kingdom.
USA	United States of America.

Chapter 1 What are the factors that impact children, adolescent and young peoples' attitudes towards the transgender population?

1.1 Background and aims

There are approximately 200,000-500,000 transgender people currently living in the United Kingdom (UK: Government Equalities Office, 2018). Research on attitudes towards this population is in its infancy but growing exponentially (Stryker & Aizura, 2013). There are a number of different definitions of the term 'transgender' within the literature and it can often serve as an "umbrella" term for a number of people and identities (Buck, 2016; Norton & Herek, 2013). The American Psychological Association defines transgender as:

"An adjective that is an umbrella term used to describe the full range of people whose gender identity and/or gender role do not conform to what is typically associated with their sex assigned at birth. Whilst the term "transgender" is commonly used, not all TGNC (Transgender and gender non-conforming) self-identify as transgender".

American Psychological Association (2015)

Such an inclusive definition captures a continuum of diverse identities exhibiting gender-variant expressions. This inclusivity means that the transgender population may be defined as a single homogeneous group which risks alienating the breadth of identities and expressions the term transgender may encompass (Norton & Herek, 2013; Buck, 2016).

Throughout this thesis, transgender people are defined as those whose gender identity, expression or behaviour is inconsistent with their birth-assigned sex and is inclusive of those who have socially and medically transitioned as well as those who have not transitioned. When appropriate, I will distinguish between Female-to-Male transpeople (FtM), assigned female at birth but identifying as male, and Male-to-Female transpeople (MtF), assigned male at birth but identifying as female (Winter, Webster & Cheung, 2008).

Prior to discussing the current evidence base it is pertinent to clearly define and separate aspects of sex, gender, gender roles, and sexuality. Gender, sex and sexuality are frequently conflated, yet it is important to distinguish them from one another if we are to understand the interplay between them and the impact this has on societal attitudes towards the transgender population. Sex describes one's biological make up and physiological genitalia; gender identity

describes an internal sense of the gender we feel, whether that is female, male or somewhere else on the gender continuum (Wilchins, 2002; Bornstein, 1994). Gender expression describes the way gender identity is portrayed, for example via behaviour and dress. Traditional gender, or sex roles, describes the roles society determines we play based on our genitalia (Bornstein, 1998). Sexual orientation describes sexual attraction and is based on the gender identity of a preferred sexual partner.

Recently, researchers have sampled adult populations to identify and explore the potential factors that impact attitudes towards the transgender population (E.g. Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrel & Nagoshi, 2016; Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015; Norton & Herek, 2013; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Nagshoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi, 2008; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Hill, 2002). People tend to hold relatively positive attitudes towards the transgender population although certain factors have been identified that contribute to negative and prejudicial attitudes. For example, people who report negative attitudes towards the transgender population tend to favour heteronormativity, which can be described as a belief in a traditionalist binary gender system and heterosexual orientation, support traditional sex roles and hold socially conservative beliefs.

It is important to understand the concept of prejudice before we look at it in relation to the transgender population. The American Psychological Association (APA) conceptualises prejudice as a negative attitude that is aimed at an individual or social group based on a specific characteristic (APA, 2018). Negative attitudes about a social group can be formed prior to any contact with a person or group and can be split into three components (APA, 2018):

1. Affective (negative emotions that can range from mild to extreme).
2. Cognitive (negative or incorrect beliefs about a person or a group).
3. Behavioural (negative behaviours towards a person or a group).

Glasman and Albarracin (2006) conducted a meta-analysis exploring the factors that influenced when an attitude predicted behaviour and found that the attitude-behaviour predictive relationship is more likely to occur when an attitude is held with confidence, is decisive, accessible, stable and based on direct experience (Glasman & Albarracin, 2006; Kraus, 1995).

To support our understanding of the negative attitudes aimed specifically towards members of the transgender population, Hill (2002) describes a three-component model of prejudice and discrimination. Hill describes the affective aspect as *transphobia*; the cognitive component as *genderism* and the behavioural component as *gender-bashing*. These components are measured within Hill and Willoughby's Genderism and Transphobia Scale (GTS); an appraisal of an individual's levels of prejudice and discrimination towards the transgender population (Hill

& Willoughby, 2005). However, the GTS has received criticism for its implication of disgust, fear and revulsion held by the cisgender population (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi et al, 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012). More recently, terms such as transprejudice, anti-transgender prejudice, and gender-nonconforming prejudice have described attitudes towards this population (Nagoshi et al, 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Broussard & Warner, 2018). I will use transprejudice to describe this construct throughout this review as it clearly represents the construct discussed and the population concerned.

Transprejudice represents an important avenue for exploration due to the impact it can have on the wellbeing of the transgender population. A survey exploring the mental health of members of the transgender population found that 84% had considered suicide at some point of their lives with 50% having attempted it at least once (McNeil, Bailey, Ellis, Morton & Regan, 2012). In 2018, a report published by Stonewall found that 41% of transgender respondents had experienced a hate crime in the last 12 months due to their gender identity and 40% claimed they had adjusted the way they dress for fear of prejudice and discrimination (Stonewall, 2018). There are also credible threats to the safety of the transgender population with 1,651 hate crimes recorded in England and Wales by the police in 2017-2018 evidencing that there are contexts in which prejudice translates to discrimination (Home Office, 2018). Even excluding the risk of direct threat, the transgender population face barriers within society that have a negative impact on their mental health and psychological, physical, social and economic wellbeing (APA, 2011).

There are an increasing number of children, adolescents and young people openly questioning their gender (CYPT) thus potentially exposing themselves to similar prejudices experienced by the adult transgender population. In 2017-2018 the UK's Tavistock and Portman Gender Identity Development Service (GIDS) received 2,519 referrals (713 birth-assigned males, 1806 birth-assigned females) from CYPT under the age of 18, an increase of 25% on the previous year (GIDS, 2018).

A study by Stonewall and the University of Cambridge suggests that CYPT do experience similar prejudices to those of the adult transgender population (Bradlow, Bartram, Guasp & Jadva, 2017). In total, 3713 lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans (LGBT) pupils aged 11-19 were questioned with 483 (13%) identifying as transgender or a gender outside of a binary model. Bradlow and colleagues found that approximately 84% of transgender respondents had self-harmed, and more than 45% had attempted to take their own lives. This strongly suggests that CYPT experience negative attitudes and prejudice at school but does not give us a clear understanding of why. Furthermore, there is no clear understanding of why negative attitudes are shared by members of the school community or why they are directed at members of the transgender population.

A clearer understanding of the factors that impact CYPs' attitudes towards the transgender population is important to understand the development and maintenance of negative attitudes. This understanding may then help highlight ways in which we can reduce some of the barriers faced by members of the transgender population.

1.2 Method

1.2.1 Search Strategy

The research question for the current review is, "What factors influence children and young people's attitudes towards the transgender population?" To answer this question, five electronic databases were employed to search the literature: PsychInfo via EBSCO, Web of Science (WoS), Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC), Scopus and Cinahl Plus. Search terms were generated based on the focus of the review, the research question and terms identified during a scoping search of the literature (Appendix A). Synonyms and commonly used descriptors of the word 'transgender' aimed to capture the difference in language used to describe this population including: 'transsexual', 'transgenderism', 'gender non-conform', 'gender dysphoria', and 'gender variant'. An initial search generated a total of 52 papers (PsychInfo N=26; WoS N=12; ERIC N=6; Scopus N=0). The search was conducted between May and September 2018.

1.2.2 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

A total of 42 papers' titles and abstracts were screened for relevance to the research question using the predetermined inclusion and exclusion criteria (Appendix B). Of these, 33 papers did not meet the criteria leaving a total of nine papers. An additional nine papers were identified via a search of the reference lists of the included articles. The remaining full-text articles (N=18) were screened based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria; those that did not meet the criteria were excluded (N=3). Following this, a total of 15 papers were selected for this review (Figure 1; The PRISMA Group, 2009).

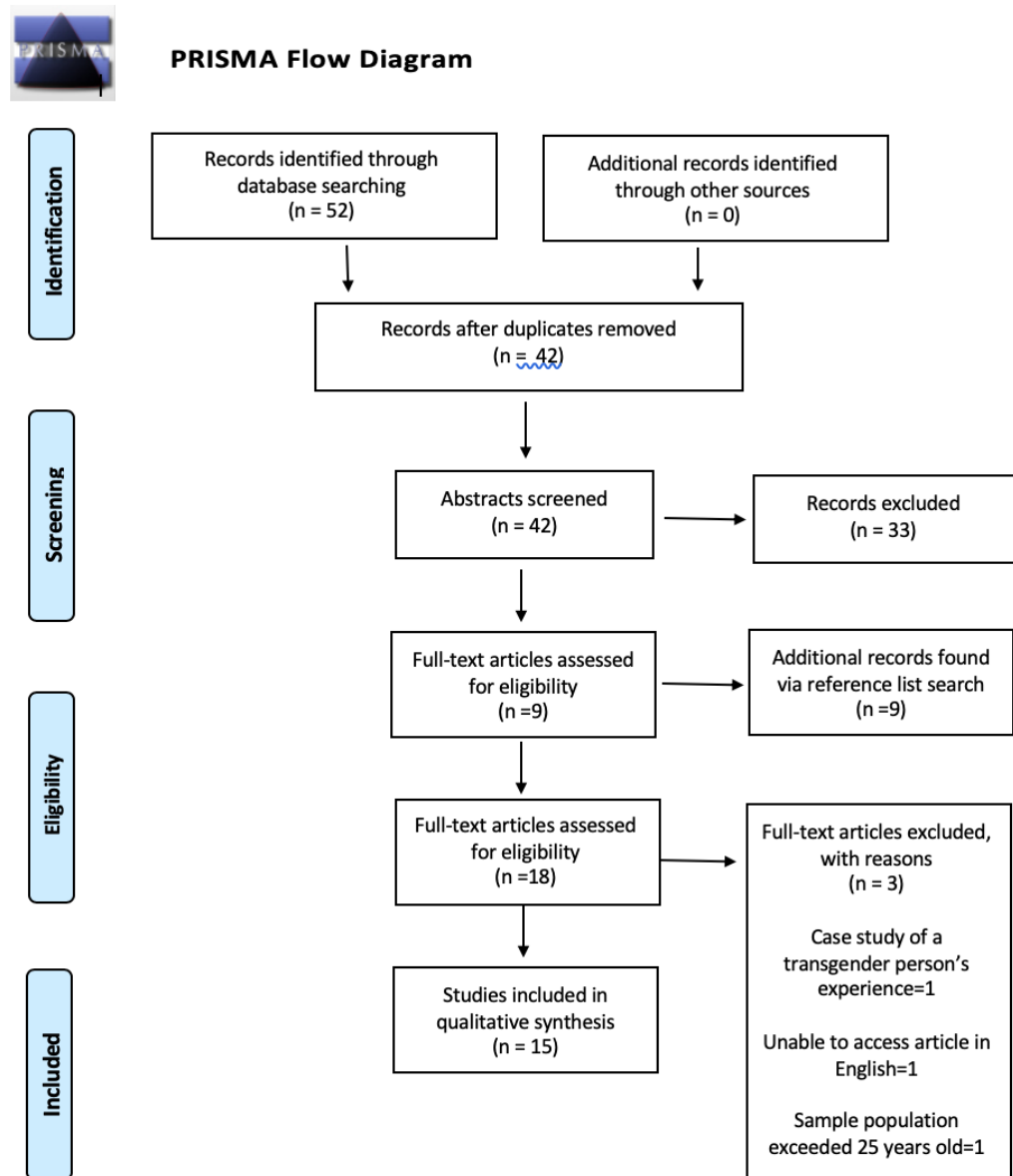


Figure 1. PRISMA diagram demonstrating the systematic search process.

1.2.3 Data Extraction

The 15 studies that met the inclusion criteria were quality assessed. Fourteen studies were quantitative and assessed using an adapted version of Downs and Black's checklist (1998; Appendix C). The checklist awards one point for each of the criteria with a total of 12 points available. For this review, studies that scored between 0-4 were categorised as 'low quality', a score between 5-8 was categorised as 'medium quality', and a score between 9-12 was categorised as 'high quality'. One study employed a mixed-method methodology; the Downs and Black (1998) checklist was used to assess the quantitative section, and for the qualitative section, the Review Framework for Qualitative Evaluation/Investigation Research from the University of

Manchester (Bond, Woods, Humphrey, Symes & Green, 2013: Appendix D) was used. Each study was also assessed, weighted and evaluated using Gough's Weight of Evidence framework (2007: Appendix E). The Weight of Evidence (WoE) is based on four criteria; WoE A considers the methodological relevance and suitability of each study and I used the Downs and Black checklist (1998). WoE B is review specific and considers the population, measures and reliability of each study in relation to the review focus and review question. WoE C is also review specific and considers the relevance and focus of the evidence in relation to the review question. WoE D considers the three judgements and combines them to make an overall assessment of the evidence and its relation to the review question. WoE D provides a categorisation of 'high quality', 'medium quality', or 'low quality' to evaluate the quality of the evidence in the review (See Table 1). This approach is in line with current research that suggests numerical appraisal alone may not be the best way to evaluate the quality of research (Booth, Papaioannou & Sutton, 2011). In using numerical and subjective measures to appraise the quality of research, the sensitivity of the evaluations will increase compared to the use of one method alone. It is acknowledged that quality assurance appraisals may result in lower scores if there is incomplete data to make the judgement (Cochrane Review Groups, 2011).

1.2.3.1 Descriptive Summary

A total of 15 papers were reviewed, all but one were quantitative (N=14) and one a mixed-methods study. Most studies included a sample of college pupils (N=12); two studies included a sample of adolescent pupils (14-19 years old), and one study included a sample of primary-aged pupils (5-10 years old). Following appraisal, one study was excluded due to the lack of quality evidence it provided as appraised by the WoE framework (Antoszewski, Kasielska, Jędrzejczak, & Kruk-Jeromin, 2007). Although the research question was relevant to the current research question the flaws with the methodology and design meant that the findings could not be validated. This left a total of fourteen studies (See Table 1). Table 1 shows the overall quality assurance rating (WoE D) each study was given.

Table 1. Quality assurance table

WoE D Quality Rating	Paper
Low	Antoszewski, Kasielska, Jędrzejczak, & Kruk-Jeromin, (2007).
Medium	Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell, & Nagoshi (2016); Barbir, Vandevender, Cohn, (2017); Carrol, Guss, Hutchinson, & Gauler, (2012); Costa & Davies (2012); Gazzola & Morrison (2014); Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi (2008); Winter, Chalungsooth, Teh, Rojanalert, Maneerat, Wong, Beaumont, Ho, Gomez, Macapagal (2008).
High	Broussard & Warner (2018); Carrera-Fernandez, Lameiras-Fernandez. Rodriguez-Castro, & (2014); Chen & Anderson (2017); Ching & Xu (2018); Gülgöz, Gomez, DeMeules, Olson (2018); Tebbe, & Moradi (2012); Winter, Webster & Cheung (2009).

1.3 Findings

Fourteen articles explored the factors that influence CYPs' attitudes towards the transgender population and a number of constructs were identified: heteronormativity; conservatism; and gender differences. These constructs will be used to structure the review and their respective impacts on attitudes towards the transgender population will be discussed.

1.3.1 The Impact of Heteronormativity on Attitudes

Seven of the fourteen studies addressed the impact of heteronormativity on attitudes towards the transgender population. Adams and colleagues (2016) define heteronormativity as a set of socially constructed norms that favour a traditionalist binary gender system and heterosexual orientation. Traditional gender identity and gender roles are divided into male and female identities with corresponding roles; deviation from this system results in criticism, prejudice and discrimination. Non-conforming groups are often criticised when their identities, roles and behaviours do not conform with the majority group (Costa & Davies, 2012).

Gülgoz, Gomez, DeMeules, & Olsen (2018) showed that children between the ages of 5-10 years show a preference for cisgender children over transgender children. Gülgoz et al (2018) conducted two studies to explore children's evaluations of transgender versus cisgender peers, who were either the same or opposite gender to them, and whether they categorised their transgender peers by their gender identity or sex. The first study found that children showed a preference for same-gender, cisgender peers despite generally rating transgender peers positively. For example, cisgender girls favoured cisgender girls, followed by cisgender boys, transgender girls (birth-assigned male) and finally transgender boys (birth-assigned female). The authors concluded that their results suggested that participants made their decisions based on gender-typed behaviour rather than on the basis of sex. Although, the vignette used in study 1 may have potentially caused some difficulties in interpretation for the participants as it did not specifically state whether the 'target' child was assigned a boy or girl at birth, it only implies this. This inherent ambiguity in the task was addressed in study two where Gülgoz et al (2018) provided a fuller description of the target children's birth sex, pronouns and their views of their gender and preferences. The vignette descriptions of cisgender target children provided stereotypical depictions whereas transgender target descriptions did not. An example of a stereotypical description included: "*Casey liked to wear dresses and play with dolls*". Children preferred own-gender peers but did not show a preference for cisgender peers over transgender peers. Taking the results of both studies, Gülgoz and colleagues concluded that participants did not consistently categorise transgender peers by sex or gender, but that participants who liked their transgender peers less tended to categorise these peers by their sex as opposed to their gender. Overall, they concluded that children showed a preference for cisgender target children over transgender target children with cisgender children preferring cisgender children of the same gender, followed by transgender peers of the same gender. However, when the results of study two, which provided a fuller description of the target child, were taken into account, they demonstrated that children did not show a preference for cisgender peers over transgender peers. The study did not find a significant correlation between participant's age and their

evaluations of cisgender and transgender peers. The authors suggest that this may be due to the increase in the social acceptability of non-conforming groups regardless of age, although this is not demonstrated in other research as will be discussed. Alternatively, it may be that transgender children who act in accordance with stereotypical gender norms may not be seen to be different from their cisgender counterparts. Based on the WoE framework, this study received a rating of 'high'.

Two studies showed that as children develop into adolescence, heteronormativity begins to influence their evaluations of non-conforming groups (Costa & Davies, 2012; Carrera-Fernández, Lameiras-Fernández, Rodríguez-Castro & Vellejo-Medina, 2014). Costa and Davies (2012) explored the attitudes of adolescents aged 15-19 toward gay men, lesbians, the transgender population and traditional gender roles. They found that adolescents who held negative attitudes towards the transgender population held similar attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and endorsed the concept of traditional gender roles. This was especially true for participants who held negative attitudes towards gay men. This study used its own assessment tool to measure participants' gender role beliefs and adapted items taken from other tools including The Gender Role Belief Scale (Kerr & Holden, 1996) and the Bias in Attitude Survey (Jean & Reynolds, 1980). Overall, this study received a rating of 'medium' on the quality assurance framework. The lower rating was in part due to the fact the authors had reworded elements of the GTS to fit the audience and measured the level of transprejudice amongst an unrepresentative sample of participants (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). It is unclear whether this had an impact on the scale's interpretation, reliability or validity.

Gender role beliefs and their role in prejudicial attitudes are explored by Nagoshi and colleagues (2008) who proposed a three-component model of gender non-conformity prejudice. The model is based on Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice; the idea that prejudice occurs when the ingroup perceive a sense of real or symbolic threat from the outgroup. The sense of fear may stem from the perceived anxiety of the two groups' interactions or may reflect the negative stereotypes held by the ingroup towards the outgroup. Nagoshi et al (2008) found that a perceived threat to social status was significantly associated with attitudes about benevolent sexism and traditional gender roles. This would suggest that people who hold strong but positive beliefs about women conforming to traditional gender roles are likely to hold negative views towards the transgender population. Additionally, a significant relationship between hostile sexism, religious fundamentalism (RF) and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) for men and women suggests a preference for traditionalist, heteronormative gender norms and prejudice toward deviance from this (see List of Abbreviations for description of these terms). The

authors suggest that experiences that promote these norms are a potential mechanism for observed prejudices.

Tebbe and Moradi (2012) used structural equation modelling (SEM) to analyse 250 undergraduate psychology students' attitudes toward several constructs including: anti-lesbian, gay and bisexual prejudice (LGB), traditional gender roles, anti-transgender prejudice, need for closure and social dominance orientation. A need for closure describes an individual's need for firm, non-ambiguous, consistent information (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994; Kruglanski, 1990). This is a situational and motivational construct that can affect an individual's attitudes based on their available schemas; people high in need for closure will actively avoid ambiguity and potentially hold negative attitudes towards members of the transgender population. Social dominance orientation refers to an individual's hope to maintain social hierarchies by increasing and maintaining the status of their in-group (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Somebody who scores highly on social dominance orientation would regard the heteronormative population to be the in-group and the transgender population the out-group. Tebbe and Moradi (2012) found that anti-LGB prejudice (.58), traditional gender role attitudes (.23) and need for closure (.12) provided unique associations with anti-transgender prejudice with the strength of these associations in the described order. This means that each variable contributes to anti-transgender prejudice individually and irrespective of each other; for example, a high score on anti-LGB prejudice is likely to reflect a high score on measures of anti-transgender prejudice. This provides evidence that beliefs about gender and sexuality, particularly social norms, contribute significantly to why and how people form attitudes towards transgender individuals. The quality of this study received a rating of 'high' due to the appropriateness of measures and analysis as well as its replicability, validity and relevance to the review question, although a limitation is that we cannot assume that findings from an undergraduate sample will necessarily hold relevance for other groups.

In Gazzola and Morrison's (2014) first study three focus groups (FG) were used to explore the traits and attributes thought to best represent the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women; FG1 included only female participants, FG2 included only male participants and FG3 included both genders. Eight themes were identified: *Gendered personality and behaviours* which describes the alignment with traditional gender beliefs and roles. *Sexed body shape* describes participant beliefs that transgender individuals physically retain their birth-sex characteristics. The third theme, defined as *abnormal*, describes the belief that transgender individuals are visibly and obviously different to cisgender individuals. *Rejected by society* describes participant beliefs that members of the transgender population are outcasts within society. *Mental illness* encapsulates the belief that transgender individuals are mentally ill and confused about their identity. *Sex*

reassignment surgery suggests a belief that most transgender individuals experience hormonal or surgical intervention. *Gay and lesbian* describes participant beliefs that transgender individuals are gay or lesbian and base this on their birth-sex. The final theme of *primacy of birth sex versus gender identity* describes the belief of some participants that transgender individuals were born in the wrong body whilst others believed that one cannot change their sex or gender identity. These findings highlight how conflated gender identity, gender expression, sex and sexual orientation are for some and reveals the heteronormative narrative, a binary model of gender and heterosexuality as the norm, that guides appraisal and evaluation of members of the transgender population. The conflation of gender and sexuality can also be found in other studies included in this review. For example, Adams et al (2016) includes gender identity, gender roles and sexual orientation as part of the description of gender non-conformity. The study used PATH analyses to explore the relationship between gender identity, gender roles and sexual orientation against theoretical models of homophobia and transphobia. The study found significant correlations with each other for negative appraisals of deviation in gender role norms, gender identity norms and sexual orientation norms supporting the notion of conflation amongst participants. Gender role norms and gender identity norms provided a correlation of .71; gender role norms and sexual orientation provided a correlation of .74; gender identity norms and sexual orientation provided a correlation of .84. The measures and analysis were appropriate although the actual probability values were not reported throughout the study. I would argue that whilst the study attempts to separate the aetiology of transprejudice it still uses language that may be viewed as conflating gender, sex and sexuality under its description of gender non-conformity; it may be more fitting to use a phrase such as 'deviation from heteronormativity' so that the different constructs are viewed separately and treated as such. The overall quality assurance rating given was 'medium'.

1.3.2 The Impact of Conservatism on Attitudes

Conservatism is an umbrella term for a cluster of constructs described in the papers reviewed that includes one's political, religious, and social beliefs and ideologies. Four studies within this review included one or more aspects of conservatism in their analysis of CYPs' attitudes. Nagoshi et al (2008) found that right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), religious fundamentalism (RF), benevolent sexism and rape myth acceptance were predictive of transprejudice for women, but only benevolent sexism (.21) was predictive of transprejudice for men once homophobia was partialled out. Based on Nagoshi et al's (2008) model, Adams et al (2016) proposed a three-component model that suggested a specific threat to social status is the mechanism for gender-based prejudice. This model was used to explore whether transprejudice was a result of the outgroups' social identity and status or whether it was the perceived deviation from gender heteronormativity. Several constructs were assessed: RWA; aggression;

homophobia; transphobia, RF, ambivalent sexism and, discomfort with violations of gender roles, gender identity and sexual orientation norms. PATH analyses showed RWA and RF were significantly correlated with discomfort of violations of gender role, gender identity and sexual orientation norms for both heteronormative men and women, suggesting that a deviation from heteronormativity may be responsible for the levels of transprejudice seen.

Ching and Xu (2018) explored another aspect of conservatism in the form of attitudes toward sex differences. The authors grounded their study in the theoretical basis of psychological essentialism, the belief that social group membership is based on shared biological characteristics such as hormones, sex, brain and genes (Ching & Xu, 2018). Those that hold essentialist views of gender would argue that men and women are categorically different due to these biological differences (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2011). Ching & Xu (2018) conducted an experimental study to explore the impact of stereotyping on transprejudice. One experimental group read an article that promoted essentialist beliefs about sex/gender, the other group read the same article but with arguments that questioned essentialist claims. They found that participants in the essentialist group reported more negative stereotypes and attitudes compared to the other group. Being part of the gender essentialist group led to a belief in biological, categorical sex differences and the notion of stability of gender across the lifetime (Ching & Xu, 2018). It may be that these views encourage intergroup differences and prejudice by devaluing transgender individuals' claims of changing biological sex thus attempting to discredit their sex, gender identity, gender roles and gender expression. In relation to the review question this study received a quality rating of 'high' as it provided relevant and replicable evidence, although as with many of the studies included in this review, the collection of outcome data occurred immediately after the experimental manipulation so we do not know whether the effects seen lasted beyond the moment.

The perception that gender is primarily biological in nature receives further support from a study by Winter, Chalungsooth, Teh, Rojanalert, Maneerat, Wong, et al (2009). They identified that transprejudice is fuelled by a belief that transgender women are not women. Winter et al (2009) conducted a large study exploring the attitudes of 841 undergraduates from seven different countries towards transwomen (China, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, UK and US). The authors used the GTS and found five factors that accounted for 52% of the variance in beliefs towards transwomen; *mental illness* describes a belief that transwomen are mentally ill and explained 30% of the observed variance in attitudes. The factor *Denial-women* explained 7% of the observed variance and describes a belief that transwomen are not women nor should they be afforded the rights of a woman. *Social rejection* describes the view that transwomen are rejected by teachers and family and explains 6% of the variance; whereby *peer rejection* describes the rejection of transwomen by their peers and explains 5%. The final factor, *sexual deviance*,

describes the inappropriate sexual behaviour of transwomen and explains 4% of the variance. The authors do recommend caution in the interpretation of these findings due to the low sample sizes from each country. Additionally, the GTS has not yet produced a consistent factor structure across several studies and therefore its cross-cultural validity is currently unclear (Winter et al, 2009; Costa & Davies, 2012; Carrera-Fernandez et al, 2012). The study received an appraisal of 'medium' in relation to the relevance of the review question using the quality assurance framework.

Barbir, Vandevender and Cohn (2017) used the theoretical underpinnings of the contact hypothesis to explore heteronormative undergraduate students social contact with members of the transgender population (Allport, 1954, 1979; Pettigrew, 1998). The contact hypothesis suggests that prejudice between a majority and minority group can be decreased via intergroup contact. Using two study-developed measures, Barbir et al (2017) measured commonly found constructs, such as attitudes towards heteronormativity, homophobia and transprejudice, alongside behavioural intentions and friendship experiences. A factor analysis showed that the first measure produced excellent reliability alphas ($\alpha=.92-.96$) and excellent convergent validity. The study found that those with at least one transgender friend self-reported fewer negative attitudes and intentions and more positive attitudes and intentions than those who did not have any social contact with a transgender person, suggesting that social contact correlated with a decrease in prejudice. It is unclear whether the impact seen was due to a participant's contact with one friend, or more than one friend. The measures and analysis were appropriate for the study and a clear description of the measure provides replicability. It is not clear from the study whether the undergraduate students were enrolled on the same course or whether they are representative of the population from which they were recruited. With regards to quality assurance, this study received a rating of 'medium' overall quality.

1.3.3 The Impact of Gender Differences in Attitudes

Six studies in this review investigated the impact of gender differences in attitudes towards the transgender population and showed that there are clear differences in the way people appraise and evaluate members of the transgender population. Gülgoz et al (2018) argued that children aged 5-10 years old preferred peers that presented as the same gender as them; they categorised their peers based on the similarities of characteristics to themselves. However, by the time children reach adolescence a gender divide in transprejudice becomes apparent. Carrera-Fernandez and colleagues (2014) reported that boys reported significantly more negative attitudes and beliefs towards transgender individuals than girls although the reported effect size was low $d=.10$. Similarly, Costa and Davies (2012) found that males reported significantly more negative attitudes towards transgender individuals than the female participants in the study.

Researchers have recently stopped looking at the transgender population as a homogenous group and started to explore the different experiences of Male-to-Female (MtF) and Female-to-Male (FtM) individuals. Where this has been explored, for example in Chinese culture, heteronormative males reported more negative attitudes towards transgender individuals than their female counterparts (Chen & Anderson, 2017), with similar observations made by Winter et al (2008) in undergraduate students in Hong Kong. Chen and Anderson (2017) explored cisgender heterosexual participants' levels of gender self-esteem in relation to their own gender and their levels of transprejudice. Most of the sample attended a Chinese university (85.4%) with 10.6% recruited from the US and 4.1% from other countries. The GTS measured levels of transprejudice in this study. A main effect for higher levels of teasing, violence towards and discomfort around transwomen was found when compared to transmen, and men scored significantly higher on items relating to violence towards, teasing of and discomfort around members of the transgender population, although these results yielded a small effect size. The relationship between gender self-esteem and transprejudice was not significant. This may suggest that males hold more negative attitudes towards the transgender population than females internationally and cross-culturally although the underlying contributing factors and constructs may differ. Winter and colleagues (2008) recruited 205 undergraduate students from a university in Hong Kong to explore the use of the GTS in a different cultural context and whether there are gender differences in attitudes towards members of the transgender population. Hill and Willoughby's (2005) original sample were a comparison group. Men scored significantly higher than women on levels of transprejudice and both sexes demonstrated significantly more transprejudice towards transmen than transwomen. Caution is advised with regards to the measures used in the two studies. The sample size in Chen and Anderson's (2018) study was not sufficient to reliably determine the factor structure of the GTS and Winter et al (2008) found a five-factor structure compared to the initial two-factor structure demonstrated by Hill and Willoughby (2005). This may be one reason differences in transprejudice are reported as opposed to underlying, cultural-specific mechanisms that have been hypothesised. There may also be the need for some caution when reporting effect sizes; there has been some recent suggestion that this is only a helpful impact metric when all elements are comparative (Simpson, 2017). For this review the quality of Chen and Anderson (2017) received a rating of 'high' overall using the WoE framework and Winter et al (2008) was rated as 'medium'.

Differences in attitudes towards FtM and MtF individuals have not been found in children, instead children appear to categorise based on same-gender preferences (Gülgoz et al, 2018). Yet, interestingly, Carrera-Fernandez and colleagues (2014) found that adolescents do make this discrimination. In their study, adolescents appraised gender non-conforming males (transwomen)

significantly more negatively than gender non-conforming women (transmen). The same findings are shown in undergraduate student populations (Chen & Anderson, 2017; Winter et al, 2009; Winter et al, 2008).

Transgender women are not always consistently judged more harshly and negatively than transgender men. Gazzola and Morrison (2014) conducted two studies; one study explored the content of personal stereotypic beliefs using focus groups, and the other study asked 247 participants to evaluate cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women and how much they personally endorsed the stereotypic attributes. The study found the cultural stereotype of transgender men more negatively evaluated than that of transgender women, but not in the participant's personal evaluations of transgender men and women. Similarly, Carroll, Güss, Hutchinson and Gauler (2012) explored whether interpersonal curiosity and empathy were associated with the level of social interaction and willingness to help a transgender peer by asking participants to take on the pretend role of a peer counsellor. They found that heteronormative male undergraduate students reported more negative attitudes towards FtM individuals. Males reported that they would least prefer to interact with FtM individuals in a helping situation and reported greater negative feelings towards these individuals whereas they showed a greater preference for interaction with MtF individuals in a helping situation and fewer negative feelings. Carroll et al (2012) did not find a significant relationship between levels of empathy, interpersonal curiosity and social interaction for cisgender or transgender peers suggesting an alternative driver for the attitudes reported. The study did highlight the lack of power with regards to a low male sample and only reported findings with observed power of above .75. Additionally, the study only used the negative affective subscale of the Affective Reactions to the Target measure due to low reliability of the positive subscale leading to a potential bias in the outcome data. It would be interesting to explore whether there is a relationship between levels of empathy, interpersonal curiosity and social interaction for both male and female participants, with higher levels of power observed. To the author's knowledge, there has not been another study exploring this relationship in relation to the transgender population.

Broussard & Warner (2018) conducted three studies, with two of the three relevant to this review. In study one, the authors assessed the attitudes of 232 undergraduate students from the US towards gender-conforming and gender non-conforming cisgender and transgender female individuals. They found that gender non-conforming women and transgender women increased participants' perception of threat and decreased levels of liking compared to gender-conforming women. In study two, the authors assessed the attitudes of 217 US undergraduate students toward gender-conforming and gender non-conforming cisgender and transgender males. They found that transgender men were appraised more negatively than cisgender men and feminine

men were appraised more negatively than masculine men. Overall, gender-conforming targets were liked more than gender non-conforming targets with cisgender targets appraised more favourably than transgender targets. The authors found that as attitudes towards traditional gender roles, a binary gender system and transprejudice increased, evaluations of transgender and gender non-conforming individuals decreased, and the evaluations of perceived threat increased. This suggests that participants who scored higher levels of transprejudice, had stronger beliefs in traditional gender roles, felt more threatened and held more negative views of transgender and gender non-conforming individuals.

1.4 Discussion

The current review has appraised fourteen studies looking at the factors that influence CYPs' attitudes towards members of the transgender population. One study included children as participants; two included adolescents and the remainder sampled college students. This review provides a starting point to form an evidence-based understanding of CYPs' attitudes towards members of the transgender population. With 12 of the 14 papers written within the last decade, exploring CYPs' attitudes appears to be an emerging area of research. This review has collated and systematically appraised the available evidence.

A key theme within the research is the perceived differences between the cisgender and transgender populations. In society, people define themselves and their identity based on the different social groups to which they belong (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Children learn to view and make sense of their world early on in life through the process of categorisation. We learn to group things based on how they are similar and exclude based on differences. When a child is born, they are categorised as either a male or female and are then typically socialised in line with the birth-assigned sex. Children receive cues from society about their sex and expected expression to align with traditional gender norms.

Transgender individuals may be perceived as an outgroup by the heteronormative population due to the transgression of boundaries of gender identity, gender roles, sex and sexual orientation thus providing two distinct social groups. Additionally, transgender individuals do not conform to the characteristics by which the ingroup pride and identify themselves and therefore, it can be argued, create a sense of threat for members of this group.

Between the ages of two and a half to three and a half children begin to identify as either male or female and recognise the other gender as different from them (Kohlberg 1966). At this age, children have become aware of their membership of a gendered social group, the similarities that come with membership and the differences of the other group. As we develop, people learn

to categorise themselves into social groups based on how similar they perceive themselves to the group's defining characteristics (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). When part of a social group people view themselves as similar to others within that social group causing an accentuation effect, an overestimation of group similarity. People view themselves as very different to members of groups to which they do not belong and this is often based on stereotypical categorisations (Tajfel, 1959). Researchers have argued that the more someone identifies with their group the stronger their emotions for that group are and they feel more threatened by members of the outgroup than those who identify less with their social group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Once a member of their preferred social group, the group is highly motivated to promote intragroup similarities and intergroup differences by devaluing the outgroup. This phenomenon is present across many different groups within society and has been used to explain the conflict, prejudice and discrimination found between different groups that are perceived to hold different characteristics.

In addition to perceived differences, this review highlights that specific beliefs and world-views have implications for the way members of the transgender population are appraised (Ching & Xu, 2018; Adams et al, 2016; Barbir et al, 2017; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Winter et al, 2009; Nagoshi et al, 2008). A perception that males and females are categorically different based on biological differences (gender essentialism) could have implications for the transgender population in several ways. An endorsement of gender essentialism can promote stereotyping and has been found to negatively link to intergroup relations (Brescoll & LaFrance, 2004). Stereotyping has also been found to have consequences for the way people perceive themselves and the way others perceive them due to the emphasis on similarities and differences (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2006; Coleman & Hong, 2008). Furthermore, research has shown that essentialist beliefs about gender promote sex differences as an explanation for traditional roles which, in turn, give rise to the endorsement of traditional and stereotypical sex/gender roles towards women by heterosexual individuals (Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Keller, 2005). This review highlighted the belief of some that transgender individuals are mentally ill and confused about their birth-assigned sex and gender identity (Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Winter et al, 2009).

A synthesis of the research reviewed suggests that it may be a combination of personality and cognitive factors which influence people in the adoption and maintenance of socially conservative attitudes that foster prejudice (Akrami, Ekehammar & Bergh, 2011; Hill, Terrell, Cohen & Nagoshi, 2010). People with a more rigid cognitive style may experience greater difficulty in accepting any deviation from their beliefs which creates a sense of anxiety and threat to their knowledge and the rules by which they live. Wider research suggests that these views can

produce general prejudices towards any person and/or group that does not conform to traditional societal norms (Hopwood & Connors, 2002; Altmeyer and Hunsberger, 1992; Altmeyer 1981).

This review has highlighted that males consistently report more negative attitudes towards transgender individuals than females and this is reflected in the wider research (Broussard & Warner, 2018; Adams et al, 2016; Chen & Anderson, 2017; Carrera-Fernandez et al, 2014; Costa & Davies, 2012; Gerhardtstein & Anderson, 2010; Winter et al, 2009; Nagoshi et al, 2008 Winter, Webster & Cheung, 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006). Males show significant discomfort with deviation from heteronormativity, specifically gender identity norms, gender role norms and sexual orientation norms. There are numerous theories as to why males demonstrate higher levels of prejudice than females; for example, it may be one way for men to maintain dominance and control over women and society and attempt to do so by enforcing heteronormative ideals (Hamilton, 2007). Males may feel more pressure to adhere to strict masculine, heteronormative ideals which in turn contribute to the preservation and maintenance of male dominance and control (Epstein, O'Flynn & Telford, 2003). Furthermore, males that deviate from these ideals may pose a threat to masculinity by violating traditional gender norms, a binary gender system, and heterosexuality (Costa & Davies, 2012; Korobov, 2004). Norton (1997) theorised that to maintain a social hierarchy with men at the top, men need to ensure that masculinity encompasses traditionalism in terms of appearance, sexual preference, sexual behaviour, social behaviour and gender roles. A more recent theory is the perceived notion of deception whereby cisgender men may feel deceived by MtF individuals as they were not born with female genitalia and therefore not considered 'real women'; attraction to transgender women may be too greater risk for men and their masculinity (Bettcher, 2007). Furthermore, it is suggested that conflation of gender roles, gender identity, sex and sexual orientation for men aims to promote and maintain male dominance within society (Nagoshi et al, 2008). Overall, the evidence would suggest that males report greater levels of prejudice towards members of the transgender population as well as experiencing the greatest levels of prejudice when a member of the transgender population.

Another important factor which emerged throughout this review is a sense of belonging for both the participants and the transgender population. To thrive and survive human beings need several fundamental, basic needs met (Maslow, 1943). One need for humans is to feel that they belong which in turn promotes their own mental health, feelings of love and feelings of safety (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1943). One way to meet the need to belong is via membership of a social group but there are risks attached. The process of highlighting intragroup similarities increases the group's cohesiveness but this is at the cost of highlighting the intergroup difference (Gruter & Masters, 1986). It is not hard to see that the impact of social group membership, based on deeply held views and value-laden characteristics such as gender and

heteronormativity, could promote intergroup conflict and prejudice. I suggest that the relationship between transprejudice and belonging is two-fold: the lack of a sense of belonging for some members of the transgender population as a minority group in society, and the threat to a sense of belonging for some members of the heteronormative population as the majority group. Members of the transgender population may experience belongingness within their own social group but may long for acceptance into the wider community. Such acceptance would likely decrease the level of prejudice and discrimination experienced due to minority group membership and increase feelings of belongingness, safety and acceptance (Williams, 2009). Alternatively, members of the heteronormative majority group may feel that their social group membership is under threat, especially if the minority group represents violations in the core characteristics and meaning that validates group membership, in this case gender. Questioning these key characteristics may produce anxiety for ingroup members and represent an attack on their own social identity, their place within the group and within society. In response to such threat, the group may respond aggressively and to devalue the minority group (Williams, 2009; Jetten, Spears & Postmes, 2004; Jetten, Summerville, Hornsey & Mewse, 2005; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Turner et al, 1987). The need to belong to the majority, heteronormative population may be a key factor in the development and maintenance of negative attitudes and prejudice towards the transgender population.

This literature review has explored CYPs' attitudes towards the transgender population. It contributes to an emerging evidence base looking at factors that influence the development and maintenance of CYPs' attitudes. The review has focused on attitudes in the context of heteronormative privilege and conservatism whilst considering the gender differences in attitudes reported by the cisgender, heteronormative population and the reported differences in attitudes towards MtF and FtM individuals. Finally, this review uses the psychological theories of belonging and intergroup conflict to support the understanding of the current evidence base in relation to answering this review's question.

1.4.1 Strengths and limitations

An understanding of the influences that impact CYPs' attitudes towards the transgender population is a relatively new area of research. This review identifies key themes within the literature which have been found to impact CYPs' attitudes towards the transgender population. Most studies within this review are quantitative, only one study used a mixed-methods approach and was able to provide a richer and more nuanced insight into the perceptions and stereotypes held by individuals towards the transgender population. Further insight using qualitative approaches would undoubtedly deepen our understanding of the underpinnings of attitudes

towards the transgender population, particularly transprejudice. A key limitation of this review is that the studies used a variety of measures to assess levels of transprejudice; this clearly limits the comparisons available to make with regards to findings and conclusions as we cannot be sure that each measure of transprejudice is measuring the same thing. In addition, papers reviewed included a wide age range of participants; one study included 5-10-year olds, two studies included 14-19-year olds and the remaining studies included college students. This review has showed that children hold different attitudes to adolescents and adults. Further research is needed to explore attitudes in childhood, adolescence and young adulthood to understand the similarities and differences in attitudes towards the transgender population across the age-span as well as the development and maintenance of attitudes.

1.4.2 Implications for Educational Practice

This review has highlighted the impact of conservatism, heteronormativity and gender differences on attitudes towards the transgender population. It has shown that personal cognitions, attitudes, stereotypes and world-views can impact the way an individual views other people and groups. School staff, educational professionals and Educational Psychologists (EPs) should consider the implications of their own personal attitudes and working with schools to find a safe way to do this may be one role for EPs.

Many educational institutions are clearly already aware of the implications prejudice and discrimination can have for CYPT but using the evidence base to be more aware of the ways in which they can support this population to feel safe and accepted at school will be important. It is possible that without intention, an endorsement of heteronormativity by educational institutions internationally have indirectly contributed to the negative consequences experienced by CYPT and maintained some of the underlying constructs of transprejudice. A recently developed scale, the Transgender Inclusive Behaviour Scale (TIBS: Kattari, O'Connor & Kattari, 2018), may provide a helpful way of assessing the climate of a school environment from an individual's perspective. EPs would be well placed to use this scale in research and practice to assess individual, group and organisational levels of inclusivity. The findings of the scale could inform, identify and improve attitudes towards the transgender population within schools.

A small number of studies have looked at the attitudes of school psychologists and counsellors towards, and in their work with, transgender individuals (Bower, Lewandowski, Savage, & Woitaszewski 2015; Riggs & Sion, 2016). These studies have reflected themes found in the wider literature; cisgender women reported more positive attitudes towards the transgender population and cisgender men reported higher levels of transprejudice. It will be important that

EPs continue to reflect on their own biases and the need to be reflective given the impact this may have on the CYP with whom we work.

As discussed, prejudice can lead to the development and maintenance of mental health difficulties (APA, 2011; Heck, Flentje, & Cochran, 2011). Ostracism and social exclusion can lead to a decreased sense of belonging, a decrease in self-esteem and a decreased sense of self-worth (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Greenberg et al, 1986, 1992). Furthermore, if an individual perceives themselves to part of a stigmatised group, they may experience a phenomenon known as the stereotype threat which can have an impact on educational progress and attainment (Pennington, Heim, Levey, & Larkin, 2016; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Stereotype threat can be conceptualised as an individual's fear or anxiety of confirming a negative stereotype about their social group (Pennington et al, 2016; Steele & Aronson, 1995). This may be particularly troubling within our education system due to the impact this threat can have on cognition. For example, experiences of stereotype threat can increase anxiety and negative performance-related thoughts, and limit working memory capacity and function via an increase in cognitive load (Pennington et al, 2016; Cadinu, Maass, Rosabianca, & Kiesner, 2005; Van Loo & Rydell, 2013). These findings suggest that transprejudice could have a significant impact on the learning development and academic achievement of CYPT as well as an impact on their wellbeing.

A decreased sense of belonging can have implications for an individual within the classroom. If a CYP does not perceive themselves to belong to the majority group, they may find another group to belong to, but the other group needs to be accessible. For example, some schools have a Gay-Straight Alliance or LGBT Alliance that promotes the allegiance between different groups, acceptance of other groups and celebrates difference at a whole school level. This may promote feelings of value, acceptance, respect and inclusion within the school environment and increase a CYPT's social capital and the support network they have in school (Tillery, Varjas, Roach, Kuperminc, & Meyers, 2013).

The UK government's green paper has pledged to provide more support in schools for CYPs' emotional and mental wellbeing by 2020/2021. This will need to include an insight into identification of the causal mechanisms behind mental health difficulties and not just a within-child approach to identification and support (Department of Health and Social Care and Department of Education, 2018). Whilst this may provide CYPT with the support needed to maintain an optimal level of wellbeing this does not necessarily address the underlying reason for mental health needs. Negative attitudes towards the transgender population and the promotion of heteronormativity still remain and require attention.

Whilst it is important to address the needs of CYPT, it is of equal importance to explore ways in which prejudice and discrimination is addressed in the wider community. Sex and relationship education in the UK prioritises heteronormativity. The Stonewall School Report demonstrated that members of the LGBT population do not receive enough education or information about sex and relationships (Stonewall, 2018). Based on this there is an assumption that the heteronormative and cisgender population also do not receive enough education or information about LGBT issues. It is important for schools to consider the inclusivity of all pupil education in this area and address the perceptions that may be associated with the transgender population and why. An understanding of attribution of group membership will also be important. People can attribute membership to stigmatised groups differently depending on whether the “stigma” – in this case LGBT is perceived as controllable or not. Controllable stigmas describe the perceived attribution of choice in group membership; for example, some believe that people who smoke, who are obese or who drink heavily are making a choice and have a choice in their group membership. Comparatively, uncontrollable stigmas are those whereby others believe group membership is assigned and unchangeable such as sex, race, and age. Controllable stigmas provoke stronger reactions than uncontrollable stigmas which poses an important point about attribution in the case of sex and gender. An individual’s world view about sex and gender will depend on how they attribute group membership and thus potentially how they respond. Educational settings can facilitate the discussion on sex, gender and sexuality and offer a space where these concepts are explored and challenged.

1.4.3 Directions for future research

This review has highlighted several important directions for future research and shown that essentialist views of gender can promote prejudice via stereotyping and highlighting group differences based on biology (Ching & Xu, 2018; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014). Future research could explore the rigidity in beliefs around gender essentialism and whether contradicting information maintains or changes these beliefs. For example, exploration of gender essentialist beliefs within the intersex research literature may be a helpful starting point in trying to explore the relationship between gender essentialism and transprejudice.

There is preliminary research to suggest that social contact may be one way to decrease levels of prejudice directed towards members of the transprejudice population. Current understanding suggests that this needs to be beyond the scope of social contact and perhaps extended to purposeful and meaningful contact (Walch et al, 2012b).With this in mind, research could include samples of CYP so that we can form a better understanding of the preventative power of social contact.

The Stonewall school report showed that approximately 3 in 4 LGBT pupils did not receive education about gender identity or transgender issues at school and 44% reported that school staff did not know what 'trans' means (Stonewall, 2017). This is likely to impact CYPs' understanding of gender identity with regards to thinking about themselves, other people and the relationship between gender, sex and sexuality. Further research should aim to explore whether teaching CYP about gender identity and transgender-related issues at school could decrease levels of prejudice and intergroup conflict. It would also be of interest to see whether CYP who identify elsewhere along the gender spectrum experienced an increase in sense of belonging at school and felt safe to express themselves as the gender they identify with.

One of the methodological issues highlighted in this review was the lack of consistency across and within measures. In terms of research methodology, researchers should attempt to endorse a measure that consistently measures levels of transprejudice across a variety of participants. A consensus with regards to the factor structure of popular measures of transprejudice will be helpful so that we can begin to understand the unique and shared underlying mechanisms that promote transprejudice across the world.

This review is the first to explore the factors that influence CYPs' attitudes towards the transgender population and it has highlighted the need for further research to not only understand the interplay between these factors but also how these factors influence CYPs' attitudes and perceptions towards the transgender population.

Chapter 2 What are adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population?

2.1 Introduction

We become aware of gender from a young age. Children as young as six months old begin to identify and categorise male and female faces and show a preference for their primary caregiver's gender (Quinn, Yahr, Kuhn, Slater & Pascalis, 2002).

Following our early awareness of gender, gender stereotypical behaviour begins around the age of 18 months. By two years old infants begin to show a preference for gender-typed objects and toys (Serbin, Poulin-Dubois, Colburne, Sen & Eichstedt, 2001; Todd, Barry, & Thommessen, 2016). Todd and colleagues (2016) observed the independent play of children aged 9-32 months old and found that children demonstrate stereotypical toy preferences between 9-17 months old and develop an understanding of gender and gender-typed behaviour between the ages of 18-23 months.

By the ages of 3-6 years children begin to develop gender stability, a concept of gender as stable over time despite changes in a person's appearance (Ruble, Taylor, Cyphers, Greulich, Lurye, & Shrout, 2007). Halim et al (2014) reported that the appearance of children between the ages of 3-6 were stereotypically related to gender; girls showed a preference for typically feminine dress and rejected masculine clothes and boys showed a preference for typically masculine clothing whilst rejecting feminine clothes. Children who showed a preference for gender-typical appearance tended to place greater importance on their own gender and had a greater understanding of gender stability.

For many people, however, gender is not stable. Children whose gender identity does not conform to their assigned sex view gender as less stable than their gender-typical peers (Fast and Olson, 2018; Zucker, Bradley, Kuksis, Pecore, Birkenfeld-Adams, Doering et al, 1999). Zucker et al (1999) proposed that this was due to a developmental lag in gender non-conforming children. Alternatively, Fast and Olson (2018) suggest that children receive information about gender from those around them and their own experiences. Perhaps boundaries around stereotypical gender identity and expression are not as strictly imposed leading gender non-conforming children to hold greater flexibility in their views on gender stability.

Whilst we may develop a sense of our own gender at a young age, the concept of gender does not intuitively separate the physical sex from gender identity. The concepts of gender stability and gender constancy, whereby gender does not change from childhood to adulthood, do not take into account children or adults for whom their birth-assigned sex does not align with their gender identity. Individuals who experience an incongruence between assignment and identity are termed as transgender. Throughout this thesis, the term transgender is defined as a gender identity that is inconsistent with an individual's birth-assigned sex and is inclusive of those who have socially and medically transitioned as well as those who have not transitioned.

The United Kingdom (UK) government estimates that there are approximately 200,000-500,000 transgender people currently living in the UK with many having experienced prejudice and/or discrimination (Stonewall, 2018; Government Equalities Office, 2018). The prejudice and discrimination transgender individuals face are multi-faceted; for example, in adulthood individuals face challenges in their social interactions, access to housing, healthcare, employment, and access and acceptance in gendered spaces (Stonewall, 2018; Whittle, Turner & Al-Alami, 2007; Hill & Willoughby, 2005).

Research has shown that the discrimination faced by members of the transgender population in adulthood is also faced by members of this population in childhood and adolescence. In the UK, 64% of children and young people who identify as transgender (CYPT) have reported being bullied at school due to their perceived gender identity and sexual orientation (Bradlow, Bartram, Guasp & Jadv, 2017; Eisenberg, Gower, McMorris, Rider, Shea, and Coleman, 2017). Stonewall and the University of Cambridge explored the experiences of 3713 lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) students between the ages of 11-19 with 483 (13%) identifying as transgender or a gender outside of a binary model. Approximately 84% of transgender respondents had self-harmed and 45% had made an attempt on their life (Bradlow et al, 2017). Furthermore, around 64% of transgender students reported that they had been verbally abused; 13% had been physically abused and were twice as likely to experience this than their LGB peers. Bradlow et al (2017) found that many pupils who identify as transgender or non-binary reported not feeling safe in school. The Stonewall School Report argued that educational settings do not provide enough information regarding healthy relationships, sexuality and sex outside of heteronormativity.

Members of the CYPT population experience discrimination which can have a negative impact on their mental health and wellbeing. In America, Eisenberg et al (2017) explored outcome measures of high-risk behaviours and experiences, and protective factors of 80, 929 students, 2, 168 of whom identified as transgender or gender non-conforming (TGNC). High-risk

behaviours included substance use, sexual behaviour, emotional distress and bullying victimisation; protective factors included family connectedness, feeling safe in the community and teacher-pupil relationships. All risk behaviours were significantly higher in the TGNC population when compared to the cisgender population. Two thirds of TGNC adolescents reported suicidal ideation (61.3%) and nearly one third reported a suicide attempt. TGNC adolescents also reported lower levels of protective factors compared to the cisgender population. TGNC adolescents appear to experience negative affect as a result of their gender identity and expression. This research highlights the importance of understanding why this population experiences prejudice and discrimination, and how to ensure they feel safe and valued.

The current body of literature suggests that many people hold negative attitudes when they encounter deviations from their gender expectations. Over the last decade there has been an increase in research exploring attitudes towards members of the transgender population and those whose gender does not align with their birth-assigned sex (E.g. Broussard, & Warner, 2018; Ching, & Xu, 2018; Gülgöz, Gomez, DeMeules, & Olson, 2018; Chen, & Anderson, 2017; Barbir, Vandevender, Cohn, 2017; Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell, & Nagoshi, 2016; Carrera-Fernandez, Lameiras-Fernandez, Rodriguez-Castro & 2014; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Aizura & Stryker, 2013; Carrol, Guss, Hutchinson, & Gauler, 2012; Costa & Davies, 2012; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Gerharstein & Anderson, 2010; Winter, Chalungsooth, Rojanalert, Maneerat, Wong, Beaumont, Gomez & Macapagal, 2009; Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi, 2008; Winter, Webster, Cheung, 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006).

Strongly held perceptions of heterosexuality and a binary model of gender as normative, also known as heteronormativity, have been shown to contribute to the development and maintenance of negative attitudes towards the transgender population. Deviation outside of these norms will likely result in criticism, prejudice and discrimination. Higher scores on measures of heteronormativity are likely to reflect higher levels of transprejudice in adolescent and adult populations (Adams et al, 2016; Carrera-Fernandez et al, 2014; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Costa & Davies, 2012; Nagoshi et al, 2008).

Conservatism has also been shown to contribute to the development and maintenance of transprejudice. Conservatism describes the belief in maintaining traditionalism across political and social institutions and conventions and encompasses a number of related constructs including a belief in traditional gender roles. A belief in traditional gender roles can be conceptualised as a belief in a binary system of gender within which people are expected to conform to behaviours traditionally associated with their given sex (Costa & Davies, 2012; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012). Higher scores on measures of traditional gender role beliefs are likely to reflect higher levels of

transprejudice in adult and adolescent population (Ching & Xu, 2018; Barbir et al, 2017; Winter et al, 2009; Nagoshi et al, 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006). It may be that a belief in traditional gender roles may contribute to the maintenance of transprejudice as more conservative views may not align with more diverse gender experiences.

In heteronormative adult populations a belief in traditional gender roles has been shown to be a significant predictor of negative attitudes towards the transgender population and those who do not conform to typical gender expectations (Rich, 1983; Hill, 2002; Adams et al, 2016; Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015; Norton & Herek, 2013; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Hill & Willoughby, 2005). The mechanism for this is not yet clear; conflict, threat or dissonance may arise when faced with gender diverse experiences that do not meet traditional, conservative gender expectations and violate traditional gender roles thus potentially leading to an increase in levels of transprejudice.

Though a belief in traditional gender roles and its relationship to attitudes towards the transgender population has been explored in adult populations, only one study has examined attitudes of an adolescent population (Costa & Davies, 2012). Costa and Davies (2012) explored the attitudes of Portuguese adolescents aged 15-19 towards gay men, lesbians, the transgender population and traditional gender roles. Adolescents that held negative attitudes towards the transgender population also held negative attitudes towards gay men, lesbians and endorsed traditional gender roles. Costa and Davies (2012) suggest that their findings may imply a wider negative attitude towards deviation from heteronormativity and traditional gender roles. However, it is not clear whether a belief in traditional gender roles is an important aspect of the development and maintenance of adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population.

Given that adolescence is an important time of identity development in terms of gender, sexuality, and attitudes towards social conventions, an exploration of adolescent traditional gender role beliefs may provide an insight into the development and maintenance of attitudes towards the transgender population (Erikson, 1968; Graber & Archibald, 2001). The central aim of the current study is therefore to explore adolescent (13-14 years old) attitudes towards the transgender population. Subsequent research aims are to explore the understanding of and attitudes towards traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes. The following research questions will be explored:

1. What are adolescents' understanding of and attitudes towards the transgender population
2. What are adolescents' understanding of and attitudes towards traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes?

3. How do traditional gender role beliefs and/or gender stereotypes influence adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population?

These questions will be explored using qualitative methodology in order to understand the perceptions and perspectives of young people with regards to views around gender.

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 Design

This study employed a qualitative methodology from a social constructivist stance. The experiences and knowledge of the participants is based on their own social interactions within the systems that surround them. Similarly, my interpretation of the findings will be within my own understanding, attitudes and experiences as a cisgender female. My identity may have impacted the design of this research, the way it was conducted and interpreted due to a lack of lived-experience of different identities (Galupo, 2017). I opted to use an iterative approach and a process of co-construction to check my own understanding and interpretation with the participants. This allowed me to summarise the information provided by participants back to them and seek clarity when information was unclear. Furthermore, collaboration and supervision with, and from, my supervisors provided a richer perspective. The collaboration of cisgender and transgender perspectives throughout this study has aimed to question assumptions at key decision points throughout the research process and increase the research's ecological validity (Galupo, 2017).

2.2.2 Procedure

The University of Southampton Ethics Committee granted ethical approval for this project. I recruited the secondary school following a face-to-face meeting with key staff and a presentation to approximately 80 Year 9 pupils (Appendix J). Interested pupils collected an information sheet from a designated space in the school and returned consent forms to a designated member of staff (Appendix H). Participating pupils will receive a £10 Amazon voucher for their time when I visit the school to provide individual and group feedback on the findings of the study. I aim to meet with each participant on a one to one basis, as well as key staff members, to provide them with verbal and written feedback of the findings. Participants and staff will have the opportunity to ask questions about the study and share their thoughts about the findings.

The time slots for the interviews were organised by the designated staff member and in line with the lesson structure of the day. The interviews took place in the Assistant Head Teacher's

office which provided a quiet and private space. Upon arriving, I gained participant's assent to ensure they were still happy to participate and explained their right to withdraw. I asked each participant nine questions using the predetermined interview schedule. Interviews were recorded using a microphone and a university issued laptop. The audio files were kept on the password protected laptop, transferred to the university system as soon as possible and then deleted from the laptop. All data was held in accordance with GDPR (2018). I determined that data saturation had been achieved by the eighth interview as I was unable to identify any new codes or themes in the data in the following two interviews (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Once the interview was complete, participants received a written debrief form and were verbally debriefed; a letter was sent home to parents/carers to inform them that their child had participated (Appendix I). I invited pupils to ask questions and thanked for their time.

2.2.3 Measures

I collected adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex roles, gender stereotypes and the transgender population using a semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix G). The questions included in the interview schedule were formed based on information gathered from scoping searches and the systematic literature review. The schedule included nine questions with several sub-questions and prompts. The first half of the schedule explored adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex roles and included questions such as "Some people say that there are two sexes, male and female, and that each have different roles in society. What do you think?", "What are your thoughts on the following statement: Girls should play with girls' toys and boys should play with boys' toys", and "Some schools have blue book bags for boys and pink book bags for girls- why do you think this is? Where do you think these practices come from?" The second half of the schedule explored adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population and included questions such as "What is your understanding of the term transgender?", "Do you know a transgender person, or do you know of a transgender person?", and "Imagine that your school has decided to allow pupils to dress as the gender they identify with. What would your thoughts on this be?"

The content of the interview schedule was derived from pertinent topics within the current literature base. A systematic literature review exploring factors that influenced CYP attitudes towards the transgender population supported my understanding of relevant topics and potential avenues of exploration. Constructs that emerged from the literature review as important were aspects of conservatism, heteronormativity and gender differences. These constructs were reflected in the questions used in the semi-structured interview. For example, the question "Some people say that there are two sexes, male and female, and that each have different roles in

society. What do you think?” was chosen to explore the model of gender participants held and whether this was in line with the binary system of gender often reflected in western culture.

2.2.4 Participants

Participants were students at a secondary school in the South of England. A total of ten pupils (9 females; 1 male) aged between 13 and 14 participated in the study. The school were proactive in their support of, and towards, the LGBT community especially with regards to their own pupils. Some pupils within the school founded a LGBT group and members of staff shared their support by wearing LGBT ally pins and badges. It is acknowledged that this school may not be reflective of wider school culture within the UK and that secondary schools may face challenges in raising awareness of, and for, the LGBT community.

2.2.5 Data analysis

I analysed the data using Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I followed the six steps described by Braun and Clarke (2006) and used an iterative approach to analysis. I remained aware of my prior knowledge gained from the literature review and my own personal views (Frith & Gleeson, 2004). I chose this method of analysis as I was interested in pupil attitudes and experiences of traditional sex role beliefs, gender stereotypes and towards the transgender population. Patterns and themes within the data were sought and interpreted rather than identified or discovered to provide a rich picture of the information collated about participant’s attitudes and experiences (Taylor & Ussher, 2001).

The first stage of analysis included the familiarisation with the data via transcription and re-reading of the data (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). During this time, I noted initial ideas and potential codes. I kept a record of notes to capture ideas, possible codes and emerging patterns; I then created a coding manual to record initial codes. I sorted codes into potential themes based on similarities and patterns and collated data extracts that evidenced potential themes and sub-themes. A thematic map was created to represent the themes and sub-themes graphically and then further refined via a second thematic map. Once complete, I provided clear definitions for each theme and sub-theme and produced a coherent narrative using the chosen data extracts. The findings reported below are pertinent to the research questions and research objectives.

2.3 Findings

I identified five themes from the data (see Figure 2). This displays the key themes and subsequent sub-themes.

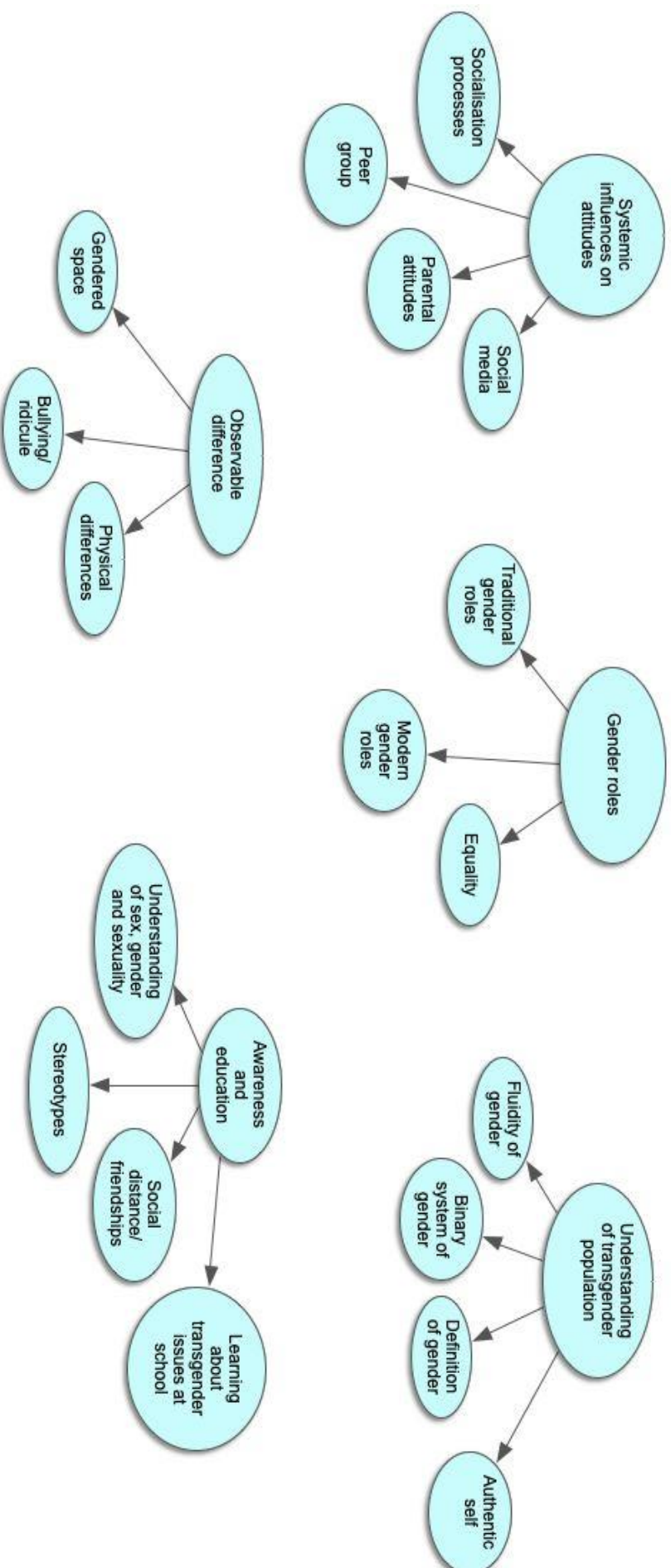


Figure 2. Thematic map.

2.3.1 Systemic influences on attitudes

This theme describes the different systems that surround a young person all of which influence their understanding and attitudes towards gender. Within this theme, pupils discussed the influence of the media and social media, their family and friends, and the socialisation of gendered rules.

2.3.1.1 Socialisation processes

All pupils discussed how their childhood experiences and interactions influenced their understanding of gender, debates about gender and the transgender population. One pupil shared her experience of playing with a range of toys, some of which they considered 'boy-orientated' toys:

um well um like I say from my experience when I was younger I always used to play with boys' toys like I used to play with cars and always used to have the whole entire transformers set, my favourite was Optimus Prime and Bumble Bee... so I always used to play with them as well when it comes to sports boys are meant to play football and girls aren't really meant to play it but I play football, I've been playing it since I was young (P7, Line 132)

Her experience of gender-neutral toys appears to have influenced her will to challenge gendered attitudes towards toys and activities. Other pupils echoed this, for example:

Girls can play with boys' toys and boys can play with girls' toys (P1, Line 167)

One pupil shared her understanding of toys and the associated gender:

well I heard, like this, so if like if a dads like a boys a boy a girls a girl and a boy wants to play with like a princess doll but then his dad would want him to play with like a soldiers and stuff like that but they're kind of similar cos girls can have little fairies and boys can have little soldiers... but except for the fairies have magic wands and the soldiers have guns that's the only difference but I think boys and girls can play with whatever they want cos they don't really know what they're doing they just want to be creative (P4, Line 373)

Many pupils shared their perceived awareness of the stereotypes associated with gendered entities such as colours and activities that are promoted within childhood:

I don't think they have to because like my sister likes all kinda colours. But um Obviously I'm a girl and I like the colour blue but people think it's wrong I should like the colour pink and then some boys like the colour pink rather than blue and um my little sister's friends likes playing with nerf guns and that lot, which I think is a boy thing and cars and my little brother likes playing with like baby dolls with like my sisters which is really cute (P2, Line 232)

Across the dataset most pupils thought that entities such as colour, or toys, should not be gender specific. Some pupils' perceptions of these stereotypes differed; for example, one pupil suggested that the colours of toys are associated with gendered characteristics:

Cos girls' toys are normally pink...And boys' toys are normally dark colours...Girls should be like a bright person and boys should be a bit darker (P1, Line 188)

Whereas another pupil drew on her understanding of historical factors that would have influenced the way society currently views gender and gender roles:

cos like, uh, this sounds really bad, so all the boys went to war yeah?... all the girls were left home and they were left to tend to the boys and like tend to their wounds and stuff

and then it just became a thing because in the older older older before a lot of things happened... boys and girls did the same thing like a boy and a girl could ride a horse and it would be fine but everything changed then girls had to sneak into the wars and stuff like that (P4, Line 249)

It appears that pupils are aware of the stereotypes that surround different aspects of gender and do not necessarily agree with them. However, their early introduction to gendered entities within society has likely influenced pupils' understanding of the purpose and conception.

2.3.1.2 Family attitudes

All pupils discussed the influence of their families on their attitudes towards gender; some shared that they had grown up in a household whereby gendered rules were not strictly enforced:

like nephews that like play with barbies and toys and my sister wanting their son to play with action figures and cars and that... my family's not actually that bothered about whether like if cos in my sister did army cadets... so and hair and dressing um but he (Dad) wasn't actually that bothered what she was doing as long as she was happy doing it he wasn't bothered and she wasn't getting pushed to do it or anything. (P5 Line 20)

This trend was observed across the data set with many suggesting that their parents would share similar views to them about gender roles and rules due to the way they were raised:

hmmm (5) I can't think off the top of my head but like, the say I was brought up females were only nurses and doctors were only males so maybe like the leaders of the nurses or whatever they call them were sort of brought up that way as well so they only allowed certain amount of men in to do nurses which is supposed to be a woman's job (P5, Line 110)

This suggests that their perceptions of familial attitudes and experiences coupled with pupils' own

experiences of childhood has influenced the way pupils view gender and the socialization of gender. A similar pattern was found with regards to perceived familial attitudes towards the transgender population:

um, my sister and my mum are like my whole family as I call it with my dad, my mum and my sister they all watch like documentaries on drag and they've had, I've asked them a similar question actually like this and they said technically, what I said technically it's up to them what they do people aren't happy with that they want to do and unhappy with them then maybe they could go off and chat in a group they're in a group but the person that wants to be transgender like do what they want to do instead of pushing them and forcing them to do what they don't want to do which could actually lead to them feeling confused and not wanting to cooperate knowing that people won't like him, him or her if they do this and there's a whole like family of people that will actually accept you if you wanna be transgender or not or you just wanna change group change thoughts about it that they would support you and stuff (P5 Line 273)

One pupil shared that her dad's best friend had transitioned from male to female and this experience enabled her to believe confidently that her attitudes were closely aligned with her dad's attitudes:

not sure really. Probably, I think probably the same as me. Well my dad's best friends actually, he used to be called Dan* and is now called Danielle*... so he's now transgender... so he would probably think the same as me, we're all equal (P7 Line 33)

These experiences suggest that positive parental perceptions of gender and the transgender population do influence the attitudes held by pupils. A number of pupils shared that their grandparents would most likely not share such positive attitudes; for example, one pupil reported:

I think they'd have different views because for example, my grandad he would of said nope you were born as what you are so you stay as what you are whereas mum woulda

been like yeah you can do what you want and my dad woulda been like now, it's up to you but then my nan woulda been like no its you, you need to stay who you are (P8 Line 342)

This insight shows the potential generational differences in attitudes towards sexuality, sex and gender within one family. Whilst one pupil did not agree with the attitudes held by their grandparents, they did highlight the significance and importance of familial views and the ways in which this influences them:

like, your family can have a massive influence on what you think. Say, say I wanted to get a piercing and my family disagreed, well I'm very strong minded so it probably wouldn't happen but um they have impact on what I think so if they said something was ugly I'd get a bit upset about it. Um like, so my nan is like quite old fashioned so if I wanted to get my tongue pierced and she was like oh my god why, why would you want to do that... I'd just be like cos I want to but it would make me feel bad about getting it and so I wouldn't want to I wouldn't want to upset her (P4, Line 394)

2.3.1.3 Peer group attitudes

For some pupils, the attitudes of their family were aligned with that of their friends:

I think, yes cos a few of my friends watch the same stuff as I do so they would think oh I support them as well. My family's very supportive around transgender and my mum said to me actually once if you wanna become transgender you do whatever you want to do as long as it makes you happy, as long as your confident doing what you want to do and love instead of having things done for you cos in our family so there's society path they built for women and men is quite boring why don't we make like experiment like my family says so before my dad went to a hairdressing academy just for a few days and he learnt quite a few things so then um my mum went off to do my mum, sister went off to where my dad works, where my uncle and where my mum works and that with girls and that and they had a completely different opinion cos before they didn't like it they didn't think it was good or anything but actually then they thought oh oh it's completely like

sometimes it was completely different cos in like factories there's supposed to be like men and without knowing they were like mens supporting them cos without the men doing this they wouldn't have like hairdryers and boys doing hairdressing or like the complete opposite (P5, Line 311)

Other pupils shared that their friends held a mixture of views. One pupil shared that some friends did not hold positive attitudes towards gender diversity and the transgender population however, those that the pupil shared a common identity with were perceived to hold more positive views:

sometimes they'll probably disagree with me I know for sure I've got a couple of friends that would definitely agree with me cos they're bi as well and they don't care what people think of them at all. They're like free to do whatever they want and they're out so (P7, Line 44)

All pupils shared that the attitudes and perceptions held by their family about gender were similar to their own whereas the alignment of their attitudes with that of their friends were more mixed.

2.3.1.4 Media

A number of pupils spoke about the impact the media and social media have on their own understanding of gender and the transgender population. The visibility of stereotypical gender characteristics portrayed by the media were discussed, for example one pupil shared:

because back to like the stereotypical thing documentaries and social media like those like when shop for babies like baby genders there's always like a cartoon or real baby dressed in blue which makes you think oh it's dressed in blue it's a boy cos that's how most of us were brought up with and another baby in pink or another girlie colour cos that society says she's a girl but what's good for an experiment one time would be to have a baby in blue and have another baby girl, in a girl colour like pink for example and the baby in pink be a boy and the baby in blue be a girl and pick which one do you think would be a male (P5, Line 83)

This demonstrates another way in which a neutral entity such as colour becomes gendered and attached to a gender at a young age. One pupil shared how the media further perpetuates gender stereotypes via the specific roles portrayed on television:

because you see a lot of on television a lot of just female nurses and not a lot of male nurses so you don't actually get to see like the full picture of the nursing so you don't see like whether men actually do it or not so the thoughts in your head are like oh only women do nursing so like no men at all doing it it's just men doing doctors (P5, Line 120)

Whilst pupils shared their perception that the media maintains gender stereotypes, the majority of pupils reported that much of their understanding of the transgender population and gender as a spectrum has been influenced by content viewed on social media platforms. One pupil shared:

I do know some transgender people off of the internet...uh well I uh this person and he's like he was born as a girl but he grew up to look like a boy so um he's (7) like, he's proud of who he is basically and he's not like he's shown loadsa people that he, that he doesn't um, doesn't care what people think of him and he's like... he is who he is (P6, Line 263)

One pupil reported that traditional expectations of gender are challenged online:

well, they right, we always watch the same person on YouTube, James Charles, he's comfortable with being a boy but he does make up...so and he does it really really well like much better than most girls on YouTube (P4, Line 67)

The visibility of individuals challenging these expectations may influence the way young people think about gender. Another shared how individuals that challenge traditional views of sex, gender and sexuality are celebrated online:

like on TikTok the video thing... boy, transgender or gay people have more likes and followers than straight people (P4, Line 571)

However, this visibility appears to come at a price:

they get bullied a lot but that's it. Some people like, people that don't like it they'll get like bullied on YouTube and stuff like they get like loads of really bad comments (P4, Line 96)

The pupils shared a number of systemic influences that contribute to their understanding of sex, gender, sexuality and the transgender population, as well as the formation of their attitudes and the maintenance of their attitudes.

2.3.2 Gender roles

The second theme relates to gender roles with pupils generally discussing these in the context of a binary gender system. Pupils identified traditional and modern gender roles within society and most pupils endorse gender equality. Traditional gender roles are described as more prescriptive whereas modern gender roles are less prescriptive and more flexible. When discussing traditional gender roles some pupils reflected on the perceived stereotypes held by society:

because men are supposed to be known for people that work and women are supposed to be known as cleaning and at home or something like that... Most people believe in that I think (P3, Line 60)

Pupils' attitudes towards this varied. For example, one pupil shared this stereotype:

no. I think it's more for ladies because they just have like more interest in it whereas men they have other things to do where ladies that's actually their main model of it...um looking after people and caring for people um men just think oh yeah there's a job I can do...men could be interested in building, um, football all sorts but women can't because it's mainly a men's thing (P8, Line 149)

For this pupil, it would appear that they believe males and females are fundamentally different in their interests and abilities. Other pupils held a mixture of liberal and traditional views of gender roles:

Cos I think women stay at home and clean and look after the children and men go to work 24/7 like look after, like buy, like and buy stuff and pay all the bills...but also some women go to shops and some dads stay at home...so I think you can do it both ways (P2, Line 103)

Three pupils promoted modern gender roles within society. One pupil drew upon her own personal experiences:

um, well I think we're quite similar in same ways that sometimes we get for example, women get separated for people doing more domestic households but also men do it as well. For example, my dad at the moment, when my mum and dad split up, he's always the cook in the house and always has been and also men can also have female qualities as well (P7, Line 11)

Pupils demonstrated an awareness of the gender roles operating within society with most pupils identifying societal and personal stereotypes. Eight pupils shared the belief that there should be equality across gender roles. For example, one pupil shared her belief about gender roles within the home environment:

Because it shows that men should work and females should stay at home and I feel like that's wrong....Because females can work and men can do the home jobs if they wanted to. So that's why I feel like it should be equal and not split (P1, Line 23)

A different pupil promoted equality across gender roles with regards to career choices:

no I think that any jobs for like any sex so cos I watch a few youtubers that are male that do make-up and hair dressing and then I, I see a lot of I watch a lot of woman do football and work for the army so there's basically what you want to do (P5, Line 68)

It would appear that most participants believe that there should be a level of equality across gender roles within society although there is an awareness that this does not yet directly translate into society as a number of traditional gender role stereotypes are still experienced and observed.

2.3.3 Understanding about the transgender population

The third theme describes pupils' understanding of the definition of transgender. This was encapsulated by a perception of freedom to change gender and sex and a notion of feeling trapped. For example, one pupil shared:

I think people should be able to change their sex if they want to otherwise they can feel they're like trapped. Yeah like I dunno I think they should be, it should be fine and they should be able to (P10, Line 258)

Another pupil shared their perception:

I think it's when you can choose freely if you don't want to be a man or a woman or you just for example a man wants to wear women's clothes so you like not full transgender,

some days you can be a female and some days you are completely males and some days you just put it together and just free to do whatever you want (P7, Line 201)

Similar to gender roles, most pupils used the concept of a binary system of gender to frame their understanding. For example, one pupil discussed the notion of a 'tom-boy' and 'tom-girl':

Say they wanted to stay like a girl but also they've got to be a little bit of a boy they could be a tomboy... but if they are a boy and want to be a little bit girl they could be like a tomgirl if it was a thing... but you can't like make people be what you want them to be (P1, Line 366)

This pupil raised two points; the first being the use of labels to understand behavior that challenges typical understandings of gender, and the second being the lack of label for males or 'tom-girls'. All pupils shared that an individual should make decisions about their gender identity based on authenticity and not the opinions of others. For example, one pupil shared that it shouldn't matter how you identify or express your gender:

I, I, I don't know but I don't think it matters what role you are as long as you're a human in the world, so it doesn't matter if you wanna be a boy or you wanna be a girl you can be the opposite, whatever you wanna be and makes you comfortable be whatever you wanna be (P2, Line 26)

This highlights the level of inclusivity that some pupils believe in with regards to gender identity. For three pupils, being comfortable in your own body was a key feature in their understanding of the transgender population and reason for transition:

like I said it's about who you feel comfortable being with and in your own body for example some females don't really feel comfortable being in their body so they might feel comfortable being in a male's body as well (P7 Line 267)

Pupils shared their beliefs around whether transgender individuals make a choice about their gender identity or whether this is an inherent part of them that they are born with. Pupils views were mixed; for example, this pupil believes that gender identity is an intrinsic characteristic:

um I don't, uh, it's just transgender yeah you're born in a boys or a girl's body..but you don't feel like a boy or a girl so if you wanna be something different than that's fine, I don't mind...like, like people laugh and joke about it but at the end of the day it's their decision not other people's so (P4, Line 582)

Other pupils had not yet formed a clear opinion:

um well you could be born with different (2) um, genitals um, or you could like its where like a girl could grow up to be, she's born as a girl (3), um (2), isn't it where you grow up and like, when you're younger you look like a boy and when you grow up you begin to look like a girl and then If you're a boy you grow up to look like a girl. Is that? (P6, Line 241)

This pupil, along with others, appeared to be beginning to form their own opinions about gender identity throughout our discussions. All pupils held positive views towards the transgender population and supported equality and equity for them; there were discrepancies between pupils as to the etiology of gender identity.

2.3.4 Observable difference

The fourth theme describes the impact that observable differences had on the attitudes and perceptions of the pupils in this study and their understanding of others' perceptions. The topics of physicality and appearance with regards to gender are characterized by more negative attitudes and perceptions and pupils perceive wider society to penalize individuals who challenge stereotypical gender physicality and characteristics. For example, one pupil shared:

like they get pushed down a lot by people like pick on them, people like accuse them of not doing their roles and like just forcing them to do something they don't wanna do and will end up with them feeling a bit down about themselves knowing that they can't do anything so like feel a bit depressed (P5, Line 44)

These differences were more pronounced when discussing gendered spaces. For example, this pupil thought that others would feel uncomfortable sharing a space with somebody who was physically different to them despite their gender identity being the same:

some people would feel really uncomfortable cos in case, if a girl wanted to be a boy and that girl went to the boys changing rooms I reckon some of the boys would be really uncomfortable cos that person used to be a girl so when they get dressed they won't really feel comfortable (P3, Line 286)

Another pupil shared the shock others may have in sharing the toilet space with an individual who has recently socially transitioned:

they'd be quite shocked...that someone who used to identify as a female has now walked into the male toilets, like it can be uncomfortable for them too...cos they're not used to a female walking in (P1, Line 481)

One pupil suggested that it was the appearance of physical differences that would drive this discomfort as opposed to the expression of gender itself:

I reckon they'll kind of feel uncomfortable again but if you can change your parts, I don't actually know, but I'd be alright if they changed their parts before (P3, Line 305)

It appears that this pupil would not mind sharing a gendered space with a transgender individual that had medically transitioned, a sentiment that was echoed by another pupil. Additionally, two pupils suggested that a transgender individual may have untoward intentions when using a toilet that aligns with their gender identity rather than their biological sex, for example:

no cos they can still look at the girls you never know. Even though they wanna be a girl as much they're still not a girl until they've gone and got it done like a girl... cos they've still got the boys parts so they still go to the boys toilets (P8, Line 392)

Another pupil suggested that privacy was also an important factor in gendered spaces:

yeah for example I use the ones what are just the girls cos I feel more comfortable plus I don't get um for example you could have a boy right next to you and be like oh! I don't want to go to the toilet! So some people might just feel uncomfortable about it but if you've got to go you've got to go... because, it's like you're sort of doing (10) probably cos you're doing something and you want privacy, like people I know like privacy (P7, Line 323)

In contrast, some pupils did not believe that gender mattered when discussing toilets, but that need was more important:

it doesn't matter which toilet you go in as long as you, go to the toilet (P2, Line 663)

One pupil discussed the positives of not labelling toilets with regards to gender:

I wouldn't mind as long as like not sure like I wouldn't mind cos like everybody has to do what they need to do at least once, once or twice a day so I wouldn't actually care there shouldn't be labels on the toilets knowing that some girls might actually wanna go in the boys toilets. Like always when I go to restaurants and that there's always a line for the

girls' toilets and none for the boys... so like, imagine if there wasn't no labels so girls can actually go into the boys toilets so it wouldn't be so much of a line and wouldn't have to wait as much as long knowing that they can just go next door for example and they can do their business there instead of having to wait cos the stereotypical thing boys do their business here and girls do their business here (P5, Line 349)

There was a mixture of views and attitudes held towards gendered spaces. Whilst many pupils suggested that they would support the equal use of gendered spaces, many actually shared their perceived views of how others would react to this situation rather than their own perceptions.

2.3.5 Awareness and education

The last theme describes pupil understanding about sex, gender and sexuality and the attitudes towards promoting awareness in educational settings. For example, a common pattern across the dataset was the conflation of sex, gender and sexuality. For one pupil this conflation led to stereotypes about the LGBT community being shared:

and he didn't care, but I was like I I I I asked him I was like X are you gay? And he was like no I would never be gay I like girls blah blah blah... and I was just like but you do that sorta stuff and you sound it cos the stuff that he does and his voice and the way his body is... like it's not like masculine no like six pack, no like strength it's like short, skinny and his voice is like high pitched (P4, Line 917)

This pupil also felt that the LGBTQ+ community were claiming aspects of heterosexual culture for themselves which appeared to cause some discomfort:

there's a lot of pretty rainbow stuff out there ... they can't just be taken by gays okay I like rainbows too... but it, it is automatic, automatically you think oh there's a rainbow so it's like gay pride you know? (P4, Line 943)

Pupils often used sex, sexuality and gender interchangeably. For example, one pupil believed that an individual's gender identity was a reflection of their sexuality:

cos like if he grows up thinking that he's a girl people might turn around and say no you're a boy so he might be confused about his sexuality

(P5, Line 121)

Another pupil shared their understanding of sexuality and gender identity:

some people just like girls...but some people just like boys and then some people don't even know what they actually are and then some people are bisexual (P8, Line 29)

One pupil shared that her understanding of sex, sexuality and gender would impact her social relationships:

so I know my, I don't know if my cousin is...yeah he hasn't said but like not judging but he looks it...but I can't like judge him cos he's my cousin...even though so he likes boys and he's a boy...like I don't mind cos he's my cousin but if he was like my friend I wouldn't be 'mean about it I just like wouldn't talk to him often (P2, Line 387)

On the surface the pupil shared that her cousin's sexuality and gender identity would not impact her attitudes towards him although she would hold more negative attitudes if this were a friend. This may suggest that the social distance and relationship between individuals may impact attitudes and relationships. This attitude was not in line with the majority; most pupils shared that they would be supportive if a friend changed their gender expression, or pronouns, to align with their identity:

comfortable as in being comfortable with people knowing and I wouldn't care if they were or not cos I'm not friends with them for what gender they are like if they have a nice personality then that's fine (P10, Line 283)

Many reflected that their friendships were based on more than just gender:

definitely support them cos I've known them for who they are as well so I've got to know their personality and just because of that one thing I won't ruin our friendship (P7, Line 287)

These pupils suggest that their relationships and friendships would not change irrelevant of an individual's gender identity. Most pupils agreed that it would be helpful and beneficial to learn more about gender identity and the transgender population in educational settings to support and increase understanding:

I think probably be okay with it if they had a bit more information cos then they'd understand like why people wanna be transgender and stuff (P10, Line 244)

Education about gender identity may promote understanding and acceptance from those who potentially hold fewer positive views. Some pupils shared the belief that education may also help those who may be questioning their gender identity:

it would be good cos there, there might be some people in your like class who doesn't feel comfortable as a boy or a girl and they might want to change and anything...so then they might become confident and want to change when they're like older or something (P3, Line 194)

One pupil shared that they believe there is already too much information about gender identity and has become somewhat disillusioned by it:

um, I don't mind it um, but it gets a bit boring if you learn about it and it might upset someone like you never know like it could upset someone if someone was sat in the room and they were transgender and they was going oh its wrong, some people think it's wrong and if they start talking about it it might upset someone you might just like get a form or something to fill in so just to make sure that it's fine (P8 Line, 286)

Pupils presented mixed responses in their understanding of and experiences of sex, gender and sexuality with some holding conflicting, context-dependent attitudes.

2.4 Discussion

The aim of the current study was to explore adolescent understanding of, and attitudes towards, the transgender population, gender roles and gender stereotypes. Five themes were identified from the data, each with multiple sub-themes: Systemic influences on attitudes; Gender roles; Understanding of the transgender population; Observable difference and Awareness and education. By understanding these themes, a sense of participants' understanding of, and attitudes towards, the transgender population, gender roles and gender stereotypes can be gained. Furthermore, we can begin to understand how gender role beliefs and gender stereotypes may influence attitudes towards the transgender population. In order to understand the findings in the context of this study it is important to readdress each of the research questions in turn.

2.4.1 What are adolescents' understanding of and attitudes towards the transgender population?

Pupils' understanding of the transgender population lay within a spectrum of gender that includes varying degrees of fluidity within it. However, pupils often referred to a binary model of gender and applied this to members of the transgender population in that only transmen and transwomen were identified; there was no mention of any other identities. Many pupils suggested that individuals should be able to identify and express their gender in a way in which they feel comfortable and that demonstrates their authentic self. Pupils' understanding of the

aetiology of a transgender identity differed; some believed that a transgender identity is an innate quality whereas some believed that it is a choice an individual makes.

Overall, the pupils that participated in the current study shared positive views of, and towards, the transgender population. They appeared to support and promote equality and equity for this population within society. Many pupils shared that they gained a lot of their information about the transgender population via online media platforms. They shared that transgender identities were celebrated online with an increasing number of trans individuals visible on mainstream media platforms. The visibility of the transgender population has increased in both offline and online media in recent years (Ghazali & Nor, 2012; Ekins & King, 2006). Information portrayed by media platforms does not always inform or present accurate, objective information about the transgender population, yet media is the primary source for the general population to gain their understanding about transgender issues (McInroy & Craig, 2015). The potential combination of inaccurate information, and unrealistic expectations, suggests that the provision of factual information and education may be one way to ensure adolescents are able to make an informed decision about their thoughts and attitudes.

It is also possible that the increased visibility of gender diverse people on media platforms has provided media users with unrealistic expectations of what gender diverse people look like. It is common practise for individuals to post material to online platforms that presents an idealistic representation of themselves, places and lifestyles (Mehdizadeh, 2010). This representation may lead to an expectation that all members of the transgender population look a certain way. When met with a transgender individual that does not conform to these expectations there may be the potential for prejudice and discrimination. Pupils in this study did share that there was a dark side to trans individuals sharing their identity in online spaces; they regularly saw negative comments left on individual's profiles with bullying and ridicule reportedly commonly observed.

Pupils' attitudes differed the most around gendered spaces. Some pupils shared that individuals should use spaces that align with their birth-assigned sex, not their gender identity, and should only access these spaces following medical transition. Some pupils shared that transgender individuals should be able to access gendered spaces that align with their gender identity, expression and where they feel the most comfortable.

2.4.2 What are adolescents' understanding of and attitudes towards traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes?

Pupils' understanding of gender appeared to start from a young age. Pupils shared experiences from their childhood that helped shape their understanding of gender roles and gender stereotypes. Pupils framed their understanding of gender within a binary model that comprised of male and female gender roles and stereotypes. Pupils reported playing with toys and reflected on the assignment of 'girls' toys or 'boys' toys; they challenged this notion suggesting that toys should be gender neutral and based on interest rather than gender norms and expectations. Similarly, pupils challenged the notion of gendered colours and the assumptions that can go with this. For example, one pupil described how the colour blue is more associated with boys and the colour pink is more associated with girls; these associations are further endorsed when gendered colours are coupled with gendered toys. Again, all pupils challenged this notion and believed that colour and toys should not be gender specific.

Pupils shared their awareness of traditional gender roles; some endorsed them whilst others were conflicted. Despite the variability, eight pupils endorsed equality across gender roles and challenged gender stereotypes. The conflicting views may allude to the attitude and wish for equality whilst perceiving that this does not yet directly translate into society as traditional gender roles and stereotypes are still experienced and observed.

Pupils experience gender roles and gender stereotypes via online and offline media platforms. Pupils shared their experiences of how gender stereotypes in television and films may maintain traditional gender role beliefs. For example, one pupil reported how females tend to play nurses and males tend to play doctors in television and the rarity of crossover in roles. Lauzen, Dozier and Horan (2008) explored the portrayal of social gender roles in 124 prime-time television programs aired in the United States during 2005-2006. They found that females appeared in interpersonal roles with a focus on romance, relationships and caring for others whereas males appeared in work-related roles. The portrayal of gender roles may inform an understanding of gender roles and gender stereotypes; the promotion of equality across gender roles in television and films may have a positive impact on children and young peoples' perceptions of gender.

Pupils described that traditional gender roles are challenged in online media platforms as are traditional expectations for behaviour and expression. Pupils perceived this to be celebrated online and supported their understanding of more equal gender roles. The increased importance and use of social media platforms for young people may lead to increased exposure to, and

visibility of, individuals portraying different expectations of gender that challenge traditional gender role beliefs and stereotypes.

The findings of the current study would suggest that parental attitudes had had an important influence on participants' understanding of gender roles and stereotypes, whereas peer attitudes appeared to be more variable and less salient. The relative importance of parents is an interesting finding as secondary school is a time where adolescents begin to develop their own identity in terms of gender, sexuality, and attitudes towards social conventions (Erikson, 1968; Graber & Archibald, 2001). Children's attitudes towards traditional gender roles become apparent around the age of 7 and are typically associated with that of their parents (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). It is not clear whether parental attitudes remain of primary importance throughout adolescence or whether the peer group becomes more influential throughout this period and beyond (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002; Martin, 2000; Bigler & Liben, 1990, 1992). Some pupils reported that their grandparents would hold different views to themselves and their parents; they believed that their grandparents would endorse traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes. This demonstrates the perceived generational differences in understanding and attitudes towards gender roles and gender stereotypes within the sample.

2.4.3 How do traditional gender role beliefs and/or gender stereotypes influence adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population?

Pupils in this study demonstrated an awareness of traditional gender role beliefs and gender stereotypes. The current study aimed to explore whether adolescents' understanding of traditional gender role beliefs and gender stereotypes influence their understanding of, and attitudes towards, the transgender population.

All pupils demonstrated different levels of understanding of sex, gender and sexuality. Pupils used the terms sex and gender interchangeably as if they were related concepts. Furthermore, some pupils perceived gender expression and identity to be directly related to sexuality. Conflation of these concepts led to stereotypes of the LGBT populations with some holding the belief that one's gender is a direct reflection of their sexuality and vice versa. A potential reason for this may be that LGB and T populations are often grouped together under the umbrella term 'LGBT'; this may wrongly portray the assumption that these terms are linked via the concept of sexuality. This may be problematic for educational and awareness purposes and lead to the conflation of sex, gender and sexuality as well as stereotypical perceptions. Within the

literature, individuals that score highly on anti-LGB measures tend to score highly on measures of transprejudice and traditional gender role beliefs (Adams et al, 2016; Carrera-Fernandez et al, 2014; Costa & Davies, 2012; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Nagoshi et al, 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Winter et al, 2008). These findings would suggest that it may be important to develop a clearer understanding of these concepts so that attitudes are informed based on the available evidence.

Pupils described a spectrum of gender when discussing transgender identities. Furthermore, pupils described the notion of transgender individuals feeling “trapped” within their birth-assigned sex and needing the freedom to identify somewhere else along a gender spectrum. Pupils that described the transgender population in the context of a gender spectrum tended to be more accepting of transgender individuals across contexts. They shared that they would be supportive of a friend if they changed aspects of their gender or transitioned with many reflecting that their friendship was based on more than gender identity. Pupils reported that they would like to learn more about the transgender population at school as it would help their own understanding as well as others who may be exploring their own gender identity.

In contrast to a view of gender as a spectrum, pupils described their experiences of gender roles and gender stereotypes within a binary model of gender; this is an important finding as this may suggest that roles are perceived to be still assigned to gender in some way, traditional or otherwise. Traditional gender role beliefs are linked to the concept of heteronormativity and both promote a binary model of gender. Heteronormativity describes a set of socially constructed norms that prioritise a binary model of gender and heterosexuality (Adams et al, 2016). When an individual does not fit within these social norms and categories, they are perceived as an outlier and at risk of prejudice and discrimination. The concept of heteronormativity can lead to the formation of two distinct groups; an ingroup (heterosexual, cisgender populations), and an outgroup (transgender populations). Perceived group similarities and strong group identification can lead to members viewing the other group as threatening and extremely different to their own group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Transgender populations may be perceived as transgressing the social norms and expectations of gender identity, gender roles and gender expression by members of the heteronormative population thus placing them as an outgroup.

Most pupils were in agreement that gender is a spectrum although a binary model of gender still framed their beliefs and attitudes with regards to roles, stereotypes and identities. The greatest variability in pupil attitudes appeared to be in relation to physical non-conformity and gendered spaces. For some, discomfort appeared to arise when an individual’s gender

expression and sex were incongruent. This appeared to disappear once the individual had medically transitioned; in other words when their sex matched their expressed gender. The focus on physical characteristics may suggest an underlying belief in biological essentialism. Ching & Xu (2018) described this as the belief that men and women are categorically different due to biological differences such as hormones, sex, brain and genes. This may also suggest that attitudes are context-dependent and influenced by the model of gender personally endorsed. Buck and Obzud (2018) explored whether attitudes towards the transgender population differed in gender-segregated settings (toilets) and gender-integrated settings. The study found that attitudes are context-dependent with more transprejudice reported for gender-segregated settings compared to gender-integrated settings. The authors suggested two potential reasons for this. Firstly, dangerous world beliefs, characterised as viewing the world as fearful and threatening, partly predicted transprejudice in gender-segregated settings. This may suggest that feelings of fear and threat lead to greater levels of transprejudice. Alternatively, gender-segregated settings may promote a binary model of gender and lead to a greater focus on physical differences than in gender-integrated settings (Schilt & Westbrook, 2015). In the current study, the variability of attitudes towards physical non-conformity are in relation to gender-segregated contexts, suggesting that biological essentialist beliefs may be context-dependent and more salient when a sense of threat is detected.

2.4.4 Considerations for educational practice

The findings from the current study provide several considerations for educational practice. Schools should consider ensuring that the differences between the concepts of sex, gender and sexuality are fully understood by their pupils. This may decrease the differences in understanding and awareness seen in the current study and wider research. Exploration of other models of gender outside a binary system may also influence the way CYP perceive gender roles, gender stereotypes and the transgender population. Explicit exploration of gender is likely to promote awareness and a greater understanding of concepts and issues as well as challenging current thinking, although it is acknowledged that this may face opposition. Furthermore, schools should consider whether the division of gender within schools is useful or whether it maintains gender roles and stereotypes.

Targeted awareness and education of gender could be at a classroom and school level within educational settings via lessons such as Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE). Equally, curriculum-wide inclusion of gender diverse populations and topics will challenge heteronormativity as the status quo and increase the visibility of minority gender and sexual orientation populations. The introduction of Relationships and Sex Education into UK schools will

occur in 2020 however, the content is not yet known. It will be important to include information on diverse gender populations and sexual orientations to provide an inclusive, diverse education for school pupils. Education should aim to provide pupils with an appropriate level of information so that informed decisions are based on factual, current evidence rather than relying solely on the information provided by social media platforms.

Educational Psychologists (EPs) may need to engage in training and continuing professional development (CPD) to ensure that they are aware of the evidence base about transgender and gender issues more widely so that they feel confident in sharing their knowledge. EPs would be well placed to provide training to school settings about gender diversity to ensure that school staff are well-informed and equipped to support gender diversity as well as incidents of prejudice or discrimination. Furthermore, EPs can provide supervision and coaching to school staff to support the implementation and continuation of gender diverse principles and expectations within their setting. For example, EPs may support schools at a policy level or in planning a more inclusive curriculum.

In order for young people to explore and learn about gender diversity they require access to gender diverse communities. This will provide young people with the opportunity and experience to diversify their own gender expectations that these communities might otherwise transgress. From there, young people would be better placed to make an informed decision about their own beliefs and attitudes of and towards the transgender population.

It is important to acknowledge that the recommendations may not be easy to implement. Deviations in heteronormative, gender and social conservatist norms may lead to opposition in promoting awareness and positive change.

2.4.5 Limitations

The current study aimed to explore adolescent attitudes towards traditional gender role beliefs, gender stereotypes and the transgender population. This study gathered limited demographic information from participants. Future research would benefit from collecting additional background information as certain constructs have been identified within the literature as contributing to transprejudice (e.g. sexuality, level of contact, religious beliefs). An exploration of these constructs could further enrich our understanding around adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population.

Unfortunately, I was not able to gather parental attitudes and therefore could not triangulate their saliency or influence with respect to pupil attitudes. Future research should seek to engage parents in order to gather their attitudes; this would broaden our understanding of how shared their attitudes and experiences are with that of their children. Further extension of this research could explore the attitudes and perceptions of school teachers within primary and secondary schools towards the transgender population and how these fit with pupil's perceptions and attitudes and the wider school context. Researchers should seek to understand the potential contextual and social desirability implications that may influence pupil, teacher or parent responses.

It is important to note that the school recruited for this study were not only keen to take part but were proactive in promoting an awareness and understanding of LGBT issues with pupils facilitating a school-based LGBT group. This level of awareness may not be visible in other schools and the level of acceptance seen in this population cannot be assumed. It will be important to replicate this study in different school contexts and different geographical locations. This will support our understanding of the current study's findings as well as the attitudes of those within wider contexts and locations, all of which will contribute to our understanding of CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population.

I used a small sample of 10 pupils and recruited them from one school; the sample consisted of a gender imbalance with nine female participants and one male. This may be important given the number of recent findings that suggest males hold higher levels of transprejudice when compared to females (Chen & Anderson, 2017; Carrera-Fernandez et al, 2014; Costa & Davies, 2012; Winter et al, 2008). This will have influenced the overall findings; it would be of interest to replicate the current study with a male adolescent sample and an evenly mixed adolescent sample from a range of schools in order to gain a broader understanding of the impact gender differences may have. Furthermore, future research should seek to understand the impact age has on attitudes and gender differences.

An important consideration, prior to replication, would be the revision of some questions within the interview schedule. For example, the question 'Some schools have blue book bags for boys and pink book bags for girls-why do you think this is?' may be perceived as leading and the sharing of a personal assumption that may not be the shared experience of others. It will be beneficial to pilot revised interview schedule to ensure that all questions are objective, clear and are understood in the way that they were designed.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is a greater need for research that includes members of the transgender population in a collaborative capacity, as part of the research

process and at key decision points. Transgender perspectives could be sought when planning and piloting the design of the research, interpretation and implication of the findings and to challenge potential bias. Within the current study, collaboration could have further informed the interview schedule questions and the interpretation of the themes and pupil's responses. Collaboration and participatory research would seek to challenge heteronormative bias and promote a transgender perspective within research that concerns the transgender community.

2.5 Conclusion

As far as the author is aware, this study is one of the first to explore adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population and provides an important step in exploring and understanding adolescents' attitudes towards gender. Adolescents may provide the scope for transformational change of attitudes around the current model of gender and acceptance towards, and for, members of the transgender population.

Appendix A Search terms

Transgender* OR transgenderism* OR transsexual* gender non-conform* OR gender variant* OR gender dysphoria*

AND

Transphobia* OR "anti-transgender prejudice*" OR transprejudice* OR prejudice* OR discrimination*

AND

Belief* OR attitude* OR view* OR perception* OR value* OR thought* OR judgement* OR opinion*

AND

School* OR college* OR educat*

NOT

Medic* OR health* OR "transgender experience" OR homosexual* OR homophobia* OR lesbian* OR bisexual* OR intervention*

AND

child* OR adoles* OR "young person*"

Appendix B Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Table 2. Inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Inclusion	Exclusion
Members of the transgender population of any age	Refer to sexuality as the focus unless attitudes towards the transgender population were relevant to the question
Social and medical transition in the transgender population	Focus on health issues that may be more prominent within the transgender population
Attitudes of children and young people up to the age of 25	Focus on medical issues that may be related to the transgender population or medical transition
In education (primary, secondary, college and university)	Focus on mental health of members of the transgender population
Synonyms of transgender	Books
Synonyms of attitudes	Focus on the experiences of members of the transgender population
Predictors of attitudes towards the transgender population	Papers that are not accessible in English
Published in English	
Theses, dissertations and published papers	

Appendix C Quality assurance checklist

Table 3. Quality assurance framework.

Downs & Black (1998) Adapted

STUDY:

TOTAL:

CATEGORISATION:

Question	Descriptor	Score
1. Focus on a specific, well-defined problem, construct or population?	YES	1
	NO	0
2. Is the hypothesis/aim/objective of the study clearly described?	YES	1
	NO	0
3. Are the main outcomes to be measured clearly described in the introduction or methods section? <i>If the main outcomes are first mentioned in the results section, the question should be answered no.</i>	YES	1
	NO	0
4. Are the characteristics of the participants included in the study clearly described?	YES	1
	NO	0
5. Are the main findings of the study clearly described? <i>Simple outcome data should be reported for all major findings so that the reader can check the major analyses & conclusions.</i>	YES	1
	NO	0
6. Does the study provide estimates of the random variability in the data for the main outcomes? <i>In non-normally distributed data the inter-quartile range of results should be reported. In normally distributed data the standard error, standard deviation or confidence intervals should be reported. If the distribution of the data is not described, it must be assumed that the estimates used were</i>	YES	1
	NO	0

Question	Descriptor	Score
		<i>appropriate and the question should be answered yes.</i>
7. Have actual probability values been reported for the main outcomes except where the probability value is less than 0.001?	YES 1 NO 0	
8. Were the participants in the study representative of the entire population from which they were recruited? <i>The study must identify the source population for patients and describe how the patients were selected. Participants would be representative if they comprised the entire source population, an unselected sample of consecutive patients, or a random sample. Random sampling is only feasible where a list of all members of the relevant population exists. Where a study does not report the proportion of the source population from which the patients are derived, the question should be answered as unable to determine.</i>	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	
9. Have actual probability values been reported (e.g. 0.035 rather than <0.05) for the main outcomes except where the probability value is less than 0.001?	YES 1 NO 0	
10. If any of the results of the study were based on “data dredging” was this made clear? <i>Any analyses that had not been planned at the outset of the study should be clearly indicated. If no retrospective unplanned subgroup analyses were reported, then answer yes.</i>	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	
11. Were the statistical tests used to assess the main outcomes appropriate? <i>The statistical tests used must be appropriate to the data. For example, non-parametric methods should be used for small sample sizes. Where little statistical analysis has been undertaken but where there is no evidence of</i>	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	

Question	Descriptor	Score
<p><i>bias, the question should be answered yes. If the distribution of the data (normal or not) is not described it must be assumed that the estimates used were appropriate and the question should be answered yes.</i></p>		
12. Were the main outcome measures used accurate (valid and reliable)? <i>For studies where the outcomes measures are clearly described, the question should be answered yes. For studies which refer to other work or that demonstrates the outcome measures are accurate, the question should be answered yes.</i>	YES	1
	NO	0
	UNABLE TO DETERMINE	0
13. Did the study have sufficient power to detect a clinically important effect where the probability value for a difference being due to chance is less than 5%?	YES	1
	NO	0
TOTAL		
12	9-12	HIGH
	5-8	MEDIUM
	0-4	LOW

Appendix D Review framework for qualitative evaluation

Table 4. Review framework for qualitative evaluation.

Author(s):

Title:

Criterion	Score	R1	R2	Agree coeff.	R1	R2	Agree coeff.	Comment
Appropriateness of the research design <i>e.g. rationale vis-à-vis aims, links to previous approaches, limitations</i>	1 0							
Clear sampling rationale <i>e.g. description, justification; attrition evaluated</i>	1 0							
Well executed data collection <i>e.g. clear details of who, what, how; effect of methods on data quality</i>	1 0							
Analysis close to the data, <i>e.g. researcher can evaluate fit between categories/ themes and data.</i>	2 1 0							
Evidence of explicit reflexivity <i>e.g. impact of researcher, limitations, data validation (e.g. inter-coder validation), researcher philosophy/ stance evaluated.</i>	2 1 0							
Comprehensiveness of documentation	1 0							

Criterion	Score	R1	R2	Agree coeff.	R1	R2	Agree coeff.	Comment
<i>e.g. schedules, transcripts, thematic maps, paper trail for external audit</i>								
Negative case analysis, <i>e.g. e.g. contrasts/ contradictions/ outliers within data; categories/ themes as dimensional; diversity of perspectives.</i>	1	0						
Clarity and coherence of the reporting <i>e.g. clear structure, clear account linked to aims, key points highlighted</i>	1	0						
Evidence of researcher- participant negotiation of meanings, <i>e.g. member checking, empower participants.</i>	1	0						
Emergent theory related to the problem, <i>e.g. abstraction from categories/ themes to model/ explanation.</i>	1	0						
Valid and transferable conclusions <i>e.g. contextualised findings; limitations of scope identified.</i>	1	0						
Evidence of attention to ethical issues <i>e.g. presentation, sensitivity, minimising harm, feedback</i>	1	0						
Total			<i>Max 14</i>	Mean coeff.			Mean coeff.	

Appendix E Weight of Evidence Table

Study	WoE A	WoE B	WoE C	WoE D
Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell, & Nagoshi. (2016).	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Antoszewski, Kasielska, Jędrzejczak, & Kruk-Jeromin, (2007).	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Barbir, Vandevender, Cohn, (2017)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Broussard, & Warner, (2018).	High	Medium	High	High
Carrera- Fernandez, Lameiras- Fernandez. Rodriguez-Castro, & (2014).	High	Medium	High	High
Carrol, Guss, Hutchinson, & Gauler, (2012).	High	Low	Medium	Medium
Chen, & Anderson, (2017).	High	Medium	High	High
Ching, & Xu, (2018).	High	Medium	High	High

Study	WoE A	WoE B	WoE C	WoE D
Costa, & Davies, (2012).	High	Low	Medium	Medium
Gazzola,& Morrison,(2014).	Medium	Medium	High	Medium
Gülgöz, Gomez, DeMeules, Olson,(2018).	High	High	High	High
Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi (2008)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Tebbe, & Moradi,(2012).	High	Medium	High	High
Winter, Chalungsooth, Teh, Rojanalert, Maneerat, Wong, Beaumont, Ho, Gomez, Macapagal (2009)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Winter, Webster, Cheung, (2009).	High	Medium	High	High

Appendix F Data extraction table

Table 5. Data extraction table.

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell & Nagoshi (2016)	339 heterosexual undergraduate students.	Right Wing Authoritarianism (The Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale, Altemeyer, 1981).	Males scored significantly higher on all measures of discomfort, physical aggression, homophobia, transphobia and benevolent sexism.	
US	Female mean age=18.81 years	Aggression (The Aggression Questionnaire Buss & Perry, 1992).	Discomfort with violations of gender role norms, gender identity norms and sexual orientation norms were highly correlated with homophobia and transphobia (higher correlations for discomfort with gender identity norm violations) for males and females.	
	Male mean age=19.34 years	Homophobia (The Homophobia Scale, Wright et al, 1999).	Gender role, gender identity and sexual orientation were significantly moderately correlated with religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism and benevolent sexism.	
		Transphobia (The Transphobia Scale, Nagoshi et al, 2008)		
		Religious Fundamentalism (The Religious Fundamentalism Scale, Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992).		
		Ambivalent Sexism Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, Glick & Fiske, 1996).		
		Violations of gender role, gender identity & sexual orientation norms (Study developed tool).		

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Barbir, Vandevender, & Cohn, (2017)	275 cisgender undergraduate students	Transgender friendships (Study developed tool)	Participants reported significantly fewer negative intentions and greater positive intentions and views when they had at least one transgender friend.	Transgender friendship experiences and negative intentions $\eta^2=.04$
US	76.4% female age range=17-26 23.6% male	Assessment of attitudes, beliefs, and behavioural intentions toward transgender individuals (Study developed tool)	Participants with at least one transgender friend reported significantly greater supportive public intentions.	Positive intentions and views $\eta^2=.07$
	age range=17-26 (93.4% fell in the age bracket 17-21)			Negative attitudes $\eta^2=.07$ Supportive public intentions $\eta^2=.04$
Broussard, K. A., & Warner, R.H. (2018). Gender Nonconformity Is Perceived Differently for Cisgender and Transgender Targets.	Study 1: 232 undergraduate students. Mean age=18.69 Female=65.5% Male=35.5%	Study 1: Liking of target (Study developed tool). 3 questions on a 7-point Likert scale. Distinctiveness Threat elicited by target (Study developed tool). Two items modified from Warner et al (2007) and a single multiple-choice question. Study 2: Same measures used.	Study 1: Males liked the targets significantly less than females. Males liked the transgender targets significantly less than female participants. Cisgender targets were liked more than transgender targets. Gender identity and gender conformity were significant predictors of liking. The relationship between liking and transprejudice was moderated by gender identity and gender conformity. As traditional gender role beliefs increased, the liking of transgender targets decreased.	Study 1: Liking: Main effect of participant gender $\eta^2=.09$ Main effect of target gender identity $\eta^2=.03$ Two-way interaction between participant gender and target gender identity $\eta^2=.04$ but only

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
<p>Study 2: 217 undergraduate students. Mean age=19.06 Female=66.4% Male=33.6%</p>	<p>Feminine conforming targets elicited less distinctiveness threat than feminine non-conforming targets. Cisgender women elicited less distinctiveness threat than transgender women. The relationship between transprejudice and distinctiveness threat was not moderated by gender identity or conformity. The relationship between gender role beliefs and distinctiveness threat was not moderated by gender identity and gender conformity.</p>	<p>significant for transgender targets $\eta^2=.22$ Distinctiveness Threat: Main effect of target gender conformity $\eta^2=.03$</p>		
<p>Study 2: Males liked all targets less than females.</p>	<p>Target gender identity and target gender conformity were not significant predictors of liking.</p>	<p>Main effect of participant gender on liking $\eta^2=.04$</p>		
<p>The relationship between liking and transprejudice was moderated by target gender conformity and target gender identity-transprejudice increased when liking decreased. Higher prejudice was associated with lower liking for conforming and nonconforming transgender targets and nonconforming cisgender.</p>	<p>Main effect of target gender conformity and distinctiveness threat $\eta^2=.11$</p>			
<p>Traditional gender role beliefs and liking was moderated by target gender identity and gender conformity. Gender nonconforming targets elicited greater distinctiveness threat than conforming targets.</p>	<p>Main effect of target gender identity and distinctiveness threat $\eta^2=.13$</p>			
<p>Gender conforming transgender targets elicited greater distinctiveness threat than conforming cisgender targets.</p>	<p>Gender conforming transgender targets elicited greater distinctiveness threat than conforming cisgender targets.</p>			

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Carrera-Fernandez, Lameras-Fernandez, Rodriguez-Castro & Vallego-Medina (2014).	800 secondary school pupils	Self-report questionnaire (Study developed)	Transgender targets elicited more distinctiveness threat than cisgender targets. Distinctiveness threat was greater for transgender and nonconforming targets. As transprejudice increased, distinctiveness threat increased for transgender targets.	Interaction of gender identity and gender conformity $np^2=.05$ Gender conforming transgender targets elicited greater distinctiveness threat than gender conforming cisgender targets $np^2=.36$
Spain	Mean age=15.19	Ambivalent Sexism (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory short form translated, Glick & Fiske, 1996)	The relationship between traditional gender role beliefs and distinctiveness threat was not moderated by target gender identity or conformity.	Gender-bashing $d=.81$
	75.8% attended public school	Homophobia (Modern Homophobia Scale-translated, Raja & Stokes, 1998)	Boys reported significantly more negative attitudes towards transpeople than girls. Participant attitudes toward transmen were more positive than their attitudes toward transwomen.	Significant differences in both subscales (Transphobia/Genderis m) $d=.90$
	24.3% attended private school			Significant differences were found in participant gender attitudes toward target gender $d=.10$

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Carroll, Güssm Hutchinson, & Gauler (2012)	233 undergraduate students	Interpersonal Reactivity (The Interpersonal Reactivity Index, Davis, 1983).	Male participants were significantly less willing to interact with FtM than MtF people.	The relationship between the intake form and the combined dependent variables $\eta^2=.05$
US	Female (n=187), mean age=20.84	Interpersonal Curiosity (The Interpersonal Curiosity Scale, Litman & Pezzo, 2007).	Participants were less willing to interact with FtM and showed the strongest negative reactions towards these participants.	Gender and combined dependent variable $\eta^2=.06$
	Male (n=46), mean age=22.65	Thermometer Evaluation (Thermometer Evaluation Scale, Herek & Capitonio, 1999)	Men reported highest willingness to interact with MtF and showed the lowest negative reactions towards them.	Intake form x gender x combined dependent variable $\eta^2=.05$
		Affective Reactions to Target (Affective Reaction to Target Scale, Oswald, 2007).	Females scores were similar across all four domains of the intake form for willingness to interact and negative reactions.	Intake form and Social Distance $\eta^2=.02$
		Perceived Characteristics (Perceived Characteristics of the Target, Oswald, 2007).		Gender and Affective Reactions toward the Target $\eta^2=.05$
		Social Distance (The Social Distance Scale, Crandall, 1991).		
		Empathy (The Empathic Concerns Scale, Batson et al, 1981, 1988)		
Chen & Anderson (2017)	124 college students	Transprejudice (The Genderism and Transphobia Scale, Hill & Willoughby, 2005).	Males reported more transprejudice than females.	Significant multivariate effect for gender $\eta^2=.114$
China and US	Female (n=63)		Both male and females reported more violence toward, teasing of, and discomfort with trans women compared with transmen.	

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Ching & Xu (2018) China	Male (n=61) Mean age=23.7	Gender Self-Esteem (Collective Self-Esteem Scale, Luhmanen & Crocker, 1992)	Gender self-esteem was not a significant predictor of transprejudice.	Females had significantly lower scores than males on the transphobia/genderism subscale $\eta^2=.105$
	85.4% studied in China 10.6% studied in US 4.1% did not identify place of study	Social Desirability (The Social Desirability Scale-17, Stöber, 2001)		Female's scores were significantly lower on the gender-bashing subscale $\eta^2=.074$
Ching & Xu (2018) China	132 university students	Pre-manipulation measure (General Attitudes Survey, Hegarty & Golden, 2008).	The biological determinist article increased the level of negative stereotypes of transgender people compared to the neutral article. Gender neuroessentialism leads to more negative attitudes and a lower intention to support equal rights of transgender people.	Participants in the biological determinist condition scored significantly higher on the Essentialist belief scale than the control group $d=4.24$ and the interactionist condition $d=4.67$
	Female (n=64, 48.5%) Male (n=68, 51.5%) Mean age=20.24	Post-manipulation measure (Essentialist Belief Scale, Haslam et al, 2000, 2002)		
		Transprejudice (Personal Stereotype Item, Eagly et al, 1991, Esses et al, 1994; Hegarty & Golden, 2008)		

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
	Walch et al, 2012)	Transprejudice (Attitudes Toward Transgendered Individuals Scale, Walch et al, 2012) Two subscales of the Chinese Attitudes toward Transgenderism and Transgender Civil Rights Scale (King, 2008)		Between the interactionist and biological condition $d = .85$ Prejudicial attitudes were significantly different between the biological and control conditions $d = .99$ and biological and interactionist $d = 1.08$
Costa & Davies (2012) Portugal	188 high school students Female (n=126) Male (n=62) Mean age=17	Attitude measures: Genderism and Transphobia Scale (Hill & Willoughby, 2005) The Affective Reactions toward Gay Men Scale (Davies, 2004) The Affective Reactions toward Lesbian Women Scale (Davies, 2004)	ARTGM was a strong predictor of genderism and transphobia. Attitudes toward gay men were more closely linked with attitudes toward transgender individuals. Males showed more negative attitudes toward transgender individuals, gay men and lesbians than female participants and showed more traditional gender role beliefs than females. Male and females held more negative views towards gay men than lesbians.	Significant differences between biological and control conditions in the intention to support equal rights $d = 1.27$

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Gazzola & Morrison (2014)	Study 1: 16 undergraduate students	3 Focus Groups: FG1 = male FG2 = female FG3 = male and female	Attitudes towards women's gender roles, men's roles and gender were highly significant predictors of genderism and transphobia. Only one factor was found on the GTS. Eight themes were identified: Gendered personality and behaviours; sexed body shape; abnormal participants; rejected by society; mental illness; sex reassignment surgery; gay and lesbian; primacy of birth sex versus gender identity.	Participants who had contact with transgender individuals had lower TS scores than those who had no contact $d=1.03$
Canada	Female (n=7) Male (n=9) Mean age=20.44 Study 2: 274 undergraduate students	Study 2: Cultural Stereotype Scale Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotype Scale Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al, 2008) Valence of Stereotype Threat	Study 2: Participants held relatively neutral attitudes towards transgender men and women on average. Religion was significantly correlated with transphobia scale when looking at transgender women and transgender men survey. Participants who had contact with transgender individuals had lower scores on the transphobia scale.	Main effect of target gender in stereotype analysis $n^2=.72$ Main effect of target gender in the counterstereotype analysis $n^2=.06$
	Valence survey: Female (n=2) Male (n=11) Declined to provide gender identity (n=1) Mean age=19.86		The cultural stereotype of transmen was more strongly negatively valanced than transwomen. The counterstereotype of transmen was less strongly negative than transwomen. The cultural stereotype of transmen is more negative than transwomen.	Males endorsed more strongly negative stereotypes of transgender individuals than female participants $n^2=.03$

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
	Valence survey relevant to transgender men=7			
	Valence survey relevant to transwomen=7			
	<i>Stereotype content survey:</i>			
	Female=79%			
	Male=21%			
	Mean age=21			
	Stereotype content survey relevant to transmen=130			
	Stereotype content survey relevant to transwomen=128			
Gülgoz, Gomez, DeMeules, & Olsen (2018)	Study 1: 55 cisgender children	Study 1: Liking task and vignette (Study developed tool)	Study 1: Children liked cisgender targets better than transgender targets.	Study 1: Main effect of sex/gender concordance $np^2=.14$
US				

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi (2008)	Female (n=30)	Categorisation task of targets (Study developed tool)	Children liked their own gender targets more than the other gender targets.	Main effect of target gender $\eta^2=.31$
	Male (n=25)	Study 2:	Children rated liking cisgender and transgender targets above the midpoint.	Study 2:
US	Mean age=7.9	Same as above.	Children categorised cisgender targets of their own gender by their sex at birth more often than they did for transgender targets of their own gender.	Significant main effect of target gender $\eta^2=.24$
	Study 2:		Study 2:	Significant main effect of sex/gender concordance x target gender $\eta^2=.12$
US	58 cisgender children		Liking: Children favoured targets of their own gender compared with targets of the other gender.	
	Mean age=7.9		Categorisation:	
US	310 undergraduate students	Transphobia Scale	Children were more likely to categorise transgender targets by their gender than expected by chance.	
	Female (n=153, mean age=19.45)	The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al, 1999)	Participants did not differ in their categorisation of own-gender transgender targets and other-gender transgender targets.	
			Men scored significantly higher than women on: transphobia, homophobia, masculinity, hostile sexism, rape myth acceptance, sexual permissiveness and physical aggression proneness.	
			Transphobia and homophobia were highly correlated for both sexes.	

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
	Male (n=157, mean age=19.47)	Religious Fundamentalism (Altmeyer & Hunsberger, 1992)	Transphobia and homophobia were correlated with right-wing authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism and hostile sexism.	
		The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al, 1975).	Benevolent sexism was more strongly correlated with transphobia.	
		The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996)		
		The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980)		
		The Sociosexuality Inventory (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991)		
		The Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992)		
Tebbe & Moradi (2012)	250 undergraduate students	Anti-transgender attitudes (The Transphobia Scale, Nagoshi et al, 2008)	Men showed higher scores on the transphobia scale	Significant differences were found between mean TS scores for women and men
US	Male=42% Female=58% Mean age=19.06	Anti-LGB attitudes (Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale, Herek, 1988) Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale Female/Male version (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999)	Anti-LGB prejudice, traditional gender role attitudes and need for closure are associated with transprejudice. The pattern of associations between men and women across the constructs are similar but women scores were lower in transprejudice than men.	$d=-.75$

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
		Traditional Gender Role Attitudes (Attitudes toward women Scale, Spence & Helmreich, 1978)		
		Gender Role Beliefs Scale (Kerr & Holden, 1996).		
		Need for Closure (The Need for Closure scale, Webster & Kruglanski, 1994)		
		Social Dominance Orientation (The Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Pratto et al, 1994)		
		Social Desirability (Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).		
Winter, Chalungstooth, Teh, Rojanalert, Maneerat, Wong, Beaumont, Ho, Gomez, & Macapahal (2009).	841 undergraduate students. Pooled sample mean age=20.16 Male (n=277) Female (n=541)	Perceptions of transwomen 30-item questionnaire (Study developed tool)	5 factors identified: Mental illness $x=0.86$; Denial-women $x=0.81$; social rejection $x=0.78$; peer-rejection $x=0.65$; sexual deviance $x=0.54$.	
China, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, UK, US				

Author and Country	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings	Effect size
Winter, Webster, & Cheung (2008)	203 undergraduate participants	Chinese Genderism and Transphobia Scale (Hill & Willoughby, 2005)	The Hong Kong sample were more transphobic than the Canadian sample although both show scores that are tolerant of the transgender population.	
Hong Kong and Canada	Female (n=82) Male (n=121)		Males were more transphobic than females.	
	Mean age Hong Kong students=21		Participants were less tolerant of gender variant males.	
	Mean age Canadian students=25		5 factors were identified for Chinese population: anti-sissy prejudice, anti-trans violence, trans unnaturalness, trans immorality, background genderism.	

Appendix G Interview schedule

Study title: Parent and adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population.

ERGO number: 31549

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this interview. My name is Jenna Read and I am a third year trainee educational psychologist studying at the University of Southampton. My role as an educational psychologist is to work with children and young people in order to support them in their development at school. As part of my course, I am conducting a piece of research that is looking at parent and adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population. I would like to find out about your understanding, attitudes and thoughts towards traditional sex roles and the transgender population.

Before we get started, I want to ask whether you are happy to continue with the interview. If you do not wish to participate in the interview, you are able to leave without having to give an explanation. Would you like to continue?

Firstly, any information that you share with me today will remain confidential. Our interview will be recorded using a Dictaphone and I will be the only person that will listen to the recording. I will transcribe our interview and you will be given a different name when I write it up so that you and any information you share is not identifiable. I would like you to be as open and as honest as you wish to be in this interview; I am here to learn and not judge your thoughts and there are not any right or wrong answers.

1. Some people say that there are two sexes: male and female, and that each have different roles in society. What do you think?
 - Where do you think your thoughts come from? (Family, peers, tv, media, online).
 - What do you think your family's thoughts would be?
 - What do you think your friends' thoughts would be?
 - What do you think happens if someone does not meet society's standards of adopting traditional sex roles?

2. In 2017, there were approximately 402, 000 men working in the engineering industry and 48,000 women. Have you got any ideas why there might be more men working in this industry than women?
 - Is it due to subject choices at school?
 - Is it the level of difficulty needed to succeed in engineering?
 - Are there other reasons why this might occur?

3. In 2017 there were 94,000 men working as nurses and 566,000 women. Have you got any thoughts as to why there are more women working as nurses than men?
 - Is it due to subject choices at school?
 - Is it the level of difficulty needed to succeed in nursing?
 - Are there other reasons why this might occur?

4. What are your thoughts on the following statement: "Girls should play with girl's toys and boys should play with boy's toys".
 - What do you think your family's thoughts would be?
 - What do you think your friend's thoughts would be?

5. Some schools have blue book bags for boys and pink book bags for girls-why do you think this is?
 - Where do you think such practices come from?
 - What are your thoughts on this?

6. What is your understanding of the term 'transgender'?

7. Do you know a transgender person, or do you know of a transgender person? (*In real life, from tv, social media?*)
 - What are your thoughts about learning more about the transgender population at school? (Is it a good/bad idea-why? What would the implications be?)

8. What are your thoughts about the following statement: "People are either male or female; they cannot change their sex".
 - What do you think your family's thoughts would be?

- What do you think your friend's thoughts would be?
 - If one of your friends told you they were transgender what would your thoughts on this be? What do you think your family's thoughts would be?
9. Imagine that your school has decided to allow pupils to dress as the gender they identify with. What would your thoughts on this be?
- Would pupils be able to use the toilets they identify with? What about unisex toilets?
 - What do you think your family's thoughts would be?
 - What do you think your friend's thoughts would be

Appendix H Pupil information sheet

Who am I?

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist in my second year of doctoral training at the University of Southampton. I am conducting this study as part of my thesis for my doctoral training. I would like to invite you and your child to take part in a research study looking at attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population. I hope that you find the following information helpful but if you do have any further questions please do contact me via the contact details at the end of this sheet.

What will happen to my child if they decide to take part?

They will be invited to participate in an interview. As your child is under 16, parental permission is required for your child to participate. Your child will receive an information sheet that will tell them all of the details of the study and what will happen should they wish to participate. They will be encouraged to speak to you if they express a wish to participate. If consent is given, your child will be asked questions related to the topics described on a 1:1 basis with myself and will last approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. The interview will be recorded using an electronic recording device and will be transcribed by myself. Prior to the interview, each pupil will be told about the objectives of the research and informed that they do not have to participate if they do not want to. Should they wish to participate, they will be informed that they can withdraw from the study at any time and without question. Participation in the study is completely voluntary and your child does not have to participate if they do not wish to.

What is the research about?

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between a person's beliefs around traditional sex roles, and their attitudes towards the transgender population. In addition, I am interested in whether adolescent attitudes are influenced by parental attitudes, or whether they are formed outside of the parental relationship. In this study pupils will complete an interview and parents will complete an online questionnaire. Pupils will be invited to take part in an interview. The aim of the interview is to gain an understanding about the following:

- Adolescent's understanding of the term traditional sex roles
- Adolescent's understanding of the term transgender and the transgender population
- The language adolescent's use and understand when discussing traditional sex roles and the transgender population
- Adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex roles
- Adolescent attitudes towards the transgender population
- Whether adolescents perceive there to be a relationship between traditional sex roles and the transgender population

Why has my child been asked to participate?

All pupils in Years 9 at your child's school have been invited to take part in the study. This age group have been chosen as it is a time when adolescents are starting to develop their own views on their identity, views of others and views of the world.

Interview

Your child will be interviewed on a 1:1 basis with myself. Some pupils may find this daunting and may feel uncomfortable sharing their views with me. In order to safeguard participating pupils, a named member of staff will be available to provide them with support should they be worried about anything to do with the study. If a pupil looks uncomfortable during the interview, I will reiterate that they have the right to refuse to answer a question, are free to leave at any point and that there will be not be consequences for doing so.

Why have I been asked to participate?

I am interested to understand parental attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population in order to explore whether there are any themes between parental and adolescent attitudes.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you and/or your child wish to participate, please return the consent form to your child's form tutor by **Friday 23rd November 2018**. If you and/or your child is selected to participate, you will receive a notification from myself via the school in the form of a letter. This will include the web address to the online questionnaire and whether your child has been chosen for the interview. Your child will be chosen at random by myself and will not be chosen based on any specific criteria.

Will my child's participation be confidential?

In case of concern over the safety of the pupil or others I will be required to follow the school guidelines for disclosure. This information will be passed to a named member of school staff who will take responsibility for acting on this information. All data and information collected will be held in line with the Data Protection Act 1988. All information will be coded, password-protected and stored on a university system for 10 years before it is destroyed. Your child's information will not be identifiable in the interview transcripts or the final write up as they will be given an id number.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

Recently, gender identity, traditional sex roles and the transgender population have been prevalent topics in the national media and within the education system. This research study provides an exciting opportunity for us to gain a better understanding about how attitudes towards these topics are linked. This study will add to the current knowledge base and provide an understanding of how the education system can teach children and young people about differences within society with regards to diversity and identity.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you decide that you no longer wish to participate in the study, you are able to do so without facing any prejudice and without giving reason for doing so. You are able to withdraw from the study prior to and during the questionnaire, however you are unable to withdraw your data from the study once you have completed it and submitted your answers. This is due to your information not being linked to your answers.

Are there any risks involved for my child?

I hope that the interviews will be an enjoyable experience for your child and that they will enjoy sharing their views and attitudes. I am aware that some children may find the topic areas difficult to talk about and I would recommend careful consideration and discussion with your child prior to making a decision. If your child wishes to participate, a named staff member within school will be available should they require support throughout the study. I will remain vigilant to pupil's needs at all times throughout the interviews. Additionally, pupils will be provided with a debrief form. This will outline the aims of the study, thank them for their time and provide them with contact details of organisations that can offer further support should they need it.

Will my participation be confidential?

Yes. All data and information collected will be held in line with the Data Protection Act 1988. All information will be coded, password-protected and stored on a university system for 10 years before it is destroyed. By agreeing to receive the online questionnaire address, your information will be stored in the described way. However, you will not be asked for any information that reveals your identity when you participate in the online questionnaire thus your information will not be linked to the answers you give.

What will happen to me if I take part?

Parents that agree to take part will be invited to take part in an online questionnaire. You will be asked to indicate on the consent form whether you are happy to be contacted and receive the online questionnaire address. The online questionnaire will take approximately half an hour to complete and can be done in the comfort of your own home. Your name and your details will not be linked to the answers given in the questionnaire. You will be asked to state whether you would like to receive a summary of the results once the thesis has been completed. Participation in the study is

What happens if my child changes his/her mind?

If your child decides that they no longer want to participate in the study or you decide that you do not want them to take part in the study, you are able to do so without facing any prejudice and without giving reason for doing so. You are able to withdraw participation from the study at any time, up to and including **Thursday 20th December 2018**. After this date, your child's data will be included in the data analysis and subsequent final write up. If your child withdraws part way through the interview,

Are there any risks for me?

I hope that the online questionnaire will be an enjoyable experience for you and that you will enjoy sharing your views and attitudes. You will be provided with my contact details should you wish to discuss the content of the questionnaire further, however this will compromise your confidentiality. A debrief form will be provided at the end of the questionnaire with the contact details of organisations you may wish to speak to should you require further support.

Where can I get more information?

If you would like to discuss any aspect of the study, ask any questions or require further information please do contact myself or my supervisors.

Jenna Read Primary researcher j.read@soton.ac.uk

Sarah Wright Thesis supervisor and programme director s.f.wright@soton.ac.uk

Appendix I Pupil debrief

Parent and adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population.

Written Debriefing Statement (Version 1, 10.03.18)

ERGO number: 31549

The aim of this research was to explore parent and adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population. Your contribution to the interview has helped to form an understanding about adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population. Your discussions will contribute to the knowledge base and understanding of how adolescents develop, form and maintain attitudes towards traditional sex roles beliefs and the transgender population. I am interested in understanding whether parental attitudes influence adolescent attitudes or whether there are other influencing factors that contribute to the development and formation of adolescent attitudes towards traditional sex role beliefs and the transgender population. Once again results of this study will not include your name or any other identifying characteristics. The interview did not use deception; you were made aware of the key aims of the interview in the information sheet you received and at the beginning of the interview. You may have a copy of the summary of results once the research is complete if you wish.

If you have any further questions, please contact me at j.read@soton.ac.uk.

Thank you for your participation in this research.

Signature _____ Date _____

Jenna Read

Trainee Educational Psychologist

University of Southampton

If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research, or if you feel that you have been placed at risk, you may contact the Chair of the Ethics Committee, Psychology, University of Southampton, Southampton, SO17 1BJ. Phone: +44 (0)23 8059 3856, email fhs-rso@soton.ac.uk

If you would like further information about the content discussed in the interview today or you would like further support, the following organisations are well placed to do so:

Mermaids <http://mermaidsuk.org.uk>

Mermaids provides support to children and young people up to the age of 20 years old who are gender diverse, as well as their families. You can contact mermaids via their helpline, a webchat or by emailing them:

Helpline: 0344 334 0550

Email: info@mermaidsuk.org.uk

Stonewall <http://www.stonewall.org.uk>

Stonewall provides support and advice to members of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community, families and professionals. They campaign for equality within society for the LGBT community and provide a number of resources on their website. You can contact Stonewall for help, guidance or more information via:

Helpline: 08000 50 20 20

Email: info@stonewall.org.uk

Childline <https://childline.org.uk/about/about-childline/>

Childline is a free, private and confidential service that provides support to children and young people up to the age of 19. They provide support and advice for a number of issues and may be able to signpost you to further information or sources of support. You can sign up to their website to email their counsellors or receive support via a 1-1 counsellor chat.

Helpline: 0800 1111 (The number is free and does not show up on the phone bill)

The Samaritans <https://www.samaritans.org>

The Samaritans provides confidential emotional support to people who are struggling to cope or experiencing distress. They provide non-judgemental support and advice 24 hours a day.

Helpline: 116 123

Email: jo@samaritans.org

Appendix J Presentation to pupils

UNIVERSITY OF
Southampton

Parental and adolescent attitudes towards
traditional sex roles and the transgender
population

Jenna Read
Trainee Educational Psychologist
University of Southampton

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Why am I here?

- Trainee Educational Psychologist
- Research
- Young people's attitudes and views

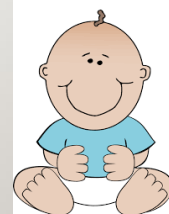
The diagram consists of two purple rounded rectangular boxes. The left box contains the text 'Traditional Sex Role Beliefs' and the right box contains 'Transgender Population'. A double-headed horizontal arrow connects the two boxes, indicating a relationship or interaction between the two concepts.

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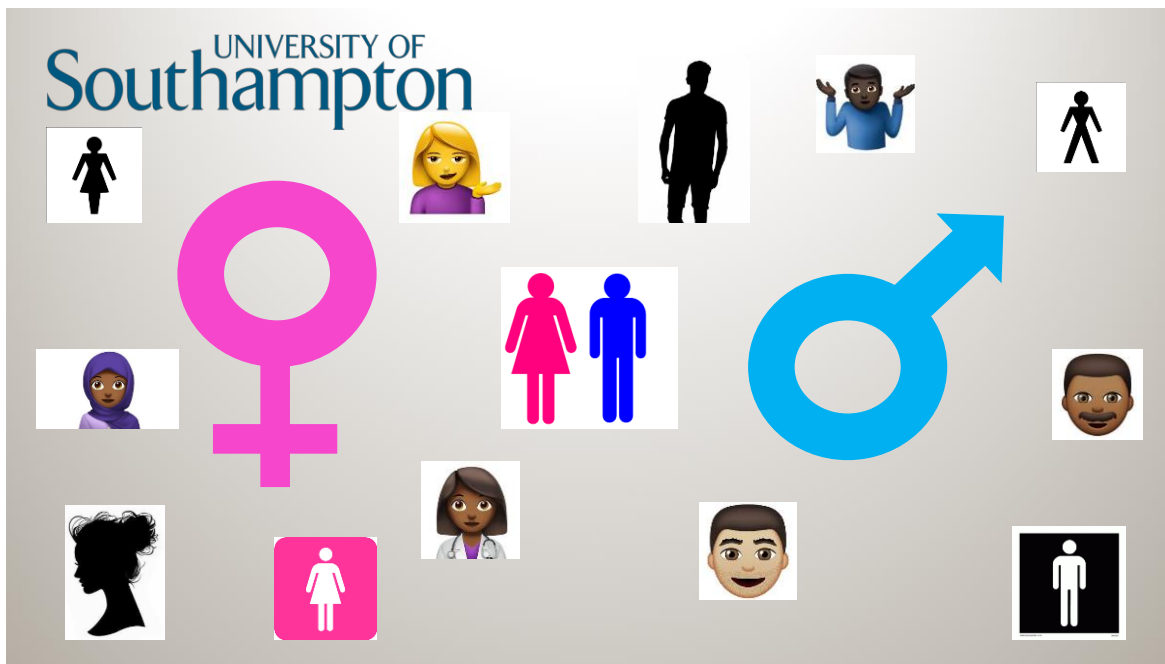


What do you think the first piece of information mum is given about her baby? What is the first question people tend to ask when someone has had a baby?

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Who makes the decision as to whether you are a boy or a girl? What do they base this decision on?



Some people identify as a girl. What would make them a girl? Some people identify as a boy. What makes them a boy? You might have noticed that I used the word 'identify', any ideas why I might have used this word?



Some people think that men and women should and do have different roles within society.

I did a quick google images with the words mum and dad, man and women and these were some of the images that came up. What comes to mind when you look at these images?

There are traditional views as to the roles we should play in society based on the gender we are and they are all around us in society. BUT not everyone identifies as the gender they were allocated when born.

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Members of the transgender population...






Ask if anyone can name the people in the photos.

Caitlyn Jenner (Keeping Up With The Kardashians, Bruce Jenner: Olympic Gold Decathlete), Laverne Cox (Orange Is The New Black); Eddie Izzard (Comedian, actor, marathon runner).

In recent years there has been a growing focus on the rights and wellbeing of members of the transgender population. An ever increasing amount of research is focusing on the adult population but there is a very limited research base on the CYP population.

Equally, we don't yet know enough about CYP's views and attitudes of and towards the transgender population. We don't know whether CYP agree that the transgender population's rights and wellbeing should be considered equal to cisgender rights and wellbeing. We need to do more to understand this.

What would it involve?

- ☞ One interview with me
- ☞ Your views and attitudes on different aspects of
 - ☞ Traditional sex role beliefs
 - ☞ Transgender population

- ☞ Parents are invited to share their views via an anonymous online questionnaire

CONFIDENTIALITY

CONFIDENTIALITY

You will **not** be identifiable

Your name will **not** be attached to **ANYTHING** you share with me including:

- The transcript
- The write up
- My thesis
- Journal article
- Talks or conferences

Your school will **not** be identifiable, “*A secondary school in the South of England...*”

What I would require from you

✓ Agree with traditional sex roles?

I want to hear from

✗ Disagree with traditional sex roles?

✓ Your honesty

✓ Agree with equality for the transgender population?

!?! Unsure of your views?

✗ Disagree with equality for the transgender population?

Any Questions?

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