University of Southampton Research Repository

University of Southampton

Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences

School of Psychology

Gender Across Cultures: Insights through Meta-ethnography and a Cypriot Delphi Exploration

by

Antreas Anthimou

ORCID ID https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0209-1121

Thesis for the degree of Doctorate in Educational Psychology

26 July 2024

University of Southampton

<u>Abstract</u>

Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences

School of Psychology

<u>Doctorate in Educational Psychology</u>

Gender Across Cultures: Insights through Meta-ethnography and a Cypriot Delphi Exploration

by

Antreas Anthimou

Gender and sex are two widely researched terms and are of great influence in the development of one's identity. Children and young people interact dynamically with their environment in the process of establishing their own identities and ways of expression. In terms of gender, individuals have to navigate cultural and heteronormative norms, and failure to conform can have detrimental effects on their development, learning and well-being. Binary constructs such as 'male' and 'female' or 'masculine' and 'feminine' dominate the field, yet experiences have emerged that are not represented by these categories. Importantly, the sense of not being represented by binary constructs is experienced not only by individuals, but also across a wide range of cultures. The present work aimed to explore gender norms and identities on a global scale with the hopes of bringing together voices that are otherwise studied separately.

Two pieces of research were conducted to achieve this aim. The first, used a meta-ethnographic approach to carry out a systematic literature review to gain a better understanding of experiences of masculinities across the world. The focus was on exploring how gender norms may impact perceptions and attitudes on masculinity in children and young people cross-culturally. The systematic review focused on accounts of individuals from across the world, involving the US, Paraguay, Brazil, Turkey, Pakistan, and India. A diverse sample from eight different studies contributed valuable insights on masculine identities and the impact of the participants' sociocultural environments on their perceptions. Following this, an empirical project was undertaken in Cyprus, aiming to expand on the participatory work Wilson et al, (2023) previously conducted in the UK. Using Delphi, a consensus building tool, a panel of interested individuals contributed to creating an understanding of gender. Their views provided an insight from a diverse, post-colonial perspective on the way gender is viewed. As a result, this research has highlighted new insights on gender and its expression relevant for education, research, and policy.

Table of Contents

Table of Tables

Table of Figures

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Antreas Anthimou

Title of thesis: Insights through Meta-ethnography and a Cypriot Delphi Exploration

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:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
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

Signature: .... Date: 03.06.2024

Acknowledgements

Για σένα, Ραφαήλ[†].

Definitions and Abbreviations

AIM .... African Index Medicus: A database of African health literature.

Archbishop .... In Cyprus, the Archbishop is the head of the Christian Orthodox Church.

BPS................................. British Psychological Society: The professional body for psychologists in the UK.

Baby Boomers.................. The generation born after World War II, roughly between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s.

CASP .... Critical Skills Appraisal Programme: A tool for appraising the quality of research evidence.

COVID .... Coronavirus Disease: A highly infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

ECHR.............................. European Court of Human Rights: An international court established by the European Convention on Human Rights to hear cases on violations of civil and political rights.

EP .... Educational Psychologist

ERGO.............................. Ethics and Research Governance Online: An online platform for managing research ethics at the University of Southampton.

Gender norms .... Societal expectations regarding behaviours, attitudes, and roles deemed appropriate for individuals based on their gender.

GIDS .... Gender Identity Development Service: A specialised service in the UK for children and adolescents with gender dysphoria.

GIM................................. Global Index Medicus: A database of biomedical and public health literature.

Generation X .... The generation preceding Millennials, typically born between the mid-1960s and early 1980s.

Generation Z .... The generation succeeding Millennials, typically born between the late 1990s and early 2010s.

HIV .... Human Immunodeficiency Virus: The virus that causes HIV infection and AIDS.

Definitions and Abbreviations

Hegemonic Masculinity .... The culturally idealised form of masculinity that often emphasises dominance, power, and control.

IMEMR .... Index Medicus for the Eastern Mediterranean Region: A database of health literature in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

IMSEAR .... Index Medicus for the South-East Asia Region: A database of health literature in the South-East Asia region.

LGBTQ+ .... Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning, and more: An inclusive acronym representing diverse sexual and gender identities.

LGBTQIA+ .... Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning, Intersex, Androgynous, and more: An expanded acronym for inclusive representation.

LILACS............................ Latin America and the Caribbean Literature on Health Sciences, a database of health literature in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Masculinities .... The range of social roles, behaviors, and identities that boys and men may perform or adopt.

Millennials .... The generation typically born between 1981 and 1996.

NHS................................. UK's National Health Service: The publicly funded healthcare system in the United Kingdom.

ONS................................. Office for National Statistics: The UK's largest independent producer of official statistics.

PIS.................................. Participant Information Sheet: A document providing information to participants in a research study.

PIN .... Participant Identification Number: A unique identifier assigned to research participants.

PRISMA............................ Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: A guideline for reporting systematic reviews and meta-analyses.

PNAISH............................ National Policy of Comprehensive Healthcare for Men's Health: A policy in Brazil focused on men's healthcare.

PhD .... Doctor of Philosophy.

SID .... Study Interest Declaration Form: A form declaring interest in participating in a research study.

SPIDER tool...................... Sample, Phenomenon of Interest, Design, Evaluation, Research type: A tool for designing qualitative studies.

Definitions and Abbreviations

STIs .... Sexually Transmitted Infections: Infections spread through sexual contact.

SUS .... Brazilian Unified Health System: Brazil's publicly funded health system.

Trans .... An abbreviation for transgender individuals, whose gender identity differs from the sex they were assigned at birth.

Transgender .... An umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or expression is different from cultural expectations based on the sex they were assigned at birth.

UK .... United Kingdom.

UKAid .... UK Department for International Development: The UK government department responsible for administering overseas aid.

UM.................................. University of Missouri: A public research university located in Columbia, Missouri, USA.

US .... United States.

WHO............................... World Health Organisation.

WPRO .... Western Pacific Region Index Medicus: A database of health literature in the Western Pacific region.

WoS................................ Web of Science: An online subscription-based scientific citation indexing service.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1   Overview

The present thesis is structured and presented per the guidelines provided by the University of Southampton's Code of Practice for Research Degree Candidature and Supervision as well as the 2023-24 D.Ed.Psyc Academic Handbook. It is organised in a three-paper format with Chapter 1 presenting the rationale and relevance to Educational Psychology (EP) practice, aims, ontology and epistemology, as well as my reflexivity as the lead researcher and the dissemination plan. Chapters 2 and 3 present two standalone studies and should be read as such. Contrary to conventional PhD thesis formats, Chapters 2 and 3 are written in such manner to enable submission to relevant scientific journals upon completion of my doctorate. The overarching aim of this work was to bring together cross-cultural accounts of gender identities and gender experiences, by critically evaluating previous literature and recording current ideas of individuals.

1.2   Rationale and Relevance to Educational Psychologists

> Acting ethically can be affected by a number of individual and group influences [...].
> Key considerations include conformity and resistance, context, power, emotion, and
> the role of social norms, organisational pressures and group/self-identity.

British Psychological Society, 2021, p. 4

The above extract from the British Psychological Society's (BPS) Code of Ethics and Conduct highlights the complexity of the decision-making process involved in practitioner psychologists' work. The dynamic interplay between the environment, the relationships, the sociocultural norms and the intra- or inter-group status present psychologists with the task of identifying, accurately reporting and problem-solving complex, and sometimes problematic power dynamics. In the context of child development and education, such power dynamics exist in gendered relations, with sex and gender being at the centre of current government discussions (e.g., Cass, 2024). As such, educational psychologists are not spared from the challenge of providing support for children, young people, their families, and their schools while walking a fine line between objectivity in controversial topics and producing person-centred work.

Gender identity is a term that has gained increased attention in recent decades, and it encompasses cultural notions of femininity and masculinity, regardless of an individual's

biological sex (Vantieghem et al., 2014). Heteronormative notions of gender and sex dominate individuals' lives, and categories are sometimes used to make silent inferences or causal links between our bodies, sexualities, and identities (Youdell, 2005). Rigid distinctions between the masculine and the feminine can exist, often promoting hierarchies and neglecting the diverse experiences of individuals (Jewkes et al, 2015). This has been reflected in theoretical concepts like hegemonic masculinity where a form of masculine identity is described as dominant and hierarchically superior to other masculine identities, gender identities, or even sexual identities (Connell, 2020). Moreover, hegemonic masculinity is often defined by what it is perceived not to be, such as femininity or even homosexuality and thus exists a hierarchical polarisation that presents issues of power among individuals (Schippers, 2007; Connell, 1996). As such, there is a need for understanding gender identity and how different identities might explicitly or implicitly promote hierarchies among genders and expressions.

Heteronormative assumptions and normative cultures exist in schools, often resulting in discrimination, victimisation, and rejection for certain groups (Kosciw et al., 2020; Youdell, 2010, 2005; Paechter, 2006). There is the assumption that privilege and power are held by those who abide by the prevailing gender norms, resulting in the marginalisation of those that deviate from them (Magnus & Lundin, 2016). This is especially troubling for adolescents going through a developmental period which has them struggling to establish their identity (Erikson & Erikson, 1998). Since school is a central and typically a mandatory part of an adolescent's life, it serves as the platform where young people socialise and seek to find a sense of belonging with groups of peers. Moreover, schools are run by adults who are inevitably products of different generations and sometimes abide to different norms (Stargell et al., 2020). For LGBTQ+ youth this poses an added challenge as they transgress norms among their peer circles and the general school culture. As a result, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer/Questioning and more (LGBTQ+) young people's identity development can be threatened (Adegboyega et al., 2019), their sense of belonging can be impacted (Gannon-Rittenhouse, 2015), they face mental health issues (Williams, 2017; Russell & Fish, 2016), and can experience marginalisation in schools (Quinlivan, 2013). Ultimately, schools can act as the foundry in which society's perception of LGBTQ+ individuals is shaped and if careful attention is not given, feelings of internalised homophobia and transphobia can dominate individuals' lives because their identities break the mould cast by their environments.

Census data in the United Kingdom (UK) from 2021 involving 45.7 million individuals over 16 years old, showed that approximately 0.5% (262,000) identify with a gender different from their sex assigned at birth (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Yet the gender landscape has been characterised as increasingly hostile for transgender individuals, and especially children in recent years (Madrigal-Borloz, 2021). Schools need support in questioning and challenging

gender norms that perpetuate discrimination of gender diverse identities. Adopting a constructivist and critical pedagogical approach (Ukpokodu, 2009) would allow schools to provide space for gender norms to be exposed and challenged when needed, by encouraging everyone to think critically and evaluate the belief systems and norms that promote hierarchies among gender expressions. Further, research suggests that LGBTQ+ youth want their schools to have support systems in place to help protect them and teach them ways to cope with adverse experiences (Day et al., 2019; Marshall et al., 2015). In sum, there is a call for action for adults to help youth deal with feelings of isolation that impact their mental wellbeing (McDonald, 2018; Russell & Fish, 2016) as social support is evidently important (McDonald, 2018).

Educational psychologists (EPs) in the UK can support the messy process of challenging norms and power relations in schools and the wider social context. They are at the forefront of dealing with issues that threaten children's identity development, being commissioned by local authorities to offer support or produce research. Their support comes in the form of information gathering and collaborative problem-solving across various levels such as the individual, group, and organisational levels, by providing input and promoting participation of service users in the change process. Moreover, undertaking research enquiries and contributing to the evidence base is essential to their role. As excellent communicators, facilitators, and researchers EPs can work together in developing and updating the evidence base on gender affirmative approaches, helping to reconstruct the narratives around gender and to broaden perceptions of the norms.

1.3 Aims

The present work aimed to add to the growing body of literature on the understanding of gender through an educational psychology lens. The two studies in the subsequent chapters investigate contemporary ideas of gender identity with one focusing on the aspect of masculinity. A notable aspect of both papers was the cross-cultural element they introduced. Within my empirical study, I worked to answer the question: "What key factors and competencies do young adults wish to see represented in a model of gender that reflects their own experiences?" This bilingual Greek-English study inspired by Wilson's et al. (2023) work used the approaches and data from the Wilson et al. (2023) in the post-colonial and diverse cultural context of Cyprus. Using Delphi, a consensus-building methodology, a group of adults 20-29 years old came together in a process which facilitated a co-construction of a model of gender. My overarching goal was to expand on Wilson's et al. (2023) work and provide a platform to discuss topics of gender diversity in a cultural context where such discussions are premature and controversial.

My systematic literature review investigated the following question: "how do gender norms and identities shape perceptions and attitudes on masculinity in children and young people cross-culturally?" Using a meta-ethnographic approach, constructions of masculinity from across the globe were juxtaposed to critically investigate notions, beliefs, and experiences of masculine identities in children and young people. Using interview data and researchers' interpretations from the United States (US), Brazil, Paraguay, India, Pakistan and Turkey, a qualitative synthesis was created that critically appraised the similarities and differences across different cultures while carefully considering the context in which they existed.

1.4   Ontology, Epistemology and Reflexivity

This thesis poses a notable shift from my research experience, which focused on quantitative research methods and positivist scientific approaches (e.g., Anthimou et al., 2021). Such approaches have been employed in the past to study gender identity and measures of masculinity and femininity have long been produced and criticised (e.g., Siegel & Calogero, 2021). This thesis worked from a constructivist-interpretivist perspective; a decision that was made easier using Otoo's (2020, p.78) prompts from their reflective paper. I explain my stance and approaches below and present my reflexivity in the process.

The current work is 'loosely' underpinned by a relativist ontology, that assumes that multiple realities exist, and that knowledge is relative to context, culture, or individual perspectives, rather than being absolute or universal (Baghramian & Carter, 2022). Specifically, I subscribe to elements of moral relativism that promote tolerance and open-mindedness while recognising that it pertains controversial aspects that potentially undermine objective ethics. When exploring notions of masculinities in my systematic literature review and gender constructs in the empirical paper, I considered relativism as appropriate to allow for the exploration of multiple realities across different cultural contexts. I use the word 'loosely' because there are certain elements of relativism with which I disagree, both as a researcher and a person. For example, while I accept that knowledge may depend on contextual factors, I reject the use of culture and context as oversimplified justifications for violations of the human rights I endorse (i.e., United Nations, 1948). As such, I declare my stance with caution, recognising that while I find it appropriate for my current scientific enquiry in the current context, it may vary in a different one.

My epistemological stance follows social constructivist theories emphasising that meaning is created from the interplay between the subject and the object. For the insights produced in my systematic literature review, meaning was created based on the interactions the interview subjects had with their environment, the researchers, and any interventions across different

studies. For my empirical project, I believed that knowledge and understanding of gender constructs were not ready to be observed 'out in the nature' and my methodology acted as a mediator. Participants came together and influenced one another in a participatory process of building consensus thus creating new meanings of gender that represented them. Ultimately, my ontological and epistemological perspectives guided my choices of methodology since both meta-ethnography and Delphi facilitated my quest for co-construction of knowledge.

Within the process of this thesis, I faced the challenging task of identifying how my various identities intersect and in doing so, I realised how difficult it was to fully comprehend the experiences of the individuals involved in my research. I am a cis-gender man in his early 30s, heterosexual, white, Greek-Cypriot, well-educated, from a working-class family, a second-generation refugee, a former soldier, a trainee educational psychologist, a researcher, and a somewhat religious and spiritual individual. Moreover, I believe that reality and truth are relative to the context, but I also believe that it is not a world where 'anything goes' and that certain boundaries do exist. My research interest in gender constructs stems from my own experiences in Cyprus, where I grew up in what I label as a conservative society, dominated by heteronormative narratives used to justify hate and propaganda against experiences that differ from the norms. Being raised Christian in a country whose archbishop was also the state's president just 50 years ago, I encountered significant cognitive dissonance coming from the discrepancy between the widely taught ethical and religious principle of loving your neighbour, and the concurrent societal non-acceptance and criticism of 'the gays'. While nowadays there is notable improvement with bills being proposed to allow Cypriots the right to legally recognise their gender identity (Cypriot Ministry of Justice and Public Order, 2022), stereotyping and prejudice are still present, especially for transgender individuals that continue to face marginalisation and societal exclusion.

Throughout my research I immersed myself in the literature hoping to understand all perspectives, I engaged in numerous supervision sessions with my two insightful supervisors, I had reflective sessions with the two professionals that helped me adapt and translate my empirical project and I had countless conversations and debates with friends and family on gender matters. As a result, I emerged from this process more confused than ever, and I learnt that for me this is the way it makes sense, both as a researcher and a person. When evaluating the accounts of my participants, I learnt that sometimes the best I could do was to understand that there was a double-empathy matter at play. The same way I struggled to understand them, they probably struggled to understand me no matter how many emails, instructional videos, and information sheets I exchanged with them. The only constant element throughout my empirical project was mutual respect, between myself and the participants and possibly among the participants. Hence, this supported me in creating syntheses for my findings that focused on

the fact that people did not entirely understand each other but agreed that respect is the first step towards that direction. As a Cypriot, hearing such sentiments expressed by fellow Cypriots offers a glimmer of hope, despite its seemingly little significance.

Boy: Stewie, do you want to be the Autobots or the Decepticons?

Stewie: What's with all these labels, man? Autobots, Decepticons, gay, straight-- just pick a few robots, and let's party.

Stewie Griffin, Family Guy Season 10, Episode 12 (Smith, Michels & Shin, 2012)

1.5   Dissemination Plan

Chapters 2 and 3 were written in such manner to be nearly ready for publication in peer-reviewed journals upon completion of the doctorate. This meant that the styling and word lengths were intended to match the requirements of the selected journals that cover topics of gender identity. The empirical paper will be submitted to the Journal of LGBT Youth which focuses on interdisciplinary research that aims to improve the quality of life for lesbian, gay, bisexuals, trans, two-spirit, intersex, queer, questioning and allied youth. This journal was chosen as it promotes advocacy and understanding for sexual and gender minority youth which are goals shared with my empirical work. The systematic literature review will be submitted to the journal of Culture, Health & Sexuality. This journal was chosen as it publishes culturally informed research on sex, gender and other social identities which aligns with my investigation on masculine identities in youth. Both journals offer open access options for publications which is the preferred choice so that this work has maximum visibility and can be accessed by interested individuals.

Chapter 2   Masculinity and Cross-Cultural Perspectives of Gender Norms in Children and Young People: A Systematic Review and Meta-ethnography

Abstract

Researchers have been exploring the construct of masculinity and its intersection with various domains of individuals' lives. The cultural and societal context in which gender norms exist play a pivotal role in development during early adolescence and young men are often faced with cultural and gender norms that impact their own identities and expressions. Cultural and gender norms, expectations and concepts can vary across different societies and make the process of exploring gender identities and expressions a complex matter. The present study aimed to evaluate qualitative accounts of masculine identities and their interplay with gender norms and identities in different cultures. The research question was 'How do gender norms and identities shape perceptions and attitudes on masculinity in children and young people cross-culturally?' Using a meta-ethnographic approach and systematic literature review, studies from across the world were sought for their relevance to the topic. The systematic literature search identified eight qualitative studies from different cultural contexts such as the US, Brazil, Paraguay, Pakistan, India, and Turkey. Participants' interview quotes were extracted along with primary authors' interpretations and contextual information. Through the meta-ethnographic process, four higher order constructs were created concerning, Support Systems, Cultural Norms and Expectations, Identity Development and Heteronormative Relationships. The synthesis explored the cultural nuances across different constructs and concluded with implications for educational psychologists.

2.1   Introduction

There is variability within explanations and understandings of the construct of masculinity (e.g., Levant & Wong, 2013; Kimmel et al., 2004). The term traditional masculinity ideology carries notions of binary conceptualisations of gender that are still relevant in contemporary discussions of north American culture (Levant & Wong, 2013). Moreover, the term hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2013) is one that has been used to provide explanations and identify behaviours and power dynamics that perpetuate gender inequality (Jewkes et al, 2015). As

defined by Connell (2020, 1995), hegemonic masculinity refers to a culturally dominant and widely accepted definition of masculinity within the context of various competing forms of masculinities. It is a theoretical position and a social practice that provides an understanding of masculine identities, and accounts for the relationships between different expressions of masculinity, its relation to femininity and sexual orientation (Messner et al., 1993). Furthermore, it provides an understanding of gender norms that favour patriarchy and asserting men in dominant positions while promoting women's subjugation (Connell, 2020; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity does not describe the actions of an individual, instead it is about the actions of ruling classes and organisations that promote it explicitly or implicitly (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). These groups and institutions determine what behaviours and traits are considered as masculine and reinforce those norms through various means, such as media representation, education, and socialisation (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Hegemonic masculinity is an influential force in societal norms that affects men's gender socialisation (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006) but has also been criticised. Based on sociological analysis and observation, understandings of hegemonic masculinity evolved with studies exploring the idea through ethnography (Hearn et al., 2012) and analysing its practical implications (Jewkes et al., 2015). Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity recognises the existence of subcategories, such as gay masculinity, highlighting power dynamics among men beyond the subordination of women (Connell, 1995; Shefer, 2007). Nevertheless, Connell's concept has been characterised as "too structural, too abstract, for reifying normative masculinity positions, for a lack of conceptual cogency", making masculinity seem too rigid and fixed, lacking clear, logical explanation (Christensen & Jensen, 2014, p. 61). Overall, issues of power explored by hegemonic masculinity may persist in businesses, military, and governments, reinforcing the need to challenge gender norms that favour the dominance of a hierarchically superior form of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

A growing body of literature has explored associations between measures of adherence to traditional roles of masculinity such as men having to avoid feminine expressions, to never show weakness or emotions, to seek adventure, to strive for success and to use violence if necessary (Clatterbaugh, 2018; Levant & Richmont, 2016) and a range of psychosocial as well as educational problems among boys and young men (e.g., metanalysis by Wong et al., 2017; Vogel et al., 2011). The cultural and societal context in which gender norms exist play a pivotal role in development during early adolescence. Young people shape their lives and personalities through dynamic interaction with their environment and, through interpersonal relations, they accept, reject, or develop new gender norms. Moreover, in emerging adulthood, many young men are faced with a dilemma (Connell, 2005; Galambos et al., 1990): whether or not they

conform to traditional masculine norms (Rice et al., 2011). Such norms, expectations and concepts related to gender identity and particularly masculinity vary across different societies (Way et al., 2014), thus adding to the complexity of understanding identity development.

Research on behaviours related to preserving one's health, both physical and mental, suggests mixed consequences of conforming to traditional masculine role norms. Studies before 2010 (e.g., Noone & Stephens, 2008; Mahalik et al., 2007), highlight that adherence to masculine norms impacts men's help-seeking behaviours in health, resulting in men seeking help less readily. However, in more recent studies concerning men's health, it has been observed that the influence of masculine norms may be contextual to social generation (e.g., Millennials born ~1981-1996) and the type of health service they sought (McGraw et al., 2021). Moreover, while Generation Z (born late 1990s to early 2010s) and Millennials were described as having higher conformity to traditional masculine norms than Generation X (born mid-1960s and early 1980s) and Baby Boomers (born mid-1940s and mid-1960s), McGraw et al. (2021) found regular use of health services among Gen Z and Millennials. As such, there is variation in behaviours across different generations of men and it is important to consider how other factors may impact identity and conformity to norms.

When considering the impact of family on identity development, McFadden et al. (2021) found that mothers from Black, Chinese American, Latinx, and White families in the US were more likely to endorse gender-typed activities (e.g., you shouldn't give toy trucks to a girl) than gender-typed values (e.g., "housework and child care should mainly be a woman's job", p.171). Also, this type of endorsement was related to lower emotional engagement in school for young men (Karen et al., 2021). Additionally, in some contexts there is a perceived feminisation of academic success among school-age boys (Renold & Allan, 2006) with decades of research exploring gender gaps in education (e.g., Buchmann et al, 2008; Van de Gaer et al, 2006). As such, it can be hypothesised that there might be complex dynamics involving gender identity and gender norms in different ethnic groups.

In recent years, qualitative meta-syntheses have been concerned with adults' masculinities (e.g., Pakpahan et al., 2023; Alexis & Worsley, 2018; Krumm et al., 2017) or have explored specific topics such as gender norms and children and young people's roles as carers (e.g., Boyle et al., 2023; Rose & Cohen, 2010), dating violence (e.g., Cala & Soriano-Ayala, 2021; Storer et al., 2020) and close male friendships (Vierra et al., 2023). It is evident that qualitative meta-syntheses in the past 10 years have been used to understand the complex dynamics between gender and other important domains in the lives of children and youth from across the world. However, what stands out is the lack of a coherent synthesis that incorporates findings

from various domains to allow for a cross-cultural understanding of gender roles, identities, and their intersection with masculine identities as perceived and experienced in different countries.

2.2 Method

Meta-ethnography is an increasingly popular approach used to synthesise qualitative research (Noblit & Hare, 1999). Divided into seven phases, it allows for the exploration of phenomena using higher-order interpretations. As such, this interpretative methodology allows for the generation of new knowledge by 'translating' existing information. In the present study, the guidance provided by Sattar et al. (2021) was used; their practical guide was based on the original seven-steps to meta-ethnography by Noblit and Hare (1999). The process was divided into seven distinct steps (Table 2.1) and was reported using the Meta-ethnography Reporting Guidance eMERGe (France et al., 2019; 2015).

The present qualitative synthesis aimed to evaluate qualitative accounts of masculine identities and their interplay with gender norms and identities in different cultures. The research question was: *How do gender norms and identities shape perceptions and attitudes on masculinity in children and young people cross-culturally?*

Table 2.1 *The Phases of Meta-Ethnography*

Phase 1. Getting started - Identify an area of interest
Phase 2. Deciding what is relevant - Define the focus, systematic search
Phase 3. Reading included studies - Extract raw data
Phase 4. Determining how the studies are related - Categorise and cluster common concepts, analyse contextual data
Phase 5. Translating studies into one another - Comparing and summarising shared themes
Phase 6. Synthesising translations - Combine third-order constructs
Phase 7. Expressing the synthesis

The objective of this study was to critically investigate notions, beliefs, and experiences of masculine identities in children and young people. Priority was given to studies relating to masculine identities grounded in the perspectives of gender norms and gender identity, as opposed to specific domains such as health, caregiving, education or otherwise. Furthermore, the initial search on the Web of Science revealed that 'cultural studies' on masculinity (Appendix A) represented one of the relatively less-explored domains. There was a need to explore gender norms and gender identity as potential culturally contingent phenomena to gain insights into the complex interplay between culture, society, and individual experiences. Such an approach could help inform more inclusive and culturally sensitive policies, practices, and interventions aimed at promoting gender equality and supporting diverse gender identities.

To address the review question, a meta-ethnographic approach was chosen to allow for a comprehensive analysis of qualitative studies from different cultural contexts. Meta-ethnography aims to go a step further from other qualitative synthesis approaches by generating new insights based on a systematic and rigorous approach (Sattar et al., 2021). Its scope lies with the translation and interpretation of findings from individual studies to generate 'third order' constructs that give new meaning to the data (Britten & Pope, 2012; Britten et al., 2002).

Within the context of this synthesis, meta-ethnography provided the opportunity to explore the cultural nuances and complexities surrounding masculinity and gender norms and identities. Furthermore, when considering the cross-cultural element of the synthesis, this method supported the identification of patterns, similarities, and differences across various contexts, providing an understanding of how gender norms intersect with attitudes and perceptions of masculinity in different societies. Other approaches to qualitative meta-synthesis such as narrative synthesis, interpretative synthesis and thematic synthesis were considered for their ability to summarise findings and/or create coherent stories from diverse studies. However, the mere description of findings felt outside the scope of this review, as the analytical approach of meta-ethnography was believed to be suitable for creating a conceptual understanding of masculinity on a global scale.

2.2.1 Search Strategy

To develop a search strategy for the area of interest during Phases 1 and 2, scoping searches were first conducted on the Web of Science and PsycInfo (Appendix A). The key components of the systematic search strategy were organised into the SPIDER tool (Table 2.2) (Cooke et al., 2012). A comprehensive approach was adopted with the aim of finding all the available literature within the selected databases. The main databases used were PsycInfo and Web of Science, but ProQuest was also used to find unpublished dissertations and theses. To ensure that the present analysis also included research from non-Western institutions, the Global Index Medicus (GIM) platform maintained by the World Health Organisation was used. The GIM provides access to regional databases that cover biomedicine and social welfare issues.

Abstracts of papers written in several languages were screened using online translation software and if they were deemed eligible, a translation process was sought. Additionally, this systematic review focused on papers published on and after 2013 to identify studies that reflected ideas on gender norms, identities, and masculinity within the last ten years. The systematic search was employed on the 09.11.2023 and was conducted again on the 09.02.2024, to check for new or missed papers prior to the commencement of the analysis.

Table 2.2 *Presentation of SPIDER Tool with Systematic Search Strategy*

S - Sample	Children and young people ≤ 25 years old.
PI - Phenomenon of Interest	The interplay between masculinity and gender norms and identities in children and young people.
D - Design	Meta-ethnography
E - Evaluation	The voice/perspective of the individuals, the interpretations given by researchers.
R - Research Type	Qualitative studies

After exploring results of studies in the field, the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines by Moher et a., (2010) were used to report the search process. The search terms used in each platform are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Terms and Boolean Operators Used in Search*

Interface/ Platform	Database(s)	Search terms
EBSCO	PsycINFO	Masculine* AND "gender norm*" OR "gender indentit*" AND attitud* OR stance* OR perception* OR belief* OR perpective* OR interpretation* OR opinion* OR view* AND cultur* or "cross-cultur*"
Web of Science Core Collection	Web of Science	All fields: Masculine* AND "gender norm*" OR "gender indentit*" AND attitud* OR stance* OR perception* OR belief* OR perpective* OR interpretation* OR opinion* OR view* AND cultur* or "cross-cultur*" Refine search for studies between 2013-2024
ProQuest	Dissertations and Theses Global	(((("gender norms")) OR (("gender identities" OR "gender identity"))) AND ("attitud*" OR "stance*" OR "perception*" OR "belief*" OR "perspective*" OR "interpretation*" OR "opinion*" OR "view*") AND (cultur* OR "cross-cultur*")) AND (subt.exact("gender identity" AND "gender studies") AND diskw.exact("Masculinity" OR "Gender identity" OR "Qualitative") AND pd(20130101-20240123)) Filter for: 01.01.2013-23.01.2024 Index term (keyword): Masculinity, Gender Identity, Qualitative Limit to full text only Subject: Gender Studies, Gender Identity
Global Index Medicus	African Index Medicus (AIM) Index Medicus for the Eastern Mediterranean Region (IMEMR) Index Medicus for the South-East Asia Region (IMSEAR) Latin America and the Caribbean Literature on Health Sciences (LILACS) Western Pacific Region Index Medicus (WPRO)	Title, abstract, subject: tw:((tw:(gender norm* OR indentit*)) AND (tw:(attitud* OR stance* OR perception* OR belief* OR perpective* OR interpretation* OR opinion* OR view*))) AND (mj:("Masculinity") AND type_of_study:("qualitative_research") AND la:("en")) AND (year_cluster:[2013 TO 2024])

2.2.2   Selecting Primary Studies

Papers were stored and managed using Mendeley Reference Manager. Comma separated value files (i.e., .csv) were generated from Mendeley including all records obtained (n = 553) and this allowed the processing of titles and abstracts in Microsoft Excel in a user-friendly way. After the removal of duplicates, papers were first selected using the inclusion/ exclusion criteria (Table 2.4). Variation in study designs was allowed, provided that the data was qualitative. Case studies, phenomenological studies, interviews, focus groups, ethnographic research that informed interviews or focus groups or case studies or other types of qualitative approaches were permitted.

Table 2.4   *Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria*

Inclusion	Exclusion
Qualitative studies.	Mixed-methods studies.
Clearly presentation of quotes (e.g., raw interview data).	Lack of clear presentation of participants' quotes.
Exploring lived experiences and/or perceptions/attitudes.	Presentation of theoretical frameworks without an empirical basis (e.g., theory discussion papers).
Participants are children and/or young people up to the age of 25 years old.	Participants are of a mixed age-range (e.g., 18-30, or study includes any age group above 25 years old).
Exploring masculine identities (include masculinity in their title and/or abstract).	Only researcher interpretations and views.

Papers that passed the initial screening (n = 16) were retrieved and read alongside the inclusion and exclusion criteria. Excluded papers (n = 8) were grouped according to reasons for omission. After full-text reading, papers that satisfied the criteria were appraised and those deemed eligible were included in the synthesis (n = 8). Details of this process are outlined using the PRISMA Flow Diagram (Page et al., 2020; Figure 2.1). Included studies were evaluated using the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) for qualitative research (CASP, 2018) (Appendix B).
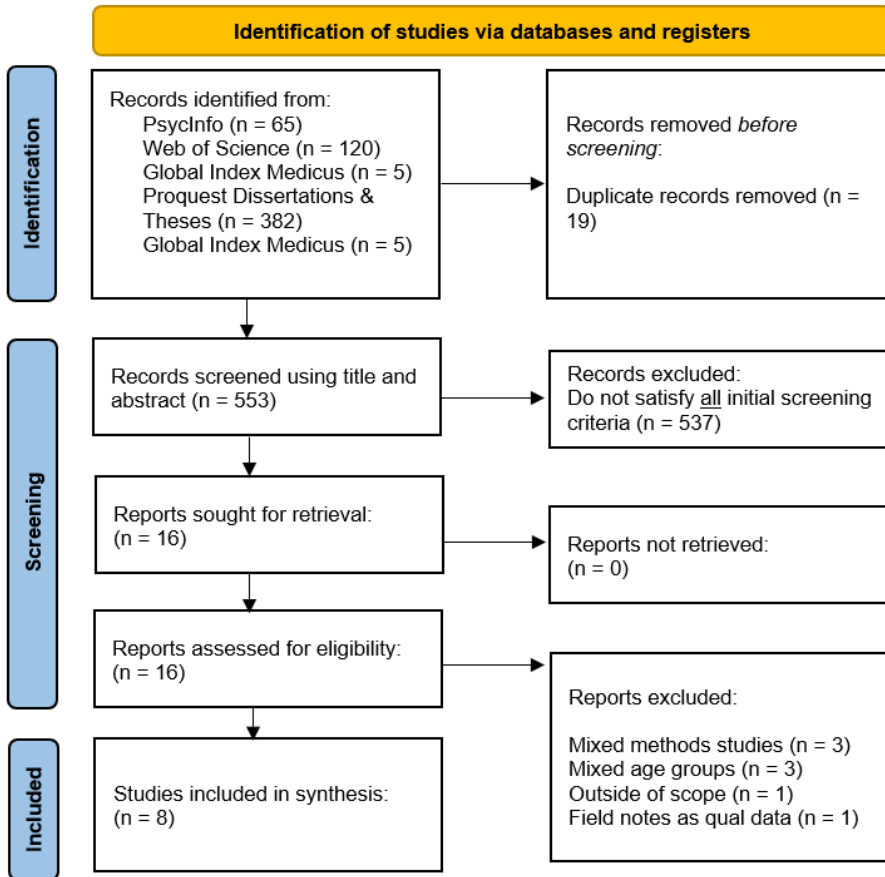
Figure 2.1 *PRISMA Flow Diagram*

2.2.3   Data Extraction

The authors of the CASP created the tool for educational purposes and not for rigid labelling and classification of studies based on their subjective quality. While the scoring of the studies' quality is not endorsed by the CASP, a scoring system was used to sort the studies (i.e., 'Yes' = 2 points, 'Can't tell' = 1, 'No' = 0). This scoring system was previously used by Nichols et al., (2020) in their meta-ethnography. Further, during Phase 2 of the meta-ethnography guidelines (Sattar et al., 2021), it is suggested that the use of numerical scores indicating the studies' quality is useful to order the studies for the analysis stage. The study with the highest score served as the 'index study' against which the other studies were juxtaposed (Table 2.5). Moreover, the process of ordering the studies added to the rigor of the meta-ethnographic process by initiating the analysis phase using the study that prevailed in methodological quality. However, a notable limitation of using the CASP in such manner is that the highest scoring study is the one that has methodological rigour and not necessarily conceptual richness. Since there is a lack of empirical evidence on a method to order studies based on conceptual richness, the scoring of the CASP method was used.

Table 2.5 *Order of Analysis of Included Studies based on (a) CASP Scores and (b) Year of Publication*

	Paper	Appraisal Score
1	Emezue et al., (2022)	20
2	Grewe (2021)	20
3	Tekkas (2015)	19
4	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	18
5	Pujar et al., (2023)	17
6	Fleming et al., (2013)	16
7	Shivji et al., (2021)	15
8	Cecchetto et al., (2016)	12

In line with the meta-ethnographic approach, an iterative rather than aggregative approach was used to create new meaning from the available data. As such, participants' quotes served as 'First Order Data', and the themes/outcomes as well as the researcher(s)' interpretations were the 'Second Order Data' (Table 2.6). Subsequently, a 'Third Order' of data was created through the translation process and is described in detail in the following sections.

Data extraction involved extracting contextual information and raw data from the included studies. The extraction of characteristics of each study helped with contextual understanding of the information presented (Table 2.7). Following the extraction of details for each study, 'First Order' and 'Second Order' data were extracted verbatim from the included studies using a data extraction table (Appendix C). Finally, data were extracted primarily from the Methodology, Results and Discussion sections of each paper, and key contextual information often came from the Introduction sections.

Table 2.6 *Units of Information Extracted and/or Created in the Meta-Ethnographic Process*

Unit	Explanation
Contextual Data	Information on study characteristics, setting, geographical location etc.
First Order Data	Raw qualitative data, e.g., participants' quotes.
Second Order Data	Primary author(s)' interpretations and themes.
Concepts	A meaningful idea that develops by comparing first and second order data across studies.
Third Order Constructs	Conceptual information deriving from comparison of concepts across studies.

A pool of concepts was created using first and second order data (Appendix D) to aid the translation process. Following the creation of concepts, a matrix-style table was used to

compare concepts across all papers (Appendix D). Emezue et al., (2022) served as the *index paper* due to it being the highest scoring paper on the CASP. This meant that each subsequent paper's concepts were first compared to Emezue et al., (2022) and then to concepts from other papers. Each round of comparison involved the addition of new concepts. The concepts across papers were then clustered and used to create third order constructs thus providing the basis for the translation of the included studies.

2.3   Findings

2.3.1   Studies' Characteristics

The eight studies included in the analysis derived from a variety of contexts and presented a range of raw and conceptual data on gender norms, gender identities, and masculine identities. Key contextual information from the studies was used to determine their relevance to the aim of the meta-ethnography as well as the research question. To ensure contextual understanding of the included papers, brief summaries are presented below.

Emezue et al., (2022). This publication in the American Journal of Men's Health presented a project undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic and funded by the University of Missouri (MU) and the Raymond White Dissertation Fellowship. It set out to address questions about the masculine identities of young men living in rural areas and explore perceptions of dating violence. Using the accounts from a predominantly white sample (81%) of young males (15-24 years old) situated in the Midwest of the US, it presented information on the differences in perceptions of teen dating violence across socio-cultural contexts.

Grewe (2021). This doctoral thesis was submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Department of Organisational Leadership, Policy, and Development at the University of Minnesota. It addressed the information gap in perceptions of masculinity of sexual-minority undergraduate students in Minnesota, US. The participants came from various racial and ethnic backgrounds (two identified as Latino, one as Middle Eastern–North African, five as Multiracial, and 11 as White) and shared their experiences and understanding of foundational elements of hegemonic masculinity.

Tekkas (2015). This doctoral thesis was submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Nursing at the University of Washington and was funded by the Hester McLaws' Nursing Scholarship Fund of the University of Washington, School of Nursing. It explored the perspectives of young Turkish men, aged 18-25, on masculinity through focus groups with a

trained female facilitator. Participants were sampled from two universities in Istanbul, Turkey and some knew each other.

de Oliveira Arraes (2013). This scientific publication in the open-access Brazilian journal of 'Revista Latino-Americana de Enfermagem' was funded and supported by the Ministry of Education in Brazil and the Faculty of Nursing at the publicly funded Federal University of Goiás. Further, the study was within the interest of the National Policy of Comprehensive Healthcare for Men's Health (PNAISH). In a land reform settlement that provides housing to families in need (about 2400 homes) and promotes environmental preservation, the authors explored the views of adolescents on masculinity and vulnerability to sexually transmitted infections (STIs). The study took place at a time where the government implemented School Health Program (PSE) was still maturing. The program was overseen by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health and other stakeholders such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). It sought to contribute to comprehensive care in the context of health promotion, protection, and care, and to encourage intersectionality as enacted by the Brazilian Unified Health System (SUS).

Pujar et al., (2023). This publication in the Journal of Culture, Health, and Sexuality describes research conducted within the context of the 'Project Samata' and the STRIVE programme. These initiatives aimed to guide research and action on the topic of HIV identification and prevention. Moreover, the Samata project was funded by the UK Department for the International Development (UKAid). This piece of work was part of the evaluation of the Samata project, which took place in marginalised communities of the Bagalkote and Vijayapura districts of Northern Karnataka, India between 2013 and 2017. The aim was to reduce secondary school drop-out and child marriage among scheduled caste/scheduled tribe adolescent girls (see Prakash et al., 2019 for more information).

Fleming et al., (2013). This publication in the Journal of Culture, Health and Sexuality focused on collecting data in a low-income neighbourhood in the Bañado Sur, in Asunción, Paraguay in collaboration with Mil Solidarios, a local non-profit, faith-based organisation. The original data was in Spanish and the author provided a translated version in English. Moreover, the interviewer was not a native Spanish speaker but was fluent in the language. The study area is characterised by poverty and sociopolitical exclusion. Also, parts of the area are not officially recognised by the municipality of Asunción and do not receive basic services such as running water, electricity, and street paving.

Shivji et al., (2021). This publication in the Journal of Adolescence was conducted as part of a PhD research study at the School of Health Sciences, University of Nottingham. Participants

were recruited from a private university (medical and nursing students) and a male scout group in the Garden-East region of Karachi, Pakistan. Opinions of participants in the study might be skewed as their educational background in medicine and nursing might indicate a particular interest in the topic. The interviews were conducted by a female researcher in the local language Urdu as well as English.

Cecchetto et al., (2016). This was a publication in the open-access electronic journal 'Interface - Comunicaçao, Saude, Educaçao' monitored by the São Paulo State University in Brazil. Although not made clear in the paper, the data appear to be of secondary nature as they were a part of a larger mixed methods study. The larger study investigated the prevalence and social representations of violence in intimate relationships of 3,205 adolescent students aged 15-19 years old in ten Brazilian capital cities between 2007-2009.

Table 2.7 *Study Characteristics Table Providing Contextual Information on Studies Included in the Synthesis*

Paper	Title	Location	Sampling	Participants	Data Collection	Analysis	Outcomes	Limitations
Emezue et al., (2022)	Perceptions of Risk for Dating Violence Among Rural Adolescent Males: An Interpretive Analysis	Rural areas across the United States	Convenience Sampling	Rural adolescent males, 15–17 and 18–24 years old.	Online focus group discussions and in-depth individual phone interviews.	Relational Dialectics Theory Contrapuntal analysis.	Dating violence can be perceived differently by youths who are already at risk for this and other forms of violence (e.g., domestic violence), given differences in micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors.	Predominantly white sample. Issues with generalisation. Opinions might be skewed due to sampling. Covid-19 impact on sampling.
Grewe (2021)	Understanding How Undergraduate Sexual-Minority Men Make Meaning of Their Masculine Identities Within the Context of the College Experience	Minnesota, US	Purposive Sampling	19 undergraduate students, 18-24 years old, identifying as a man or as transmasculine.	Interviews, semi-structured	Critical thematic analysis using inductive content analysis.	Systems of White masculinity impact how students shape and understand their sense of selves and narratives during their times at college.	Generalisability of the findings. Limitations in sampling specific demographics. The use of member checking. Lack of interrater reliability measures. COVID-19 pandemic.

Tekkas (2015)	The influence of masculinity and gender equality on violence against women in young male university students in Turkey	Istanbul, Turkey	Convenience Sampling	46 participants from private vocational college and private university (18-25 years).	Focus Groups	Inductive content analysis inspired by Graneheim and Lundman (2004) and Krippendorff (1980).	Young Turkish men still hold many traditional masculinity concepts. To reformulate healthy gender identity college-aged Turkish men need to be supported in individual, community, and societal levels.	Not generalisable. Limited information on sociodemographic characteristics of participants. Potential bias as primary author born and raised in Turkey.
de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	Masculinity, vulnerability and prevention of STD/HIV/AIDS among male adolescents: social representations in a land reform settlement	Central Brazil	Convenience Sampling	11 adolescents of 12-24 years of age	Interviews, semi-structured	Thematic modality of Bardin, content analysis	The social representations of masculinity provide partial explanations for the adolescents' vulnerable behaviours regarding sexually transmitted diseases.	Generalisability. Relationship between researcher and participants was not adequately considered.

Pujar et al., (2023)	Boys' perspectives on girls' marriage and school dropout: a qualitative study revisiting a structural intervention in Southern India	Bagalkot and Vijayapura districts of northern Karnataka, India	Purposive Sampling	20 adolescent boys, 14-15 years old	Semi-structured, in-depth interviews in local language (Kannada)	Thematic content analysis using Nvivo 11	Findings suggest that while boys did hold some attitudes and beliefs that supported girls' education and delayed-marriage, these remained within the framework of gender-inequitable norms concerning girls' marriageability, respectability/family-honour.	Problems with retention in the Samata Project. Small sample size prevented a full comparison between the norms, attitudes and beliefs held by Samata intervention participants and non-participants. Not generalisable.
Fleming et al., (2013)	'But I'm not like that': young men's navigation of normative masculinities in a marginalised urban community in Paraguay	Asunción, Paraguay	Purposive Sampling	28 young men ages 14-19 for focus groups, 17 of those were interviewed individually	5 focus groups and 17 individual interviews	Not specified analysis approach. Data were transcribed, coded, used software, systematic review of codes to identify themes.	Young men described two types of masculine norms, 'partner/ provider' and macho, and two types of romantic relationships, 'casual' and 'formal'.	The interviewer is fluent in Spanish although his native language is English. Participants spoke in Guaraní, not commonly used outside of Paraguay. Certain nuances may have been missed.
Shivji et al., (2021)	Hearing the unheard voice-puberty experiences of young Pakistani men: A qualitative study	Two urban sites in Karachi, Pakistan	Convenience Sampling	22 young males ages 18-21, all living in the city of Karachi at the time of the study, able to read, write and speak either in Urdu or English.	Interviews, semi-structured	Qualitative thematic analysis, using an inductive approach.	Participants described puberty as a challenging phase for which they were unprepared with a combination of various socio-cultural factors exposing them to negative impacts.	The lead researcher was female, which may have impacted the level of disclosure of the male participants.

								They did not differentiate between the experiences of those who may had early or late onset of puberty. Generalisability - Participants were drawn from a convenience sample taken from two private institutions.
Cecchetto et al., (2016)	Violence as perceived by adolescent males in the affective-sexual interaction, in ten Brazilian cities	Ten Brazilian Cities	Not specified, possible secondary data	257 male students, ages 15-19.	21 individual interviews, 155 male focus groups, 81 mixed focus groups.	No specified method, frequency of words used and grouping of common themes.	The meanings attributed to the phenomenon of dating violence are shaped by rigid representations of gender roles, corresponding to the expectations regarding the performance of men and women in emotional-sexual relationships.	All interviews were on school premises.

2.3.2   Synthesising Translations

During this stage, the relationships between concepts were explored. A list of concepts was used to search across the studies for common and recurring concepts (Appendix D; Noblit & Hare, 1999). A process of systematic comparison of the key concepts was conducted asking the question 'are there any concepts or themes that present the same or similar ideas?'. While considering each study's aims and setting, concepts were then grouped under broader descriptive clusters (Table 2.8). This process is also known as 'reciprocal translation' and allowed the identification of shared themes across studies (Britten et al., 2002). Following the reciprocal translation, a lines of argument synthesis was created to provide a fresh interpretation of the included studies and answer the research question of the present synthesis. For the creation of the lines of argument synthesis, a constant comparison of the concepts allowed the creation of a further higher level interpretative synthesis (Figure 2.2; Britten et al., 2002).

Table 2.8 *Reciprocal Translation Outcome and Mapping of Concept Clusters Across Papers*

Concept Cluster	Emezue et al., (2022)	Grewe (2021)	Tekkas (2015)	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	Pujar et al., (2023)	Fleming et al., (2013)	Shivji et al., (2021)	Cecchetto et al., (2016)
Communication and Information Access	X	X			X		X	X
Sources of Support	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Expressions of Masculinity	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Gendered Dynamics of Relationship Violence	X	X				X		X
Attitudes towards women	X		X	X	X	X		X
Emotional Struggles and Negative Outcomes	X	X				X	X	X
Societal and Familial Expectations on Masculinity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Social Stigma and Peer Pressures	X	X				X	X	X
Intersectionality	X	X	X					X
Masculine Hierarchies and Competitive Dynamics		X	X			X		X
Development of Identities and Challenging Norms	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Sexual Orientation and Gender Expression		X	X	X		X	X	
Relationship Dynamics and Sexual Health			X	X		X	X	X

Note. 'X' indicates the presence of a construct in the study.
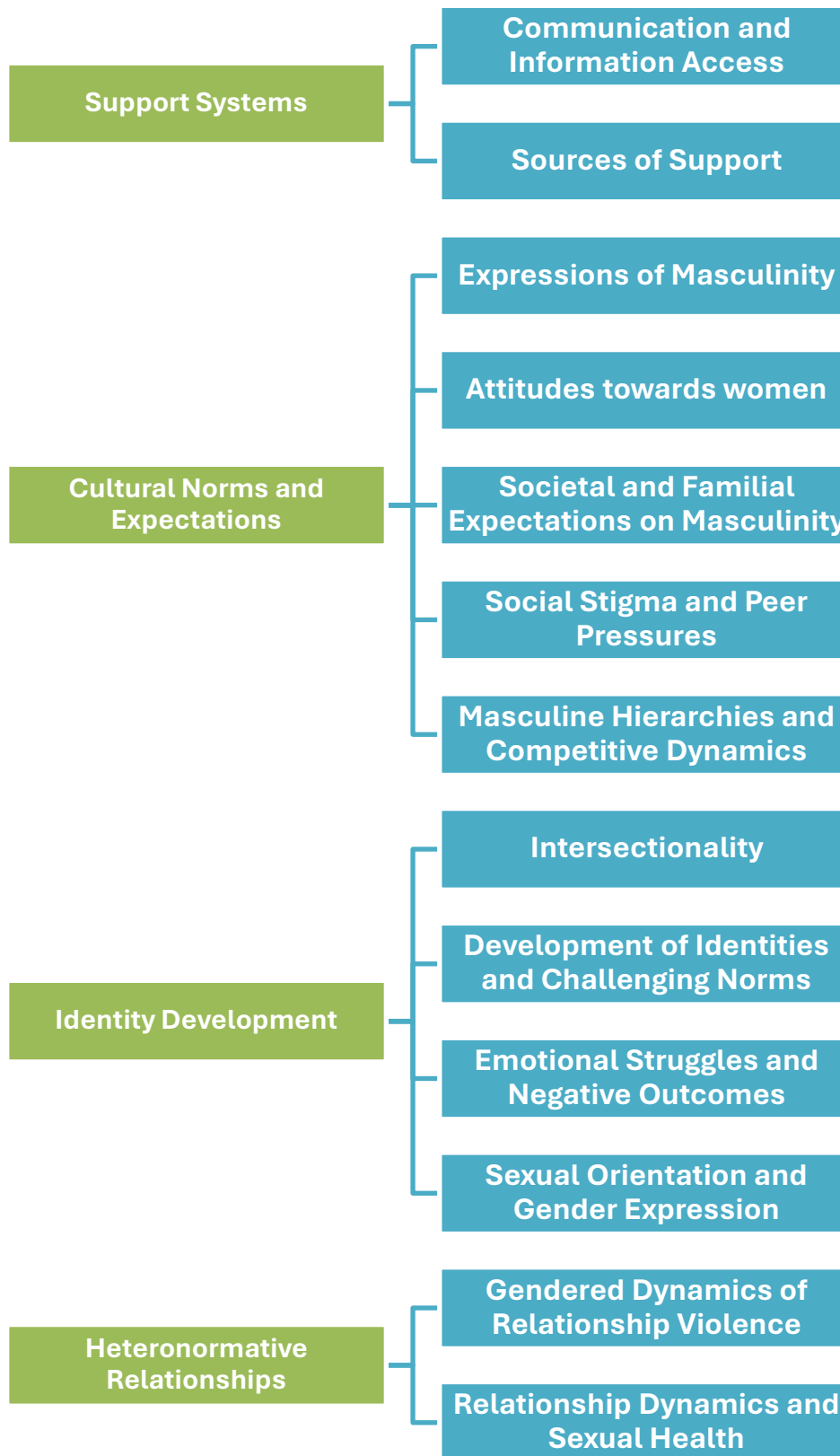
Figure 2.2 *Third Order Constructs (left) and the Concept Clusters (right) that Contributed to their Conceptualisation.*

2.3.3   Result of Reciprocal Translation

Support Systems

There's only about 40 people in my, or 60, no, 40 people in my class total, so all the guys have been really close since the very beginning of school, since like kindergarten. So, any problem comes up, we all talk about it. The lunchroom is basically just a group therapy session for most of us, I guess.

17-year-old American male (Emezue et al., 2022)

Across the studies there was the dominant notion of the importance of support systems for boys and young men. The importance of communication with parents especially on matters of development was notable (Shivji et al., 2021) with a particular focus on fathers as important figures in boys and young men's lives (Emezue et al., 2022; Shivji et al., 2021; Grewe, 2021; Tekkas, 2015). Importantly, there was a variation in explanations across studies on the importance of the father. For young men living in rural areas of the US, the father-son bond was strengthened throughout childhood by spending time together, helping at work and modelling consistency in routines.

In a rural community, at least until school age and during the summers, the son is always with the father, and the father always comes home and eats lunch and dinner. I feel like that relationship is much, much, much stronger in rural communities than in urban communities.

19-year-old American male (Emezue et al., 2022)

For the young males from urban cities in Pakistan, the father-son bond was acknowledged as an important source of information on puberty.

I would really erm recommend a child that he does talk to his father because his father had experienced this thing, in his childhood.

18-year-old Karachite-Pakistani male college student (Shivji et al., 2021)

Further, there was an evident importance placed on respect towards a father and their reputation as illustrated by a participant discussing family relationships and traditions (Grewe, 2021).

You will just be disowned [for being out as gay]. My father would be disowned. . . A lot of people would stop talking to him, unless he disowns me publicly. And I know that would really hurt him to do so.

Middle Eastern–North African queer cisgender male (Grewe, 2021)

Father figures appeared as universally important and influential across various cultures. For the young men in rural areas of the US, a father's presence and the father-son bond were protective factors against maladaptive dating experiences (Emezue et al., 2022). Also, fathers of rural youth were perceived to support their son's socialisation, development of gender roles and attitudes toward women.

Examining these discursive utterances critically revealed the appeal of the rural father-son bond but also hinted at the impact of rural father-son bonds against adverse dating experiences. It appeared that father–son activities fostered parental bonding, gender socialization, and norm transmission—often described in a positive light.

Primary Authors, (Emezue et al., 2022)

Communication with key individuals in the participants' lives was another source of support. Participants expressed the need for support on matters such as puberty (Shivji et al., 2021) or socialisation with females (Pujar et al., 2023). Furthermore, there were concerns around the access to educational material on puberty and an overall culture of restricted communication on gender matters (Shivji et al., 2021). Hence, the participants from the two neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan shared a common theme: adolescents and young men had to navigate their developing masculine identities on their own in cultures that treated puberty as a taboo.

Our culture does not allow such communication with elders. That was the main barrier that I could not communicate regarding my puberty with elders.

21-year-old Gilgiti-Pakistani male nursing student (Shivji et al., 2021)

The experience highlighted above by a young person from an urban city in Pakistan presents the forbidden nature of communicating his questions and worries as a developing young man. Similarly, in the study with teenagers and young people in India, the forbidden nature of communication was discussed, this time with other members of their community, specifically girls.

If people see girls and boys talking to each other on the road, they say 'ye! Look at them standing talking in the road without any shame. They are dishonouring their parents' [...] If boys and girls are talking, people think they are in love relationship.

16-year-old Indian male Samata intervention participant (Pujar et al., 2023)

The authors from both papers echoed the influence of culture in creating unspoken rules of communication (Pujar et al., 2023; Shivji et al., 2021). For the men from India this meant that they should not openly socialise with girls as this tarnishes their family name (Pujar et al., 2023) while for the Pakistani men there was a restriction in communicating with others about puberty (Shivji et al., 2021). These communication barriers impacted the young men's identity development and created conflicting ideas as to how men should present themselves. For example, young men experienced anxiety when trying to access information on puberty and felt ashamed if they talked to girls in the community yet, as it will become apparent in other constructs, they were expected to have 'sexual conquests' to prove their manhood (Fleming et al., 2013, p. 660). These conflicts were often the product of cultural norms which are discussed in the following construct.

> *Cultural barriers meant it was challenging to communicate about experiences of puberty with others (e.g., elders) and that information was difficult to access in school materials*.
>
> **Primary Authors, (Shivji et al., 2021)**

Cultural Norms and Expectations

This construct was the product of rich contributions from all the included studies. It concerned means to express masculinity across the participants' cultures (Grewe, 2021; Cecchetto et al., 2016; Tekkas, 2015; Fleming et al., 2013;) as well as perceived essential masculine traits that young men should possess to have their masculinity validated (Grewe, 2021; Tekkas, 2015; Fleming et al., 2013). Common expectations and norms surrounding masculine identities involved caring for others (Shivji et al., 2021), success in endeavours (Cecchetto et al., 2016; Tekkas, 2015), having responsibilities and obligations towards others such as their family (Grewe, 2021; Shivji et al., 2021; Tekkas, 2015) and sexual attractiveness (Grewe, 2021; Tekkas, 2015). Some of the boys and young men experienced these norms to be oppressive making them feel that there was a pressure to conform to societal, cultural, and family norms and expectations.

> *We have responsibilities. I mean, like, we have to take care of our wives, we have to provide for our families. These are our major duties*.
>
> **Participant (Tekkas, 2015)**

Some definitions of masculine identities were shared among the Brazilian and Turkish participants in the included studies. Specifically, being authoritarian was important for men (Cecchetto et al., 2016; Tekkas, 2015) and masculinity was described as a 'part of their nature'

that needed to be respected (Tekkas, 2015, p. 54). This was in conjunction with the idea that masculine identities were synonymous with power, superiority, and power over others, especially women (Grewe, 2021; Tekkas, 2015; Fleming et al., 2013). Arat (2022) suggested that Turkey is experiencing a 'democratic backsliding' (p. 912) caused by a political agenda that manipulated women's rights movements to promote authoritarian values and conservative belief systems. Turkish participants confirmed this idea by recognising the presence of authority in masculine identities, explaining that a '*man who has grown up under authority learns to rule and expect others to obey him*' (Tekkas, 2015, p. 53-54). Furthermore, for the Turkish participants, cultural norms positioned men as providers and protectors (Tekkas, 2015), similar to the young men from Pakistan (Shivji et al., 2021) and the gender diverse participants from the US (Grewe, 2021). Across several studies, cultural and gender norms required a man to provide for others, placed great value on money as a mean to demonstrate power, be self-sufficient, and make rational approaches to life decisions. However, a Turkish participant shared that in his evolving society which faces western influences, it is not sustainable to view men as sole providers. There was a recognition of changing norms, with the acknowledgment that women's employment and financial contributions in a household are realities that this participant hoped cultural norms would one day allow (Tekkas, 2015).

Other local norms that participants perceived as means to display or augment their masculinity involved having multiple relationships (Fleming et al., 2013), being unfaithful in relationships (Cecchetto et al., 2016; Fleming et al., 2013), disrespecting or abusing women (Fleming et al., 2013), being sexually active (Fleming et al., 2013; Cecchetto et al., 2016), viewing pornography (Shivji et al., 2021; Fleming et al., 2013) and using alcohol and tobacco (Cecchetto et al., 2016; Fleming et al., 2013). For the Paraguayan participants from marginalised communities these 'stereotypical masculine' norms were perceived as negative (Fleming et al., 2013). In addition, the similarities primarily between the young men from Brazil, Paraguay and Pakistan highlighted the importance of men having an active sex life and being rebellious and independent (Shivji et al., 2021). Men were also expected to publicise their conquests (Cecchetto et al., 2016), to compete and display power over other men. This raised questions about how local cultural and gender norms influenced the development of masculine identities among these young men, leading them from a reluctance to discuss puberty as a taboo topic (Shivji et al., 2021) to openly publicising their sexual conquests (Cecchetto et al., 2016).

There was just one concept present across all studies and that was the expectations placed on young men by society, culture, and their families. Across various cultures, men often faced societal pressures to adhere to traditional gender norms. In Grewe's study (2021), gender diverse individuals adjusted their behaviours, expressions, and activities to avoid being perceived as feminine or having their masculinity questioned.

I remember [my friend] came to watch me speak at some admissions thing. I was on this panel, and he came up to me after, and he was like, "Really, first of all, great job. . . . I'm really proud of you, you were passing so well up there. And I remember you were crossing your legs, and I was in my head, I was like, [Mitchell], don't do that. And then, you changed the way that you're sitting, and it was more masculine, and so it was like, oh, great, he's got it." And it was this weird—it was like, wow, I'm not used to having people in my life now that are that critical and that nitpicky. Because a better friend and one who saw me as a whole person obviously wouldn't say that in general, right?

Asian-White gay transgender man (Grewe, 2021)

For the Turkish students the pressure to conform meant subscribing to a 'male breadwinner identity' (Tekkas, 2015; p. 83) with this role perceived as an external identity imposed by their family and culture. Any notions that went against this perceived role, for example, a woman providing, were dealt with great scepticism within the participants' cultures.

For the young men from the impoverished communities in Paraguay, a local 'machista culture' (Fleming et al., 2013, p. 656) was characterised by drinking and drug use as well as abuse of women. This concept was similarly expressed by the Brazilian adolescents as '*alcohol is perceived as the ingredient with the most potential for episodes of distrust, jealousy, and aggression between lovers.*' (Cecchetto et al., 2016, p. 7). The Paraguayan and Brazilian participants experienced extreme cultural norms that placed men in positions of power in heterosexual relationships. For the Paraguayan participants, it is possible that since the municipality of Asunción did not legally recognise some of the marginalised areas in which the young men were residing, posed a barrier to the implementation of any gender equality policy or initiative. Yet, despite the marginalisation and complex political matters, these young men still rejected problematic masculinity that endorsed power over women (Fleming et al., 2013).

I feel like a man because I stay on top of my responsibilities. I'm not getting myself into any vices, I'm not letting myself get pulled into that . . . I don't agree with all these things about having sex all the time, hurting girls like that.

16-year-old Paraguayan male (Fleming et al., 2013)

The young men from Pakistan '*felt under pressure to . . . engage in certain activities as they were markers of masculinity in the Pakistani culture, for example, smoking, drinking, being in an opposite sex relationship.*' (Shivji et al., 2021, p. 42). Other pressures involved the young men's families prompting them to engage in opposite-sex relationships and being sexually active (Fleming et al., 2013) as well the wider community's expectations of men engaging in heteronormative relationships (Shivji et al., 2021; Fleming et al., 2013). Overall, these pressures

prompted young men to think critically about the problematic nature of certain gender and cultural norms.

'Manhood', 'masculine pride' and 'male code' were constructs of male identity that participants used to explain cultural norms and expectations (Cecchetto et al., 2016; Tekkas, 2015; Fleming et al., 2013). For the Turkish participants in Tekkas' (2015) research there was a normalised view of 'manly laziness' (p. 90) that entitled a man to step away from housework or demand sex from their partners (Cecchetto et al., 2016). Furthermore, participants from rural areas in the US were hesitant to seek social-emotional support from formal channels such as school guidance counsellors (Emezue et al., 2022). This reluctance stemmed from the fear that seeking help might negatively impact their reputation in the local community. For the Turkish participants, the 'male code' was used as a masking tool for adverse emotions (Tekkas, 2015). Such emotions primarily involved shame if they were seen engaging in housework as this was described as a woman's responsibility (Tekkas, 2015).

In five out of the eight studies the young men expressed worries surrounding social stigma and peer pressures when it came to conforming to local gender and cultural norms. Experiences of bullying and harassment were present in the discourses of the US-based gender diverse participants, especially if they did not conform to hegemonic forms of masculinity (Grewe, 2021).

> *Samuel, Taylor, Rhett, and Peter have all been harassed both on and near their campuses— sometimes on a regular basis (e.g., at least "monthly")—for being GBQ or transgender based on how they have presented their masculinities. This harassment has included people following them, calling them anti-LGBTQIA+ slurs, or characterizing them as evil (e.g., calling them "Satan").*

Primary Authors (Grewe, 2021)

For the young Paraguayan men, there was the notion of 'teasing' by peers for not engaging in 'typical' macho behaviours and instead being a virgin, not having a relationship and not consuming alcohol (Fleming et al, 2023). Similarly, family members were described as sources of pressure in getting young men to engage in typical male behaviours such as heterosexual relationships and sex (Fleming et al, 2013).

> *Interviewer: Let's say if a guy doesn't want a girlfriend, or doesn't have sex, what would their dad or mom say?*
> *Respondent: The first thing they'd say is that he's gay or that he's odd.*
> *Respondent: That's true. Because my brother before . . . he didn't screw anyone, he*

never went to hook up, and my mom and them thought that he was a fag, after he
screwed a chick . . . he made himself a man for my mom and them.

Focus group 1 (Fleming et al., 2013)

Several conflicting attitudes were expressed regarding women, most of them highlighting gender inequitable norms across cultures (Emezue et al., 2022; Cecchetto et al., 2016; Tekkas, 2015). Discussions of female subjugation (Emezue et al., 2022; Tekkas, 2015; Fleming et al., 2013), submission and forced sex (Cecchetto et al., 2016) indicated the participants' awareness of power dynamics in opposite-sex relationships. Although some participants recognised their male privilege over women in their culture, most described their realities in a fait accompli manner, believing that they had little agency over local gender and cultural norms. Nevertheless, some positive attitudes towards women were expressed, where a Turkish participant supported that women's employment, education and socialisation were important aspects to the community (Tekkas, 2015). This opinion was also echoed by a participant from a marginalised community in India suggesting positive outcomes from girls' education.

If I get married to an educated girl then she will be able to teach the children how the
culture is in the house [...]. If I get married to an uneducated girl, [...] when I am not in
the house, she is not able to help her children. That is why we would like to marry an
educated girl.

19-year-old Indian male, Samata intervention champion (Pujar et al., 2023)

Heteronormative Relationships

Partner violence and the gendered dynamics in relationships were the primary topics of the Cecchetto et al. (2016), Tekkas (2015) and Emezue et al. (2022) studies, with small contributions from the other studies as well. For the adolescent males from rural areas of the US, partner violence was perceived as damaging to a man's reputation particularly in the local religious community (Emezue et al., 2022). On the contrary, Brazilian participants normalised female violence against men, an idea "that is perceived as an entitlement" (p. 857) to females if a man was unfaithful (Cecchetto et al., 2016). Additionally, some US-based undergraduate students highlighted emotional abuse against men as an issue, particularly when their gender expression did not fall within traditional standards of masculinity (Grewe, 2021). Similarly, the idea of male victimhood, and gender inequitable norms expressed by the adolescents in rural areas of the US presented a narrative of silencing when it came to men being abused by their partners (Emezue et al., 2022). For the Brazilian participants in Cecchetto et al. (2016) this may be explained by their perception that female aggression is not as damaging as male aggression.

Moreover, verbal aggression was primarily described as a tool for men to justify not using physical means of aggression (Cecchetto et al., 2016).

Linked to the topic of male honour, to be insulted or humiliated was perceived as one of the worst forms of violence against men (Cecchetto et al., 2016). The concept of honour was highly valued across cultures. In heterosexual relationships, infidelity by a woman was viewed as a violent act (Cecchetto et al., 2016) as it soiled the male honour. Subsequently, feelings of shame were enough to impact attitudes towards women and views on relationships. Lastly, men appeared to tolerate violence instigated against them by women in the context of a relationship (Cecchetto et al., 2016) and while they recognised that instances exist where women are abused by men, they attributed those to alcohol highlighting that subordination of women can be influenced by external factors (Cecchetto et al., 2016). Importantly, the descriptions of the Brazilian participants were collected during a period when Brazil was introduced to its first gender-based violence (GBV) bill (James, 2021), which later evolved into Brazilian Law No. 14,192 to help combat political violence against women (Library of Congress, 2021). Therefore, the participants' views highlighted the need for important nationwide conversations regarding GBV at the time.

The idea of honour and respect was also present in conversations about women. Young men from impoverished areas in Paraguay talked about 'formal' and 'casual' women with the latter being women who engaged in short-term sexual relationships and were viewed as conquests (Fleming et al., 2013). Men believed that respect should be given to 'formal' women who followed traditional gender norms (Fleming et al., 2013). Women's preferences were respected in formal relationships while in casual ones, the men's preferences where prioritised (Fleming et al., 2013). This lack of respect for women was also evident with Brazilian young men talking about women as conquests that needed to be publicised (Cecchetto et al., 2016). An important distinction was made by the Paraguayan young men, and this applied to some young men from the other studies. While these young men recognised inequal power dynamics between genders and problematic norms regarding masculinity, they separated their personal views from such norms. This could have been in an effort to detach themselves from the negative connotations of masculine identities and the perceived expectations of their society.

> *Notably, these young men perceived their own goals and ideals to be different than most young men in the neighbourhood.*

> **Primary Authors (Fleming et al., 2013)**

As previously described, the notion of sexual promiscuity was acceptable for men (Cecchetto et al., 2016; Tekkas, 2015; de Oliveira Arraes, 2013; Fleming et al., 2013) but not so much for

women as this led to them being labelled as 'casual'. Not only does this idea place men in a perceived invulnerable state regarding their honour because they had the power in choosing 'casual' or 'formal' narratives for their relationships, but it also influences their perceptions of sexual health. For example, central-Brazilian participants felt invulnerable to STIs.

If I have a chance to get disease? [laughs] The way I do I do not think so! Hmmm, I have knowledge and also I did not have sex with anyone!

Subject 7 (de Oliveira Arraes, 2013)

Importantly, these perceptions of invulnerability were not the result of beliefs regarding physiological immunity, rather the young men described STIs as a result of engaging in sex with 'a dirty woman who doesn't use a condom' (de Oliveira Arraes, 2013, p. 1269) or same-sex relationships (de Oliveira Arraes, 2013)

If I am vulnerable? Kind a hard question […] [laughs] I do not know if I protect myself very well! I do sex with another man […] eeeee. I guess I'm at risk!

Subject 9 (de Oliveira Arraes, 2013)

Identity Development

Linked to the concept of detaching from the negative connotations of masculine identities, some young men purposefully used coping mechanisms to deal with emotions and other undesirable outcomes of masculine stereotypes during puberty.

I, erm step by step observing and you know experiencing … start accepting the things, initially definitely I was having discomfort.

21-year-old Afghani male nursing student (Shivji et al., 2021)

My friends were good, and they were helpful; they gave me the correct advice to overcome habits which were making me stress.

21-year-old Gilgiti-Pakistani male nursing student (Shivji et al., 2021)

My parents told me that just do not get yourself locked in a room, go out and socialize and don't think about it (acne) too much, […] and do some spiritual rituals (paternoster), that's all.

20-year-old Gilgiti-Pakistani male nursing student (Shivji et al., 2021)

I used strategies like I said that mind diverting therapy or related thing like erm in that you like erm I think that we should keep ourselves busy, people keep themselves busy

as much as they can in various things such as, read any book, do some stuff like so your mind doesn't go in things make you worried or ignore some thoughts if they come in mind and disturb you.

21-year-old Gilgiti-Pakistani male nursing student (Shivji et al., 2021)

Fear, childhood anxiety and jealousy were some of the adverse feelings participants experienced as a result of puberty (Shivji et al., 2021), or pressure to conform to local gender norms (Grewe, 2021; Cecchetto et al., 2016; Fleming et al., 2013). For the US-based gender diverse participants the adverse feelings were sometimes the results of repression of their characteristics because they risked being perceived as feminine (Grewe, 2021). This repression led to oppression of their expression and at times to social isolation (Grewe, 2021). Much like the Pakistani young men who experienced isolation while attempting to avoid and hide their shame due to pubertal changes, some of the US participants felt alienated (Grewe, 2021; Shivji et al., 2021) and felt the need to overcompensate in their masculine performances (Grewe, 2021).

Honestly . . . if I've never seen you with a girl, you're gay.

Focus group 3 (Fleming et al., 2013)

Matters of sexual orientation, particularly heterosexuality and homosexuality were described by some participants as closely related to masculine identities. For example, masculinity and homosexuality appeared as mutually exclusive states in some of the participants' discourses (Shivji et al., 2021; Tekkas, 2015; de Oliveira Arraes, 2013; Fleming et al., 2013) highlighting that the absence of heterosexual attraction is also an absence of masculinity.

Interviewer: What do his friends say to him about sex?
Respondent: He needs to do it to know how to be a man.
Respondent: He has to do it to know how it feels.
Respondent: And if he doesn't do it, he's a fag.

Focus group 2 (Fleming et al., 2013)

A Turkish participant elaborated on how homosexuality countered masculinity by explaining that it is immoral and goes against their religious beliefs (Tekkas, 2015). Religion plays an important role in the cultural norms and belief systems of predominantly Muslim societies like Turkey (Engin, 2015). Moreover, there is an absence of anti-discrimination legislation addressing sexual orientation and gender identity in government policies in Turkey (Engin, 2015) which allows the continuation of institutionalised discrimination and promotes inequal power dynamics between genders. As such, the participants might have explicitly or implicitly

endorsed these ideas as the 'norm', and anything that fell outside was perceived as something that needed to be resisted.

In our culture, beliefs and faith has priority. People live based on their beliefs and faith. And faith has certain limits and sharp borders. Beliefs prohibit homosexuality.

Participant (Tekkas, 2015)

Often participants defined masculinity based on its perceived opposite pole, femininity. Any feminine expression by a man was viewed as threatening to their masculine identity (Grewe, 2021) and therefore it had to be repressed. For undergraduate transgender men from the US, feminine gender expressions were perceived as damaging as these expressions erased their efforts to fit into the masculine standards (Grewe, 2021). Moreover, there was an active effort to hide feminine characteristics and constantly monitor their behaviour to fit in traditional masculine standards.

The first 17 years of my life, I felt like I was putting up this facade of trying to act more manly and speak a different tone, walk in a certain way, that would be perceived as something that a straight man would do. When in reality, I'd want to walk down the hall and maybe do a little spin or twirl or something like that. Or speak the tone of voice that's just natural, not purposely make my voice lower. And before I came out to my family . . . I was constantly worried, oh, am I seeming gay, or am I seeming really feminine right now? Do I need to dial it back and seem more masculine and straight?

White American cisgender young male (Grewe, 2021)

When young men did not conform to heteronormative attraction, it caused them to question their identities and sexual orientation.

People think a crush on a female is normal for boys in this (puberty) age (smiling and laughing), but still, it did not happen to me, so am I not normal then? or ... (Smiling and question mark expression)

21-year-old Afghani male nursing student, (Shivji et al., 2021)

Overall, many of the concerns expressed by the participants conveyed the homophobic and femmephobic narratives which include negative attitudes towards people who embrace feminine qualities (Blair & Hoskin, 2015), that their cultural norms promoted.

People tend to react with, that's a lot to take in [that I'm queer, transmasculine, Latino, and a first-generation immigrant]. And that can be positive where people will be like, oh that's a lot to take in and maybe celebrate. And they have that tone about it like,

congratulations, you have these identities that you get to own and say! And that's cool.
And then a decent amount of time, particularly with newer people in my life, it'll be a
little bit like, OK, that's a lot, can we ignore part of it so that this is easier for me, I
guess?

Latino queer transmasculine nonbinary undergraduate individual (Grewe, 2021)

When discussing identity, some participants highlighted their challenges in exploring and
expressing their multiple identities (Grewe, 2021). As seen by some of the undergraduate
students from the US, possessing multiple identities that fell outside of the social and cultural
norms brought a level of frustration that was often masked by internalising their oppression
(Grewe, 2021). For one participant, being a Latino and growing up in a 'machismo culture'
(Grewe, 2021, p.129) that was prejudiced against homosexuality was in direct conflict with his
queer identity (Grewe, 2021). Perhaps, ignoring aspects of one's own identity was a way of
masking the internal conflict to make it easier to fit in. For these young people, having multiple
identities meant having to deal with multiple stigmatising beliefs such as biphobia,
homophobia, and transphobia. Moreover, white gay cisgender participants appeared to have
better access to '*like-minded communities on their campuses than participants of color,*
transgender participants, and bisexual and queer participants' (Grewe, 2021, p. 133). As such,
many young people, especially those of colour, were often perceived as the minority in every
context, thus affecting their sense of belonging and acceptance by their social environment.

For the young people from Turkey (Tekkas, 2015), the gender diverse US students (Grewe, 2021),
and the rural adolescents from the US (Emezue et al., 2022), the development of their identities
was described as being influenced by western doctrines of masculinity. Discussions of 'white
masculinity' and western influences on their attitudes identified 'acceptable boundaries'
(Grewe, 2021, p. 111) in which their masculine expressions were expected to fall, thus implying
that expressions outside of these boundaries were placed outside of the norms. The idea that
there was an 'antifemininity script' (Grewe, 2021, p. 99) that men needed to follow to stay within
the lines of the predetermined norms of their society was a source of frustration and
oppression. For the rural adolescents in the US '*an essentialized belief system was at play here*
that could be attributed to media portrayals of urban youth' (Emezue et al., 2022, p. 8)
prompting the participants to believe that masculinity was characterised by violence and
tension between men. In contrast, western notions of masculinity were described through a
positive lens by the Turkish young men, as a few of them viewed these notions as more gender
equitable (Tekkas, 2015).

. . .a few men mentioned globalization, interaction with the West, and changing life
conditions begun to influence their attitudes. They feel like their current beliefs as the

men as the main provider is not sustainable. These men believe that women's employment, education and socialization play an important role on society and men's attitude change on their family roles.

Primary Authors (Tekkas, 2015)

For some young men, traditional and hegemonic notions of masculinity were all too visible in their societies and they consciously chose to challenge them (Grewe, 2021; Fleming et al., 2013).

I think that stereotype is just a touch overdone.

19-year-old American male (Emezue et al., 2022)

Some participants from the US rejected stereotypes and toxic ideals of masculinity that endorsed comparisons and hierarchy systems among men that favoured cis-gender, heterosexual men. The process of challenging and rejecting traditional masculine norms that promote the subjugation of certain groups was important to the participants' lives as it fostered an environment of self-acceptance and openness to change (Grewe, 2021). A process of negotiation of tensions between the individuals' experiences and the social norms allowed participants to reflect on their own identities and position themselves sometimes in the outskirts of their sociocultural environment (Grewe, 2021; Shivji et al., 2021).

Challenging masculine norms was a process not limited to issues of identity and included attitudes towards women's education too. For example, boys who participated in the Samata project that aimed to reduce school drop-out and early girls' marriage expressed favourable opinions towards girls' education.

I used to think that we should perform my sister's marriage after she finishes 10th standard (15-16 years old). But now after [participating in Samata], I have knowledge about what will happen and what is the effect on her [...] now if she says she will study after tenth I will allow her to study as much as she wants

15-year-old Indian boy, Samata intervention participant (Pujar et al., 2023)

However, the rejection of such norms did not come without risk of damaging male honour as '*boys or men who reject prevailing norms of masculinity may be subjected to gossip, ridicule and violence by the community.*' (Pujar et al., 2023, p. 11). The participants from the marginalised areas in Paraguay echoed similar risks.

Interviewer: If you don't act like that [macho], what do they say?
Andres: They'd say that I'm a fag, gay.

Interviewer: Yeah? And how do you feel when they say that?

Andres: Awful . . . I don't feel like I'm one of them. Then, they don't invite me to go out.

18-year-old male (Fleming et al., 2013)

2.4　　Discussion

The present study aimed to provide an understanding of how gender norms and identities shape perceptions, attitudes, and masculine identities in children and young individuals across diverse cultures. By evaluating qualitative accounts from participants involved in eight studies across six different countries and three continents, this research critically examined notions, beliefs, and experiences of masculine identities within varied contexts. Employing a meta-ethnographic approach, and considering the nuances present in each study, higher-order interpretations deriving from participant accounts and the primary authors' perspectives were extracted. Despite the cultural diversity in the studies, similarities as well as significant differences were identified. In considering the reciprocal translation process of meta-ethnography and how to best make sense of the information gathered, it would be overly reductionist to formulate a unified framework that encompasses all masculine experiences and definitions. As such, the research question will be addressed first, followed by a summary of the synthesis, and concluded by discussing limitations.

The participants in each study, shared their perspectives on cultural and gender norms, sometimes with researchers native to their cultures and at other times with researchers that sought an understanding from an outsider perspective. Furthermore, the gender of the researchers, their linguistic skills, and the cultural context added layers of complexity to each study's research design. Considering that some of the primary authors of the included studies were not native to the cultures they were studying, it can be argued that the qualitative data they presented were secondary in nature. The researchers selected which quotes to present in their studies, and they created a narrative that is potentially subjective to their own interpretations. In these cases, it is important for researchers to look for evidence of reflexivity across all stages of their research to account for bias that might have affected the meaning they gave to their data. The researchers from two of the included studies evidenced their reflexivity on the matter of being outsiders to the cultures they were studying (Emezue et al., 2022; Grewe, 2021) while the rest did not, as seen in the critical appraisal process. It is important to note that the critical appraisal process and tools employed (i.e., CASP) may not have been culturally appropriate for evaluating research from different cultural contexts. Moreover, the appraisal of these studies was conducted by an author from a Western institution (University of Southampton), and it is essential to acknowledge potential variations in the understanding and application of reflexivity

across cultures. Consequently, the present analysis included a multifaceted and diverse array of explanations concerning cultural norms, gender identities, gender norms, and masculine identities.

When evaluating cross-cultural accounts of masculinity, it may be tempting to seek confirmation of traditional or hegemonic notions of masculinity across countries. However, the mere identification of traditional norms was not the primary focus. Instead, this study subscribed to a relativistic ontological perspective by seeking to explore the realities of young men as context-dependent experiences that included diverse perspectives and interpretations. For the diverse participants across the included studies, constructions of masculine identities were formulated based on their interactions within their respective societies. While some participants felt they had little agency over their cultural and gender norms, their descriptions of masculinity were always juxtaposed against other agents in their realities such as families, friends, schools, government, and the broader society. As such, the epistemological stance of this work was based on the values of constructionism and emphasised that participants constructed knowledge through collective efforts and interactions within their communities.

This synthesis revealed several seemingly universal experiences influencing young men's identity development, such as puberty, help-seeking, the significance placed on family, the rigidity of cultural and gender norms, and perceived threats to their masculinities. Considering identity development during puberty, experiences involved monitoring of gender performance by oneself or by others (Grewe, 2021), challenges with accessing reliable information on puberty and cultural barriers to puberty education (Shivji et al., 2021). Some men identified both implicit and explicit threats to their masculine identities which included feminine gender expressions, homosexuality, queer identities, (Grewe, 2021), female breadwinner identities (Tekkas), and lack of sexual 'conquests' (Cecchetto). For help-seeking behaviours, young men turned to their peers and school guidance counsellors for social and emotional support (Emezue et al., 2022) or were simply discouraged from asking for help from a very young age (Tekkas, 2015). This polarisation in help-seeking behaviour is also seen in prior research (McGraw et al., 2021), suggesting that help-seeking remains a controversial subject. Notably, these experiences did not consistently align along a singular continuum and opinions within participants and across studies differed based on the context (e.g., help-seeking for emotional support vs help-seeking for information on puberty). As such, no experience was truly universal as it included cultural nuances that affected their interpretation.

The young men in the synthesis placed significant value on immediate sources of support, particularly their fathers and friends and all discussed the impact of family and society's opinions on their perceptions and decisions. Notably, in the rare instances where participants

from the present synthesis discussed their mothers, a Pakistani young man described his mother as a safe base for confiding or seeking guidance on matters related to his evolving identities, puberty, and help-seeking behaviours. This reliance on family members is seen in earlier studies discussing fathers (Bussey, 2011; Huttunen, 1992) and mothers (McFadden et al., 2021) as important agents in children's identity development. Overall, in the papers reviewed, the dynamics between family, friends, and the young men were a double-edged sword, as the close bond with their fathers served as a template for masculinity but also imposed pressures to conform to norms that may not entirely align with their identities.

In agreement with previous findings on emerging adulthood, the young men encountered a dilemma of whether to conform to masculine norms (Rice et al., 2011; Connell, 2005). This dilemma manifested in the participants' reflections and negotiations of tensions arising from a lack of complete agreement with the hegemonic forms of masculinity imposed by their respective societies. Participants often recognised the existence of the overarching concept of manhood that influenced their lives and at times dictated their behaviours and attitudes (Endut et al., 2021; Alam, 2016; Way et al., 2014). The decision to conform or not is one of the most important findings of the present synthesis, as young men globally seem to challenge conventional norms to various extents and with different ways. The idea of hegemonic masculinity has been extensively studied over recent decades and persists in the studies included in this synthesis. This underscores the enduring relevance of discussions pertaining to institutionalised power dynamics, portraying men as superior and women as submissive. Interestingly, even within marginalised communities in this synthesis, a discernible shift was observed as participants actively negotiated and rejected traditional concepts of masculinity. Importantly, the fact that some participants challenged forms of masculinity that promoted relationships of power can be seen as a pivotal step in the process that signifies changes in our comprehension of masculinity. Indeed, the very conception of masculinity has undergone inevitable shifts over the course of years (for a historical perspective see Duncanson, 2015; Kimmel, 2004).

The higher-order constructs emerging from the synthesis can be categorised into environmental impact factors and internal belief systems. Environmental factors refer to societal influences, norms and expectations surrounding masculinity while internal belief systems are attitudes, emotions and behaviours that result from the process of negotiation of one's own identity. These factors interact interchangeably during the development of beliefs around masculinity. As such, complex dynamics are at play when considering the impact of societal norms and gender norms on a young man's identity development. Some young men perceived the norms of their society as rigid standards that could not be challenged, while others acknowledged the problematic aspects of the norms they encountered.

While there has been progress in recognising and addressing power imbalances, especially in terms of gender norms, there is a risk of misunderstanding non-Western societies as being backward or regressive when comparing them to Western standards. Governments that do not yet have or have minimal legislation on gender matters can be easily judged by Westerners, like myself for what they lack, often neglecting conversations that are happening at the micro-level by the individuals who directly experience the impact of different gender hierarchies. Consequently, it is important for research led by Western institutions and researchers to understand their position when interpreting and disseminating findings related to gender. This can be achieved by fostering an environment of understanding and cultural responsiveness, facilitating change in a manner that aligns with cultural nuances, rather than adhering strictly to Western standards.

2.4.1   Strengths and Limitations

Within the current project there were certain noteworthy strengths as well as limitations. The primary author of this study had to carefully consider their own positionality, background, perspectives, and experiences while conducting the synthesis, since he served as the primary agent in translating the data extracted from the included studies. Coming from a Mediterranean country where discussions of gender identity are at an early stage, coupled with significant religious influence on state affairs, the primary author grew up within a context where expressions of masculinity and femininity that deviated from traditional norms were met with considerable scepticism. Consequently, the primary author engaged in an ongoing process of reflection regarding their own values and belief systems when interpreting the viewpoints of participants representing a diverse range of cultures.

Meta-ethnography is characterised by its elaborate and rigorous process of collecting, comparing, translating, and synthesising qualitative data and often calls for the collaborative efforts of a team of researchers working over several years. While the present synthesis benefitted from regular input from supervisors and recurrent reflection sessions on the content and inclusion criteria of the studies, different interpretations could arise if another research team were to undertake the same analysis with the same studies.

 One limitation was present in the methodology, specifically the search strategy employed. Despite the efforts made to execute a comprehensive search for qualitative studies on masculinity within the meta-ethnographic scope, it is possible that some eligible studies may have been overlooked due to the inherent complexity and nuances present in gender-related research literature. Nevertheless, this work conducted within the context of a professional

doctorate in educational psychology, aimed for a comprehensive exploration of a diverse range of research within a constrained timeframe.

The current synthesis used empirical studies conducted between 2013 and 2024. The decision for this timeframe was motivated by a hope to capture contemporary perspectives on gender norms and masculinity. However, a 10-year timeframe might be still too big for the ever-changing landscape of gender norms and identities, as considerable changes in conceptualisations of gender can occur within relatively short periods. Additionally, studies addressing masculinity in combination with other subjects, such as sports and health, were deliberately excluded on the grounds that masculinity did not constitute the primary focus of those inquiries. While this criterion was consciously applied, future meta-ethnographies incorporating voices from such studies could be beneficial in enhancing the comprehension of masculine identities and cultural norms across diverse domains.

Despite efforts to access global research through databases from different regions, the final synthesis comprised eight papers composed in the English language. While some of these papers may have originally been published in different languages, it is acknowledged that the inclusion and exclusion criteria employed in the synthesis process may have inadvertently introduced a Western bias. Relying on criteria that may implicitly favour studies that use keywords of gender norms common to Western researchers could potentially contribute to a limitation in the diversity of cultural and linguistic representations within the selected studies.

2.5   Conclusion

Through the use of meta-ethnography, this study synthesised constructions related to gender norms, gender identities, and masculinity derived from participants in eight distinct studies. Adolescents and young men in the selected studies demonstrated an awareness of intricate power dynamics within their local societal, cultural, and gender norms. While actively constructing their masculine identities and navigating the path to adulthood within their respective cultural contexts, these individuals encountered societal, familial, and peer pressures compelling them to conform to established norms and regulations defining masculinity. The impact of these norms extended beyond the psychological and physical wellbeing of these young men, influencing their interpersonal relationships and often giving rise to attitudes marked by femmephobia and homophobia. Importantly, some of these young men negotiated the tensions arising from the disagreement between their personal beliefs and societal gender norms.

A key takeaway from this work is that openly discussing the identities and experiences of young men allows for reflection and identification of problematic norms that perpetuate inequalities among different gender identities and expressions. For this reason, there is a need to create spaces that foster discussions of gender dynamics among young men. These spaces can help with the recognition of power imbalances present in gender norms, equip individuals with the necessary tools to articulate, identify, and address these imbalances, and provide opportunities for reflection and the generation of forward-looking ideas. From an educational psychology perspective, practitioners can support schools, parents and children in understanding their gender expressions and how they impact others. Moreover, educational psychologists can work across organisational, group and individual levels in empowering individuals to challenge narratives that promote hierarchies of gender. Such initiatives are crucial in guiding young men towards a more nuanced understanding of masculinity and empowering them to navigate and challenge societal expectations as they evolve into adulthood.

Chapter 3   Insights into Gender Constructs: Cypriot Perspectives through Delphi Exploration

Abstract

The cultural and societal context in which gender norms exist plays a pivotal role in influencing development during early adolescence. Young people shape their lives and personalities through dynamic interaction with their environment and through interpersonal relations they accept, reject, or develop new gender norms. Focused on Cypriot adults aged 18-29, the present study employed a three-round Delphi methodology to collaboratively construct a nuanced language of gender. Thirty-one panellists evaluated 114 statements describing gender, categorising them as either 'not at all important', 'important', 'somewhat important', or 'definitely important'. Analysis revealed consensus on 70 gender-related statements, with at least 51% agreement among participants. Findings suggest stronger agreement on statements endorsing the right of individuals to express their gender identity freely. However, divergent views emerged regarding the understanding of identities that exist outside of the binary. This bilingual study, conducted in both English and Greek, served as a unique platform for individuals to contribute to the development of an inclusive gender model.

3.1   Introduction

Across various scientific domains such as education, health, psychology and the social sciences, sex and gender are two constructs often at the centre of scientific enquiry (Jackson & Bussey, 2023). Sex can be described as the biological characteristics of a person such as reproductive organs and chromosomes while gender often refers to the social roles and behaviours of individuals (Jackson & Bussey, 2023). While biological markers sometimes dominate discussions of sex and are used to define 'male' and 'female', studies show that contextual and social factors can also affect biological processes such as hormone levels (van Anders, 2015; Goldey & van Anders, 2011). For, example, testosterone is used on a biological level as a marker of sex, however studies show that it can be affected by thoughts, activities, and contextual cues (van Anders et al., 2012; Goldey & van Anders, 2011). Jordan-Young and Karkazis (2019) argue after conducting a comprehensive medical literature search on hormones that testosterone "is not sex-specific" (p.24) and that it is a steroid hormone that has multiple functions and is even involved in ovulation (Maner & McNulty, 2013). Cultural norms and societal expectations can also influence how sex and gender are understood (Jackson & Bussey, 2023; Schudson et al., 2019; Wood & Eagly, 2015, 2012). Furthermore, gender identity

intersects with other social categories like race and social class, leading to the creation of potential multifaceted self-definitions (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). This highlights the complexity of these constructs, suggesting that binary notions of gender and sex can be restrictive and reductive of individuals' experiences.

In the past, theories of development adopted binary perspectives of sex and gender and tended to overlook the diversity of experiences across individuals (Schudson et al., 2019). One such example was the historical attempts in research to develop measures of masculinity and femininity (Terman, 2013; Terman & Miles, 1936). While critiques of such approaches (e.g., Constantinople, 1973) have been present for years, these binary notions of gender persist in developmental psychology research from recent decades, focusing on how children conceptualise their gender identities within the confines of a binary framework based on their biological sex (Martin et al., 2002). Contemporary research acknowledges that gender identity is not always aligned with one's assigned sex at birth (e.g., Thornton et al., 2022; Morgenroth & Ryan, 2021; Faye, 2021; van Anders, 2015). Ideas of gender identities that fall outside of the binary are emerging and individuals find opportunities to express identities that differ from their sex assigned at birth.

3.1.1   Classical Theories of Gender Development

Over the years, psychologists have used theories to explain how children understand and develop their gender identities. One such theory is the self-categorisation theory (SCT) developed by Turner and Reynolds (2011) which expanded and refined the cognitive elements of Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Based on the SCT, individuals define themselves based on the groups to which they belong and according to the situations within a given context (Turner & Reynolds, 2011). Similarly, but from a gender perspective, the concept of gender self-categorisation was used to refer to children's attempts to describe and label their gender as they grow up (Cadinu & Galdi, 2012; Martin et al, 2002). Self-categorisation reveals our attempts to define ourselves within a multilevel framework that includes close relationships, larger social groups or organisations and social categories such as ethnicity, religion, nationality as well as gender (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Hence, gender self-categorisation points out matters of intersectionality suggesting that understanding oneself is a lifelong process that is influenced by internal senses of gender, behavioural manifestations, and how others perceive an individual (Jackson et al., 2022).

3.1.2   Colonialism

When exploring intersectionality and gender, historical accounts presented the queer body as something to be feared and rejected; this was no different in the south part of the globe, during the era of the European colonial expansion (Delatolla, 2020). Western societies, meaning those with their roots traced to Western Europe as well as classical Greek and Roman societies, Christianity, and the enlightenment movement (Kurth, 2003), are often seen as pioneers in advocating for minority rights and promoting progressive ideals regarding sexual minorities (Simmons 2016; Pew Research Center, 2013). For this paper, 'sexual and gender minorities' is used as an umbrella term to refer to a group of people that differ from a set cultural norm (Rodrigues et al., 2017), also known as LGBTQ+. Among other civilisations, the British have been credited for their positive contributions in their colonies, including the spread of democratic values (Huntington 1984), and economic affluence (Lange et al., 2006). However, Han and O'Mahoney (2018; 2014), argue that there is "a dark underside of the British colonial legacy that has been extremely detrimental to the rights and freedom of LGBTQ+ people around the world" (p. 285). Similarly, Fox (2019) adds that there are neglected historical narratives that uncover the Western contribution in fostering a sociopolitical climate in their colonies, that resulted in the criminalisation and persecution of sexual and gender minorities. Ultimately, Fox (2019) suggests that the matter of LGBTQ+ oppression is both a historical and a political issue, requiring an understanding of the historical trajectories that fostered hostility towards LGBTQ+ individuals.

Some argue that the Western European colonial movement forever changed the tolerance and acceptance of sexual and gender minorities. It is hypothesised that in pre-colonial times, there was a lack of stigma related to sexual and gender minorities because sexual and gender expressions were not seen as permanent identities (Fox, 2019). Becker (2008) suggests that deviance is not an inherent quality of any particular action or identity. Furthermore, he suggests that deviance is a social construct, indicating that a society's reaction and labels are what create deviant behaviour rather than the behaviour being intrinsically deviant (Becker, 2008). During colonialism, sexual behaviour became intertwined with identity due to moral entrepreneurship. This concept operates on the underlying assumption that one's moral code is superior to that of others, prompting the entrepreneur to intervene in order to improve the behaviours of others or to civilise the 'uncivilised' (Fox, 2019). As a result, Western powers, perceiving themselves better in many ways, took action in their colonies to promote their imperial economic, political and military values (Mangan, 2012; Walther, 2008), thus civilising the uncivilised through laws and religion (Ben, 2010) that promoted monogamous, heterosexual behaviours (Chan, 2008).

It is suggested that the impact of colonialism is present in the legislative system of colonised countries (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018). A prominent example of legislation on sexual and gender minorities in colonies was the India Penal Code of 1860 that remained in effect until 2009 when New Delhi's High Court decriminalised homosexual conduct (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018). Similarly, in Cyprus homosexual conduct among men was penalised since 1889 when Cyprus was a British colony (Emilianides, 2011). This law was overturned in 1998, 38 years after Cyprus gained its independence from Britain. At the time, Cyprus was pressured into reforming its legislation by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) following a judgement condemning Cyprus for criminalising same-sex activity (Emilianides, 2011; Modinos v Cyprus, 1993). The decision of the Cypriot High Court to abide by the ECHR's ruling in favour of Alecos Modinos, the chair of the Cypriot Homosexual Liberation Front at the time, was met with political turmoil. In January 1995, the Cypriot government, led by President Clerides, submitted a bill to decriminalise homosexuality between consenting adults (Emilianides, 2011). However, the bill was not approved by the House of Representatives' Legal Affairs Committee due to strong opposition, primarily from the Orthodox Church (Emilianides, 2011). On May 20, 1997, the European Commission of Human Rights declared a second appeal (Appeal 31106/1996) and an attempt to pass the government bill to decriminalise homosexuality in May 1997 failed once again (Emilianides, 2011). In April 1998, the Council of Europe set a deadline for the Republic of Cyprus to comply with the decision of the European Court of Human Rights by May 29, 1998 (Emilianides, 2011). Despite the strong opposition from the Church, on May 21, 1998, the House of Representatives passed the bill decriminalising homosexuality with a vote of 36 to 8 (Emilianides, 2011).

Several former British colonies still hold laws against homosexual conduct and remain known opponents of LGBTQ+ rights movements to this day (ASIA, 2023). Strong anti-LGBTQ+ climates in several former colonies are hypothesised to be the result of an attempt for separation from the West (Fox, 2019), which McAllister (2013) explains through conflicted feelings former colonies have towards the West. Feelings of attraction and resentment perhaps exist at the centre of post-colonial experience that might explain the resistance to sexual and gender minorities. In essence, the resistance might not entirely be about these minorities, but rather about the idea of Western exceptionalism, which may use LGBTQ+ movements as indicators of progress in the non-Western world (McAllister, 2013).

3.1.3   Changing Perspectives on Gender

In the light of new understandings of gender, some researchers highlight that theories of identity and gender do not account for transgender experiences where gender identities can evolve or fluctuate (Bradford et al., 2020; Katz-Wise et al., 2017). Initially, the term "transgender" primarily

denoted individuals whose gender did not align with their sex assigned at birth, often implying a transition from one binary gender to another (Stryker & Whittle, 2013). Recent studies emphasise that both transgender and cisgender identities contribute to the multifaceted experience of gender, highlighting the variability in how individuals perceive and interact with their gender (Schudson et al., 2019; Fast & Olson, 2018). As such, traditional theories of gender development might not sufficiently address the experiences of individuals who identify with gender identities beyond those assigned at birth (non-cisgender; Tate et al., 2014). While frameworks such as the Genderbread Person (Killermann, 2017) and the Gender Unicorn (Pan & Moore, 2019) strive to provide an inclusive view of gender experiences expanding on previous theories (e.g., Lev, 2004), there is limited empirical evidence of theories produced by nonbinary children and young people.

In contemporary Western societies, there has been a notable shift towards recognising and embracing diverse gender identities beyond the traditional binary of male and female (Diamond, 2020; Hyde et al., 2019). Recent studies explore various factors that contribute to identity development, such as one's intrinsic sense of gender, exploration of different identities and body dissatisfaction (Johnson et al., 2020; Bradford et al., 2020; Bradford & Syed, 2019; Katz-Wise et al., 2017; Levitt & Ippolito, 2014). The shift to recognising and embracing diverse gender identities outside the binary has also influenced research practices within psychology, marking a departure from studying transgender identities separately from cisgender identities. Historically, a dichotomy has been reinforced in research by studying transgender identities separately from cisgender ones, often resulting in the pathologisation of the former (Riggs et al, 2019; Tate et al., 2014). However, more recently, researchers are challenging this separation and are highlighting substantial similarities in the development of cisgender and transgender individuals (Gülgöz et al., 2019; Tate et al., 2014). Both cisgender and transgender individuals are seen as active agents in sorting themselves into gender groups, albeit with differences in the salience of their identities, particularly for transgender individuals who experience discrepancies between their gender identity and assigned sex (Tate et al., 2014). As a result, it is important to adopt inclusive approaches to gender identity research that recognise the diverse experiences and narratives within the broader spectrum of gender identities.

3.1.4 Educational Psychology

Understanding gender identity is important for educational psychologists. Census data from 2021 involving 45.7 million individuals in the UK over 16 years old, reveal that approximately 0.5% (262,000) identify with a gender different from their assigned sex at birth (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Furthermore, the number of referrals to the Gender Identity Development Service (GIDS) in 2021-22 was over 5,000 indicating a notable demand for gender-

affirming healthcare services among transgender youth (NHS England, 2023). When considering the UK context, the landscape of gender has been characterised as hostile towards transgender individuals and especially children in recent years (Madrigal-Borloz, 2023). Transgender healthcare under the UK's National Health Service (NHS) has been criticised for causing harm to transgender people, with reports of pathologisation in NHS healthcare services (Horton, 2023; Horton, 2024a). Since 2016 the UK media has been accused of engaging in a 'sustained culture war' (Horton, 2024b, p. 1) related to transgender rights, with a significant focus on transgender children's healthcare (Amery, 2023; Pearce et al., 2020). Transgender children's healthcare is currently a topic of political interest, with politicians including the current Prime Minister, Secretary of State for Health and various ministers for equality questioning the validity of or calling for the removal of access to transgender children's healthcare (Milton, 2022; Raza-Sheikh, 2022; Parsons, 2020). A 2020 legal judgment called into doubt transgender children's ability to consent to puberty-blocking medication and was later overturned at appeal (Bell v Tavistock, 2020). Legislative barriers to healthcare have been exacerbated by institutional responses, with NHS England responding to the original Bell court judgment by immediately suspending access to transgender children's healthcare (NHS England, 2023). A review was commissioned by NHS England to make recommendations on how to improve NHS gender identity services (Cass, 2024) and it has been criticised for being biased towards cis-normativity and not acknowledging anti-trans prejudice as a threat to children who question their gender (Horton, 2024b). As a result of the complex political minefield, gender affirming care is being scrutinised and professionals are being urged to carefully base their decisions on strong empirical evidence.

Educational psychologists must recognise the impact of societal attitudes and systemic barriers on the wellbeing of transgender children. Discrimination and prejudice can have detrimental effects on mental health and educational outcomes (Madrigal-Borloz, 2023). Moreover, the politicisation of trans rights issues by media campaigns and political debates has perpetuated harmful myths such as the notion that being transgender is a response to trauma or abuse (Milton, 2022). Also, the denial of access to gender-affirming care highlights the urgent need for advocacy and support for gender diverse children's rights to bodily autonomy and healthcare (Russel et al., 2018). Educational psychologists must be equipped to scrutinise narratives that favour specific norms, while promoting accurate understanding of gender identity development based on empirical evidence rather than prejudice or bias. Following the Cass Review (Cass, 2024) and the draft consultation paper by the Department for Education in England (DfE, 2023), the pressing concern arises: What guidance should educational psychologists offer regarding the gender diverse populations they serve? The Cass Review emphasises the need for robust evidence for affirmative approaches, since such approaches

are perceived as medical interventions. Horton (2024b) highlights that defaulting to rejecting a child's identity appears to be the norm. It appears that educational psychologists are now facing even greater challenges, therefore it is important for them to be able to find ways to navigate the complex legislative context while advocating for practices that promote a sense of belonging and acceptance for all students.

3.1.5   Rationale for the Current Study

Using a Delphi study, Wilson et al. (2023) explored the voices of individuals who identified outside the gender-binary in the UK (aged 16-18) to provide an understanding of gender, at a time where such discussions remain divisive. The 26 participants who completed all three Delphi rounds showed how language regarding gender can be co-created and findings highlighted the idea that Western constructions of gender have a strong binary underpinning (Wilson et al., 2023). Ultimately, Wilson et al. (2023) pointed out the need to challenge typical Western research assumptions by placing the people who are directly concerned with the topic at the centre of research enquiry.

Following Wilson's et al. (2023) Delphi methodology involving UK-based young people, the present study aimed to replicate their work in a cross-cultural, post-colonial environment with young adults over 18 years old from Cyprus. Through Wilson's et al. (2023) work, 104 statements regarding the way gender is described were generated after round one of the Delphi methodology (Keeney et al., 2011). Twenty-two statements derived from the panellists and eighty-two were generated from a systematic literature review (Wilson et al., 2023). By the end of the three Delphi rounds, participants reached consensus for 68 of the statements and a potential model of gender was generated and discussed. The present study used the original 104 statements within a Cypriot cultural context with the goal being to enrich the Wilson' et al. (2023) model of gender by including a cross-cultural element. We aimed to determine what key factors and competencies young adults wished to be represented in model of gender that reflected their own experiences.

3.2   Method

3.2.1   Design and Procedure

In the present study, a three-round Delphi methodology was used (Figure 3.1). Delphi draws on the opinions of a group, commonly referred to as the 'experts' or 'panellists', to build consensus on a topic (Skulmoski et al., 2007). The experts are defined as individuals that possess knowledge of, or experience with the topic of interest, are willing, have enough time to

participate and have effective communication skills (Adler & Ziglio 1996). Panellists' opinions were gathered using questionnaires, also known as 'rounds', that enabled them to rate a series of statements using a Likert-scale. The Delphi process typically lasts until consensus is reached on all statements, however there is variation of the methodology across the literature with some designs lasting three rounds (e.g., Wilson et al., 2023; Brungs & Jamieson, 2005) or as little as one round (e.g., Kuo & Yu, 1999). Furthermore, variation also exists on the definition and level/percentage of consensus (Nasa et al., 2021), hence Keeney et al. (2011) suggest that it should be defined by the researchers prior to the commencement of the study. For this study, consensus was defined as a percentage agreement (Shang, 2023) of 51% and over on a single rating for a particular statement. For example, if 51% or more participants classified a statement as 'not at all important' to the way gender is described, then consensus was achieved on that statement, and it was removed from subsequent rounds. The median was used to provide participants feedback between rounds for the overall group response in the previous round for statements that remained contested (Figure 3.2).
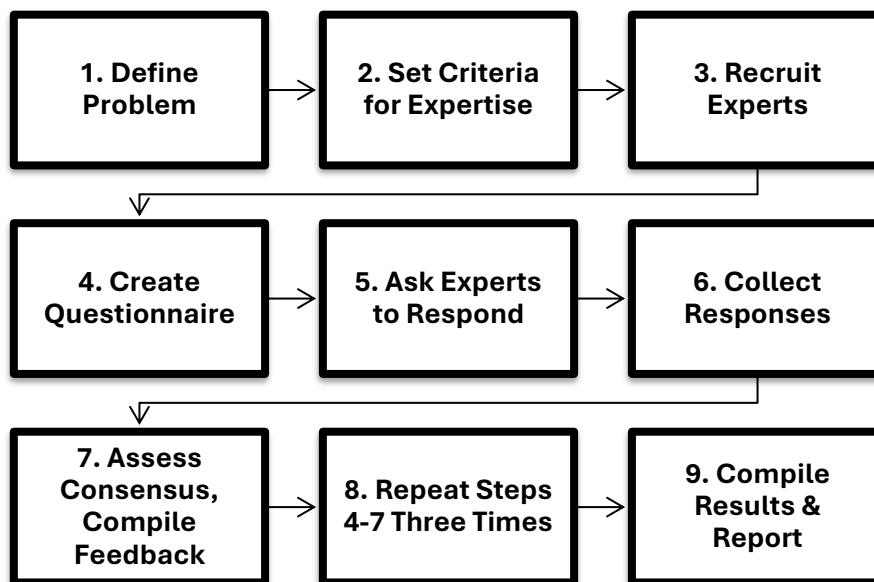
Figure 3.1 *Step-by-Step Process of Delphi in the Present Study.*

To elicit Cypriots' understanding of gender constructs through an iterative approach, panel members were asked to rate each statement using a four-point Likert scale ranging from *not important at all* to *definitely important*. Moreover, at the end of each round panel members were given the chance to add additional statements they believed should be considered when discussing gender. Statements that achieved consensus over 51% on any point of the Likert scale were removed from subsequent rounds, while the contested statements were presented again to the participants (Figure 3.2). Panellists that completed all three rounds of Delphi were rewarded with a £26 gift voucher for Love2Shop (online shopping catalogue).

People should maintain a less gender-based outlook across all areas of life.

Your Response on Round 2	Overall Group Response on Round 2
4	3

How important do you think the above statement is:

○ 1. Not at all important

○ 2. Slightly important

○ 3. Important

○ 4. Definitely important

Figure 3.2 *Example Item from Delphi Rounds*.

The process for participation was divided into seven distinct steps (Figure 3.3). Interested individuals accessed the participant information sheet (PIS) and consent form (Appendix E) from online advertisements (Appendix F). Once they provided written consent, they were automatically redirected to the separate 'Study Interest Declaration Form' (SID) (Appendix G) that allowed them to share their email address with the research team. The SID form was provided separately from the PIS and consent forms as part of the pseudonymisation process to ensure no link could be made between the applicants' names and their email addresses. Following the SID form, the research team assigned a random participant identification number (PIN) to each email address and shared it with the applicants along with the Demographics Form (Appendix H). From this point, applicants were required to use their PIN when accessing any study material. Following the screening of applicants based on the participation criteria (Table 3.1), panel members were chosen and notified via email.

Applicants follow link from ads → Applicants read PIS and sign Consent Form → Applicants redirected to 'Study Interest Declaration Form' to share their email

Eligible applicants are accepted Panel Members and notified ← Researchers screen applicants for eligibility ← Applicants receive PIN and link to Demographics Form

Panel Members receive link to Round One of Delphi

Figure 3.3 *Summary of Participation Procedure*.

3.2.2   Recruitment

The study was conducted in the southern part of Cyprus which is an island situated in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, north of Egypt and south of Turkey. Cyprus is a former British colony that gained its independence in 1960 and while geographically it is part of West Asia, it has strong geopolitical ties to Europe, officially joining the European Union in 2004. The southern part of the island was conveniently chosen as it is under the Republic of Cyprus where the lead researcher, a Greek-Cypriot, is from. Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Southampton's Faculty of Environmental Life Sciences Ethics Committee (ERGO Number 79641; Appendix I). Participants were recruited using a mixture of purposive and snowball sampling methods. The primary researcher advertised the study on social media and approached gatekeepers in post-18 educational settings as well as youth organisations. Furthermore, the researcher encouraged anyone who responded to the call for participants to invite other people that they believed would be interested in the study. Keeney et al. (2011) state there is no single recommended sample size for Delphi methodology as studies typically range from 10 to 100 panellists (Nasa et al., 2021).

Table 3.1   *Participation Criteria.*

Essential

1. Be aware of others/communities who have experienced discomfort where an essentialist, binary model of gender is incongruent with lived experience.
2. Be 18 years old or older.
3. Have a good level of linguistic competency in English or Greek (self-judged).
4. Confirm they have understood the purpose and aims of the Delphi study and how this will be achieved through individual contribution within a wider group of panellists.
5. Have access to a laptop/computer/tablet and the internet.

Desirable

6. Be LGBTQ+ or identify with a gender other than the binary.
7. Personally experienced discomfort with binary models of gender.

A challenge of the Delphi process was managing the drop-out rate of panel members between rounds (Keeney et al., 2011). To manage this, electronic questionnaires were used as opposed to the traditional paper ones proposed in the Delphi methodology. Following Keeney et al. (2011) guidance, a personalised approached was used throughout the process with clear communication of timelines, regular email reminders during the rounds, quick turnaround times between rounds to maintain interest and extensions to the deadlines to respond. Additionally, the incentive money was increased from £13 to £26 after observing an attrition rate of 10.5% between rounds one and two (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 *Panel Members Per Round and Drop-out Rates.*

	n	Participants Dropped-out
Panellists Completing Round 1	38	-
Panellists Completing Round 2	34	4
Panellists Completing Round 3	31	3

A total of 31 panel members completed all three Delphi rounds (Table 3.3). The panel members' ages ranged from 20 to 29 years old, with a mean age of 24.87 years old. Overall, panellists were primarily cis-gender, heterosexual adults in full-time employment or enrolled in a university and based in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. While there was an even number of male and female-identifying participants, some participants chose to not disclose their gender identity. From the seven participants who dropped out, two identified as men, five as women, six were full-time university students and one was part-time employed. Lastly, five of the participants who dropped out identified as heterosexual while one identified as gay and one did not disclose their sexual identity.

Table 3.3 *Participants' Demographics.*

	n	%
Total	31	-
Male	12	38.7
Female	12	38.7
Did not disclose gender identity	7	22.6
Heterosexual	28	90.3
Bisexual	1	3.2
Gay/Lesbian	1	3.2
Did not disclose sexual identity	1	3.2
Full-time employed	13	41.9
Full-time student (University)	11	35.5
Full-time student (University), Part-time employed	2	6.5
Part-time student (University)	1	3.2
Part-time student (University), Full-time employed	1	3.2
Full-time employed, Self-employed	1	3.2
Unemployed	1	3.2
Part-time employed	1	3.2

It is worth noting that the present sample of adults in employment or higher education was a deviation from Wilson's et al. (2023) design that included young people 16-18 years old. The

main reason for this choice were difficulties in accessing groups of children and young people in Cyprus that would openly talk about gender within and beyond the binary. When approaching gatekeepers of LGBTQ+ youth organisations early in the recruitment phase, it was made clear to the primary author that a hostile environment exists against LGBTQ+ groups. As a result, such organisations declined to give access to such populations out of fear of any hidden agenda the research might have had against such groups.

3.2.3   Translation of Materials

All research material, Delphi rounds and statements were provided in both the English and Greek languages so that panellists could maintain the choice over their preferred language. The translation process was divided into four phases. During the first phase, the original 104 statements from Wilson et al. (2023) were translated from English to Greek on two separate occasions; once by the primary researcher who is bilingual and fluent in English and Greek and again by an independent clinical psychologist who is multilingual and fluent in Greek, English and Spanish. In the second phase, the primary researcher and the clinical psychologist compared translations over the course of three separate reflective sessions and collaboratively agreed on the most appropriate translation for each statement. During this phase, both the primary researcher and the clinical psychologist considered linguistic nuances as well as contextual and cultural factors that could impact the understanding of the original English as well as the Greek versions of the statements. In the third phase, a third translator, an MSc Psychology of Health graduate and British-Cypriot was asked to back-translate the statements from Greek to English without having any prior contact with the original English statements. In the last phase, the primary researcher as well as the third translator engaged in a reflective session discussing each statement and comparing any differences between the new English translation and the original statements written in English. A main point that stood out during this phase was the difficulty in translating non-binary pronouns, as there is no widely accepted neutral and non-binary pronoun in Greek (Galanou, 2014). They/Them does not directly translate because there is a plural 'they' for masculine and a plural 'they' for feminine, as well as one for neutral. While Greek-Cypriot non-binary people can use 'it/its', the same is being used for inanimate objects and one could argue that 'it' sounds strange and dehumanising in the Greek language. The decision was made jointly by the lead researcher and the two translators to include the direct Greek translation of 'they' to 'it' instead of omitting the statements pertaining pronouns, while providing participants the choice to switch between translations while responding. Moreover, the English language is widely taught in all Greek-Cypriot public schools from Year 2 of the national curriculum. As a result, a Greek translation

was obtained (Appendix J) and the original English statements were deemed fit to be used with a Cypriot population.

3.2.4   Analysis

Analysis was conducted at the end of each Delphi round. Panellists' responses were gathered, reviewed and percentages of agreement (consensus) were generated for each statement. Statements that did not achieve consensus were added to the following round's questionnaire along with individualised feedback showing the results of the previous round, thus enabling panellists to compare their responses with the group's responses. At the end of round three, statements that achieved consensus of 51% or above were used to create a synthesis of the findings. Importantly, the study's goal was to identify which statements achieved consensus regardless of their classification as 'not at all important' or 'definitely important'. As a result, the synthesis presents a narrative that covers the panellists' opinions regarding 'not at all important', 'slightly important', 'important' and 'definitely important' ways of describing gender.

3.3   Results

Overall, a total of 114 statements were rated by the participants, 104 from Wilson et al. (2023) and 10 from the panellists' own contributions. Table 3.4 gives an overview of the results of the study.

Table 3.4 *Summary of Total Number of Statements Included in the Study.*

Number of statements generated from Wilson et al. (2023)	104
Number of statements contributed by panellists	10
Total number of statements rated by panellists across all three rounds	114
Total number of statements that met consensus	70
Total number of statements that met consensus and were deemed **definitely important** to the way in which gender is viewed	13
Total number of statements that met consensus and were deemed **important** to the way in which gender is viewed	37
Total number of statements that met consensus and were deemed **slightly important** to the way in which gender is viewed	6
Total number of statements for which there was strong consensus that were **not at all important** to the way in which gender is viewed	14
Total number of statements for which there was **no overall consensus** as to whether or not they were important to the way in which gender is viewed	44

Following panellists' ratings of all 114 statements, consensus was achieved for 70 statements (Figure 3.4) while 44 statements remained contested (Appendix K).
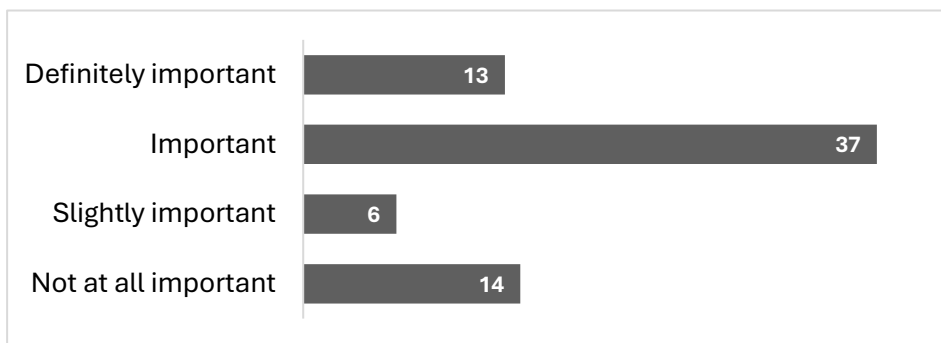
Figure 3.4 *Overview of Number of Statements Reaching Consensus Per Level of Rating.*

Consensus strength ranged from 51% to over 71% with most statements falling in the 51%-60% range (Figure 3.5).
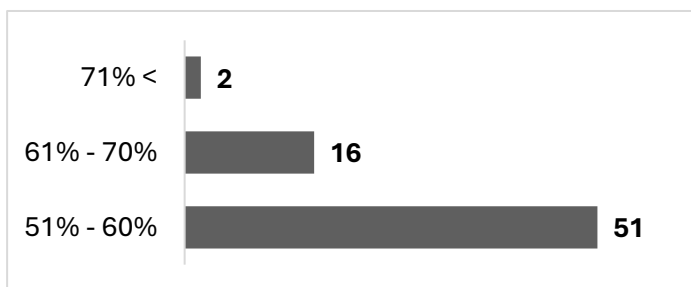
Figure 3.5 *Overview of Number of Statements and Consensus Strength.*

The following tables present all 70 statements in detail to help illustrate the panellists' views.

Table 3.5 *'Definitely Important' to the Way in which Gender is Viewed (n = 13).*

Sex and gender are two separate constructs

A person can identify with another sex more than their assigned sex

A person's gender identity can differ from their birth-assigned sex

Society's understanding of gender can change over time*

A person can experience themselves to be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine

A person's experience of their gender can change because of external pressures (e.g., expectations of other people – parents/teachers etc.)

A person can feel that their body doesn't match their experience of their gender

Sex refers to the physical markers of classifying individuals as male or female (e.g., genital differences at birth or chromosomal differences)

People should have the right to express themselves however they want.**

The way we can experience gender can be influenced by other factors (e.g., ethnicity, disability, age)*

Some transgender people identify with binary genders (e.g., man/woman)

We do not need to understand gender but only to understand and respect what the other person feels. It is not our business.**

I might not personally agree with gender fluidity, but I will always try to make other people feel accepted and as comfortable as possible.**

Note. Statements with '' are statements introduced by Wilson et al (2023) panellists, while '**' were introduced by panellists from the present study. Unmarked statements derived from Wilson et al. (2023) meta-ethnography and not their panellists.*

Table 3.6 *'Important' to the Way in which Gender is Viewed (n = 37).*

A person's gender identity does not always match their gender expression

The way a person expresses themselves can combine masculine and feminine elements

Not all people who alter their gender expression are transgender

A person can change their expression of their gender to fit the norms of the environment (e.g., a person following a school uniform code)

A person can experience themselves on a spectrum from more masculine to more feminine

A person can choose how they experience their gender

Being non-binary means a person does not identify as a man or a woman*

Ideas and systems of classification related to male and female are outdated

Gender identity can be fluid for some and static for others*

A person's expression of their gender can change over time

Gender identity is fluid and can fluctuate over time

Transgender identities are valid with and without medical interventions*

People should maintain a less gender-based outlook across all areas of life*

People are inherently non-gendered; we apply a construct of gender to our understanding of how people experience themselves

The way a person expresses themselves is inherently non-gendered; we apply a construct of gender to our understanding of a person's expression

A person can alter their gender expression to match their gender identity

A person's experience of gender can change over time

A person can identify as more male or more female

A transgender man may present as 'feminine', or a transgender woman may present as 'masculine', without compromising their identity as a transgender person*

Gender identity can fluctuate over contexts and social environments

A person's experience of their gender can change because of their lived experience

What a term means to one individual may mean something different to another

Gender expression is the ways in which an individual presents their gender

Changing your gender expression, even to the point of medical intervention, is not exclusive to transgender people*

Individuals are allowed to decide how they would like their physical markers to be interpreted by others*

It's okay to assume someone's gender based on their physical and expressive markers; individuals should understand it's not possible to be right all the time*

A person's body can be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine

Gender is biological in nature, but does not have to match sex*

A body can range from more masculine to more feminine

Gender is a product of the cultural norms it conforms to*

A person influences their surroundings and alters the way they express themselves to fit (e.g., changing their clothing)

Being non-binary means living with a gender absent of a male/female role

Society should strive to move away from models of gender, using sex to accommodate for when needed (e.g., medical reasons)*

In some cases, a person's gender may not be immediately apparent, so it's important for them (i.e., gender non-conforming people) to understand that others might require a bit of explanation and guidance.**

It is crucial to acknowledge that gender matters are not a topic to be taken lightly. Rather than becoming a trend, it should involve an earnest understanding of the relatively few people in this world who grapple with these experiences.**

Gender is not clear from birth but it becomes clear as we grow up.**

Gender should not be considered as a category to be chosen from, but rather as a mode of expression.**

Note. Statements with '*' are statements introduced by Wilson et al (2023) panellists, while '**' were introduced by panellists from the present study. Unmarked statements derived from Wilson et al. (2023) meta-ethnography and not their panellists.

Table 3.7 *'Slightly Important' to the Way in which Gender is Viewed (n = 6).*

A person's sex determines how they experience their gender

Medical transition (e.g., hormone therapy or surgical interventions) are important to gender identity

Expressive markers are important in determining the gender of a person

Being non-binary means living with a gender that falls between masculine and feminine

Gender is a way of grouping members of society to assign traits (e.g., clothing style; interests; height; social role, etc.)*

No attention should be paid to determining gender by physical and/or expressive markers

Note. Statements with '*' are statements introduced by Wilson et al (2023) panellists, while '**' were introduced by panellists from the present study. Unmarked statements derived from Wilson et al. (2023) meta-ethnography and not their panellists.

Table 3.8   *'Not at All Important' to the Way in which Gender is Viewed (n = 14).*

Gender is exclusively male and female

Sex and gender are the same constructs

A person can only express themselves as male and female

A person's experience of gender is fixed and cannot change

A person should express their gender in line with the gender they have been assigned at birth

Only transgender people need to alter their bodies through physical markers*

Being transgender means your gender identity is either male or female

A person should learn to act in accordance with their gender (e.g., a person being assertive due to their gender)

A person should learn beliefs about themselves in accordance with their gender (e.g., a person feeling more confident in their maths or English abilities due to their gender)

A person's expression of their gender cannot change over time

A person should be gendered using physical markers*

Certain expressive markers tells us the individual belongs to another gender (e.g., using make-up implies you are female)*

Gender should be assigned at birth

A person can experience themselves to be only male or female

Note. Statements with '' are statements introduced by Wilson et al (2023) panellists, while '**' were introduced by panellists from the present study. Unmarked statements derived from Wilson et al. (2023) meta-ethnography and not their panellists.*

3.4   Discussion

The present bilingual study provided a platform for young adults in Cyprus to interact with each other through Delphi and collaboratively refine their choices regarding the language that best characterised their gender views. While the emerging ideas came from a small number of participants, they still pertain a valuable narrative that characterises a facet of the landscape of gender identity in Cyprus. Hence, this section will use the panellists' views to create a synthesis (Appendix L) that presents current opinions of gender among them, make links to Wilson et al, (2023) and conclude with strengths and limitations.

3.4.1   Gender Embodies Biological and Physical Aspects

Panellists recognised the importance of separating gender from sex and were in agreement that expressive and physical markers such as differences in one's body are important to classifying individuals as male or female. While sex was described as an important and determining factor for a person's gender, they acknowledged that a person's gender identity can differ from their sex assigned at birth. They recognised that a body can range from being more masculine to more feminine. The only shared aspect between gender and sex was the perceived influence of biology as they placed great importance on physical markers (e.g., genital differences at birth or chromosomal differences) as a way to classify individuals as male or female. Overall, panellists appeared to endorse ideas of rigid biological definitions of sex and gender that greatly impact gender but acknowledged that experiences of gender can deviate from biological explanations.

Considering Wilson's et al. (2023) findings, the current panellists shared the same opinions when it came to separating sex and gender, rejecting the idea that sex should be assigned at birth, and being welcome to the freedom of choosing one's own sex or gender identity. The difference between the two sets of panellists lies with the importance they placed on the biological aspects of gender. Statements such as 'gender is biological in nature but does not have to match sex' and 'medical transition (e.g., hormone therapy or surgical interventions) is important to gender identity' were among those that did not reach consensus in Wilson et al, (2023). However, for the current panellists, these statements were deemed important and slightly important respectively showing that for this group of Cypriots, biology underlies definitions of gender, no matter how the individual identifies.

3.4.2   Gender Interacts with the Environment

Panellists agreed that a person can change their gender expression to fit the norms of their environment and is influenced by factors such as ethnicity, disability, and age. Changes in gender expression can be a person's choice or a result of external pressures such as meeting other people's expectations. Panellists highlighted the importance of cultural norms in gender expression with the idea that gender identity can fluctuate across different contexts and social environments to fit individual needs such as belonging or safety. While it is easy to perceive the relationship between gender expression and the environment as one directional (e.g., culture influences gender), the panellists indicated that a person serves as an active agent, influencing their surroundings. Similarly, gender was also perceived to interact with time. Panellists rejected notions of gender that suggest it is fixed and unchangeable over time, with one panellist introducing the idea that 'gender is not clear from birth, but it becomes clear as we grow up', which reached consensus by round 3. As such, the idea that society's understanding of gender can change over time was deemed definitely important.

Panellists from the UK shared similar opinions with some notable exceptions. Firstly, they introduced the statement 'gender is a product of the cultural norms it conforms to' that later did not reach consensus. This statement was deemed as important by the Cypriot panellists raising questions regarding the perceived differences in the influence of cultural norms in the two panels. Moreover, for the Cypriot panellists, there was an emphasis on the impact of external pressures on gender expressions and the influence of ethnicity, age, and disability. They also rejected the idea that 'a person can change their expression of their gender to challenge the norms of their environment' which in contrast it was deemed as important by the UK panel. It may be that for the Cypriot panel cultural norms are more salient and exert stronger influence in their geographically small society, hence the perceived pressure to conform might be stronger and more pervasive in individuals' lives.

3.4.3   Gender is Fluid and Individuals have an Active Role in Constructing It

As already expressed, panellists agreed on the idea that a person can experience themselves to be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine. This highlights the recognition of a level of fluidity of gender by the panellists, with the emphasis being on the words "more" or "less". For the panellists, their agreed responses suggest that there is a continuum or a spectrum of gender on which an individual can bounce back and forth along depending on their preferences. It is important to note that, gender is not an 'either - or' case as indicated by the chosen statements, since a mixture of masculine and feminine elements can co-exist in one person. These elements can be mixed and matched depending on the person's preferences without compromising their

preferred gender identity at a given moment. For example, a transgender man may present as 'feminine' without compromising their identity as a transgender person. Moreover, the importance of choosing one's gender was evidenced by the statements that reached consensus as panellists valued the freedom of choice. Interestingly, when choosing a gender or mode of expression, panellists introduced their idea that despite gender being a social construct used to understand how people experience themselves, people are inherently non-gendered, and suggested that gender should not be considered as a category from which to choose. Instead, the emphasis should be on gender as a mode of expression with the goal being for individuals to create their own constructs to understand themselves and others.

While there were several shared statements between the current panellists and the ones from the UK (Wilson et al., 2023), most of the statements that made up the present theme differed on their level of consensus or did not reach consensus at all within the UK sample. Some statements that did not reach consensus with the UK panel were 'a person's body can be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine', 'a person can choose how they experience their gender' and 'gender is a way of grouping members of society to assign traits (e.g., clothing style; interests; height; social role, etc.)' (Wilson et al., 2023). Also, UK panellists rated with a higher level of importance statements on fluidity and rejection of the binary such as 'gender identity is fluid and can fluctuate over time', 'not all people who alter their gender expression are transgender' and 'a person's gender identity does not always match their gender expression' (Wilson et al., 2023). Interestingly, the only statement that Cypriot panellists felt more strongly than the UK ones was 'a person can experience themselves to be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine'. It appears that ideas of fluidity differ between the two panels with the Cypriot panellists placing emphasis on fluidity but within the confines of the binary. The fact that the Cypriot panel rejected statements like 'a person can identify as a mixture of male and female' and 'a person can identify equally with both sexes' which the UK panel deemed important, only reinforces the idea that for this particular panel, fluidity exists mostly on a continuum of male and female.

3.4.4   Gender can (Maybe) Exist Outside of the Binary

The idea that gender is exclusively male or female was rejected by 55.3% of the panellists evidencing that opinions remain fairly split. Such findings, especially when viewed in isolation, are easy to misinterpret as conservative. However, despite that only 55.3% of the panellists rejected the binary, they also endorsed the idea that 'being non-binary means living with a gender absent of a male/female role' with 67.7% consensus. It appears that new binary notions emerge when discussing gender and are not of the male-female nature. Instead, individuals are questioning the existence of the binary. As we have known for many years, there is a paradigm

shift in rigid understandings of gender where individuals, no matter where they stand on the topic, are being exposed to alternative realities outside of the binary, even if they mean to reject them. For this panel, there is an understanding that traditional binary ideas of gender are being challenged in their society. Whether or not discussions of non-binary experiences are an indicator of recognition, acceptance or both by the panellists is something that needs to be researched on its own.

Looking at the statements that did not reach consensus with the Cypriot panel but did for the UK panel, some interesting inferences can be made. For the UK panel, statements that referred to realities outside of the binary (e.g., 'a person may identify as having a specific, further gender outside of the binary', 'a person may not have a gender') were deemed as definitely important but did not reach consensus with the Cypriot panel. The Cypriot panel recognised that something might exist outside of the binary, and it can be defined by what is not, male or female. On the contrary, for the UK panellists, the absence of gender is a plausible reality which places less importance on categorisation. Perhaps, male and female identities are salient in certain Cypriot contexts and for other identities to exist, they need to be able to clearly define themselves. Nevertheless, as the following section will explain, the need to define and categorise does not overcome the will to be respectful for others.

3.4.5   Embracing Diversity in Interpretations and Experiences

Throughout the Delphi process, the panellists had to understand their own positions and sometimes change them to match with the group or resist the overall group sentiments. The collaborative process of Delphi had participants experiencing internal conflicts as well as conflicts of opinions with other panellists. It appears that the panellists' internal or external conflict resulted in the idea that 'we do not need to understand gender but only to understand and respect what the other person feels'. Regardless of personal agreement with the concepts surrounding the diversity of gender experiences, individuals' current responsibility should prioritise showing understanding and respect for others' feelings. While 65% of the panellists endorsed the idea that they might not personally agree with gender fluidity, they emphasised the importance of always striving to make other people feel accepted and as comfortable as possible. This was especially true for the use of pronouns as from a language perspective, there is no widely accepted neutral and non-binary pronoun in Greek (Galanou, 2014). Hence it is not strange that the current panellists excluded all statements that were concerned with pronouns. Whether this is due to linguistic reasons or resistance to different experiences is a matter that needs further investigation. Nevertheless, as positive as the idea of respecting others sounds, it may be too optimistic. Reality shows that when discussions of gender enter domains in which there is public interest such as education and health, the will to respect others' experiences

may recede as people might perceive the acceptance of gender diversity as a zero-sum relationship. For example, how can we solve gender inequality issues if gender is not perceived as binary anymore (Risman & Fleming, 2022). What does motherhood and fatherhood look like outside of the binary (Bower-Brown, 2022). A key takeaway message from the present panel is that it is crucial to acknowledge that gender matters are not a topic to be taken lightly. Rather than gender discussions becoming a trend, panellists feel that people should have an honest intent to understand each other's experience.

3.4.6   Strengths and Limitations

A notable strength of this study was the translation process employed to check the appropriateness of the original 104 statements for use with a Greek-speaking sample. The statements were linguistically and cognitively challenging, some derived from the literature and potentially may have been outside the everyday experience of participant's ways of framing gender. The rigorous translation process involved the input from two independent multilingual professionals and raised the confidence of using the statements with the present sample. In the reflective sessions with the professionals several statements were deemed as perplexing for a Greek-Cypriot population. However, it was agreed that the main problem was wider societal lack of awareness and knowledge on gender matters rather than linguistics. Feedback from participants after the Delphi rounds confirmed this idea as for the present panel, the range and depth of these matters did not exist in their immediate realities.

The present study achieved its goal of exploring the knowledge generated from the UK panel (Wilson et al., 2023) in a post-colonial environment. This allowed for comparisons to be made while considering contextual factors and ultimately enhanced the model that originated from Wilson's et al. (2023) participants. Some statements appeared to be universal between the two panels, however the present study allowed for further understanding on specific factors that were emphasised in Cypriots' discussions of gender and how such factors varied across the two cultures. Future studies could explore the relationships between understandings of gender in post-colonial environments and the historical sociopolitical climate during colonisation in a more explicit manner, possibly utilising approaches such as meta-ethnography.

As Nasa et al. (2021) suggest, a diverse panel works in favours of getting broader perspectives in Delphi while a homogenous panel is best suitable for unresolved, contested issues. The current panel was homogenous in a sense that it solely consisted of cis-gender individuals that did not directly experience gender diversity matters. This posed the question whether the current panellists were the most appropriate to discuss gender matters. At times, opinions were on the conservative side, making the researchers wonder about the stance of specific panellists and

whether they were impostors trying to tamper with the data. The recruitment criteria asked for people who were aware of individuals or communities that experience discomfort from the prevailing binary norms, and we recruited exactly what we asked for. However, when unpicking the above criterion, it became apparent that being aware of other's discomfort does not mean that you empathise with them. This might be a potential explanation as to why there was variation in opinions among the panel and several contested statements.

A limitation of the current design is with the level of consensus and the number of rounds. Seeing as at the end of the process several statements remained contested, it would have been beneficial to continue the process until consensus was reached. However, the limitations on time and resources of the present project did not allow for continuations. Moreover, the 51% level of consensus is below the 75% median of the consensus that most Delphi studies go for, as presented in Diamond's et al. (2014) systematic literature review of Delphi studies. This makes the consensus of the present study appear weak, however, considering the expected controversy surrounding the topic of gender in Cyprus, we found comfort in maintaining a lower level of consensus. Additionally, the aim was not to find a definitive solution but rather to explore the process of consensus-building. It is important to recognise that depending on the predetermined level of consensus and number of rounds, the meaning of a Delphi study can change drastically. For example, if consensus was set to 70% and we had a two-round Delphi, we would have ended up with only two statements that reached consensus. As such, any meaning generated remains subjective and a product of social construction of the people who engage in the research.

It is important to be mindful of the differences in the demographics between the Wilson's et al. (2023) UK-based sample and the Cypriot sample of the present study. While Wilson et al. (2023) tested consensus on the pool of gender-related statements in a 16–18-year-old population, the Cypriots in the current study were adults up to the age of 29. The differences in cultures as well as the generational gap between the panels could have significantly affected the understanding and interpretation of the gender-related statements. Language around gender can be very nuanced as evidenced by the present work and it comes as no surprise that there was a divergence in opinions between the panels. The young generation comprising the UK panel might also be more well versed in gender terminology, perhaps due to early higher exposure to such terms through social media than older generations. In fact, some panellists from the Cypriot panel did approach the lead researcher in an informal context and shared that they some statements to be cognitively challenging as the language used was more academic rather than spoken. Indeed, the statements were derived from Wilson's et al. (2023) systematic literature review and meta-ethnography, which included descriptions of gender extracted from the literature. Hence, the generational gap between the panels may raise questions regarding

the reliability of the comparison between panels, as there are fundamental differences in interpretations that make such comparisons redundant.

3.5   Conclusion

When exploring matters of gender and sex, it is easy to focus on universal ideas that help us create salient categories and explain our reality. As self-categorisation theory suggests, we aim to explain that which we do not understand to find where we best fit. However, the lessons learnt from the present panel show that ideas surrounding gender might appear as universal and shared with other cultures but upon a closer look, certain nuances exist that change the meaning individuals give to their experience. The panellists had to navigate their own internal conflicts as well as the conflicts of opinions among the panel. While in the early phases of the Delphi, panellists quickly reached consensus on statements that separated sex and gender and rejected certain binary ideas of these constructs, as the process continued, contested opinions emerged in topics concerned with expressing one's gender outside of the binary. Panellists largely agreed that the binary ideas are being challenged, but tried to define the unknown by what is 'known', the binary. As a result, towards the end of the process statements that indicated a need for respect, honest understanding and freedom of choice emerged and became popular among the panel.

The present findings are relevant for educational psychologists in the UK as they are involved with diverse populations. In order to serve these populations, they have to consider many factors in their formulations, recognising the impact of societal attitudes and systemic barriers on the wellbeing of all children and young people. Educational psychologists can help school, parents, and children to learn to identify norms that work against their well-being and help them scrutinise such norms to promote understandings of gender and sex based on unbiased empirical evidence rather than prejudice or fear. Schools require guidance to understand how gender norms impact children's lives and how they can foster cultures of understanding in their learning environments. As a first step, children should learn how to actively listen and observe other's experiences rather than letting them absorb binary or non-binary agendas online. Educational psychologists should not be the sole practitioners adept at information gathering. Instead, constructivist and critical pedagogical approaches (Ukpokodu, 2009) should be accessible to all, fostering critical thinking and evaluation of belief systems and norms that reinforce hierarchies within gender expressions.

List of References

Adegboyega, L. O., Ayoola, V. A., & Muhammed, S. (2019). Influence of Peer Pressure on Sexual Behavior of Undergraduates in Kwara State. *Anatolian Journal of Education*, *4*(1), 49-58. https://doi.org/10.29333/aje.2019.415a

Adler, M., & Ziglio, E. (1996). *Gazing into the oracle: The Delphi method and its application to social policy and public health*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Alam, S. M. (2016). Gender stereotypes among university students towards masculinity and femininity. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, *7*(3), 271-281. https://www.rupkatha.com/V7/n3/29_gender_discrimination.pdf

Alexis, O., & Worsley, A. J. (2018). A meta-synthesis of qualitative studies exploring men's sense of masculinity post–prostate cancer treatment. *Cancer Nursing*, *41*(4), 298-310. https://doi.org/10.1097/NCC.0000000000000509

Amery, F. (2023). Protecting Children in'Gender Critical'Rhetoric and Strategy: Regulating Childhood for Cisgender Outcomes. *DiGeSt-Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies*, *10*(2). https://doi.org/10.21825/digest.85309

Anthimou, A., Koutsogiorgi, C., & Michaelides, M. P. (2021). Psychometric properties of the Satisfaction with Life Scale in a Cypriot student sample. *Psychology: The Journal of the Hellenic Psychological Society*, *26*(3), 273-282. https://doi.org/10.12681/psy_hps.29152

Arat, Y. (2022). Democratic Backsliding and the Instrumentalization of Women's Rights in Turkey. *Politics & Gender*, *18*(4), 911-941. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X21000192

ASIA, I. (2023). *The impact of colonial legacies in the lives of LGBTI+ and other ancestral sexual and gender diverse persons*. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/cfi-subm/2308/subm-colonialism-sexual-orientation-cso-ilga-world-joint-submission-input-2.pdf

Baghramian, M., & Carter, J. A. (2022). Relativism. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2022 ed.). Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. URL: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2022/entries/relativism/

Becker, H. S. (2008). *Outsiders*. Simon and Schuster.

List of References

Bell v Tavistock [2020] EWHC 3274 (Admin). (2020). High Court of Justice. Retrieved from
https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Bell-v-Tavistock-Judgment.pdf

Ben, P. (2010). Male same-sex sexuality and the Argentine state, 1880–1930. *The politics of sexuality in Latin America: A reader on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights*, 33-43.

Blair, K. L., & Hoskin, R. A. (2015). Experiences of femme identity: Coming out, invisibility and femmephobia. *Psychology & Sexuality*, *6*(3), 229-244.
https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2014.921860

Bower-Brown, S. (2022). Beyond Mum and Dad: gendered assumptions about parenting and the experiences of trans and/or non-binary parents in the UK. *LGBTQ+ Family: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *18*(3), 223-240. https://doi.org/10.1080/27703371.2022.2083040

Boyle, G., Constantinou, G., & Garcia, R. (2023). Does gender influence children's and young people's caring? A qualitative, systematic review and meta-ethnography. *Children & Society*, *37*(2), 404-423. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12598

Bradford, N. J., & Syed, M. (2019). Transnormativity and transgender identity development: A master narrative approach. *Sex Roles*, *81*(5), 306-325. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0992-7

Bradford, N. J., Rider, G. N., Catalpa, J. M., Morrow, Q. J., Berg, D. R., Spencer, K. G., & McGuire, J. K. (2020). Creating gender: A thematic analysis of genderqueer narratives. In *Non-binary and Genderqueer Genders* (pp. 37-50). Routledge.

Brewer, M. B., & Chen, Y.-R. (2007). Where (Who) Are Collectives in Collectivism? Toward Conceptual Clarification of Individualism and Collectivism. *Psychological Review, 114*(1), 133–151. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.114.1.133

Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this "We"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(1), 83–93.
https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.71.1.83

British Psychological Society. (2021). Code of Ethics and Conduct. Leicester: Author.
https://explore.bps.org.uk/binary/bpsworks/bf9d9fead1dfec7c/3acfadeebe810a324dde720ea7b34b6e87a80cad1de5471be0810935dac0415b/inf94_2021.pdf

List of References

Britten, N., & Pope, C. (2012). Medicine taking for asthma: a worked example of meta-ethnography. In K. Hannes & C. Lockwood (Eds.), *Synthesizing Qualitative Research: Choosing the Right Approach* (1st ed., pp. 41–57). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119959847.ch3

Britten, N., Campbell, R., Pope, C., Donovan, J., Morgan, M., & Pill, R. (2002). Using meta ethnography to synthesise qualitative research: a worked example. *Journal of health services research & policy*, *7*(4), 209-215.

Brungs, A., & Jamieson, R. (2005). Identification of legal issues for computer forensics. *Information Systems Management*, *22*(2). https://doi.org/10.1201/1078/45099.22.2.20050301/87278.7

Buchmann, C., DiPrete, T. A., & McDaniel, A. (2008). Gender inequalities in education. *Annu. Rev. Sociol*, *34*, 319-337. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134719

Burke, P. J. (1989). Gender identity, sex, and school performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 159-169. https://doi.org/10.2307/2786915

Burke, P. J. (2006). Identity change. *Social psychology quarterly*, *69*(1), 81-96. https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250606900106

Bussey, K. (2011). Gender identity development. *Handbook of identity theory and research*, 603-628. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7988-9_25

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.

Cadinu, M., & Galdi, S. (2012). Gender differences in implicit gender self-categorization lead to stronger gender self-stereotyping by women than by men. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *42*(5), 546-551. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1881

Cala, V. C., & Soriano-Ayala, E. (2021). Cultural dimensions of immigrant teen dating violence: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Aggression and violent behavior*, *58*, 101555. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2021.101555

Carter, M. J. (2013). Advancing identity theory: Examining the relationship between activated identities and behavior in different social contexts. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *76*(3), 203-223. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272513493095

CASP. (2018). *CASP Qualitative Checklist*. https://casp-uk.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/CASP-Qualitative-Checklist-2018.pdf

Cass, H. (2024, April). *The Cass Review: Independent Review of Gender Identity Services for Children and Young People*. Retrieved from https://cass.independent-review.uk/home/publications/final-report/

Cecchetto, F., Oliveira, Q. B. M., Njaine, K., & Minayo, M. C. D. S. (2016). Violence as perceived by adolescent males in the affective-sexual interaction, in ten Brazilian cities. *Interface-Comunicação, Saúde, Educação*, *20*, 853-864. https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-57622015.0082

Chan, P. C. (2008). Stonewalling through schizophrenia: An anti-gay rights culture in Hong Kong?. *Sexuality & Culture*, *12*, 71-87. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-008-9021-2

Christensen, A. D., & Jensen, S. Q. (2014). Combining hegemonic masculinity and intersectionality. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, *9*(1), 60-75. https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2014.892289

Clatterbaugh, K. (2018). *Contemporary perspectives on masculinity: Men, women, and politics in modern society*. Routledge.

Connell, R. W. (1995). Masculinities. Berkeley.

Connell, R. W. (1996). Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity, and gender strategies for schools. *Teachers college record*, *98*(2), 206-235. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146819609800203

Connell, R. W. (2005). Growing up masculine: Rethinking the significance of adolescence in the making of masculinities. *Irish journal of sociology*, *14*(2), 11-28. https://doi.org/10.1177/079160350501400202

Connell, R. (2013). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. John Wiley & Sons.

Connell, R. W. (2020). *Masculinities*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003116479

Connell, R. W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, *19*(6), 829-859. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639

Constantinople, A. (1973). Masculinity-femininity: An exception to a famous dictum? *Psychological Bulletin, 80*(5), 389–407. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0035334

List of References

Cooke, A., Smith, D., & Booth, A. (2012). Beyond PICO: the SPIDER tool for qualitative evidence synthesis. Qualitative health research, 22(10), 1435-1443. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732312452938

Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health. *Social science & medicine*, *50*(10), 1385-1401. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0277-9536(99)00390-1

Cypriot Ministry of Justice and Public Order. (2022, September 29). *The Legal Recognition of Gender Identity Law of 2022*. Retrieved from https://www.nomoplatform.cy/bills/o-peri-tis-nomikis-anagnorisis-tis-taytotitas-fyloy-nomos-toy-2022/

Day, J. K., Ioverno, S., & Russell, S. T. (2019). Safe and supportive schools for LGBT youth: Addressing educational inequities through inclusive policies and practices. *Journal of school psychology*, *74*, 29-43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2019.05.007

de Oliveira Arraes, C., Prado Palos, M. A., Alves Barbosa, M., Araujo Teles, S., de Souza, M. M., & de Matos, M. A. (2013). Masculinidade, vulnerabilidade e prevenção relacionadas às doenças sexualmente transmissíveis/HIV/Aids entre adolescentes do sexo masculino: representações sociais em assentamento da reforma agrária. Revista Latino-Americana de Enfermagem, 21(6), 1266-1273. Retrieved from https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=281429401011

Delatolla, A. (2020). Sexuality as a standard of civilization: Historicizing (homo) colonial intersections of race, gender, and class. *International Studies Quarterly*, *64*(1), 148-158. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqz095

Department for Education. (2023, December). *Gender Questioning Children: Non-statutory guidance for schools and colleges in England*. Retrieved from https://consult.education.gov.uk/equalities-political-impartiality-anti-bullying-team/gender-questioning-children-proposed-guidance/supporting_documents/Gender%20Questioning%20Children%20%20nonstatutory%20guidance.pdf

Diamond, I. R., Grant, R. C., Feldman, B. M., Pencharz, P. B., Ling, S. C., Moore, A. M., & Wales, P. W. (2014). Defining consensus: a systematic review recommends methodologic criteria for reporting of Delphi studies. *Journal of clinical epidemiology*, *67*(4), 401-409. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclinepi.2013.12.002

Diamond, L. M. (2020). Gender fluidity and nonbinary gender identities among children and adolescents. *Child Development Perspectives*, *14*(2), 110-115. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12366

Duncanson, C. (2015). Hegemonic masculinity and the possibility of change in gender relations. *Men and Masculinities*, *18*(2), 231-248. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X15584912

Emezue, C. N., Dougherty, D. S., Enriquez, M., Bullock, L., & Bloom, T. L. (2022). Perceptions of risk for dating violence among rural adolescent males: an interpretive analysis. *American journal of men's health*, *16*(5), 15579883221126884. https://doi.org/10.1177/15579883221126884

Emilianides, A. (2011). Η Αποποινικοποίηση της Ομοφυλοφιλίας [Decriminalisation of Homosexuality]. In Π. Παπαπολυβίου (Ed.), *Ιστορία της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας* [History of the Republic of Cyprus] (Vol. IV, pp. 108-111). Φιλελεύθερος. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/4057046/

Endut, N., Bagheri, R., Azmawati, A. A., Hashim, I. H. M., Selamat, N. H., & Mohajer, L. (2021). The influence of men's masculine gender-role attitude and behaviour on sexual relationships and reproductive health in Malaysia: A cross-sectional study. *International journal of reproductive biomedicine*, *19*(7), 663. https://doi.org/10.18502%2Fijrm.v19i7.9477

Engin, C. (2015). LGBT in Turkey: Policies and experiences. *Social Sciences*, *4*(3), 838-858. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci4030838

Erikson, E. H., & Erikson, J. M. (1998). *The life cycle completed (extended version)*. WW Norton & Company.

Fast, A. A., & Olson, K. R. (2018). Gender development in transgender preschool children. *Child development*, *89*(2), 620-637. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12758

Faye, S. (2021). Chapter 2: Right and Wrong Bodies. In Faye, S, *The transgender issue: An argument for justice*. Penguin UK.

Fleming, P. J., Andes, K. L., & DiClemente, R. J. (2013). 'But I'm not like that': young men's navigation of normative masculinities in a marginalised urban community in Paraguay. *Culture, health & sexuality*, *15*(6), 652-666. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2013.779027

List of References

Fox, K. (2019). Implementing Hostility and Acceptance: LGBTQ Persecution, Rights, and Mobility in the Context of Western Moral Entrepreneurship. In: Güler, A., Shevtsova, M., Venturi, D. (eds) *LGBTI Asylum Seekers and Refugees from a Legal and Political Perspective*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91905-8_2

France, E. F., Cunningham, M., Ring, N., Uny, I., Duncan, E. A., Jepson, R. G., ... & Noyes, J. (2019). Improving reporting of meta-ethnography: the eMERGe reporting guidance. *BMC medical research methodology*, *19*, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-018-0600-0

France, E. F., Ring, N., Noyes, J., Maxwell, M., Jepson, R., Duncan, E., ... & Uny, I. (2015). Protocol-developing meta-ethnography reporting guidelines (eMERGe). *BMC medical research methodology*, *15*, 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-015-0068-0

Galambos, N. L., Almeida, D. M., & Petersen, A. C. (1990). Masculinity, femininity, and sex role attitudes in early adolescence: Exploring gender intensification. *Child development*, *61*(6), 1905-1914. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1990.tb03574.x

Galanou, M. (2014). *Ταυτότητα και έκφραση φύλου: ορολογία, διακρίσεις, στερεότυπα και μύθοι* [Identity and gender expression: terminology, discrimination, stereotypes, and myths]. Transgender Support Association (Greece). Retrieved from https://transgendersupportassociation.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/001-106-tautotita-kai-ekfrasi-filou.pdf

Gannon-Rittenhouse, E. M. (2015). *Heteronormativity and its effect on school belonging: A narrative inquiry of recent gender and sexuality diverse graduates*. Drexel University. Retrieved from https://www.proquest.com/docview/1728037564?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true&sourcetype=Dissertations%20&%20Theses

Giddens, A., & Griffiths, S. (2006). *Sociology*. Polity.

Goldey, K. L., & van Anders, S. M. (2011). Sexy thoughts: Effects of sexual cognitions on testosterone, cortisol, and arousal in women. *Hormones and Behavior*, *59*(5), 754-764. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yhbeh.2010.12.005

Grewe, M. (2021). *Understanding How Undergraduate Sexual-Minority Men Make Meaning of Their Masculine Identities within the Context of the College Experience* (Order No. 28418930). Available from ProQuest One Academic. (2564511831). https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/understanding-how-undergraduate-sexual-minority/docview/2564511831/se-2

List of References

Gülgöz, S., Glazier, J. J., Enright, E. A., Alonso, D. J., Durwood, L. J., Fast, A. A., ... & Olson, K. R. (2019). Similarity in transgender and cisgender children's gender development. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116*(49), 24480-24485. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1909367116

Han, E., & O'Mahoney, J. (2018). *British colonialism and the criminalization of homosexuality: Queens, crime and empire*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351256209

Han, E., & O'Mahoney, J. (2014). British colonialism and the criminalization of homosexuality. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *27*(2), 268-288. https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2013.867298

Hearn, J., Nordberg, M., Andersson, K., Balkmar, D., Gottzén, L., Klinth, R., ... & Sandberg, L. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity and beyond: 40 years of research in Sweden. *Men and masculinities*, *15*(1), 31-55. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X11432113

Horton, C. (2023). Depathologising diversity: Trans children and families' experiences of pathologisation in the UK. *Children & Society*, *37*(3), 753-770. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12625

Horton, C. (2024a). Experiences of puberty and puberty blockers: Insights from trans children, trans adolescents, and their parents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *39*(1), 77-103. https://doi.org/10.1177/07435584221100591

Horton, C. (2024b). The Cass Review: Cis-supremacy in the UK's approach to healthcare for trans children. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, 1-25. https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2024.2328249

Huntington, S. P. (1985). Will more countries become democratic. *CENTER MAGAZINE*, *18*(2), 3-19. https://doi.org/10.2307/2150402

Huttunen, J. (1992). Father's Impact on Son's Gender Role Identity. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, *36*(4), 251–260. https://doi.org/10.1080/0031383920360401

Hyde, J. S., Bigler, R. S., Joel, D., Tate, C. C., & van Anders, S. M. (2019). The future of sex and gender in psychology: Five challenges to the gender binary. *American Psychologist, 74*(2), 171–193. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000307

List of References

Jackson, E. F., & Bussey, K. (2023). Broadening gender self-categorization development to include transgender identities. *Social Development*, *32*(1), 17-31. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12635

Jackson, E. F., Sheanoda, V., & Bussey, K. (2022). 'I Can Construct It in My Own Way': A Critical Qualitative Examination of Gender Self-Categorisation Processes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *46*(3), 372-389. https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843221102787

James, E. (2021, November 30). *Gender-Based Violence Legislation Passed in Brazil After Six Years*. *International Republican Institute News Blog*. *Women's Political Leadership and Gender Equality Latin America and the Caribbean*. Retrieved from https://www.iri.org/news/gender-based-violence-legislation-passed-in-brazil-after-six-years/

Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., ... Gottzén, L. (2015). Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *17*(sup2), 112–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1085094

Johnson, K. C., LeBlanc, A. J., Deardorff, J., & Bockting, W. O. (2020). Invalidation experiences among non-binary adolescents. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *57*(2), 222-233. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2019.1608422

Jordan-Young, R. M., & Karkazis, K. (2019). *Testosterone: An unauthorized biography*. Harvard University Press.

Katz-Wise, S. L., Budge, S. L., Fugate, E., Flanagan, K., Touloumtzis, C., Rood, B., Perez-Brumer, A & Leibowitz, S. (2017). Transactional pathways of transgender identity development in transgender and gender-nonconforming youth and caregiver perspectives from the Trans Youth Family Study. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, *18*(3), 243-263. https://doi.org/10.1080/15552739.2017.1304312

Keeney, S., Hasson, F., & McKenna, H. (2011). *The Delphi technique in nursing and health research*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Killermann, S. (2017). The Genderbread Person version 4. *Genderbread.org*.

Kimmel, M. S., Hearn, J., & Connell, R. W. (Eds.). (2004). *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities*. Sage Publications.

Kohlberg L. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes. In Maccoby E. E. (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 82–173). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kohlberg L. (1969). Stage and sequence: The cognitive developmental approach to socialization. In Goslin D. A. (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 347–380). Skokie, IL: Rand McNally.

Kosciw, J. G., Clark, C. M., Truong, N. L., & Zongrone, A. D. (2020). *The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth in Our Nation's Schools. A Report from GLSEN*. Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN). 121 West 27th Street Suite 804, New York, NY 10001. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED608534.pdf

Krumm, S., Checchia, C., Koesters, M., Kilian, R., & Becker, T. (2017). Men's views on depression: a systematic review and metasynthesis of qualitative research. *Psychopathology*, *50*(2), 107-124. https://doi.org/10.1159/000455256

Kuo, N. W., & Yu, Y. H. (1999). An evaluation system for national park selection in Taiwan. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, *42*(5), 735-745. https://doi.org/10.1080/09640569910975

Kurth, J. (2003). Western civilization, our tradition. *Intercollegiate Review, 39*(1), 5-13. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/western-civilization-our-tradition/docview/210683578/se-2

Lange, M., Mahoney, J., & Vom Hau, M. (2006). Colonialism and development: A comparative analysis of Spanish and British colonies. *American Journal of Sociology*, *111*(5), 1412-1462. https://doi.org/10.1086/499510

Lev, A. I. (2004). *Transgender emergence: Therapeutic guidelines for working with gender-variant people and their families*. Routledge.

Levant, R. F., & Richmond, K. (2016). The gender role strain paradigm and masculinity ideologies. In Y. J. Wong & S. R. Wester (Eds.), *APA handbook of men and masculinities* (pp. 23–49). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14594-002

Levant, R. F., & Wimer, D. J. (2009). The new fathering movement. *Counseling fathers*, 3-21.

List of References

Levant, R. F., & Wong, Y. J. (2013). Race and gender as moderators of the relationship between the endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and alexithymia: An intersectional perspective. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *14*(3), 329. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029551

Levitt, H. M., & Ippolito, M. R. (2014). Being transgender: The experience of transgender identity development. *Journal of homosexuality*, *61*(12), 1727-1758. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2014.951262

Library of Congress. (2021, August 13). *Brazil: New Law Enacted to Combat Political Violence Against Women*. Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2021-08-13/brazil-new-law-enacted-to-combat-political-violence-against-women/

McAllister, J. (2013). Tswanarising global gayness: the 'unAfrican'argument, Western gay media imagery, local responses and gay culture in Botswana. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *15*(sup1), 88-101. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2012.742929

Madrigal-Borloz, V. (2021). The price that is paid: Violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity and poverty. In *Research handbook on human rights and poverty* (pp. 171-191). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788977517.00022

Madrigal-Borloz, V. (2023). *End of mission statement (Country Visit to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (24 April – 5 May 2023)*. UN. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/sexualorientation/statements/eom-statement-UK-IE-SOGI-2023-05-10.pdf

Magnus, C. D., & Lundin, M. (2016). Challenging norms: University students' views on heteronormativity as a matter of diversity and inclusion in initial teacher education. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *79*, 76-85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2016.06.006

Mahalik, J. R., Levi-Minzi, M., & Walker, G. (2007). Masculinity and health behaviors in Australian men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *8*(4), 240. https://doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.8.4.240

Maner, J. K., & McNulty, J. K. (2013). Attunement to the fertility status of same-sex rivals: women's testosterone responses to olfactory ovulation cues. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, *34*(6), 412-418. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2013.07.005

Mangan, J. (2012). *Making imperial mentalities: socialisation and British imperialism*. Routledge. Retrieved from https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/books/mono/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9780203804162&type=googlepdf

Marshall, A., Yarber, W. L., Sherwood-Laughlin, C. M., Gray, M. L., & Estell, D. B. (2015). Coping and survival skills: The role school personnel play regarding support for bullied sexual minority-oriented youth. *Journal of School Health*, *85*(5), 334-340. https://doi.org/10.1111/josh.12254

Martin, C. L., & Halverson Jr, C. F. (1981). A schematic processing model of sex typing and stereotyping in children. *Child development*, 1119-1134. https://doi.org/10.2307/1129498

Martin, C. L., Ruble, D. N., & Szkrybalo, J. (2002). Cognitive theories of early gender development. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*(6), 903–933. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.128.6.903

McDonald, K. (2018). Social support and mental health in LGBTQ adolescents: A review of the literature. *Issues in mental health nursing*, *39*(1), 16-29. https://doi.org/10.1080/01612840.2017.1398283

McFadden, K. E., Puzio, A., Way, N., & Hughes, D. (2021). Mothers' gender beliefs matter for adolescents' academic achievement and engagement: An examination of ethnically diverse US mothers and adolescents. *Sex Roles*, *84*, 166-182. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01157-7

McGraw, J., White, K. M., & Russell-Bennett, R. (2021). Masculinity and men's health service use across four social generations: Findings from Australia's Ten to Men study. *SSM-Population Health*, *15*, 100838. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100838

Messner, M. A., & Sabo, D. F. (1993). *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*: Human Kinetics Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124393007001007

Milton, J. (2022, April 6). Health secretary Sajid Javid condemned for linking being trans to child sex abuse. *PinkNews | Latest Lesbian, Gay, Bi and Trans News | LGBTQ+ News*. https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2022/04/06/sajid-javid-conversion-therapy-ban-trans-uk/

Modinos v Cyprus, 16 Eur. H.R. Rep. 485 (1993). April 22, 1993. Retrieved from https://www.humandignitytrust.org/wp-content/uploads/resources/Modinos_v_Cyprus.pdf

Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., Altman, D. G., & Prisma Group. (2010). Preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses: the PRISMA statement. *International journal of surgery*, *8*(5), 336-341. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijsu.2010.02.007

Morgenroth, T., & Ryan, M. K. (2021). The effects of gender trouble: An integrative theoretical framework of the perpetuation and disruption of the gender/sex binary. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *16*(6), 1113-1142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691620902442

Nasa, P., Jain, R., & Juneja, D. (2021). Delphi methodology in healthcare research: how to decide its appropriateness. *World journal of methodology*, *11*(4), 116. https://doi.org/10.5662%2Fwjm.v11.i4.116

NHS England. (2023, June 9). *Consultation report for the interim service specification for specialist gender incongruence services for children and young people.* Retrieved from https://www.england.nhs.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Consultation-report-on-interim-service-specification-for-Specialist-Gender-Incongruence-Services-for-Children-.pdf

Nichols, V. P., Toye, F., Eldabe, S., Sandhu, H. K., Underwood, M., & Seers, K. (2020). Experiences of people taking opioid medication for chronic non-malignant pain: a qualitative evidence synthesis using meta-ethnography. *BMJ open*, *10*(2), e032988. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2019-032988

Noblit, G. W., & Hare, R. D. (1999). Chapter 5: Meta-Ethnography: Synthesizing Qualitative Studies. *Counterpoints*, *44*, 93–123. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42975557

Noone, J. H., & Stephens, C. (2008). Men, masculine identities, and health care utilisation. *Sociology of health & illness*, *30*(5), 711-725. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9566.2008.01095.x

Office for National Statistics. (2023, January 6). *Gender identity, England and Wales: Census 2021*. Statistical bulletin. Retrieved from https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/genderidentity/bulletins/genderidentityenglandandwales/census2021

Otoo, B. K. (2020). Declaring My Ontological and Epistemological Stance. *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET)/Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, *53*(1), 67-88. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27128291

Paechter, C. (2006). Reconceptualizing the gendered body: learning and constructing masculinities and femininities in school. *Gender and education*, *18*(2), 121-135. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250500380489

Pakpahan, C., Ibrahim, R., William, W., Kandar, P. S., Darmadi, D., Khaerana, A. S. A., & Supardi, S. (2023). "Am I Masculine?" A metasynthesis of qualitative studies on traditional masculinity on infertility. *F1000Research*, *12*. https://doi.org/10.12688%2Ff1000research.131599.1

Pan, L., & Moore, A. (2019). *The Gender Unicorn* [Image]. Retrieved from https://transstudent.org/gender/

Parsons, V. (2020, April 23). Liz Truss reveals 'shocking' plan to remove healthcare for trans youth, slammed as an 'extraordinary' attack on equality. *PinkNews*. https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2020/04/23/liz-truss-trans-rights-gender-recognition-act-reform-healthcare-puberty-blockers-backlash/

Pearce, R., Erikainen, S., & Vincent, B. (2020). TERF wars: An introduction. *The Sociological Review*, *68*(4), 677-698. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120934713

Pew Research Center. (2013, June 4). The global divide on homosexuality. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/06/04/the-global-divide-on-homosexuality/

Prakash, R., Beattie, T. S., Javalkar, P., Bhattacharjee, P., Ramanaik, S., Thalinja, R., ... & Isac, S. (2019). The Samata intervention to increase secondary school completion and reduce child marriage among adolescent girls: results from a cluster-randomised control trial in India. *Journal of global health*, *9*(1). https://doi.org/10.7189%2Fjogh.09.010430

Page, M. J., McKenzie, J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T. C., Mulrow, C. D., ... & Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *Bmj*, *372*. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71

Pujar, A., Howard-Merrill, L., Cislaghi, B., Lokamanya, K., Prakash, R., Javalkar, P., ... & Collumbien, M. (2024). Boys' perspectives on girls' marriage and school dropout: a qualitative study revisiting a structural intervention in Southern India. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *26*(5), 701-716. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2023.2241525

Quinlivan, K. (2013). The methodological im/possibilities of researching sexuality education in schools: working queer conundrums. *Sex Education*, *13*(sup1), S56-S69. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2013.796288

Raza-Sheikh, Z. (2022, April 6). Boris Johnson defends decision to exclude trans people from 'conversion therapy' ban. *Gay Times.* https://www.gaytimes.co.uk/life/boris-johnson-defends-decision-to-exclude-trans-people-from-conversion-therapy-ban/

Renold, E., & Allan, A. (2006). Bright and beautiful: High achieving girls, ambivalent femininities, and the feminization of success in the primary school. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, *27*(4), 457-473. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300600988606

Rice, S., Fallon, B., & Bambling, M. (2011). Men and depression: The impact of masculine role norms throughout the lifespan. *The Australian Educational and Developmental Psychologist*, *28*(2), 133-144. https://doi.org/10.1375/aedp.28.2.133

Riggs, D. W., Pearce, R., Pfeffer, C. A., Hines, S., White, F., & Ruspini, E. (2019). Transnormativity in the psy disciplines: Constructing pathology in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders and Standards of Care. *American Psychologist*, *74*(8), 912. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/amp0000545

Risman, B. J., & Fleming, C. (2022). Category X: What does the Visibility of People who Reject the Gender Binary Mean for the Gender Structure?. *AG About Gender-International Journal of Gender Studies*, *11*(21). https://doi.org/10.15167/2279-5057/AG2022.11.21.2005

Rodrigues, M. C. C., Leite, F., & Queirós, M. (2017). Sexual minorities: The terminology. *European Psychiatry*, *41*(S1), s848-s848. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eurpsy.2017.01.1680

Rose, H. D., & Cohen, K. (2010). The experiences of young carers: A meta-synthesis of qualitative findings. *Journal of youth studies*, *13*(4), 473-487. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261003801739

Russell, S. T., & Fish, J. N. (2016). Mental health in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) youth. *Annual review of clinical psychology*, *12*, 465-487. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-021815-093153

Sattar, R., Lawton, R., Panagioti, M., & Johnson, J. (2021). Meta-ethnography in healthcare research: a guide to using a meta-ethnographic approach for literature synthesis. *BMC health services research*, *21*, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-020-06049-w

Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and society*, *36*, 85-102. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9022-4

Schudson, Z. C., Beischel, W. J., & van Anders, S. M. (2019). Individual variation in gender/sex category definitions. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 6(4), 448. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000346

Settles, I. H., & Buchanan, N. T. (2014). Chapter 8: Multiple groups, multiple identities, and intersectionality. In *The Oxford handbook of multicultural identity*, *1*, 160-180. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=fgmKAwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA160&ots=vA6M49iNZr&sig=0_haXfNUQwnGJIzywU-fwxES0Rw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Shang, Z. (2023). Use of Delphi in health sciences research: a narrative review. *Medicine*, *102*(7), e32829. https://doi.org/10.1097%2FMD.0000000000032829

Shapiro, S. (2014). Structures and logics: A case for (a) relativism. *Erkenntnis*, *79*, 309-329. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10670-013-9480-1

Shefer, T. (Ed.). (2007). *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society*. Juta and Company Ltd.

Shivji, N. A., Lymn, J. S., Meade, O., & Watts, K. (2021). Hearing the unheard voice-puberty experiences of young Pakistani men: A qualitative study. *Journal of Adolescence*, *88*, 36-47. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2021.02.003

Siegel, J. A., & Calogero, R. M. (2021). Measurement of feminist identity and attitudes over the past half century: A critical review and call for further research. *Sex Roles*, *85*(5), 248-270. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01219-w

Simmons, A. M. (2016, June 21). Where the world stands on gay rights. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-global-gay-rights-snap-story.html

Skulmoski, G. J., Hartman, F. T., & Krahn, J. (2007). The Delphi method for graduate research. *Journal of Information Technology Education: Research*, *6*(1), 1-21. Informing Science Institute. Retrieved April 12, 2024 from https://www.learntechlib.org/p/111405/.

Smith, D. (Writer), Michels, P. & Shin, P. (Directors). (2012). Livin' On A Prayer (Season 10, Episode 12) [TV series episode]. In S. MacFarlane & D. Zuckerman (Executive Producers), *Family Guy*. Fuzzy Door Productions.

List of References

Stargell, N. A., Jones, S. J., Akers, W. P., & Parker, M. M. (2020). Training school teachers and administrators to support LGBTQ+ students: A quantitative analysis of change in beliefs and behaviors. *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling*, *14*(2), 118-133. https://doi.org/10.1080/15538605.2020.1753624

Storer, H. L., Schultz, K., & Hamby, S. L. (2020). The role of gender in adolescent dating abuse: An interpretive meta-synthesis of the qualitative literature. *Social work*, *65*(4), 335-348. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/swaa032

Stryker, S., & Whittle, S. (Eds.). (2013). *The transgender studies reader*. Routledge.

Tajfel, H., Turner, J. C., Austin, W. G., & Worchel, S. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *Organizational identity: A reader*, *56*(65), 9780203505984-16.

Tate, C. C., Youssef, C. P., & Bettergarcia, J. N. (2014). Integrating the study of transgender spectrum and cisgender experiences of self-categorization from a personality perspective. *Review of General Psychology*, *18*(4), 302-312. https://doi.org/10.1037/gpr0000019

Tekkas, K. (2015). *The influence of masculinity and gender equality on violence against women in young male university students in Turkey* (Doctoral dissertation). http://hdl.handle.net/1773/34099

Terman, L. M. (2013). *Sex and personality studies in masculinity and femininity*. Read Books Ltd.

Terman, L. M., & Miles, C. C. (1936). *Sex and personality: Studies in masculinity and femininity*. McGraw-Hill Book Company. https://doi.org/10.1037/13514-000

Thornton, S., Roy, D., Parry, S., LaLonde, D., Martinez, W., Ellis, R., & Corliss, D. (2022). Towards statistical best practices for gender and sex data. *Significance*, *19*(1), 40-45. https://doi.org/10.1111/1740-9713.01614

Turner, J. C., & Reynolds, K. J. (2011). Self-categorization theory. *Handbook of theories in social psychology*, *2*(1), 399-417.

Ukpokodu, O. (2009). The practice of transformative pedagogy. *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching*, *20*(2), 43-67. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ883725

United Nations. (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/2021/03/udhr.pdf

Van Anders, S. M. (2015). Beyond sexual orientation: Integrating gender/sex and diverse sexualities via sexual configurations theory. *Archives of sexual behavior*, *44*, 1177-1213. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0490-8

Van Anders, S. M., Tolman, R. M., & Volling, B. L. (2012). Baby cries and nurturance affect testosterone in men. *Hormones and behavior*, *61*(1), 31-36. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yhbeh.2011.09.012

Van de Gaer, E., Pustjens, H., Van Damme, J., & De Munter, A. (2006). The gender gap in language achievement: The role of school-related attitudes of class groups. *Sex Roles*, *55*, 397-408. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9092-1

Vantieghem, W., Vermeersch, H., & Van Houtte, M. (2014). Transcending the gender dichotomy in educational gender gap research: The association between gender identity and academic self-efficacy. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *39*(4), 369-378. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2014.10.001

Vierra, K. D., Beltran, D. R., & Robnett, R. D. (2023). A metasynthesis exploring the role of masculinities in close male friendships. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*.

Vogel, D. L., Heimerdinger-Edwards, S. R., Hammer, J. H., & Hubbard, A. (2011). "Boys don't cry": Examination of the links between endorsement of masculine norms, self-stigma, and help-seeking attitudes for men from diverse backgrounds. *Journal of counseling psychology*, *58*(3), 368. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023688

Walther, D. J. (2008). Racializing sex: Same-sex relations, German colonial authority, and Deutschtum. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, *17*(1), 11-24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30114367

Way, N., Cressen, J., Bodian, S., Preston, J., Nelson, J., & Hughes, D. (2014). "It might be nice to be a girl… Then you wouldn't have to be emotionless": Boys' resistance to norms of masculinity during adolescence. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *15*(3), 241. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037262

Williams, S. G. (2017). Mental health issues related to sexual orientation in a high school setting. *The Journal of School Nursing*, *33*(5), 383-392. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059840516686841

Wilson, J., Sargeant, C., Jago, N., & Wright, S. (2023). Co-creating a new theory of gender beyond the binary: A Delphi study in the United Kingdom. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 1-25. https://doi.org/10.1080/19361653.2023.2202664

Wong, Y. J., Ho, M. H. R., Wang, S. Y., & Miller, I. S. (2017). Meta-analyses of the relationship between conformity to masculine norms and mental health-related outcomes. *Journal of counseling psychology*, *64*(1), 80. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000176

Wood, W., & Eagly, A. H. (2012). Biosocial construction of sex differences and similarities in behavior. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 46, pp. 55-123). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-394281-4.00002-7

Wood, W., & Eagly, A. H. (2015). Two traditions of research on gender identity. *Sex Roles*, *73*, 461-473. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0480-2

Wright, C. (2002). Relativism and classical logic. *Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplements*, *51*, 95-118. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1358246100008109

Youdell, D. (2005). Sex–gender–sexuality: How sex, gender and sexuality constellations are constituted in secondary schools. *Gender and education*, *17*(3), 249-270. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250500145148

Youdell, D. (2010). *School trouble: Identity, power and politics in education*. Routledge.

Appendix A   Scoping Search Details

When searching for articles on masculinity alone on the Web of Science, between 2013 and 2024 there were 28,018 studies. Most of these results fell under the categories of sociology (n = 3,119), women's studies (n = 2,905) and social sciences (n = 2,113). Furthermore, over 25,409 of these articles (90.6%) are written in the English language, immediately followed by Spanish and Portuguese with 1,137 (4%) and 429 (1.5%) articles respectively. Most of the research in this search came from predominantly Western countries or institutions situated in countries with strong colonial connections.

The Top 10 Countries/Regions with Publications from the Brief Search on Masculinity on the Web of Science, February 2024.

Country/ Region	Count	% of the 28,018
USA	8501	30.3
England	3822	13.6
Australia	2153	7.6
Canada	1935	6.9
Spain	1298	4.6
South Africa	883	3.1
Germany	873	3.1
People's Republic of China	862	3
Sweden	842	3
Brazil	750	2.6

Database	Citation
Web of Science Core Collection	Handoyo, L., Wahyudi, C. T., & Mogbo, J. B. (2023). Social Roles Dilemmas among Men with Chronic Disease: A Qualitative Meta-Synthesis. *Masculinities & Social Change*, *12*(2), 130-159.
	Taliep, N., Lazarus, S., & Naidoo, A. V. (2021). A qualitative meta-synthesis of interpersonal violence prevention programs focused on males. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *36*(3-4), NP1652-1678NP.
	Prior, A., & Peled, E. (2021). Identity construction of men who pay women for sex: A qualitative meta-synthesis. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *58*(6), 724-742.
	Rivas, C., Matheson, L., Nayoan, J., Glaser, A., Gavin, A., Wright, P., ... & Watson, E. (2016). Ethnicity and the prostate cancer experience: a qualitative metasynthesis. *Psycho-oncology*, *25*(10), 1147-1156.
	Watkins, D. C., Walker, R. L., & Griffith, D. M. (2010). A meta-study of Black male mental health and well-being. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *36*(3), 303-330.
	Thompson Jr, E. H., & Futterman, A. M. (2022). Body talk and resilience: Aging men's experiences with mastectomy and prostatectomy. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *61*, 101010.

Reis, S. M. G. D., Leite, A. C. A. B., Alvarenga, W. D. A., Araújo, J. S., Zago, M. M. F., & Nascimento, L. C. (2017). Meta-synthesis about man as a father and caregiver for a hospitalized child. *Revista Latino-Americana de Enfermagem*, *25*.

Araújo, J. S., & Zago, M. M. F. (2019). Masculinities of prostate cancer survivors: a qualitative metasynthesis. *Revista brasileira de enfermagem*, *72*, 231-240.

Esper, M. V., Montigny, F. D., Polita, N. B., Alvarenga, W. D. A., Leite, A. C. A., Silva-Rodrigues, F. M., ... & Nascimento, L. C. (2022). (Re) Establishment of fatherhood among fathers of children with mental disorders: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Journal of child health care*, *26*(1), 110-122.

Thongtaeng, P., & Seesawang, J. (2021). Living in New World: A Qualitative Meta-Synthesis of Older Men's Experience after Stroke. *Pacific Rim International Journal of Nursing Research*, *25*(3), 481-493.

Seesawang, J., & Thongtaeng, P. (2023). An Overlooked Problem: A Qualitative Meta-Synthesis from Experience of Men with Diabetic Erectile Dysfunction. *Journal of Health Research*, *37*(2), 79-88.

Bowie, J., Brunckhorst, O., Stewart, R., Dasgupta, P., & Ahmed, K. (2022). Body image, self-esteem, and sense of masculinity in patients with prostate cancer: a qualitative meta-synthesis. *Journal of Cancer Survivorship*, *16*(1), 95-110.

Polita, N. B., Alvarenga, W. D. A., Leite, A. C. A. B., Araújo, J. S., Santos, L. B. P. A. D., Zago, M. M. F., ... & Nascimento, L. C. (2018). Care provided by the father to the child with cancer under the influence of masculinities: qualitative meta-synthesis. *Revista brasileira de enfermagem*, *71*, 185-194.

Bergner, E. M., Cornish, E. K., Horne, K., & Griffith, D. M. (2018). A qualitative meta-synthesis examining the role of women in African American men's prostate cancer screening and treatment decision making. *Psycho-Oncology*, *27*(3), 781-790.

Melgar Alcantud, P., Puigvert, L., Rios, O., & Duque, E. (2021). Language of desire: a methodological contribution to overcoming gender violence. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *20*, 16094069211034597.

Lefkowich, M. (2019). When women study men: Gendered implications for qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *18*, 1609406919872388.

Younas, A., Ali, N., Sundus, A., & Sommer, J. (2022). Approaches of male nurses for degendering nursing and becoming visible: A metasynthesis. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, *31*(5-6), 467-482.

Vierra, K. D., Beltran, D. R., & Robnett, R. D. (2023). A metasynthesis exploring the role of masculinities in close male friendships. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, *24*(4), 311–324. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000441.supp (Supplemental)

Bennett, S., Robb, K. A., Zortea, T. C., Dickson, A., Richardson, C., & O'Connor, R. C. (2023). Male suicide risk and recovery factors: A systematic review and qualitative metasynthesis of two decades of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, *149*(7–8), 371–417. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000397.supp (Supplemental)

Bowie, J., Brunckhorst, O., Stewart, R., Dasgupta, P., & Ahmed, K. (2022). Body image, self-esteem, and sense of masculinity in patients with prostate cancer: A qualitative meta-synthesis. *Journal of Cancer Survivorship*, *16*(1), 95–110. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11764-021-01007-9

Prior, A., & Peled, E. (2021). Identity construction of men who pay women for sex: A qualitative meta-synthesis. *Journal of Sex Research*, *58*(6), 724–742. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2021.1905763

PsycInfo

Taliep, N., Lazarus, S., & Naidoo, A. V. (2021). A qualitative meta-synthesis of interpersonal violence prevention programs focused on males. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *36*(3–4), NP1652-NP1678. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517748414

dos Reis, S. M. G., Leite, A. C. A. B., de Andrade Alvarenga, W., Araújo, J. S., Zago, M. M. F., & Nascimento, L. C. (2017). Meta-synthesis about man as a father and caregiver for a hospitalized child. *Revista Latino-Americana de Enfermagem*, *25*.

Rivas, C., Matheson, L., Nayoan, J., Glaser, A., Gavin, A., Wright, P., Wagland, R., & Watson, E. (2016). Ethnicity and the prostate cancer experience: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Psycho-Oncology*, *25*(10), 1147–1156. https://doi.org/10.1002/pon.4222

Mckenzie, S. K., Jenkin, G., & Collings, S. (2016). Men's perspectives of common mental health problems: A metasynthesis of qualitative research. *International Journal of Men's Health*, *15*(1), 80–104.

Visualisation of the 11 Most Prevalent Study Categories Involving Masculinity on the Web of Science, February 2024

Appendix B   Detailed Quality Appraisal Table Using the CASP

#	Paper	Score	Are the results valid?		Is it worth continuing?				What are the results?			Will the results help locally?
			Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?	Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?	Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?	Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?	Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?	Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?	Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	Is there a clear statement of findings?	How valuable is the research?
1	Pujar et al., (2023)	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Can't Tell	Yes	Yes
2	Emezue et al., (2022)	20	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Shivji et al., (2021)	15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Can't Tell	Can't Tell	Can't Tell
4	Grewe (2021)	20	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	Cecchetto et al., (2016)	12	Yes	Yes	Can't Tell	Can't Tell	Yes	No	No	Can't Tell	Yes	Can't Tell
6	Tekkas (2015)	19	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't Tell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Fleming et al., (2013)	16	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't Tell	Can't Tell	Yes	Can't Tell	Yes	Can't Tell
8	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	18	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't Tell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't Tell

Appendix C   Data Extraction Table for First and Second Order Data

Primary Author(s)' Themes	(FIRST ORDER CONSTRUCTS) Participants' Quotes	(SECOND ORDER CONSTRUCTS) Researcher Interpretations
	Pujar et al., (2023)	
	20 adolescent boys (14-15 years old) from marginalised communities, more than half belonged to scheduled castes, parental literacy level was low, with participants' fathers tending to be more literate than their mothers.	
Education	If I get married to an educated girl then she will be able to teach the children how the culture is in the house […]. If I get married to an uneducated girl, […] when I am not in the house, she is not able to help her children. That is why we would like to marry an educated girl (Mallappa, champion, 19 years old). If she is educated, she can get a job then we will get money and then she will know how to look after my father and mother. She will know how to spend money wisely. (Kabir, intervention participant, 15 years old) [KHPT staff told us,] if the girls ask you to do any work you do it for them'. […] Nowadays, I help my sister in her household work; for example, I sweep, and fetch the water (Praveen, intervention participant, 14 years old). I used to think that we should perform my sister's marriage after she finishes 10th standard (15-16 years old). But now after [participating in Samata], I have knowledge about what will happen and what is the effect on her […] now if she says she will study after tenth I will allow her to study as much as she wants (Prakash, intervention participant, 15 years old). If the girl refuses to go to school, then parents will keep quiet. If the boy refuses, then they say, 'why you want to drop out?'. They will buy him a phone or something and then they make him go to school. If the girl refuses then they will say, 'Let it be'. (Nagaraj, intervention participant, 16 years old) Arun (Samata participant, 15 years old, Scheduled caste) shared 'Our status will become less in the home. If the girls study more than us, they will get our jobs'.	Although boys held attitudes and beliefs that supported adolescent girls' education, gender inequitable norms persisted. Boys voiced factual attitudes and beliefs that were generally supportive of girls' education, and most boys suggested that educated girls were respected by their communities. [...] our findings suggest that boys in the sample rejected several of the attitudes and beliefs at the base of macro-societal barriers to scheduled caste girls' education [...]. Boys also held gender-equitable attitudes and beliefs related to more indirect barriers to girls' education, including about the negative impacts of early marriage for girls, and the stigma girls face following community-level disapproval of public communication between boys and girls. [...] boys and their families maintained the expectation that boys should be prioritised in education and have a greater weight in decision-making than their sisters and girl peers. Participants' reflections on the need for support from others are pertinent given the important reference groups men and boys provide for each other (Hammarén and Johansson 2014; Sedgwick 1985), either to conform to existing gendered norms or to adopt new more equitable norms. Programmes designed to work with boys to prevent girls' school dropout need to go beyond changing boys' beliefs and attitudes about girls, to enable boys to recognise their own privileges and power and support them to challenge harmful norms. An additional approach to supporting boys to start dismantling rigid gender norms – for both boys and girls – is to emphasise to boys how promoting gender-equitable beliefs, attitudes, norms and behaviours, benefits them.

Marriage	If [girls] perform marriage [and become pregnant] at fifteen years, it means they are young and it is like giving a child to a girl who herself is a child. (Sandeep, non-participant, 19 years old).	Most participants said that girls should be aged at least 18 before they marry. Only one boy, Prashant 14 years of age, said that 16 years old was the appropriate age of marriage for girls in his community. He notably lived in a thanda settlement, a small village inhabited by members of a scheduled caste known to have particularly rigid cultural practices and norms. Many of the other interviewees shared factual beliefs about the negative consequences of girls' marriage at a young age related to health outcomes, education, and career opportunities.
	Arun, a 15 year old intervention participant shared: 'If we do not give [dowry payment], [her in-laws] will give her torture.'	Intervention participants shared mixed views regarding dowry payments. Some claimed that they would not accept a dowry if their wife was literate and therefore was able to meet domestic caring expectations. In contrast, when asked about their sisters, boys stated that it was acceptable and important to pay a dowry, to ensure their sisters' future marriageability and happiness.
	Guru, a 17 year old Samata Project champion (belongs to SC) shared: 'If I go and suddenly tell their parents, they will not listen. They say, "what do you know? you are still young and will not understand."'	Similarly, following the discussion about girl's marriage during the Samata intervention, some participants felt that girls' involvement in the process of decision-making about her marriage was important.
	In high school, girls used to leave school and we saw that and told the headmaster. Fewer girls are coming to school and parents are making them drop out. We did a procession around the village […] Some of them sent their girls to school, some of them married their daughters and said they would not send [their daughters to school]. We threatened [those people], saying that we would file a police complaint and brought students back to school. (Raju, intervention participant, 16 years old).	However, they also suggested that commonly girls are hesitant or be unable to share their views about their marriage with their parents and families. In contrast, boys who did not participate in Samata did not raise this possibility, stating simply that parents rarely consulted girls about marriage, because girls are perceived to not be mature enough to make appropriate decisions in their lives.
	Kabir (15 years old, Other Backward Class) shared: 'If ten people are there and one person does something (changes their behaviour), it will not work. It is not possible to change anything.'	Despite these attitudes and beliefs which were generally supportive of girls' education and delayed marriage, there was little evidence that boys were able to affect change in their own families or communities.
		This Samata project activity showed that Raju and his peers relied on support from adults – teachers and the police – as well as collective protest, to support their efforts to prevent early marriage among their girl peers. Some participants of the intervention highlighted the difficulty of making changes alone, due to pressure from other men and boys.
		Despite these seemingly positive findings, the benefits of girls' education, and accounts of communication and teasing were mostly stated within the framework of girls' marriageability, respectability and honour.
		Interesting questions remain about individual boys' ability to act to support girls' education and prevent girls' early marriage, as adult community members – parents, teachers, and police – maintain primary decision-making power in preventing girls' early marriage, or school dropout.

Communication	If people see girls and boys talking to each other on the road, they say 'ye! Look at them standing talking in the road without any shame. They are dishonouring their parents' […] If boys and girls are talking, people think they are in love relationship. (Raju, intervention participant, 16 years old)	Communication between adolescent boys and girls from different families in public was rare and socially sanctioned. All boys interviewed described how such interactions were commonly 'misunderstood'; as community members assume such adolescents were in a 'love relationship'.
	The people who think [the adolescent girl and boy] like each other and spread rumours at school […] are students who are fed with school, students who are rowdy. (Santhosh, champion, 15 years old)	Samata participants expressed disdain towards community members and their schoolmates, who gossiped about communication between adolescent girls and boys. Samata participants shared examples of their age-mates discrediting these individuals as 'rowdy'.
	If anyone comes to see a girl for marriage, then someone in the village may say 'that girl was talking to that boy', and people will become suspicious of her. To avoid this, we only talk to girls at school (Raju, intervention participant, 16 years old, Scheduled Caste).	In addition to criticising their peers who gossiped about girls and boys communicating in public, one intervention participant held the attitude that most the people gossiping were older people who were 'not educated' and had a rural outlook.
	Santhosh (a Samata champion, 15 years old) shared 'I talk in school. I can't talk in my village. I can talk to my sister, but I don't talk to my classmates.'	The three boys who did not participate in the Samata Project and who were pursuing a degree blamed girls for speaking with boys and accused them of having little regard for the honour of their family. However, most Samata participants described taking responsibility for avoiding speaking to girls in public to prevent damaging the girl's reputation.
		[...] there were some exceptions, spaces and circumstances in which boys could speak to girls without negative sanction from other community members.
		Other boys also described how the community only accepted communication between boys and girls in public if they were linked through family connections, or in cases where the community know them to have a 'brother-sister relationship'.
		Boys in the sample recognised that norms concerning girls' respectability and honour meant that teasing and communication with boys in public could increase girls' risk of school dropout.
Teasing	Santhosh (a Samata champion, 15 years old) said that '[boys who tease girls] do not want to get married to them. They only like them, sleep with them and then leave them'.	In an environment of restricted communication between adolescent girls and boys, teasing was perceived by participants as an important opportunity for boys to express themselves and affirm they ascribed to a certain form of masculinity.
	I was notorious (for teasing girls), but after (the male Samata mentors) told us not to in the Parivartan classes I have become silent. When I saw girls previously, I used to scold them, I used to swear at them badly. Now I talk to them like sisters (Vijay, intervention participant, 15 years old)	However, others held the contradictory view that boys only teased girls they wanted to marry. One boy believed that boys teased girls who they were envious of, for example if they came from a rich family, or who were smarter than themselves.
	I will go and scold him […] if the boy and girl have any link between them, I will quietly come and tell in her house, 'see your daughter is doing like this'. If	Generally speaking, the Samata participants held negative attitudes towards boys who teased girls, describing them as 'uneducated', 'having a twisted feeling' or as being 'full of anger'. They believed that boys teased girls to harm them, intentionally damage their

she has not made any mistake, then I will scold and beat him up. (Nagaraj, intervention participant, 16 years old)

reputation, and prevent them from studying. Adolescent boys interviewed distinguished themselves from boys who teased girls by highlighting their respect for girls and women in their own family. One adolescent boy highlighted how, in respecting other girls in the community, he could encourage others to respect the women in his own family. Another boy went as far as to say that it would be impossible to get boys to stop teasing girls unless they had sisters of their own.

It seems there was a normative expectation that boys should protect their female family members, and that this encouraged these boys to stop teasing girls in their community.

Adolescent boys also reported taking steps to prevent their peers from teasing girls, following their participation in the intervention. Commonly, they did so by telling boys to stop teasing girls, reporting them to teachers, parents or the police, or 'beating up' the boy teasing girls. But they have also raised concern of being labelled as being in a love affair if they were involved in protecting girls from teasing.

Some of the participants reflected on the girl's actions and whether this influenced boys to tease her. Nagaraj, a Samata participant, discussed the importance of ensuring that a girl was a passive victim of teasing and suggested that girls who 'invited' teasing might not be as deserving of boys' intervention and protection. Despite reporting attitudes and factual beliefs about the costs of teasing for adolescent girls, gender inequitable social norms concerning boys' power over and protection (or not) of girls, prevailed.

We use the examples of teasing and communication in public to suggest some of the norms which drive boys' behaviour, and the implications for research and interventions.

Following participation in the Samata intervention, boys either modified their own behaviours or took punitive action to change the behaviours of others, to prevent teasing or gossip about their communication with girls in public.

[...] these findings suggest there are two key normative expectations of boys that relate to teasing. The first is the social expectation that boys and men represent a possible threat to girls' honour and respectability (descriptive norm) which they see as an affirmation of their masculinity and not as violent behaviour. The second is the social expectation that boys and men should protect girl's honour and respectability from other boys and men (injunctive norm). Despite this apparent contradiction, adherence to both norms enables boys to present themselves in opposition to a vulnerable and 'at risk' femininity, present a coherent and opposing masculine gendered identity (Schippers 2007), and maintain an accepted gendered hierarchy. Boys or men who reject prevailing norms of masculinity may be subjected to gossip, ridicule and violence by the community.

Another interesting dynamic is that girls who did not 'invite' teasing were considered more deserving of boys' protection, suggesting that norms around girls' respectability

		and honour prevailed. [...] it is possible that by focusing on the norms around honour and respectability influencing adolescent girls, the intervention inadvertently reinforced gendered expectations and behaviours of adolescent boys.

Emezue et al., (2022)

Rural adolescent males, 15–17 (15%) and 18–24 years old (85%), predominantly white (81%), mostly from Midwestern regions of the U.S. (65%).

(Social tension dialectics) Abusive vs. Unhealthy Dating Relationships: A Dialectic of Language	[…] One participant explained unhealthy dating relationships as "One-sided, greed, bad communication. Probably dishonesty. And then also, I would say something down the lines of like, not being fully upfront or hiding stuff from your partner" (17yo). Honestly, it's like when someone is mistreating someone and kind of giving them no opportunity to leave, or if they have the opportunity to leave, they don't want to, because, for whatever reason, they're stuck with them. And it's just not a good situation for anyone. (15yo) An abusive romantic relationship was characterized by a 15-year-old as follows: "physical abuse, which is like hurting your significant other, and then there's psychological abuse where there may not be any physical bruises, but they get mentally torn apart by the relationship, even if they don't know or won't accept that it's happening" (15yo). When I hear abusive relationship, I automatically assume like physically abusive, not so much emotionally abusive, but I tend to think about like, you know, domestic abuse or, you know, sometimes like I guess, like marital abuse (19yo) Contrast this with the language used to describe unhealthy dating relationships ("giving them no opportunity to leave" or "mistreating someone"). Some described password-sharing as a "control tactic" and others as a "display of trust or love." In high school, it wasn't a frequent discussion. Maybe once a year, we would have a counselor come in, and they would ask, "Like, are you getting abused by your parents? Or if you have a friend that's getting abused by their parents or abused inside [school] clubs. Like, are you getting hazed? Are you getting bullied by other players on the team you're on?" But they never directly [asked] "if you are being abused by a significant other, or know anyone that is abused, then this is a resource you can go to. (19yo)	At the micro-discourse level, the first dialectic we found was how participants struggled to identify and explicitly articulate their understanding of dating violence. The severity of abusive versus unhealthy dating relationships—two labels used interchangeably in TDV prevention messaging—appeared to be consistently mischaracterized. Both participants appeared to convey their impressions of unhealthy behaviors using broad and generic terminology, which, upon closer examination, could suggest a minimizing or mischaracterization of the severity of actions that constituted an "unhealthy" dating relationship. This minimizing language seemed inconsequential at first until we asked, "What comes to mind when you think of abusive relationships?" Here, we identified substantial narrative variations in TDV perceptions when the word "abusive" was introduced. Participants used terminology that implied more serious, intense, and consequential actions and behaviors. The above quotes explicitly showed the importance of language in describing and conveying risk. More physical (than psychological) forms of abuse were conceptualized as "abusive," even though psychological forms of abuse have been shown to be more chronic and result in severe and long-lasting socioemotional and health problems. […] we discovered that prevention language framing impacted how rural young males interpreted unhealthy dating relationships and how they differentiated them from abusive dating relationships. [...] when we looked at TDV severity and abusive behaviors, we discovered that this at-risk population had varying perceptions of what constituted risk, which could influence whether they took preventive measures to reduce their chances of perpetrating or being a victim of dating violence. These discrepancies necessitate additional research to inform TDV preventive efforts among atrisk rural youth. [...] we advocate for clear, descriptive language and descriptors in dating violence prevention messaging, particularly for at-risk youth. Ambiguity in prevention messaging may leave youth victims and perpetrators unclear about how to decipher their acts, how to navigate abusive relationships, how to disclose abuse, and how to seek help.

(Social tension dialectics) "It's All Country Boys": Dialectics of Masculinity - Rural vs. rural dialectic of masculinity	"As guys, we're kind of raised to be like, "Oh, you just man up and get over it" (Focus group, 15–17yo). In rural communities more than other communities, the male is definitely the dominant one, because kind of the paradigm is it's the male who goes out to the field, he feeds the cows, does all the tractor work while the female, you know, stays at home and keeps things going there. Not that it's exclusively that way, but that definitely happens much more than the reverse. I think it sort of makes the woman in the relationship have a greater sense of helplessness—if that's the right word?—because if the man is controlling all the money because he's the breadwinner, then he can, you know, put ridiculous sanctions on the woman. . .which could potentially lead to more physical abuse or things of that nature. (19yo) "I think that stereotype is just a touch overdone. I suppose this is stereotyping a little bit, but very much so, families are not split up in rural towns like they are in urban areas. Usually, I mean, the pattern is that you have a father and a mother and children" (19yo)	This mesolevel discourse divided our participants into units of discursive groups based on differences in perceptions. An interpretive lens allowed us also to identify instances of diachronic separation (where contrasting discourses arose and disappeared but not simultaneously) and synchronic interplay (where contrasting discourses emerged simultaneously). This group, we found, expressed a form of resistance to hegemonic masculinity. Both excerpts exemplified how rural masculinity may (re)produce hegemonic normative norms and gendered roles that emphasized rural men as providers who were also self-sustaining, emotionally repressed, and privileged in their control over household power (i.e., husband leadership), finances, and decision-making. [...] a second group emerged that decried this notion as stereotyping rural men. The second group of rural adolescent males, on the other hand, saw heteropatriarchal masculinity as stereotypical of rural men and out of date perspective. They considered rural masculinity as intrinsically misunderstood, with the concept intertwined with the normalization and acceptance of relationship violence as an unfair evaluation of rural men. In contrast, a second group of rural males exhibited a variant of dialogic masculinity that acknowledged how rural masculinity could promote feminine subordination and cis-heteropatriarchal male dominance, which can lead to interpersonal violence.
(Social tension dialectics) "It's All Country Boys": Dialectics of Masculinity - Rural vs. urban dialectic of masculinity	"It's all country boys, it's a different culture [here] than in the city, maybe in the city they would, but here in the country, it's kind of like, just like macho, like you know" (18yo). I believe that at least from what the media tends to show, or at least the media that I consume, the masculinity issues that I tend to find, they are either fights, it tends to be violent instances where you see the clashes of masculinity, you see gunfights, you see like physical fights or riots or gang violence. And I do think that's very different in like growing up in a rural area. There's not as much tension, I believe. . . That sense of having to prove yourself might not really exist in a rural area. There's definitely still clashes of masculinity presented as violence, but it's not as frequent, and it's not as intense. (19yo)	Our participants compared rural to urban men to counter this stereotyping of rural masculinity. The rural–urban dialectics informed dualistic social positions of rural masculinity with multiple meanings and ontological variants. Clearly, an essentialized belief system was at play here that could be attributed to media portrayals of urban youth and idealized perceptions of rural youth in rural discourse. We suspected these young men criticized urban masculinity through a constructivist perspective that functioned to (a) preserve their status and reputation as "rural men," (b) buffer risk by downplaying their likelihood of experiencing or perpetrating TDV, and (c) establish dominance in discourse by repudiating urban men. This conformity to hegemony made this group also embrace—as a 'badge of honor'—this "country boy" trope and the perks of this status, in contrast to the assumed dysfunction of urban males. This dialogic group not only presumed a higher risk for TDV but also was likely to identify signs of abuse better, be positive bystanders, disclose their abuse and seek help,

		and embrace violence non-tolerance. [...] by comparing themselves to urban males, rural males appeared to downplay their risk of experiencing or perpetrating TDV while portraying their form of masculinity as ideal (i.e., monologic masculinity; Hiebert et al., 2018).
(Social tension dialectics) "It's All Country Boys": Dialectics of Masculinity - Present vs. absent father dialectic	"absent in their sons' lives" and "unable to bond," In a rural community, at least until school age and during the summers, the son is always with the father, and the father always comes home and eats lunch and dinner. I feel like that relationship is much, much, much stronger in rural communities than in urban communities. The worry that rural fathers are not understanding because he has a "big macho man mentality," in some cases, is true. But in the vast majority I would say probably not for the rural community. (19yo) One thing with rural communities, especially farming communities like the one I grew up in, is the father and son bond is much tighter than in say an urban community because ever since the son has been knee-high to a grasshopper, if you can call it that, they have always been out in the field working with their dad, whether that's, checking the cows, bringing the corn in, they're constantly working with their dad, and they're with their dad so much more in the rural communities than in an urban. . .The father has a greater understanding of where the son is coming from. (19yo)	Examining these discursive utterances critically revealed the appeal of the rural father-son bond but also hinted at the impact of rural father-son bonds against adverse dating experiences. It appeared that father–son activities fostered parental bonding, gender socialization, and norm transmission—often described in a positive light. Rural fathers were positioned as vital parts of their son's socialization not only to gender roles but potentially to attitudes toward women and help-seeking intentions. In defending their masculine position, some rural young men contrasted rural fatherhood with the presumably flawed version of urban fatherhood. [...] paternal involvement as part of a whole-family approach to preventing dating violence is still poorly defined among rural families [...]
(Social tension dialectics) #MeToo vs. #WeToo: A Dialectic of Victimhood	I think it would not occur to most guys that there is even any type of support from the men who are the victims of abusive relationships. Because all of this [#MeToo] stuff has said men are the abusers, men are the abusers, men never will get abused. It is not politically correct to say men are abused. In many colleges, if you say that men are abused, then you'll get canceled, trust me. Do you know what canceling is? (20yo) By emphasizing the widespread belief that male victimhood was an anomaly in society and asserting that "it is not politically correct to say men are abused," this participant paradoxically expressed a type of silencing and exclusion of male victims, showing how one dominant perspective silenced another. I think if a guy may have publicly stated, "I have been abused," that would not be seen as credible, and that he would be treated as though he was lying. And if a guy who hasn't been abused says, "men get abused, too," then he is canceled. (20yo)	The final social tension we observed reflected a macrolevel discourse focused on female and male victims of relationship abuse. we observed a discursive interplay in how society treated female victims differently from male victims in discourse about who could lay claim to being a victim in an abusive relationship. We also show how one dominant perspective silenced another, revealing inherent power structures in victim utterances. A participant situated his comments within the current #MeToo movement (his own words), thus creating what we describe here as a "Dialectic of Victimhood." This quote (20yo) exemplified the conflicting emotions and internalized stigmas male victims contend with as both the source and the target of social contradiction. This paradox dictated how and if males disclosed their abuse.

		[...] the #MeToo versus #WeToo dialectic appears to reflect contradictions in male victimization narratives, which describe male victims as disbelieved and even vilified.
(Help-seeking dialectics) Peer mentors	There's only about 40 people in my, or 60, no, 40 people in my class total, so all the guys have been really close since the very beginning of school, since like kindergarten. So, any problem comes up, we all talk about it. The lunchroom is basically just a group therapy session for most of us, I guess. (17yo) In describing the lunchroom as "basically just a group therapy session,"	In describing the lunchroom as "basically just a group therapy session," it was apparent this space had therapizing qualities. However, the nature and degree of support peers offered presented some contradictions. First, peers provided a means of coping but frequently did not know where to turn for assistance. Second, while a valuable way to cope, peers were socialized to the same attitudes and behaviors, making it likely they shared similar norms and risk tolerance regarding dating violence (Hedge et al., 2017b). in this way, peers seemed to mitigate and sustain TDV risk simultaneously.
(Help-seeking dialectics) School guidance counselors	I don't know of any guy that ever went to the counselor because we're such a small school that everyone knows if someone goes to the counselor with a problem, not because the counselor is irresponsible and doesn't take confidential things confidential. It's just that everyone sees someone walking into the counselor's office. They're like, "Oh, that person's going to counseling. They must have some sort of problem. (17yo)	Note how this participant substantiated the stigma associated with using school guidance counselors when helpseeking, given the perceived damage to the teen's reputation when publicly seeking support. The risk of this loss of reputation impaired help-seeking, especially in small rural communities where there may be a lack of anonymity and confidentiality in procuring behavioral and counseling services—a significant concern in communities where "everyone knows everyone." This is a significant concern, considering young men state they would rather talk to a trusted adult than to their parents about dating abuse.
(Help-seeking dialectics) Religion and spirituality	"Probably 80% of people, [me] included, were church-going every single Sunday unless you're sick or you had some other big thing going on." I think that religion could work both ways. In some ways, you could be seen as using religion as a justification for what you're doing abuse-wise. But in other cases, you could be like, "Oh, my good behavior stems from my religion. This is why I would never abuse my partner." So yeah, I think it typically goes in a good way, but I can see it being used for either. (Focus group, 18–24yo) I went to the Methodist church, I have friends that were in the Catholic church or the Nazarene, and they were all against abusive relationships. I feel like a lot of guys joke about like women should submit to them, but I think it was just a big joke. In their relationships, they never acted like that. So, I think religion made it, so they were less abusive in relationships. (18yo) I really think that one of the big factors as far as negating abuse is that there's always church on Sunday morning—I've never looked into the statistics—but I would assume that some of the bigger days for abuse, at least physically, would be Friday night and Saturday night. Now, I don't think that you would be as likely to physically abuse someone if you plan to get up and go to church where you're gonna be around all the community in the morning. (19yo)	Participants perceived that rural religious conservatism and beliefs governed intra- and inter-personal behavior while also protecting against risky behaviors [...]. Primarily, religion played a harm–benefit function, with gendered effects that governed relationships through established gender roles […] From a dialectical point of view, religion seemed to play a dual role, emphasizing one's compassion ("love thy neighbor") while also promoting female subjugation and male supremacy moralization.

	Pastors probably spend, at least in rural communities and I think probably in urban areas too, spend much of their time dealing with various problems between the members of the church, whether that's marriage counseling, abuse counseling, or just giving general advice to someone. Pastors really are very big. I think you called it like a social resource. I think one of the most overlooked responsibilities of a pastor is to be a counselor and to bridge disagreements and whatever problems the members might have. (17yo) There is some chance that word gets out among the community, but it's much, much less than if you would go to the guidance counselor. Because if you go to the guidance counselor, then everyone's gonna know, that's a given. So, the pastor, I suppose he kind of bridged the gap in that way. (19yo)	
(Help-seeking dialectics) Social cohesion	Participant [P]: We have a school counselor, obviously, but we also have student mentors who are there to talk to us about our problems or to refer us to help hotlines for other websites for all that kind of stuff. Researcher [R]: Okay. So, these mentors, are they people older than you or a class above you? How does that work? P: Well, it depends. All the senior mentors are seniors, so they help the freshmen and the sophomore and the juniors, too, but they're just there to generally be a friend and a guide for all the students in general. R: Okay. And would it be pushing the line if someone talks to them about an abusive relationship? P: No, they actually ask us about that pretty much every week in advisory. They ask us all how we're doing if we're stressed out about anything if we have any major updates we need to make.	Participants discussed using informal school advisory groups comprised of student role models or senior peers as a resource that provided the guidance and assistance they required, "even with dating relationship issues." Given the high social cohesion of rural communities and the lack of access to support services and rural-serving organizations in some areas, ruminating with a peer was not only a practical and valuable resource but also alleviated some of the concerns we discussed. High community cohesion can protect against abuse, but it can also prevent abuse disclosure and help-seeking.

Shivji et al., (2021)

22 young males, all living in the city of Karachi at the time of the study, able to read, write and speak either Urdu (National language) or English and able to provide consent to participate in the study.

(Challenges around accessing trustworthy information) Cultural barriers to obtaining puberty education	Our culture does not allow such communication with elders. That was the main barrier that I could not communicate regarding my puberty with elders (IN11). In class 9, in the book that chapter pages were fixed together with the glue. The chapter regarding the male and female reproductive system was literally stuck with glue; we used to slowly unfix it (IM2).	Most of the young males experienced information gaps, particularly concerning physiological changes. Many participants were unable to obtain information on puberty, mainly because of the restrictive culture, which discouraged puberty-related conversations These barriers were created by cultural boundaries, restricting participants' ability to obtain puberty awareness and education. Cultural barriers meant it was challenging to communicate about experiences of puberty with others (e.g., elders) and that information was difficult to access in school materials.

(Challenges around accessing trustworthy information) Approachability and accessibility of information sources	… I felt that this must be known to me but no one had taught me like that, no one guided me, no one talked with me […] so I learn this myself … … (IN3). I and my mother have always been best friends, with mother comfortable, so told her (IM2). The internet is the best thing that gives the most knowledge through internet and erm I think that the internet is the most helpful (IN1).	In the absence of formal puberty education, participants shared their experiences of actively seeking out information for themselves.
(Challenges around accessing trustworthy information) Trustworthiness of information sources	The internet is giving you anything in any direction and any form, it may mislead you, it may be giving you a positive direction, but you don't know what is good for you, what is bad for you (IN3). Our parents are not aware regarding that (puberty education). If I talk about myself personally so my father is not much educated so he knows not much how this (puberty and sexual) type of talk may be done correctly (IS2). I did not go to see a doctor for this (acne), I asked my mother as I trust her most, she (mother) told me that when I was born I had jaundice and that is why you have spots and pimples on your face … (IS3). R: do you still believe that's true? Or did you try to check? P: Yes, I do believe, there is a trust in mum so like whatever she says, whatever she told me was enough, and I had no problems (IS3). I think from my viewpoint, awareness programmes should be there to make one aware of the physical and mental, psychological changes and the problems they (young boys) are expected to go through during puberty. It should be discussed, and people should know what our society dictates, what religion dictates. It would help a lot (IM2). I think the first thing that should be done is to break the communication gap between parents and children (IM1). I would really erm recommend a child that he does talk to his father because his father had experienced this thing, in his childhood. So like it is recommended … (IS5).	Overall, information gathering and accessing trustworthy sources of information was a key puberty challenge for adolescent males, which was exacerbated by cultural taboos around this topic. It is clear from the data that the information was hard to access routinely from schools or parents, even when the information was accessible it was not always reliable. Thus, young males felt that enhanced communication with parents and educational programmes would help in facing these challenges. While the reliability and trustworthiness of the sources were important to participants, this did not always guarantee the accuracy of the information provided. Cultural realities of these inaccuracies were recognised, identifying a further need to explore, propose and develop cultural-specific interventions for adolescent boys. Inconsistent with the cultural norms and expectations, the participants in this study placed a high value on their parents, particularly fathers, considering them as the most trustworthy source of puberty education for male adolescents.
(Psychological impacts and adaptation techniques) Negative	I was really confused at that point, so I got worried and didn't know what was going wrong. I found about it (nocturnal emissions) like 3–4 years ago ya I mean even despite knowing that for three years I didn't know what was happening, strange, because there was no one to tell me at that time, so mentally I got really disturbed (IM1).	Almost all the young males shared experiencing negative psychological effects due to not being aware and prepared for pubertal changes. These negative emotions were expressed not only due to lack of information, but also because the physical changes themselves were unpleasant.

psychological impacts	I can't even believe my face, and can't look in the mirror, I locked myself in the room because this (acne) was the horrible experience in my puberty. I was totally upset every time, it was all worst experience, my self-esteem affected, I felt alone for a couple of months so I was like I could not go anywhere I was like unable to socialize with my friends (IN10). The image of sex and sexual behaviours was so bad in our society, it was like a bad thing and because people who are involved in these things were considered here (in society) no more with morality (IM1). Erection is a negative phenomenon in our culture as if someone will have this (erection) or involved in any such behaviours, so like even in the family these things will be considered wrong, and outside society as well this will be considered wrong (IN5).	Some of the emotions expressed by participants to these impacts were: anxiety, fear, confusion, sadness, uncertainty, guilt, isolation and despair.
(Psychological impacts and adaptation techniques) Coping strategies	I, erm step by step observing and you know experiencing ... start accepting the things, initially definitely I was having discomfort (IN2). My friends were good, and they were helpful; they gave me the correct advice to overcome habits which were making me stress (IN9). My parents told me that just do not get yourself locked in a room, go out and socialize and don't think about it (acne) too much, my mom and dad told me it's (isolation) not good, take out Tasbih (i.e. rosary beads) and do some spiritual rituals (paternoster), that's all (IN10). I used strategies like I said that mind diverting therapy or related thing like erm in that you like erm I think that we should keep ourselves busy, people keep themselves busy as much as they can in various things such as, read any book, do some stuff like so your mind doesn't go in things make you worried or ignore some thoughts if they come in mind and disturb you (IN11).	Young males were not only supported by friends but also by family members. For a third of the participants (n = 7), families were instrumental in providing both tangible and emotional support to the young males. In the following quote it can be seen how parents facilitated a participant to come out from his 'shelter' and overcome isolation. Several other participants identified that a coping strategy young males used was 'improving a sense of self-control', highlighting the significance and need of self-control in dealing with puberty related challenges that may have affected them psychologically. The attitude of controlling oneself to cope with the psychological and emotional effects was developed among these young males through involvement in diversionary activities and adapting restraining, refraining and avoidance attitudes and behaviours to overcome the challenges associated with puberty. One participant discussed using diversion strategies to avoid stressful puberty related experiences.
(Identity exploration and formation) Developing masculinity	I am 20; no one believe that ... I am a class fellow of [name of a colleague]. Everyone calls him [name] sir. He is [name] is a bit fat but his complexion is full with full beard, and I am just having this (pointed to very little facial hair) on my face [...] my skin does not look like grown up man ... ya ... so when I tell people that I am 20 years old then nobody in my community believes that I am that old, which makes me feel bad (upset tone) ...... (IS1) They (peers) use to tell that you should have to do this (getting involved in different habits), 'you are not a man if you don't do these things' (such as, porn watching, masturbation, partnered-sex, etc) [...] so like just go for sex or	Social and cultural norms and standards played a significant role in shaping participants' masculinity. On many occasions, young males felt under pressure to experience those specific physiological features such as, facial hair or to engage in certain activities as they were markers of masculinity in the Pakistani culture, for example, smoking, drinking, being in an opposite sex relationships etc. This theme also highlights the gender stereotypes that exist in Pakistani society regarding assigning genderbased roles and responsibilities to young people. These stereotypes fed into the young men's developing masculine identities, as they felt they had to adhere to certain roles and responsibilities.

	like exactly like alcoholism, the first stage was that to force me to have a cigarettes and alcohol and involved in certain habits that were perceived by society to be done when you have grown up as a man from young boy (IN11). When I go through the puberty I know about that man have to do work and girl has to stay at home and we (men) have to do all the work and just woman has to be house wife and like make food and serve us and just that man is the only person to work out, it was my thinking developed from what I saw in our society (pakistani society) so mmm I thought that man should work all day all night and make money for their family and support (IN6).	
(Identity exploration and formation) Sexual identity development	People think a crush on a female is normal for boys in this (puberty) age (smiling and laughing), but still, it did not happen to me, so am I not normal then? or … (Smiling and question mark expression) (IN2) When I came here in Karachi, so I got a peer group who told me about such videos like porn videos name, and they said, 'you go for it, watching such videos will not harm you but give you pleasure' (quoted friend's words). So they (friends) said it is better than doing a practice thing (sex), so then I watched that (videos) and masturbated … (IN11).	These sexual norms and expectations often created difficulties for young males, who felt they did not conform to these norms. [...] participants felt that engaging in certain sexual behaviours helped them in developing their sexual identity. In relation to this, peer influence shaped many young males' identities in differing ways and helped them to develop sexual maturity during puberty.
(Identity exploration and formation) Developing an adult outlook	I did not like questions at that (puberty) time; I was independent and rebellious and used to do whatever I was pleased. I used to tell my mother that let me do whatever I want (IN4). With maturity, I also develop erm positive thinking erm like caring for others, respecting them, etc. so, during puberty, while growing old, I become more obedient with erm my parents, with my sisters, with my brothers, with my cousins, of relatives and mostly with the elders in the society (IN1). I used to get happy because at that time, growing older meant, I became an intellectually, a very wise man, when I was younger my mind was small but since I have grown older my mind became more mature, can make good decisions and can do a lot of good actions (IN11).	The study results highlight several implications for young males not being prepared for this transition stage and explain how gender-related social norms, along with pubertal changes had a strong influence on their identity development as an adult male. There were also social and cultural norms that created gender stereotypes and influenced participants' adult identity development.

Grewe (2021)

19 participants with varied demographics and identities:

• sexual orientation (three identified as bisexual; one, as demisexual and gay; nine, as gay; and six, as queer),

• gender identity (12 identified as cisgender men; three, as transgender men; and four, as transmasculine individuals),

	• race (two identified as Latino; one, as Middle Eastern–North African; five, as Multiracial; and 11, as White),	
	• institution type (six attended a private institution; and 13, a public institution),	
	• class year (three identified as first-years; nine, as sophomores; five, as juniors; and two, as seniors), and	
	• geographic area (eight attended institutions within the Minneapolis–Saint Paul metropolitan area [i.e., metro]; and 11, outside of it [i.e., rural])	
(Foundations of masculinity entering college) Avoiding being seen as feminine	The first 17 years of my life, I felt like I was putting up this facade of trying to act more manly and speak a different tone, walk in a certain way, that would be perceived as something that a straight man would do. When in reality, I'd want to walk down the hall and maybe do a little spin or twirl or something like that. Or speak the tone of voice that's just natural, not purposely make my voice lower. And before I came out to my family . . . I was constantly worried, oh, am I seeming gay, or am I seeming really feminine right now? Do I need to dial it back and seem more masculine and straight? (Rhett) **Activities and Demeanor** "I remember someone calling me a crybaby and a girl, because I got upset when I was little. . . . I just remember I got upset and I cried, and they called me a girl." (Benjamin, White bisexual, cisgender man) **Avoiding "Doing Something Wrong"** I often thought about [having friends primarily who were women] and thought that it was negative, and I needed to make more friends that were guys and make more friends that were male, just because I felt like I wasn't being the right kind of man by having women as friends. (Austin, white, gay, cisgender man) "I do not feel that avoiding being seen as feminine . . . [describes] my own experiences completely." (Austin, white, gay, cisgender man) "If I'm feeling less masculine, it's like I'm bad at being who I am." (Adam, White queer cisgender man) **Internalized Transphobia and Femmephobia** "someone trying to play dress up or someone pretending to be a man." (Jay, a White gay transmasculine nonbinary)	Participants grew up learning that being masculine meant avoiding (or avoiding being perceived to have) feminine attributes. This avoidance often meant that participants had to repress feminine characteristics, express feminine characteristics in specific environments where they felt safe doing so, or overemphasize masculine characteristics to be taken seriously. This performance of avoiding femininity was often done both to receive validation in their masculinity and to prevent from being seen as GBQ by others. **Activities and Demeanor** Carter, a multiracial gay cisgender man, and Diego, a Latino gay cisgender man, described their childhood memories with play and remembered having to choose when and where to enjoy their favorite activities. Consequently, because of parental policing of childhood activities, both Carter and Diego felt that they were restricted in how they could play and perform their gender from an early age. Several participants also expressed childhood anxieties around the perception of being "like" a girl, whether it was through behaviors, attitudes, or the individuals with which a person surrounded themselves. Benjamin described not being too perturbed in these moments, only to agree that he believed others were potentially invalidating his male identity. Thus, several participants described their commitment to staying within the lines—or predetermined norms set by society—of White masculinity by following an antifemininity script (Ahmed, 2006) **Avoiding "Doing Something Wrong"** Austin, a White gay cisgender man, discussed his struggles with his masculinity being invalidated by others as a child, particularly in comparison to his twin brother, who identified as straight. [...] His friendship with girls impacted how he viewed his own masculine identity. **Internalized Transphobia and Femmephobia**

		For transgender men and transmasculine participants, however, there was not as much concern expressed around being seen as queer. Instead, there was a desire—similar to cisgender participants—around being validated in their masculine identities, but this concern was rooted more around their gender expressions than their sexual orientations [...]. Jay ended up shifting their identity to "female-tomale" and hiding more feminine characteristics of their personality in order for their masculine identity to be better affirmed by their surroundings, despite that identity not necessarily fully encapsulating how they saw themself. Therefore, a number of participants had similar experiences prior to college in that there was an orientation to avoid feminine behaviors in order to be seen and validated as masculine. However, differences were most significant between those who were cisgender and those who were transgender, with cisgender participants fearing themselves being outed as nonheterosexual, whereas transgender participants described wanting to avoid dysphoria or invalidation around being perceived as feminine when they either wanted also to be seen as masculine (potentially also in addition to other gender expressions) or preferred to be seen as masculine.
(Foundations of masculinity entering college) Maintaining control over one's surroundings and other people	I remember when I got my guts to drive for the first time—that was one that really sticks out to me—because my mom had me drive when I was 12. . . . We have a little motor scooter—just a little one—probably like 115 cc, because we lived in the jungle in [country]. But yeah, so I remember that was something special, that I think it was something about the car, or something about the engine, something about driving, being in control of how it moves and where it goes and how fast it is. I think it was something like that made me a little bit more of a man that day. (Adam, White queer cisgender man) **Absence of Control** "One time, I gave a soldier a stare because he was harassing my mom and sister—as in us—and he literally said, 'I'll slap the shit out of you.'" (Ibrahim, a Middle Eastern–North African queer cisgender man) Talking about "gay conversion therapy, "It was getting out of the hospital . . . I just remembered sitting in the car and was like, the fight is just beginning. It's not over for me." (Carter)	Many of the participants described their childhood and adolescent socialization into masculinity as being oriented toward control, particularly over their surroundings (e.g., events, vehicles) and others in their lives (e.g., the relationships that they maintained with those around them). The need for power and control in one's life is congruent with O'Neil et al.'s (1986) conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity in the United States and aligns with existing research—primarily focusing on heterosexual cisgender men— that demonstrates a desire for power over or power for those around them (Connell, 1987; Kimmel, 2008). **Absence of Control** One way several participants oriented their sense of masculinity and control was through the absence of it. As a result, despite having their parents attempt to "draw lines" that oriented their identities toward hegemonic masculinity and cisheteronormativity, Samuel and Carter still yearned for a sense of their own agency over their lives and experiences and to deviate from the prescribed "grid" for masculinity that was set by society (Ahmed, 2006). **Male Privilege** Mitchell, a multiracial gay transgender man, conceptualized control as male privilege and recognized a shift in how others treated him and how he was able to navigate

		through the world. As someone who was assigned female sex at birth, his previous orientation around navigating gender was not receiving benefits in comparison to others. [...] According to Mitchell, male privilege afforded him the ability to control parts of his life that he had not been able to control.
		Bravery Many of the participants described control through a paradigm of bravery and courage; that is, having the ability or tenacity to accomplish things that others may not have the will or ability to do. Therefore, although participants had different orientations to power and control and what it meant for them (e.g., lack of agency, bravery, privilege, etc.), there was an association between exerting one's masculinity and shaping one's own life narrative and masculine identity formation during adolescence.
(Foundations of masculinity entering college) Sustaining family relationships and traditions	You will just be disowned [for being out as gay]. My father would be disowned. . . . A lot of people would stop talking to him, unless he disowns me publicly. And I know that would really hurt him to do so. So, that's why. My mom told me, "you cannot tell anybody back home that you're gay, because they will destroy us." As in, not just kill us, but by talking mean, all that rumors and all that. . . . Honor back home is important. (Ibrahim, a Middle Eastern–North African queer cisgender man) **Taking Care of Family** "Why would a 10- or 11-year-old little boy have any control or be the one to make any rules for his younger siblings?" (Diego) **Family Traditions and Legacies** "My great grandfather raced rally cards and owned the family mechanic shop. . . . And then my grandfather took over. . . . And then my father and his brother." (Aiden, Latino queer transmasculine nonbinary) "I think it was at the time just the thing of like, this is my daughter, so she doesn't know about the cars." (Aiden, Latino queer transmasculine nonbinary) "I'd rather play Pokémon with my friend; I'd rather go outside and get a chemistry kit." (Peter, a White gay man) "If I come out to my family back home . . . it's going to be the talk of the village. . . . [My dad] would not like that, because a lot of people would ostracize [my family] . . . and gossip. So, family honor." (Ibrahim)	Participants oriented themselves around this subtheme in several directions, including the ways masculinity was tied to a sense of responsibility and obligation around taking care of one's family, as well as carrying on family traditions and norms. **Taking Care of Family** Adam discussed "[being] at home with [his] mom" and needing to help with chores and tasks "she wasn't necessary strong enough for . . . like [lifting] the water jugs" "[taking] care of things, [earning] the money, and [doing] things, fixing things around the house" Although he assumed these duties, he questioned his role and why his masculinity, sibling birth order, and culture mandated such action from him. Thus, for both Diego and Adam, a deep sense of obligation around one's masculine identity overcame moments of disorientation, including questions, resistance, or unlearning of traditional gender roles as a child. **Family Traditions and Legacies** The association between masculinity and family responsibilities was also oriented with family traditions and legacies among participants. These customs included interests and passions, including with Aiden, Peter, and Natanael. Aiden, a Latino queer transmasculine nonbinary individual, had close family who had invested their business in cars. Participants also expressed an orientation toward family traditions when discussing their role as the male heir in the family. In these cases, participants learned orientations toward masculinity that aligned with

		familial expectations on what it meant to be a "man" as well as passing down familial names, traditions, and norms that were deemed to be culturally important.
(Performance of hegemonic masculinity on campus) Comparing and competing against other men	Well, for me at the very least, I think it's weird—from my perspective anyways— trying to navigate relationships with other gay men. Especially if I want it to be more significant rather than platonic. How does my masculinity measure up to them and whatnot? And just recognizing that it's not entirely a good thing just trying to compare my masculinity to someone else's and trying to say, oh, . . . that makes them dateable if they're more masculine than me or less dateable if they're not as and such. (Diego)	Participants all described instances where they felt the need to conform to hegemonic standards of masculinity on their college campuses. Sometimes, this performance of masculinity felt natural and needed by participants in order to be validated and to feel a sense of belonging among other men (viz., cisgender men) on their campuses. At other times, these performances felt incongruent, problematic, and unnatural to their own identities and sense of values. First, participants were oriented toward comparing themselves with other men— specifically White cisgender men—on their campuses, engaging in conscious and unconscious competition with these men around things such as strength, appearance, and number of sexual partners. **Hierarchy on Campus** Adam described himself as not particularly someone who stood out; he usually oriented himself as just "one of the other men." However, coming to campus and beginning to come out as queer to some of his friends, he began to notice a "hierarchy of masculinity and manliness" that provided "power" to those who were higher on the ladder. Adam consistently saw and compared himself to other men, asking "where do I fit around this person?" Adam talked about this hierarchy as one with no "fixed rules," as someone he deemed higher on the social ladder than him may view themselves as lower, and vice versa. Jay also saw this hierarchy at play on his campus, but went even further by specifying an order. At the top were "cis people, both men and women," with men slightly higher than women, followed by "LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) people," with "trans folks" at the bottom. Those at the top "[leaned] more toward the normative" and were consequently "treated with more respect" by fellow students, staff, and faculty. This social positioning led Jay—who positions themself at the bottom of their campus' hierarchy—to view themself "almost a complete outsider" at their institution. Benjamin went a step further and described that he saw a scale of masculinity on his campus from "5 to 10." He "wouldn't say anyone's less masculine" or that anyone was "lower than [him]"; however, he and others could tell who were "higher" on that scale. Benjamin was not able to name specific attributes that place someone on that scale other than "[having] more masculine traits." In describing this hierarchy, Natanael described a meeting that he went to specifically for

		men of color on his campus: "There were three queer people in that space, and . . . everyone else was straight."
(Performance of hegemonic masculinity on campus) Taking in feedback about one's masculinity from others	I remember [my friend] came to watch me speak at some admissions thing. I was on this panel, and he came up to me after, and he was like, "Really, first of all, great job. . . . I'm really proud of you, you were passing so well up there. And I remember you were crossing your legs, and I was in my head, I was like, [Mitchell], don't do that. And then, you changed the way that you're sitting, and it was more masculine, and so it was like, oh, great, he's got it." And it was this weird—it was like, wow, I'm not used to having people in my life now that are that critical and that nitpicky. Because a better friend and one who saw me as a whole person obviously wouldn't say that in general, right? (Mitchell)	Second, many participants consistently took feedback from others about whether how they were expressing as masculine conformed within the acceptable boundaries of White masculinity, and were often policed by others (e.g., students, staff, faculty) to act and to behave in certain ways, as well as dictated by others to whom they could be attracted.
(Performance of hegemonic masculinity on campus) Seeking validation from others	Yeah, we were like, "you had a target, right? You had a diversity quota?" And they were like, "well, no." But I don't know, no hurt feelings, you want to have a representative cast of the people who are at the university. So, I know that could be my imposter syndrome—being [transgender] was my only appeal—but I don't really know, because I'm not them. (Lucas)	Third, there was an orientation stated by participants where they yearned for validation from others—specifically in how they were expressing their masculinity—in order to make friends and even pass as masculine.
(Performance of hegemonic masculinity on campus) Struggling with masculinity in connection with other identities	People tend to react with, that's a lot to take in [that I'm queer, transmasculine, Latino, and a first-generation immigrant]. And that can be positive where people will be like, oh that's a lot to take in and maybe celebrate. And they have that tone about it like, congratulations, you have these identities that you get to own and say! And that's cool. And then a decent amount of time, particularly with newer people in my life, it'll be a little bit like, OK, that's a lot, can we ignore part of it so that this is easier for me, I guess? (Aiden)	Finally, participants also discussed their struggles with their masculinity in relationship to other identities. These difficulties were expressed through internalized oppression (e.g., biphobia, homophobia, and transphobia), as well as having difficulties being seen as having multiple marginalized identities (e.g., being seen as a racial minority, gender minority, and/or sexual minority).
(Navigating hegemonic masculinity on campus) Finding support through institutional policies and practices	So the second year, I finally went to . . . whoever assigns housing . . . and I said, "I don't feel comfortable, I would like a place with a more private shower in a private room. I can't [have others walk in on me] anymore." And I had to apply for an accessibility service. And I had to use a medical condition to get it. So I had to apply and ask for it, not because I'm trans, but because I have anxiety about being trans at [college]. And then each year, I had to reapply for it. So last year, when I was talking with the man that assigns housing, he did not mention that I had to reapply for it, and I was late. So I actually had to fight with the woman who helped with the accommodations. And she said, "Look, we're throwing you a bone here." And I said, "I'm sorry, but I'm just trying to get my accommodations." And I mentioned Title IX, and all of a	First, participants named institutional policies and practices as sources of support for countering the harmful impacts that White masculinity had on them. Student-organization and leadership-development programming, intentional housing, curricular inclusion of gender issues, and the intentionality of asking for student pronouns at campus events were all described as policies and practices that aided (when such supports were present) or hindered (when such supports were absent) students in their masculine identity development, enabling their ability to thrive academically, socially, and emotionally.

	sudden, I got a call the next day from the dude who assigns housing saying, "So here's your apartment number. Who were the roommates that you wanted again?" (Jay)	
(Navigating hegemonic masculinity on campus) Finding supportive community within one's multiple identities	I think I definitely know that I'm still different. I think it's just a mental thing where . . . it's just hard to describe beside the fact that I'm different but in a good way. Some people don't like to be different. I have to my knowledge there were two other [students at my college] just like me who are gay and of a minority race, and they're not here this year. They dropped out because the racism and homophobia [were] too much for them to handle. And they did not like being that much different. But I, on the other hand, don't mind it. And I think it is a strength of mine to stand out, whether you think it's as a sore thumb or as a flower or something else positive. (Carter)	Second, students discussed their ability to find community across their multiple identities, including their masculinity. Generally, White gay cisgender participants had easier times finding like-minded communities on their campuses than participants of color, transgender participants, and bisexual and queer participants [...].
(Navigating hegemonic masculinity on campus) Maintaining safety through gender expression	Well, I know for sure I slip into that more jock personality whenever I'm in the dorms, or . . . in the designated areas, because I know I don't want to act too feminine. Because all it takes is one drunk person to come up and bop me in the nose while I'm in the middle of an exam and have no way to defend myself, and now I'm on the floor bleeding, cool. I wouldn't say I turn [my feminine expression] off ever, but I will turn it down. . . . Sometimes it's a Monday, you just don't want to be bothered with it—you're like, whatever. . . . I'm always on guard for it. Not just that type of personality, but just that type of bad situation. I'm a plan-for-the-worst person. (Peter)	Samuel, Taylor, Rhett, and Peter have all been harassed both on and near their campuses— sometimes on a regular basis (e.g., at least "monthly")—for being GBQ or transgender based on how they have presented their masculinities. This harassment has included people following them, calling them anti-LGBTQIA+ slurs, or characterizing them as evil (e.g., calling them "Satan"). Finally, participants described instances where they maintained their physical and psychological safety (both real and perceived) by leaning into hegemonic masculine stereotypes (i.e., projecting strength, lowering their voice, dressing in baggy clothing, etc.). Participants often realized that staying safe on their campuses sometimes meant they had to change their gender performance in front of strangers to become more hypermasculine so that they would not be bothered or harmed.
(Agency and desire to resist hegemonic masculinity on campus) Unlearning hegemonic masculinity	In my mind, this questioning [of gender roles] has not to deal with gender identity but portrayal of also masculinity. Because while I have pride in myself, and I am fairly self-confident—and would say that I'm a self-confident individual—I would still not walk around wearing a dress because of the way that society perceives that and the way that everyone makes a split-decision about people. And that sometimes disappoints me to know that that's how life is. And not saying that that's not something that could be changed or to be challenged, but because these societal ideas and how other people would perceive you in that way are what they are right now, that is what is causing me to not dress in other certain ways like that. (Austin)	Although participants had to deal with hegemonic masculinity on their campuses and navigate its consequences to survive and to thrive within their settings, many participants also had opportunities within college to unlearn traditional concepts of masculinity and redefine their genders for themselves. Although not all students entered their postsecondary education with a rigid and hegemonic understanding of masculinity [...] many described their experiences within college—namely, meeting other GBQ individuals, exposure to curricular and cocurricular programming, and being away from family members—as catalysts for recognizing what many participants described as harmful or hurtful attitudes and behaviors embodied by White masculine standards.

(Agency and desire to resist hegemonic masculinity on campus) Redefining masculinity	I guess that also gets into where I feel like being necessarily a man isn't also me, because I feel like that's also just the opposite of me. . . . I feel like I'm not even a gender necessarily, I'm just there. Because I tried to seem masculine, because I want to represent as a male. But then also, the things that I think of with being masculine is also how I don't see myself, which is how it's the opposite of me. And I think that's especially where society and my family members get confused with, because masculinity, it's seen a certain way. And when they think of it, they don't think of me. Because they know me, and they know that I don't really map with how society really sees as masculine. (Liam)	Nevertheless, some participants described barriers in understanding; generally, White participants had a more difficult time than participants of color in understanding how their racial identity impacted their masculinity and sexuality, often not seeing a connection beyond "having privilege" around one's race (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Additionally, participants described redefining their gender identity and expression, sometimes through fluidity or a new gender identity altogether, or through just rejecting harmful stereotypes around masculine performances [...].
(Agency and desire to resist hegemonic masculinity on campus) Discovering one's agency to change surroundings	I think the biggest thing, when I think about the age of 18 and becoming an adult, I think about how for so many years, I didn't think that I was going to live to be an adult. . . . I feel like anything past 18, it's a frontier, it's uncharted territory, the Wild West. I'm just making my way through it. I guess that's a big distinction I make . . . with masculinity, my life after 18 is whatever I make of it. It's not dictated by other people. (Samuel)	Many participants also articulated finding their agency during their undergraduate tenures around creating positive change on their campuses around social equity. This agency often was facilitated through involvement in activism (e.g., student organizations) or through personal action within their spheres of influence. Other participants described their interviews within this study as eye-opening in their own journeys around understanding how masculinity has impacted them. Many discussed that they had never thought critically of their own masculinity, and some described this research as an opportunity to explore a new way of thinking about their gender entirely.

Cecchetto et al., (2016)

257 male students the second year of elementary school, from state and private schools.

Violence in Intimate Relationships: Silence and Hesitation	"What I have to say is that no violence occurs in an intimate relationship. Naturally, it happens everywhere in Brazil" "This business of violence in intimate relationships, I feel disappointed because there is no need for it. As I just said, if people truly love one another, a clear and straightforward conversation solves everything". (Manaus)	At first, many of the adolescents remained silent or hesitated when faced with the existence of violent practices in an intimate relationship. It was only after the analysis that different expressions of violence began to arise in their narratives. Several factors, such as infidelity, jealousy, use of alcohol, and other drugs were related to the occurrence of violence. The aggression committed by females and males against their partners is viewed and qualified as being based on the aggressor's and the victim's gender, considering aspects such as motivation for the aggression and the harm caused. A certain degree of idealization of intimate relationships was identified. This was based on the ideology of romantic love equated to the egalitarian standard in amorous encounters [...]. Despite some initial hesitation or denial, many interviewees finally mentioned cases of aggression, although in relation to couples who were close to them, i.e., relatives, friends, and neighbors.

		Although violence in intimate relationships is condemned, particularly, physical and sexual aggression against women – censured sometimes as cowardice – this disapproval does not necessarily exclude the stereotyped attitude that the woman is responsible for such aggression.
Violence by the other person	"a serious relationship has to involve fighting" (Rio de Janeiro) "nobody can predict what might happen in a moment of rage". "A man who is very jealous about his lover can't bear to see her embrace anybody else; he begins to feel jealous, ends the relationship by beating up his girlfriend". (Manaus) "Take my cousin. His wife beats him up; she beats him up and likes it. Afterwards she says it's because she loves him. It's an obsession" (Cuiabá). "I've been hit a few times. It was because of her jealousy. So, I stopped and we talked. That way we arrived at something resembling an understanding" (Rio de Janeiro).	If, in theory, violence comes from the other person, lovers' fights – especially those caused by jealousy – it was perceived as intrinsic to such relationships, particularly, the longer lasting ones [...]. Jealousy was indicated as the chief cause of violence between lovers. It is regarded as the chief cause of violence among lovers. It is perceived as the spark that ignites outbursts of rage. Although outbursts of rage and the consequent physical aggression are more frequently associated with the behavior of the male, there were also frequent reports of physical aggression by their partners [...]. [...] it is more often women who seek hospitals, in need of emergency care for injuries and traumas. Here lies the true disadvantage at which women find themselves in relation to men, as victims of violence by their sexual partners. This is because there is a far greater likelihood of women being wounded, five times more chances of their needing medical assistance as the result of physical harm caused by a partner, and five times a greater fear of death. The perpetuation of the macho repertoire is clearly visible in several reports on physical violence. These narratives reflect a very common view on cases of violence against women, where the latter are held responsible for the resulting acts of aggression. A possible explanation for this attitude could be the fact that these young men and women were unaware of the psychological effects of the impact of violence in the subjective education of individuals requiring specialized attention. However, strictly speaking, gender violence should not be confused with violence against women. This would be a concept that fails to take into account relational and performance dimensions that represent the matrices forming what we call "gender". In this respect, the female figure is generally identified as a victim lacking in agencies, at the mercy of a "patriarchal and dominating masculinity", a definition attributed to men in general. In addition to naturalizing sexual attributes in strictly heteronormative gender roles, this perspective also does not create difficulties with power hierarchies but, rather, regards

		them as given and universal. For this reason, violence against men is not viewed as gender violence, which could contribute to the process of accepting aggression between couples as normal.
Alcohol and violence	"Usually, physical aggression is more common when alcohol or jealousy are involved. So he goes ahead and wants a fight, wants to start attacking". (Cuiabá) "Seeing your girlfriend drunk, your boyfriend drunk, d'you see? This is the consequence. Drink causes fighting, causes everything". (Porto Alegre) "I can even get a bit mad at my ex-girlfriend, I even caused some trouble. I fought with her. But, only when I was the offended party. I drink, but stay calm and all. But, when he [a friend] drinks he gets angry. His girlfriend was there and all and, when it was time to leave, he didn't want to go. I can only tell you that he got mad with us, saying I was coming on to his girlfriend. So, his girlfriend tried to calm him down, and what happened? He hit her and her face got bruised". (Manaus)	Alcohol is perceived as the ingredient with the most potential for episodes of distrust, jealousy, and aggression between lovers. In this respect, individuals under the influence of alcohol are more inclined to resort to violence to deal with their anger, and attack their own partners or whoever might be causing their feelings of jealousy [...]. In these circumstances, the effect of alcohol is to intensify emotions that are already present.
When a slap doesn't hurt	"Little slaps can even be pleasurable, but, a slap in the face is violence! Not in the face; that is humiliating. When a woman slaps you, you don't even feel it; it's not the same as when a man slaps someone" (Rio de Janeiro) "If they hit each other [a couple], she gets bruised here, but she likes it. (...) If she's with him this means she likes it. She likes being beaten". (Porto Alegre) "It's really bad when a man hits a girl; girl who are beaten get badly hurt. A colleague of mine arrived all bruised because her boyfriend beat her up. She stayed with the guy. It keeps happening. A guy who beats a girl once could go on beating her. Because the girl gets used to it". (Porto Velho)	In this context, it is interesting to examine the opinion of adolescent males about female aggression. To a certain extent, such occurrences are dismissed as they are deemed "less damaging". Accordingly, it is possible that this type of aggression is also more socially acceptable and, occasionally, even understandable in certain circumstances. One narrative, in Rio de Janeiro revealed that female aggression in intimate relationships follows a series of levels, from "women's little slaps" which have minimal impact and, occasionally, even "pleasurable", all the way up to a slap in the face, which is deemed a humiliating act by the young males [...]. As in cases of violence against women by their lovers, in the minds of adolescent males, male infidelity is the reason for female violence, one that is perceived as an entitlement [...]. This view can be regarded as an expression of macho logic which gains validity, also, for adolescent girls in certain situations. But, it also reveals a more historic and controversial side: turning the victim into the person at fault. Physical aggression by girlfriends is tolerated by adolescent males, since it is regarded as involving minimal offensive potential. If, on the one hand, they reject all forms of violence in relationships, on the other, they claim that women "like" violence.

		The expression "women like being beaten up" is a way of minimizing the complexity of the problem, and allocating responsibility to only one of the parties for manifestations of interpersonal violence.
		Women endure violence in a private and domestic setting; they are more often the victims of the sexual violence of their partners.
		In general, men are invisible in this context, since their natural role is one of aggressor and not of victim of gender violence.
		The original nature of the topic of violence in intimate adolescent relationships in Brazil and the huge scale that engendered this study should be borne in mind.
Verbal or psychological aggression: an explosive mix of threats and verbal abuse	"To my mind [violence] is verbally abusing at a person, speaking ill of them, speaking ill behind their backs" (Recife). "To avoid physical violence, men resort to physical abuse. This is because he hasn't got the nerve to hit his girlfriend and, so insults her until she gets tired of it, shuts up, and stops being a nuisance: 'Whore, bitch! Shameless! Prostitute! Tart! Slut! You cow!' I think verbal aggression is more acceptable than physical violence. I've been insulted and have insulted others myself". (Cuiabá) "The boy used to hit her and the girl was too frightened to let anyone know that that this was happening. Sometimes what happened was that the girl arrived home with a bruise and it wasn't what she wanted. Sometimes she let him, because he forced her, or she was afraid that the relationship might end. There's a lot of dependency too". (Rio de Janeiro) "It could be that the guy says [to the girl] that she will lose him. I use this threat. The boyfriend wants her to do something, so he threatens her: 'I'm going to end this, I don't want you to do this anymore, otherwise I'll do it too, or I'll cheat on you. Look, there's this girl coming on to me and, if you do this, I'll go out with her'". (Rio de Janeiro)	[...] verbal aggression was described as a masculine resource which can be activated to replace physical violence [....]. One interviewee associated aggression with an emotionally and psychologically dependent relationship between the partners [...]. Threats are regarded as a type of psychological aggression since they are used as a means of pressuring or embarrassing the female partner. They are also, often, the precursors of physical aggression and are expressed through words or gestures. Verbal aggression is regarded as psychological violence, bearing out the findings of Oliveira et al.23, and suggests that verbal aggression is more frequently employed by adolescents of both sexes in the ten cities covered, in the case of both state and private school students. When a girl does the insulting or humiliating, it is as though her verbal performance represents a rupture in the barriers separating the masculine from the feminine, soiling the notion of male honor, and destroying the notion of valuing female reticence.
Infidelity and loss of emotional control	"[Physical aggression] is caused by boys to girls but, when girls are furious, they go off with another guy. But they do not resort to physical violence. This is because it is physical, but, verbally, it's the same thing". (Recife) "Infidelity isn't violence. Only when the woman is unfaithful. Ever since prehistoric times, men could and women couldn't" (Brasília)	[...] male physical aggression is condemned; but, female infidelity is regarded as a violent act, particularly, when caused by rage or revenge. Thus, it becomes part of verbal aggression as one of the most common adolescent female aggression strategies. [...] if female infidelity is an act of aggression, the narrative transcribed below clearly expresses the macho context in which infidelity is perceived. It reveals a picture of different standards for male and female sexuality [...].

	Moral violence also exists. Slandering someone with whom you are in a relationship, taking a picture of that person and showing it on the internet. A girl will go somewhere, lift up her blouse, and show off her breasts. The guy will keep this picture and post it on the internet for everybody to see. I know three girls who experienced this. One was a case of blackmail – "if you won't sleep with me, I'll post this picture'". (Florianópolis)	Verbal aggression and threats also have a space of their own in the virtual world, where they gain a connotation of "moral violence". Several reports include cases of slander, verbal abuse, public humiliations, and posting of intimate photographs on social networks as a means of abusing partners or former partners. Female betrayal or infidelity can lead to the physical violence perpetrated against girlfriends, and the so-called "obsessive jealousy" is classified as a form of psychological violence exercised by women. Boys regard female infidelity as one the leading causes of male violence. Discussions of female adultery reveal when violence is regarded as more defensible and, from the male point of view, this is the most feared possibility, since it involves the young male in question being labeled a cuckold. There is no doubt that being cuckolded plays a vital role in the code of honor held by males, and is part of the definition of hegemonic masculinity. It is as though a man's masculinity has been neutralized when his honor is stained, and it must be washed clean, frequently, with blood. In this respect, the notion of honor or respect (the more preferred category among adolescents) can function as a currency whereby they negotiate their place, especially regarding the inequalities between the genders. This is where hierarchical terminology appears, where the binomial "whore"/"red hot lover" refers to the prohibitions for the different means of expressing desire and sexuality between the sexes.
Forcing a relationship: forced sex as an act of aggression	"Forcing sex. The girl doesn't want to and he keeps forcing her. This ends up being a plot". (Porto Alegre) "It's a matter of hormones. It's what happens most. There are guys who think this is the right thing to do with a girl; he'll go and force her to submit. He thinks he's entitled to do this, to force her until the act takes place. This can become sexual violence, stick it in and there we are". (Recife) "There are lots of girls out there who have no idea they are being raped" (Rio de Janeiro) "This happens when the boy is out of his head about a girl and desperately wants sex with her. Guys think girls are an object desire and nothing more. Touching girls. A lot of guys who touch a girl's ass don't see anything wrong in this. Some girls let you do it". (Rio de Janeiro)	Further to sexual aggression, we can see that, in a number of cities, this is most often described by adolescents as forced sex [...]. In these circumstances, women are frequently accused of failing to recognize that they are being sexually abused [...]. Here, the male approach is seen as a failure to respect female desire. In this view, as in several others, the act of pressuring a girl for sex or other intimate sexual acts was refuted by the interviewees, although they did admit that this approach is not uncommon in adolescent intimate relationships [...]. Accordingly, most of the reports underscore a traditional ideology in the relations between the sexes. Women must be more reticent or reserved, while men must publicize their sexual conquests and, thus, receive social approbation.

	"The girl doesn't want to. She didn't want to be touched but I've seen the situation forced. Hanging around and trying to touch her up and she doesn't want this. If you don't take the risk, you won't get anywhere. I've seen this happen to others and, I admit, it's happened to me". (Cuiabá) This pressure for sex can succeed more subtly and, in such cases, male seduction whose aim is to convince a woman to have sex, is also viewed as sexual aggression, especially, when accompanied by the demand for sex as "proof of love".	The topic of "forced sex" was the most debated as a type of sexual aggression. On the matter of sexual violence, men as victims vanish. In this context, men are regarded as aggressors and not as objects of sexual violence.
	Tekkas (2015) 46 participants from two universities (18-25 years)	
Conceptualisations of Masculinity	**Being authoritarian** "The things said by a man are kinda law" and "The men have the final word on anything" "In respect of raising healthier individuals for the environment, for instance his children, if he is not authoritarian, then the children may surpass him. A family may raise individuals who are harmful for the society, if he is unable to influence the woman and the children" "When she goes somewhere, she can not go without telling me. I cannot accept it." "If she does everything she wants how can I be her beloved?" "a man is definitely and always one step ahead of women." "That's a part of man's nature. He always tries to be on top"	They shared that their concept of being man was shaped based on their life experiences, cultural beliefs, and social norms. They noted the people and their relationships, who influenced the development of their perspectives. **Being authoritarian** Being authoritarian refers to men's control and dominance over women due to perceived superiority by men. In this context making the rules, having the final word at home, being the head of the family and expecting women to get permission from a man is characterized as being authoritarian. Participants expressed manifestations of men's control and dominance over women and defined a man as 'a person who always has the final word' and as 'the ruler of his home'. Many participants stated that they were raised in a family with traditional values and beliefs and in these families the authority rested on the father. As children they were expected to listen and obey; and they believed that they should continue the authoritarian role in their lives as they had learned from their families.

	"Women are at the second class since human creation."	The man who has grown up under authority learns to rule and expect others to obey him. Participants described this controlling mechanism by saying that men restrict women from having power in social life.
	"For ages, this topic comes from creation of Adam. God created the man as powerful. God assigned man to protect woman and the universe. For this reason, according to Quran and religion, I mean according to our belief, and that can change according to (other) religions, man is a superior creature, and he is more powerful and has some qualifications like protection instinct and being powerful."	The majority of the participants believe that men are superior to women because this is what they are taught by their religion.
	Toughness	**Toughness**
	"Due to all physical factors, as the man has more muscles, has higher muscle ratio women tend to need more protection from men. Women require a man to perform heavy duty stuff and to protect them."	Toughness refers to being physically strong as well as being capable of overcoming difficult situations or environments. The concept of toughness underscored the participant's perspectives on masculinities. "Being a man" has been identified with strength and physical skill. Participants believe that men are physically more powerful than women, thus giving the natural supremacy.
	"There are things, which a woman cannot do because they are not strong enough. Man has no limits in respect of strength… Woman cannot make gardening. She cannot chop woods. She cannot haul wood and coal into the stove! She cannot turn on the central heating!"	The young men believed that part of masculinity is that men should handle the difficult tasks. These tasks they believed are ones that women are not able to do at home.
	Self-sufficiency	**Self-sufficiency**
	"The individual feeling confidant and who can overcome everything."	Self-sufficiency is related to a man's self-esteem, self-worth and honor. The participants embraced the self-sufficiency concept of masculinities and assumed it was necessary for a man to be self-confidant.
	"Our style of raising since childhood is to handle our own problems without expecting the assistance of others. We are expected to deal with our problems by ourselves."	The young men described that from their early lives they were trained to be self-sufficient men. Within the family system, the young men were discouraged from asking for help to solve problems or for work that could be done on their own.

	"…but the women may exaggerate their problems more compared to men. And we, the men, may understate the big problems."	However, some young men describe that self-sufficient behaviors may lead to underestimating some big problems.
	High achievement and success	**High achievement and success**
	"Money brings manhood. Money is power and a man wants to be powerful in every way. A person can come to the forefront with his personality but if a person doesn't have money to earn his keep, he could struggle to overcome many things."	One reason that young men feel the need for self-sufficiency is the role "high achievement and success" play in Turkish Society. Part of the concept of being a man is that he should be viewed by his contemporaries as successful and important. A man's goal is to have a good job and to be successful at every aspect of life such as work, school and social life. To be so men must work and study hard. Accomplishments were seen as a way of augmenting masculinity and personal values.
	"The high school in which I studied was a small one, and there was competition among men…. Who has the most money? Who has the most prestigious job? Who has the best car? Who has the biggest house? Which one of the girls is more beautiful, which one is my lover? For instance, I encountered this a lot during high school. This girl is the most beautiful one, the most beautiful girl of the school. Who becomes the lover of that girl, becomes the most popular man of the school. This is the issue among men."	This need for money as a sign of self-esteem can create chaos in the workplace as men challenge each other creating significant aggressive competitiveness. However, the competition among men is not limited to workplace; they also express competition in many areas of life. Not only did the young men talk about competitiveness in school and among his friends, but he talked about using girlfriends as a way to become successful and increasing self-esteem.
	"For instance, we are going to ask for a girl's hand in marriage, right? What does the other party ask first? "What is your job?" And the man says "I'm working in the farm". The other party is saying "No". Why? Because he won't have sufficient income from the farm work. You're unable to cover your own requirements. He says "I'm a doctor", then, they say "OK". "Do you have a car? Do you have goods?" "Yes". Then they say, "ok, it can be". As I said ideal man is the one with money. You are going to ask for a girl's hand in marriage, they do not allow if you don't have money. He is the ideal man as long as he has money."	Men's desire for status as defined by having a good job and being successful at work was influenced by families and society's expectations of them.
Masculine performativity	**Being homophobic** "I accept homosexuality as an illness or a genetic disorder. Because, there is no homosexuality in human nature." "I believe that men started to be gay by watching it on TV, seeing on the Internet or witnessing to other gay people. I don't think they are in fact gay.	This grouping defines participants' behaviors and acts to express themselves as "stereotypical men". This characterization is consistent with the conventional expectations and allows them to obtain hypermasculine performance. **Being homophobic**

	Maybe they become gay to seek more pleasure from life or due to a desire to try something different. I don't think they choose it due to biological reasons."	This subcategory identifies men's knowledge and attitudes about homosexuality. Their knowledge about homosexuality, negative attitudes and feelings about homosexuals, and the reasons of their attitudes were included in this subcategory. Not a single young man in this study held the view that homosexuality was masculine or acceptable for a masculine man.
	"I'm not denigrating; I respect them but I don't want my kids or family to see them. I think it is disgusting."	The young men have contradictory explanations as to why men are homosexuals. According to some homosexuality is caused by "illness", "genetic disorders", "psychological problems", or "hormonal problems".
	In our culture, beliefs and faith has priority. People live based on their beliefs and faith. And faith has certain limits and sharp borders. Beliefs prohibit homosexuality".	Many young men shared their negative attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality or people who are identified or perceived as gay men. They perceived being gay as "odd" or "disgusting". They stated that just seeing a gay person or hearing the word homosexuality makes them "feel sick". While a few men suggested that they might have an acceptance of homosexuality, they negated these statements by suggesting homosexuals should not be in the open but should live in secluded communities and should hide their gender identities while in "decent" society.
	Having an active Sex life We, the men, had the chat of it [having sex] very much during high school with how many girls did you sleep? I did this, you did that. [We said] Wow! Great! etc.".	More, they shared their fear and zero-tolerance of gayness. Whenever they pronounce the word of "gay" they expressed "Perish the thought!" and "God forbid, we could have been at the same situation".
	There is something in the circle of friends. For example, I have experienced a lot, for example, if I'm with a girlfriend, they (my friends) ask whether I slept with her or what I did last night."	According to the young men, a rejection of homosexuality was rooted in faith and religion. They stated that being gay was "against the nature of mankind" and "against religion".
	"In our societal structure, men are supported and encouraged about sex like that 'You-go-boy!' 'Come on, you are a lion! [Meaning you are very powerful]'"	**Having an active Sex life**
	"We are talking about sexual relationship because the only thing we understand when we hear the word relationship for a man aged 18-25 is sexual relationship."	This subcategory refers to beliefs men hold around typical male sexuality, such as having an active sex life and perceiving sex as a necessity. According to several of the young men, sex has an important role in the lives of men. Having an active sex life and sexual promiscuity were attainments to be proud of. Since their high school years, the men

		participated in an "invisible" or unspoken sexual competition with their peers. Being sexually active was the essential parameter in this "invisible" competition and the higher the number of female sexual partners a young man had was associated the his higher status among his peers.
	"…in men of this age group, a friendship only based on sexuality is developing. It is a fact called 'fuck buddy' in foreign languages. I don't think many people have romantic relationships. Only a few men. Besides the romantic relationship, there are people with whom we see only for sexuality. A men living a long relationship is not being contented with only one person, I don't think the number of people being contented with a single person is much in Turkey." (note bene: "fuck buddy is equivalent to 'friends with benefit's among young men in the US.)	For some men, sexual accomplishments bring respect from other men. They were encouraged by family and friends to be hypersexual and thus accomplished as a consequence of social and cultural expectations of the peer and family group.
		The views shared by the young men during the group was that intimate relationships were associated with, and virtually equal to having sexual relationship.
	It's generally 'use and throw!'. For instance, as men, we hang out for 2-3 months, and then someone else. What is the reason of it? At first, we experience a bad relationship, and then as we don't trust the girls or I don't know. As they don't trust us…We're generally afraid of long relationships. As a man it makes me afraid, because we had a bad experience at the beginning. But short-term relationships don't make me scared because you don't attach and you feel comfortable."	Emotional intensity, romance, and attachment in a relationship were not desirable characteristics to young men. Rather than having long time commitments with a single girlfriend they preferred to have short-term relationships in which having sex was the main goal.
Male breadwinner identity	"We have responsibilities. I mean, like, we have to take care of our wives, we have to provide for our families. These are our major duties" "Man is the individual bringing food and ingredients and woman has to cook" "… They grow up with that mindset since childhood: "I have to provide for my home and family, I will get married and I will take care of my wife and kids." "loads the men with a charge of everything." "…if a woman provides for the family, society views differently. It is said that "Look, that man is surviving with his wife's money." A man should take care of the family, should have a job and provide for the kids…" "Due to less globalization level, women were staying at home in past periods.	This category refers to earning a family wage and providing for the family, as well as taking responsibilities for protecting the family and its members. The majority of the young men described a man's major duties as taking care of the family and protecting family members. The majority of the participants believed that men are the main provider. According to them, a home/shelter and anything else a family needs such as food and furniture should be provided by a man. This belief that men must work outside the home to provide for the home, then defined women's responsibilities as staying at home and taking care of the needs of the family in the house. As the young men discussed their beliefs about men's provider role they described that this role and its obligations originated from family and societal pressure. The obligation to work and expectation to provide for were imprinted to these young men since childhood.

	Along with globalization, for instance the women became more socialized… Due to globalization, the opinions of men have changed more. In the current period, what is being expected of men is his assistance, listening to the opinions of his spouse, his assistance in domestic affairs rather than earning of money, and it is now being called as 'life is a joint venture'. I believe this is now the expectation of women and society, and he is now being deemed as a figure who is more understanding, who allows more freedom to his spouse and who will assist more rather than a figure earning money."	Although many men had a sense of satisfaction derived from fulfilling their self-defined role, others discussed the burden of being the main provider. They perceived expectations from women and society for men to provide for the family as pressure and burden on them. In contrast, a few men mentioned globalization, interaction with the West, and changing life conditions begun to influence their attitudes. They feel like their current beliefs as the men as the main provider is not sustainable. These men believe that women's employment, education and socialization play an important role on society and men's attitude change on their family roles.
Female breadwinner identity	"…in west [west coast of Turkey] women are working and for instance the men are also working. Therefore, the men cannot make themselves listened to by the women. For instance, he will say something on an issue but he knows his spouse will become angry and say that "I'm also working and bringing in money, I'm also taking bread to home and you have nothing exceptional." "The woman's money stays on the doorstep, she kicks it while coming in and going out." "…what I want is to have a hot meal. When I arrive home, to have conversation and share something. If she is at work and I'm at work, we will both be tired, and lack of communication will occur. This would be the reason for her not to work." "It seems like a woman doing the same job with a man at the workplace seems like a funny thing. Because we do not deem ourselves as peers with them [women] as Turkish population." 'women can work, like men do' "In the last 30-40 years, women have started to work. Many women have jobs. I think it is beneficial." "The prices increased a lot, and the work performed by the men is unable to cover that price. And as they are unable to cover, they [men] are allowing the women to work. Actually this became a bit of an obligation. We placed it under the name of modernization along with obligation." "I would like my spouse to work. Now, we should work together. But I have to be able to trust her [when she is out of the house]. And also the men of East have too much pride. He cannot let his wife work due to that pride."	These young men described their beliefs of manhood in context of not only what being a man was, but also what their views of being a woman meant. Much of this view focused around women's responsibility in a home or at work. This category includes men's negative and/or positive attitudes towards women's employment. According to these men, women shouldn't work. They thought that women who work rose to a position of power and had more voice at home. Thus, men's authority over women weakened. Negative attitudes of men towards women's employment was related to women's perceived responsibilities at home. Men were concerned that a working woman would not have enough time for her responsibilities such as house chores and pleasing the husband. Gender inequality at work was one of the factors discussed by men in the focus groups. Several men shared that they did not believe that men and women could be viewed as equal at the workplace. They positively underlined the increasing participation of women in the workforce especially in the last three to four decades. They associated the necessity of women to work to financial needs and changing economy. Another participant shared his willingness for his prospective wife to work. He emphasized that some men who live in the Eastern part of Turkey did not let woman work because of the 'manhood pride'.

Doing or avoiding housework	**Masculine Pride** "…if a man is cleaning the house you visit, he is pointed out and said that the management, dominance in this house belongs to the woman, and this is a shame in our culture." "…if a man is cleaning the house you visit, he is pointed out and said that the management, dominance in this house belongs to the woman, and this is a shame in our culture." "My older brother was newlywed, it had been one-two months, when we went to visit him he was cooking, and my other older brother started to make fun of him as if like saying 'what else I will see?' After that he never entered the kitchen" "Why a man can wash the dishes but the same man can't clean the windows? Because cleaning the windows is seen from the outside of the house, because of the societal pressure. For example you are washing the dishes and it is only one of the housework. Cleaning windows is also one of the housework and it is a shame. But, not to be seen on the outside of a window and not to be exposed to family and society pressure, cleaning the windows is not performed by men. Society doesn't expect men to clean windows in a large part of the Turkey." "I think that it is because of the societal pressure. For example, a man's act of cleaning the windows could be ridiculed. Maybe I am wrong but I cannot suit to myself." **Feeling entitled** "He works, and he wants the dinner ready when he arrives home" "I would like to share my father's thought. He is a busy person. He wakes up at 5:30-6:00am and comes back to home around 9:00-10:00pm. He thinks that serving to him is not helping to a husband. Having the service of his wife is his right. It is not like he is not helping to the housework." **Lack of time** "…as the men work in heavy works especially in rural areas, they go to home as tired, and they cannot allocate their time to domestic works…" "For example, if I am providing more funding for house economy and if I am working in a more labor intensive job, it doesn't matter if she works or not, I expect her to do the housework. Housework is not heavy. But if I work harder at work and if she is less tired than me at work, I expect her to feel exhausted	The young men held strong beliefs about whether a man should do any work in the home, and if so, what type of work was acceptable. Conditions and reasons why men believe they should or should not do housework included in this category. Many of the participants stated that they avoided doing housework at home. They shared several reasons for not doing house chores. Following are the reasons of avoiding housework: "Masculine Pride", "Feeling of entitlement ", "Lack of time", "Parenting style", and "Tolerance to mess". **Masculine Pride** The most common reason men stated for not doing housework was their standing in society and what others would think of them. They believed that if a man did housework at home he was perceived by society as "not manly enough" and ridiculed by friends and family members. A man who helped the chores was called names: "light man", "henpecked man" or "pussy-whipped". **Feeling entitled** The young men felt they were entitled to leave the housework to their wives. They believed that serving men was women's responsibility. **Lack of time** Another justification of avoiding housework by some of the participants was not having enough time at home and being tired after working all day. Participants believed that if men worked outside of the home all day, women should have had responsibilities at home in order to share life's responsibilities equally. **Parenting Style** The attitudes and behaviors for not doing housework at home were influenced by the young men's parents' parenting style and role models (uncles, older brothers and members of the community). Some men thought that being a role model for their own sons was an important factor on doing or avoiding the housework. Generally, men compared themselves to their fathers. They gave examples of what they witnessed at home. According to these men, they were imitating their fathers who were imitating their father (the participants' grandfathers). **Tolerance to mess** Men emphasized higher tolerance to mess and uncleanliness compared to women. Housework and keeping the home tidy by nature are not important for them to considering doing the housework. They mentioned "manly" laziness and claimed that men have

at home for the sake of equality. I will work harder at the same time I will do housework, and then my wife will live like a sultan. If I cook and do cleaning, then nothing is left"

Parenting Style
"I have never seen my father in the kitchen even just having a glass of water by himself. I have two sisters and a mother and generally they serve to him…"

"I think it is related to parenting style of parents. For example, I never do dishes. If I get married in future, I will not do dishes again because I am not used to do it at home. My mother always did it for me. I don't wanna do it in future"

". . . may raise individuals who are harmful for the society, if he is unable to influence the woman and the children."

"In family life, he [my father] is not dealing with housework, despite knowing it. Why does not he do? Because this is the raising style of him. You are a member of the family, a competent member, a patriarch member. It is not suitable for you to do. You cannot even enter the kitchen. The woman cooks and brings to you; she is a kind of maid."

Tolerance to mess
"For three years, my aunt is living near my building. I live far from my family for three years. I never tidy the house. Huge stacks are arising at home, and then my aunt is tidying them. In other words, they are becoming uncomfortable with it. I'm telling them not to do that. I'm telling them that "I like living in stacks and dirt" But they are saying that they would tidy them. And they do not want me to help them. They would do it in any case. It is weird. I don't know what kind of a frame of mind they have."

"For example, we have stayed in Istanbul two months at summer season. You know, our parents go to vacation. At that time, I stayed with my brother. He is one year younger than me. When we are together with my brother, we are trying to keep house clean, we are doing deep down cleaning once in a week. Dirty dishes would pile up and we are waiting for having more and more dirty dishes and we are placing them to dishwasher once in a week. Imagine how it looks when we are doing those things once in a week! Before our parents arrive home we clean the house not to make my mom mad at us."

Conditions to help for housework
"Women are also working as men, when the women arrive home at the same time with their spouse, they can be as tired as men, and this doesn't mean that

a higher threshold of overall messiness, even dirtiness. They believed that because of women's lower tolerance for unclean environments, they are more likely to do chores at home.

Conditions to help for housework
There are certain situations men conceded that helping women for housework was justified; if she was sick or asks for help; if there was a task that a woman could not handle; or if it was a specified task inside the home, such as only doing dishes or only ironing. For some participants, one main factor that justified helping women was her employment status. Men were willing to help their partners, if she worked outside of the home.

	men will just work. They can cook and dine together" Another man noted "If my wife and I handle the financial problems together, we could be able to do housework together. I mean doing laundry or dishes. I won't clean the windows and I won't expect her to fix the plumbing. I could handle that kind of things."	

<div align="center">

Fleming et al., (2013)

28 young men ages 14-19 for focus groups, 17 of those were interviewed individually.

</div>

Machista culture	I talked to her one time, and she told me, 'because of that I left my other boyfriend, because he just wanted sex', and 'No problem, I'll wait for you', I told her. 'Only when you're ready'. (Daniel, age 17, IDI) Respondent (R): But, commonly in our neighbourhood, our peers don't use condoms, everyone does it without condoms. R: With risk. R: The majority do it without protection. R: They just screw around, they say, 'I don't need a condom, it's like a bag for your ice cream', they'll say anything. R: Or else, they tell you that the occasion presents itself and you don't have a condom, right, what are you going to do? Just like that. R: True. Because they don't want to protect themselves, because of that they do it without [a condom]. (Focus group 3) Interviewer (I): And did you guys do anything to prevent a pregnancy? Emiliano: Yeah, I always use a condom and she also protects herself. (age 17, IDI) 'No, I'm not like that, because the society tells you have to do it [cheating], do those things, and I don't like them'. (Alberto, a 16-year-old. IDI)	Multiple key informants described the machista culture of Banˇado Sur as extreme: the neighbourhood's men were characterised by their drinking and drug use, irreverence for and abuse of women. While the key informants told us that all the young men in the neighbourhood were seeking and having sex at an early age, about half of our participants reported having no sexual experience. Most of those who had not had sex did not seem overly anxious to do so. Key informants also described young men as disrespecting women and cheating on their regular partners with other women. Most of the young men interviewed, however, commented that it was disrespectful to cheat or that cheating must mean something is lacking from the relationship.
Normative Masculinity and Heterosexuality	I: What does it mean for you guys to be a man in the Banˇado? R: Support a stable family . . . R: Work. I: What about with girls? R: Could be helping out your family too . . . R: Bring money into the house. R: Bring the daily bread to the house. R: and with girls treat them equally. R: Treat them equal at all times. (Focus group 3)	It is clear that stereotypical masculinity exists within the neighbourhood, yet young men who do not identify with that characterisation negotiate it through their own behaviours. Nearly all of the young men interviewed individually looked to this partner/provider model to shape their own behaviour – they were hoping to have families, good jobs and to treat women with respect. Notably, these young men perceived their own goals and ideals to be different than most young men in the neighbourhood.

	I: How do you act to show that you are a man? David: Well, work, be honest, not have vices, respect your woman, and your family. Because, if you drink, you have vices . . . get into drugs. . . . Just because of that doesn't mean you're going to be more macho. (age 17, IDI) Miguel A´ngel: I feel like a man because I stay on top of my responsibilities. I'm not getting myself into any vices, I'm not letting myself get pulled into that . . . I don't agree with all these things about having sex all the time, hurting girls like that. (age 16, IDI) I: Where do [boys] learn to be men? R: When they are young, they go to parties, at least in high school they go to parties a lot, now starting at 11, 12, they see that chick and stuff and they do it. R: And those that don't, the majority think about doing it and they don't care if they get a girl pregnant. R: And they feel like more of a man because they have sex. R: Or if not, some friend shows you porno videos and all that, and [like that] the majority learns. (Focus group 3) I: What do his friends say to him about sex? R: He needs to do it to know how to be a man. R: He has to do it to know how it feels. R: And if he doesn't do it, he's a fag. (Focus group 2) I: Having sex is, for a guy, is . . . ? R: It's the best. R: And for a woman, the worst. R: Well, you don't have sex, you're a fag. (Focus group 2) R: Honestly . . . if I've never seen you with a girl, you're gay. (Focus group 3) I: How do guys feel when friends tell them 'you're gay'? R: Some take it as a joke, and some take it seriously. Most of the time when they say that, they are jokes. (Focus group 4) I: How do you feel when they call you 'gay' and stuff like that? Leonardo: Nothing . . . my dad always taught me that those were just words.	Most participants recognised the macho prototype, which emphasises self-satisfaction and power, to be dominant within the neighbourhood. Participants described the main characteristics of a macho man as being sexually active, being in a heterosexual relationship (or better, having multiple relationships), not having to ask for permission for anything and using alcohol and tobacco. These young men felt that their community expected them to fulfil these characteristics to be considered men. Our participants often equated having sex for the first time with 'becoming a man'. In fact, in one focus group, the question 'where do boys learn to be men?' received responses as if the interviewer was asking where they learn to have sex. While sexual debut is often a rite of passage for adolescents around the world, it is important to note that the language of becoming a man in Paraguay evokes the idea of having sex. In all of the focus groups and individual interviews, participants echoed the conceptualisation that, in this neighbourhood, having more sex would make you more of a man and not having sex would characterise you as a homosexual. This notion is played out in some participants' responses to hypothetical relationship situations where they describe refusing an opportunity to have sex as a non-option because of the negative social consequences of appearing to be gay. The young men frequently mentioned that they would be called gay if their behaviour was not in line with the macho norm. Participants noted that they were most commonly teased for not having relationships with women or for abstaining from drinking alcohol. As a result of this teasing, some young men individually interviewed mentioned that they were reluctant to tell friends that they were virgins or that they were abstinent with their girlfriend. They said they evaded the question or lied when peers asked about it. A few of these young men said they told their friends the truth, but were subsequently teased. There were a variety of responses to probes about how young men felt to be teased or called gay. Some seemed to recognize it as just playful joking among friends, while others felt hurt or excluded by the comments.

	(age 16, IDI) I: If you don't act like that [macho], what do they say? Andre´s: They'd say that I'm a fag, gay. I: Yeah? And how do you feel when they say that? Andre´s: Awful . . . I don't feel like I'm one of them. Then, they don't invite me to go out. (age 18, IDI) I: Let's say if a guy doesn't want a girlfriend, or doesn't have sex, what would their dad or mom say? R: The first thing they'd say is the he's gay or that he's odd. R: That's true. Because my brother before . . . he didn't screw anyone, he never went to hook up, and my mom and them thought that he was a fag, after he screwed a chick . . . he made himself a man for my mom and them. (Focus group 1) I: What would your parents say if you guys said that you didn't want to have sex? R: Nothing. R: If I told my dad, he would tell me that I'm a fag. R: My dad would tell me too. R: 'You like guys'. [laughter] R: But there are different types of dads, because some dads tell you to wait until you want to, but there are some that tell you, 'you have to do it now'. (Focus group 2) Jesus: If you tell something to them [peer group], they're going to laugh at you, like, 'how stupid you are', and your best friend is going to tell you what it is you need to do, what not to do. (age 14, IDI)	This range in responses suggests that some young men are more resilient than others when faced with being teased about their masculinity. Parents and family members were also reported to use teasing, modelling, or indirect pressure to shape young men's behavior. Some young men noted that some parents pressure their sons to have girlfriends and to have sex, while others encourage schooling and abstinence. Most commonly, they noted that parents consider having a girlfriend to be normative and would think their son was different or gay if he did not date a young woman. Young men noted that family and friends were much more influential than teachers or religious leaders in shaping their behavior. When young men were asked individually whose opinion mattered most, the majority responded that parents mattered more than friends. Several noted that parents and friends were equally important. Only a few said that friends' opinions mattered more. Most all participants delineated between close friends, groups of friends, and peers and that varying levels of trust and communication were associated with each. There was a lack of trust expressed with sharing feelings or asking for advice from the broader group of friends or peers. Even participants such as Andre´s and Eduardo, who appeared to be confident leaders of their peer group, expressed discomfort in sharing feelings or certain thoughts with their peer group. Most (but not all) participants said they had a best friend they could share their problems with. The young men's characterizations of attitudes and behaviors in casual relationships are consistent with macho norms for men. Similarly, the attitudes and beliefs that distinguish formal relationships are characteristic of the partner/provider role. The perceived norms in this neighborhood are closer to the macho and casual side of the spectrum, but the actual behaviors of the young men fall closer to the formal and

		partner/provider side. The partner/provider mindset deviates from the macho norm in this neighborhood. Young men with a partner/provider orientation are not sharing their true attitudes with the larger peer group. Teasing about homosexuality is used to regulate behaviors within peer groups and allows for a man to take on the hegemonic masculine role. The vast majority of young men in this study desired a marriage based on love, where they respected their spouse, provided for their family, and played a prominent role in child-rearing. The young men are receiving mixed messages about whether certain behaviors are appropriate or normal for men. Macho norms dominate the discourse, and behaviors within serious relationships are usually not discussed among peer groups. Parents can potentially be protective in their son's lives by promoting alternate messages and encouraging gender equality.
Relationships, sex and masculine norms	Alejandro: There is a big difference between having a serious girlfriend, with her you already are planning the future that you want with her, or, it's something serious because you already know who you want to be in your life, and if it's a casual girlfriend you can have one for a week, for example, afterwards, another girl one month, and you switch like that. (age 17, IDI) Diego: For example, about sex, with the casual girls, if there is someone that you meet in the discoteca, and that same day she already wants to have sex and stuff. The serious one, it depends on if you know her well already, depends on both of you, and the appropriate moment, and when you feel ready. (age 17, IDI) Daniel: 'The casual girls dress extravagantly, they want to show off too much, and the others [formal girlfriends] dress more decently, they know how to act when they are around guys'. (age 17, IDI) Emiliano: The [formal] girlfriend . . . you have to respect her. It has to be in a way . . . romantic. That way you're respecting and asking how. And with the casual girls you know, if you meet her in a party drinking and you like her vibe	Relationships with young women, in part, serve as a way for young men to demonstrate their heterosexuality for their peers and family. In terms of community expectations, all participants agreed that the most important factor was that a male was romantically or sexually linked with a woman. Participants characterised relationships as either casual or formal, however their responses reflected that these are not two disparate categories, but exist along a continuum. We found that participants characterised relationships in terms of four major themes: level of commitment, sexual activity, respect for the woman and location of the couple's interaction. The level of commitment is a key factor that differentiates casual and formal relationships. The idea that serious relationships are focused on the future and casual relationships are more 'in the moment' was a prevalent distinction for the young men. In general, young men in formal relationships described making decisions that placed high value on the young woman's preferences, whereas young men in casual

and stuff, and al matadero [to the slaughterhouse], like they say.
(age 17, IDI)

relationships were concerned with their own preferences.

Serious and casual relationships also varied in terms of expectations around sex.

The young men mostly said that women in serious relationships would want to wait a predetermined amount of time before having sex with their boyfriends.

The most common time period mentioned was one year and the young men expressed a willingness to wait.

It is noteworthy that this wait represents, at least to some extent, a longer-term orientation to the relationship, also suggesting commitment.

Participants agreed that sex is more common in casual relationships than in serious relationships.

The young men described casual relationships as being based primarily on sex. Casual girlfriends, especially those at encountered at parties, were perceived to have already had sexual experience and to be more willing to have sex without waiting.

Young women in formal and casual relationships are described differently, particularly in terms of the respect that young men think they merit.

The young women involved in a serious relationship are described as reputable girls and being more serious about life. In casual relationships, young women are said to engage with multiple sexual partners (either concurrently or sequentially). Casual girls are described as 'fun' or 'easy' and are regarded with a general lack of respect.

Also, note a particularly extreme example below where Emiliano refers to sex with casual girls using a violent metaphor.

This assignment of casual or formal characteristics to the young women themselves results in differential respect given to women. As Emiliano and Daniel's comments suggest, respect is given to 'formal' women who adhere to traditional feminine norms. Casual women who engage in short-term sexual relationships are considered conquests by the young men and therefore the women themselves are considered objects not deserving respect.

Finally, the spaces where casual relationships take place, as well as where young men look for casual girls, differ greatly from formal relationships. Diego, a 17-year-old describes this difference, 'The casual girl goes anywhere to kiss and stuff, and when you visit the serious girl, you've already asked her dad for permission, before you visit her house'. In both focus groups and individual interviews, young men said that they find

| | | casual girlfriends at parties, nightclubs, or 'in the street'. Serious relationships, however, usually originate in very specific, and safe, locations, such as at school or home.

Men move along the spectrum depending on how they perceive important others in their social environment would evaluate their behaviors and attitudes.

As was discussed by the young men in this study, the partner/provider mindset they embrace is seen to deviate from the macho norm in this neighborhood.

In terms of acceptance from peers, the safest option is to continue propagating the macho norm.

The young men with a partner/provider orientation are not sharing their true attitudes with the larger peer group.

The unfortunate irony is that many young men may share similar thoughts; however, they are not willing to divulge them due to worries about social exclusion or teasing.

Behaviors that were subject to their friend's teasing were more salient to the young men than behaviors modeled by any partner/provider men in their life.

Teasing about homosexuality was a particularly sharp way to delineate appropriate from inappropriate behavior among the young men in this study.

Being accused of being gay is not about being accused of sexual activity with same-sex partners; it is an accusation that relegates young men to subordinate status in the male hierarchy.

A young man who is concerned with his position in the hierarchy, as most adolescents are, will modify his behavior, or lie about it, to maintain a certain status.

Conversations among peers become the dominant way to publicize norms, and those whose behaviors deviate from these norms may not talk about it openly.

Many young men in this study lied about their sexual activity or virginity to avoid teasing or social exclusion.

These hidden sexual and relationship behaviors cannot contribute to the perceived normative behaviors of young men unless they are shared with peers.

If young men feel that they cannot share certain abstinent behaviors with their peers, the perceived peer norms will remain skewed from reality and create a perception that young men are more sexually active than they are. |

	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	
	11 adolescents of 12-24 years of age	
Perceived vulnerability to STD/HIV/AIDS	If I have a chance to get disease? [laughs] The way I do I do not think so! Hmmm, I have knowledge and also I did not have sex with anyone! (Subject 7). No! Because I avoid by using a condom [...] only ! And then, when we know the person, right, for three months, depending of the person, you don't need to use it. [...] (Subject 11).	Despite the increasing trend of paradigm changes in relation to dialogue of adolescents with their family and/or friends with whom they more freely express their sexuality, and the extensive information easily available in the media, many adolescents felt invulnerable to sexually transmitted infections, especially in the case of male adolescents.
Gender and vulnerability to STD/HIV/AIDS	We don't think , only after [...] man thinks with his lower head! (Subject 5). All the world has it, right! Who knows, man! Disease does not choose, right! Sometimes in a moment of silliness you have a chance to get a dirty woman who doesn't use a condom. (Subject 4). Ah! I think so. Because I'm getting every girl that appears . I am. Uhhh [...] I think it is! [pause] Woman who does it with anyone. (Subject 1) [...] this kind of woman does not care about anything! [...] (laughs) the man doesn't care. They don't mind, right? [...] they only want to be able to finish the job (Subject 11). The girl. Ahhh because last week the girls were on the stairs with the kid and over them, in the ladder there! The thing began, here, inside the school. Then, they went [...] Then, there was one woman with three men (Subject 1). Women [...] I think it's much easier for them to get street diseases because she goes too much, she fucks too [...] (Subject 10). The man has more risk than the woman. I do not know how to answer! But [...] he does! Maybe they don't have information and responsibility [...] (Subject 8). Ehhh I think that both are at risk of having STDs, no? For me it's both, both the man and the woman. Ahh , man, I do not know the right answer (Subject 9).	Gender issues are central to the understanding of power relations in society, including sexuality and, consequently, vulnerability to STD/HIV/AIDS. The culturally constructed roles of men and women define the behaviors of both genders. This behavior, regarding sexuality, imposes on the woman the lack of ownership of her own body and dominion over sexuality, being incumbent on the man, considered the stronger sex, as his property. In this way, the gendered roles, atributed to men the enjoyment of an unrepressed sexuality, with wide variability of partners and active sexual relationships. In fact, some adolescents showed that they considered themselves vulnerable, but the vulnerability was directed to the behaviors of their sexual partners. The representations raised here can be employed not only in the planning of nursing care, but also in the construction and (re) formulation of public health policies organized in order to accommodate and contribute to the empowerment and co-responsibility of adolescent settlers for self-care of the male population. Even with feminist struggles around the gender issue, it was observed that the hegemonic masculine sovereignty in human sexuality permeates the thoughts of the adolescents interviewed, especially by delegating the woman's concern with preventive measures for not acquiring sexually transmitted diseases [...]. In recent decades, both in Brazil and in other countries, many researchers, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and health/education professionals have been researching about gender and its significance in the socialization of men. This interest has developed into a quest to uncover the social construction of masculinity that affects the sexual health of adolescent males. It was evident that the insertion of adolescents into services of health/education through

		approaches about gender and vulnerability to STD/HIV/AIDS was the major challenge remaining, so that the indicators of promoting men's health are improved. The few attempts to sensitize them through campaigns still have not seemed to have achieved the desired effects. However, somehow, adolescent settlers were receptive to discussions about the subject, which is extremely positive to break the chain of sexually transmitted pathogens transmission in order to promote sexual and reproductive health of this population.
Prevention and vulnerability to STD/HIV/AIDS	Ah [...] [pause] I do not use a condom! It is better without condoms [...] gives more pleasure (Subject 5). It is to prevent with a condom! I use it occasionally [...] It's bad! (Subject 2). What? Ah! prevention is to use the things that you have to wear [...] [laughs] Haaa [...] I dont't know [...] I do not use (Subject 10). I protect myself using condoms. And, then, when I know the person [...] after some three months, it's not necessary to use them! (Subject 11). Hmmm. Oh, I use a condom. Always. The first two times with the girl and after that no! Ah, she takes medicine (Subject 1). If I am vulnerable? Kind a hard question [...] [laughs] I do not know if I protect myself very well! I do sex with another man [...] eeeee. I guess I'm at risk! [risks] (Subject 9).	The following statements show that the adolescent settler does not use condoms in his sexual practices, grounded in misrepresentation that condoms impairs the sexual pleasure. The following statements of other respondents denoted that after a few months with a regular partner, generally, the adolescent abandoned condom use. Still, one of the adolescents demonstrated concern about STD/HIV/AIDS, involving the representation of the practice of sexual intercourse with someone of the same sex as risky behavior. However, as noted in the following quote the adolescent had the perception that the risk is oriented to homosexuality and not to the lack of adherence to condom use during sex. The first point concerned the urgent need to broaden the discussion about models of femininity and masculinity culturally constructed in the settlement, seeking to demystify them. The second issue, envisaged the preparation and execution of intervention strategies directed to men's health, so they can encompass the diversity of Brazilian male population and have applicability to the Unified Health System.

Appendix D   Detailed Matrix of Concepts Extracted by Comparing First and Second Order Data

	Concept Matrix							
	(Emezue et al., 2022)	Grewe (2021)	Tekkas (2015)	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	Pujar et al., (2023)	Fleming et al., (2013)	Shivji et al., (2021)	Cecchetto et al., (2016)
1	Importance of language	x						x
2	Stereotypes against rural men and their masculinity					x	x	x
3	To conform or not to hegemonic masculinity	x		x				x
4	Social emotional support	x						
5	Men's reputation	x						x
6	Silencing when it comes to dating violence							x
7	Help-seeking behaviours among men		x					
8	Religious conservatism	x	x					
9	Peer support	x					x	
10	Openness to change	x		x		x		
11	Influence of media							
12	Macho mentality in urban male youth	x					x	
13	Importance of father figure	x	x				x	
14	Attitudes towards women		x					x
15	Male victimhood							x
16	Internalised stigma	x				x		
17	Power structures	x	x			x		x
18	Partner violence					x		x
19	Female subjugation (to bring under control)		x			x		x
20	Male supremacy	x	x			x		
	Grewe (2021)		Tekkas (2015)	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	Pujar et al., (2023)	Fleming et al., (2013)	Shivji et al., (2021)	Cecchetto et al., (2016)
21	Feminine gender expression and femmephobia	-					x	
22	Adverse feelings (fear, childhood anxiety, jealousy)	-				x		x
23	Repression of characteristics	-						
24	Oppression of expression	-						
25	Need for validation of masculinity	-						
26	Bullying and harassment	-				x		
27	Pressure to conform	-	x			x	x	
28	Comparison with others	-	x			x		
29	Rejection	-						
30	Means to express masculinity	-	x			x		x
31	Monitoring own gender performance	-						
32	Policing of gender performance by others	-						
33	Support by others, sources of support	-	x	x			x	
34	Emotional abuse	-				x		x
35	Lack of support	-					x	
36	Feeling safe	-						
37	Family norms and traditions	-	x			x		
38	Responsibility and obligation	-	x				x	
39	Hierarchy among men	-						

No.	Item		Tekkas (2015)	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)	Pujar et al., (2023)	Fleming et al., (2013)	Shivji et al., (2021)	Cecchetto et al., (2016)
40	'Essential' masculine traits (e.g., power, power over others)	-	x			x		x
41	Gender and racial dynamics	-						
42	Sexual attractiveness	-	x					
43	White masculinity	-	x					
44	Passing as masculine	-						
45	Tokenism	-						
46	Identity formation	-					x	
47	Social acceptance	-				x		
48	Performance pressures	-				x		
49	Social isolation	-					x	
50	Stereotyping	-				x		
51	Responsibility to educate others	-						
52	Inferiority	-						
53	Masculinity as a spectrum, as fluid	-						
54	Multiple identities	-						
55	Marginalised identities	-						
56	Overcompensating in gender performance	-						
57	Isolation, alienation	-					x	
58	Advocacy	-						
59	Self-esteem, Self-worth	-	x					
60	Microaggressions	-						
61	Privilege	-	x					x
62	Questioning gender	-						
63	Rejecting traditional masculinity, rejecting toxic masculinity, rejecting stereotypes	-				x		
64	Rejecting misogyny	-				x		
	Tekkas (2015)			**de Oliveira Arraes (2013)**	**Pujar et al., (2023)**	**Fleming et al., (2013)**	**Shivji et al., (2021)**	**Cecchetto et al., (2016)**
65	Western influences on attitudes (white masculinity)		-					
66	Being authoritarian		-					x
67	Competitiveness among men		-					x
68	Accomplishments as a mean to augment masculinity		-					x
69	Importance of money		-			x		
70	Man as protector and provider		-		x	x		
71	Masculinity as a force of nature		-					
72	Self-sufficiency		-					
73	Societal expectations of high achievement from men		-					
74	Homophobia		-	x		x	x	
75	Masculinity and homosexuality as mutually exclusive		-			x	x	
76	Emotional components of relationships not desirable		-					
77	Sexual competition		-			x		
78	Rare opinion - man as provider is not sustainable		-					
79	Rare opinion - women's employment education and socialisation is important		-					
80	Attitudes towards women's education and employment		-					
81	Manhood pride, masculine pride, male code		-			x		x
82	Entitlement		-					x
83	Manly laziness		-					

#	Item						
84	Sexual promiscuity as acceptable for men	-	x		x		x
85	Women's responsibilities		x	x			
	de Oliveira Arraes (2013)			**Pujar et al., (2023)**	**Fleming et al., (2013)**	**Shivji et al., (2021)**	**Cecchetto et al., (2016)**
86	Male adolescents feeling invulnerable to STIs		-				
87	Men's sexual health		-				
88	Lack of information (STIs)		-	x	x		
89	Risky sexual behaviours		-		x		
90	Same sex relationships and increased risk of STIs		-				
91	Formal relationships (long-term)		-		x		
	Pujar et al., (2023)				**Fleming et al., (2013)**	**Shivji et al., (2021)**	**Cecchetto et al., (2016)**
92	Boys' education is a priority			-			
93	Girls lack the maturity to make decisions about marriage			-			
94	Helplessness to bring change in community			-			
95	Environment of restricted communication			-		x	
96	Gender inequitable norms			-	x	x	x
	Fleming et al., (2013)					**Shivji et al., (2021)**	**Cecchetto et al., (2016)**
97	Local cultural norms surrounding masculine identity				-	x	
98	Machista culture				-		x
99	Drinking and drug use as masculine				-		x
100	Abuse of women as masculine				-		
101	Marginalised social environment				-		
102	Early onset of seeking sexual relationships in young men				-		
103	Disrespecting women				-		
104	Infidelity in relationships				-		x
105	Societal pressure to cheat in a relationship				-		
106	What it is to be a man				-	x	
107	Treat women with respect				-		
108	Perception that your ideals and beliefs differ from other young men				-		
109	Macho is sexually active				-		x
110	Macho has multiple relationships				-		
111	Macho does not ask permission to act				-		
112	Macho uses alcohol and tobacco				-		x
113	Losing virginity is to become man				-		
114	Viewing pornography as learning to be a man				-	x	
115	Refusing sex means you are gay				-		
116	Teasing for not drinking				-		
117	Teasing for not having relationships				-		
118	Shame if you are a virgin man				-		

No	Item							
119	Pressure by family to shape young men's behaviours					-		
120	Pressure by family to have a girlfriend and have sex					-		
121	Parents' opinions are of the uttermost importance					-		
122	Discomfort in sharing feelings with peer group					-		
123	Relationships and sex as mean to demonstrate heterosexuality					-	x	
124	Casual and formal continuum of relationships					-		
125	Community expectations of hetero relationships					-	x	
126	Women's preferences respected in formal relationships					-		
127	Men's preferences prioritised in casual relationships					-		x
128	Willingness to wait for sex					-		
129	Respect is given to 'formal' women who adhere to traditional feminine norms					-		
130	Casual women who engage in short-term sexual relationships are considered conquests					-		
	Shivji et al., (2021)							**Cecchetto et al., (2016)**
131	Cultural barriers, restrictive culture						-	
132	Puberty education						-	
133	information gap on puberty						-	
134	access to information challenges						-	
135	communication challenges						-	
136	absence of formal puberty education						-	
137	Parents as source of information and support on puberty						-	
138	internet as source of support						-	
139	peer support						-	
140	risk of misinformation around puberty						-	
141	importance of communication with parents						-	
142	importance of father as source of information on puberty						-	
143	negative psychological impact of lack of awareness of puberty changes						-	
144	impact of negative emotions on relationships						-	x
145	isolation and depression due to pubertal changes						-	
146	moral crisis and guild for masturbation and pornography						-	
147	sense of self-control						-	
148	avoidance attitudes and behaviours to overcome the challenges associated with puberty						-	
149	experiences that shape masculinity						-	

#	Description							
150	social and cultural norms						-	x
151	negotiation of tensions between social norms and personal experience in developing masculinity						-	
152	gender stereotypes and gender based roles and responsibilities						-	x
153	pressure of conforming to norms						-	x
154	societal norms on heteronormative attraction						-	
155	masculine culture and opposite-sex relationships						-	
156	engaging in sexual relationships and development of sexual identity						-	
157	peer influence in sexual maturity						-	
158	rebellious and independent						-	
159	maturity is respect to parents and elders						-	
160	importance of puberty on masculine and sexual identities						-	
161	caring for others						-	
162	obedience to family and elders						-	
163	rational approaches to life decisions						-	
	Cecchetto et al., (2016)							
164	idealisation of intimate relationships							-
165	violence based on the aggressor's and victim's gender							-
166	jealousy of men							-
167	infidelity							-
168	aggression associated to males							-
169	aggression towards males							-
170	tolerance of aggression by males							-
171	intense emotions and alcohol							-
172	men hitting women							-
173	girls are usually victims of their partners							-
174	girls can be aggressors too							-
175	men perceive female aggression as less damaging							-
176	humiliation of young males							-
177	male infidelity is reason for violence							-
178	perceived female entitlement to violence							-
179	victim blaming for men							-
180	macho logic							-
181	verbal aggression as a masculine resource to replace physical violence							-
182	dependency in relationships							-
183	threats and embarrassing female partner as precursors of physical aggression							-
184	male physical aggression is condemned							-
185	To be insulted or humiliated is regarded as one of the							-

	worst forms of violence by adolescent males							
186	soiling the notion of male honour							-
187	female infidelity as a violent act, macho context of infidelity – its violence only if the woman does it							-
188	honour held by males							-
189	hegemonic masculinity							-
190	Women must be more reticent or reserved							-
191	men must publicize their sexual conquests							-
192	Forcing sex on girls							-
193	submission of girls							-
194	male entitlement							-
195	rape							-
196	failure to respect female desire							-
197	pressure for sex							-
198	demand for sex as proof of love							-

Appendix E   Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

A view of gender: A Delphi study with Cypriot participants

Who am I?

My Name is Antreas Anthimou, and I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist enrolled at the University of Southampton's Doctorate in Educational Psychology programme. This project is conducted within the context of my university work towards becoming a qualified Educational Psychologist.

What is this project about?

Heteronormative (i.e., binary) beliefs regarding gender are created and reinforced in many individuals from a very young age. However, these beliefs do not represent certain young people who might feel underrepresented in our society. The present study hopes to determine what key factors and competencies Cypriot adults wish to be represented in a 'ground-up' model of gender that reflects the experiences of marginalised populations.

What will the project researcher(s) do?

Over the course of the next 3 months, our team will be approaching Cypriots aged 18 years old and above who have different or even contradicting beliefs regarding the binary model of gender. The researcher will ask the participants to indicate their agreement with a series of statements regarding the way gender is viewed. The process will be conducted online, in a confidential environment and will last for three rounds after which you will receive a €15 voucher for a local coffee shop provided all three rounds are completed. After the participants respond to the questionnaires, the researcher will use your responses to identify the statements that have been deemed as most important about the way gender is viewed. You can access the final results of the study upon request to the research team.

What is the purpose of the project?

The aim of the present study is to explore how participants experience and describe gender.

What would I be asked to do?

If you would like to register your interest to take part, all you need to do is sign up your email address in an online interest declaration form (link). Following this, you will receive a PIN code that will serve as your unique Participant Identification Number. At the start of each round, we will email

you your PIN so you can access the study. Should you wish to change the email address you shared with us, you just need to notify the researcher.

When you receive your PIN, you will be asked to complete a short online demographic survey. The demographic survey will ask you questions about a variety of topics including age, gender identity, sexual identity, geographical location within Cyprus, ethnicity, current mode of study or employment status, if you have a Special Educational Need and if you have a disability. All information will be kept strictly confidential, and names/surnames will be stored in a secure online storage provided by the university. It should take between 5-10 minutes to complete.

Following the demographic survey (approximately 4-8 weeks), you <u>may</u> receive an invitation via email to take part in the project as a panel member. Panel members will confidentially share their views through Delphi which are rounds of online surveys designed to gather perspectives and achieve consensus about what gender could be within a wider group of panel members. Panel members' individual views will be kept confidentially, and they will not meet other panellists. Each round will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete.

The first round will consist of an online survey with up to 104 statements related to what gender could be. Panel members will rate on a scale to what extent they feel these are important to the way in which gender is viewed. Panel members will also be invited to write-in additional statements they may wish to include. From this, we can then begin to refine, discount, and take forward statements that panel members feel are important to the way in which gender is viewed.

A second round will be shared (approximately 2-3 weeks after completion of the first). During the second online survey, panel members will be fed back their original individual responses and the overall responses of the wider panel. Group responses will be anonymised and summarised, allowing panel members to see how their original responses are positioned in relation to the rest of the panel. Panel members will then have an opportunity to revise their initial responses and support the wider group in arriving at a consensus of what gender could be.

A third round is likely to be used if there are still statements that have not achieved consensus (approximately 2-3 weeks after completion of the second). Like the second online survey, panel members will be fed back their individual responses and overall responses of the wider panel. Panel members will then have the opportunity to revise their initial ratings until statements achieve consensus or are discounted.

What happens if I change my mind?

You are free to stop the survey at any time. Since your responses are going to be anonymised following your submission, it is not possible to withdraw data you already submitted. However, there

is no way to link your responses to you. If you wish to withdraw your participation all you need to do is to let the researcher know through email or verbally.

Are there any risks involved?

It is expected that taking part in this study will not cause you any psychological discomfort and/or distress, however, should you feel uncomfortable you can leave the survey at any time or contact the following resources for support:

1440 - for children, teenagers and adults.
Domestic Violence Helpline of the Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family (ΣΠΑΒΟ).
Opening days and hours: Monday - Friday (08:00 - 22:00), weekends and holidays (10:00 - 22:00)

1410 - for children, adolescents and adults.
Youth Organization of Cyprus Communication, Counselling and Support Line.
Days - hours of operation: Monday - Friday (10:00 - 23:00) and weekends (15:00 - 23:00)

70000116 - for children, adolescents and adults.
Helpline for internet usage issues of the Cyprus Internet Safety Centre "CyberEthics".
Days - opening hours: Monday - Friday (09:00 - 19:00)

1455 - for children, teenagers and adults.
Support line for sexual health and well-being issues, Cyprus Family Planning Association.
Days - opening hours: Monday - Friday (08:00 - 22:00)

What happens to my personal details?

We are very interested in what our participants have to say but your details will be treated as confidential and will not be passed to anyone outside the project. They will only be seen by the researchers on the project. You will not be named anywhere in any report of what has been learned.

We will ensure that all the information you give is kept securely. No paper information will be kept (this form will be scanned and then shredded) apart from your copy of this form. Electronic data will be password protected and encrypted and only available to the researchers on the project.

How long will you be using the information you collect?

Your responses will be stored securely in an online storage space. Under all circumstances, there will be no way to match the information collected with your name.

We will then use your responses to generate consensus about the way gender is viewed that will aid us to explore gender diversity in a Cypriot context. The results will be used in the doctoral thesis of

Antreas Anthimou in the context of the Doctorate in Educational Psychology programme, which will be submitted by the August 2024. You have the right to request a copy of the final paper.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions.

If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Who can I contact if I have any questions?

Please feel free to contact the researcher(s) at any time.

Project team contact details:

Antreas Anthimou (researcher):   a.anthimou@soton.ac.uk

My supervisors

Dr. Sarah Wright: s.f.wright@soton.ac.uk

Dr. Cora Sargeant: c.c.sargeant@soton.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS

IN THE "A view of gender: A Delphi study with Cypriot participants" STUDY

I _____ volunteer to collaborate in the data collection process for the above-named project.

	Please tick √ below
I consent to my data being collected, stored and used by the researcher for the purpose of the research reporting, dissemination, publication and presentation.	
I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and from participating in this research at any time.	
I understand that I cannot withdraw data that I have already submitted.	

I consent to my email address used only as a way to communicate between the researchers, to arrange the data collection, receive further information about the project and receive the feedback and complaint forms.	

Signed: _____   Date:_____

Name: _____

Declaration

	Please tick √ below
I have read and understood the information provided on this form, I am aged 18 or over and agree to participate in this survey	

Appendix F   Recruitment Flyer

Appendix G   Study Interest Declaration Form

University of Southampton

Study Interest Declaration Form

Version 2, 13th April 2023, ERGO Number: 79641

If you would like to be considered for participation in the study "A view of gender: A Delphi study with Cypriot participants", please enter your email address below. If you are selected to participate in the study, we will use your email address to share a PIN code that will serve as your unique Participant Identification Number. You will need to store your PIN in a safe place as you will need it to submit your responses throughout the study.

We are very interested in what our participants have to say but the identity of our participants is of no interest to us. All your details will be treated as confidential and will not be passed to anyone outside the project. They will only be seen by the researchers on the project. You will not be named anywhere in any report of what has been learned.

We will ensure that all the information you give is kept securely. No paper information will be kept (this form will be scanned and then shredded) apart from your copy of this form. Electronic data will be password protected and encrypted and only available to the researchers on the project. We will comply with the Data Protection Act (2018) as well as the University of Southampton's code of conduct for data protection.

* Required

1. Email Address *

Appendix H   Demographics Form

UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

Demographics Information

Version 2, 13th April 2023, ERGO Number: 79641

* Required

* This form will record your name, please fill your name.

[   ]

1. Personal Identifying Number *

[   ]

The value must be a number

2. Age *

[   ]

Please enter a number greater than 18

3. County *

[   ]

4. Ethnicity

[   ]

5. Religion/faith

6. Gender Identity

7. Sexual identity

8. SEN and/or disability (including self-identified)

9. Employment

○ Full-time student (School/College)

○ Full-time student (University)

○ Part-time student (University)

○ Full-time employed

○ Part-time employed

○ Self-employed

○ Unemployed

○ Other

Appendix I Ethics Approval from the University of Southampton

ERGO II

Ethics and Research Governance Online

University of Southampton

79641.A2 - A view of gender: A Delphi study with Cypriot participants (Amendment 2)

Details

Status
Approved
Category
Category B
Submitter's Faculty
Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences (FELS)

The end date for this study is currently 30 September 2024

📅 Request extension (/ExtensionReq/ViewCreate?submissionId=89144&showSubmissionLink=False)

If you are making any other changes to your study please create an amendment using the button below.

Latest Review Comments

12/10/2023 11:27:38 - Committee: Approved
No comments

10/10/2023 13:12:29 - Committee: Approved
No comments

Amendment History

📁 **Latest Version 79641.A2** (Created 05/10/2023)
   📁 Amendment 79641.A1 (Created 19/05/2023) (/Submission/View/82082)
      📁 Original Submission 79641 (Created 20/01/2023) (/Submission/View/79641)

User Uploaded Documents

ℹ️

	Title	Version Number	Document Date	Document Type	Size
1.	00. Ethics Application Form [v3-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4639) ℹ	3	05/10/2023	Ethics Form	1,225 Kb
2.	07. Recruitment Poster-ENG [v3-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4635) ℹ	3	05/10/2023	Study Advert/ Poster	3,272 Kb
3.	08. Recruitment Poster-GR [v3-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4636) ℹ	3	05/10/2023	Study Advert/ Poster	3,379 Kb
4.	01. PIS & Consent form-ENG [v3-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4640) ℹ	3	05/10/2023	Consent Form	1,198 Kb
5.	02. PIS & Consent form-GR [v3-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4641) ℹ	3	05/10/2023	Consent Form	1,204 Kb
6.	05. Round One Qualtrics Forms-ENG-GR [v3-051023] (/ Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4642) ℹ	3	05/10/2023	Other	5 Mb
7.	15. Instructional Video-ENG [v2-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4637) ℹ	2	05/10/2023	Other	6 Mb
8.	16. Instructional Video-GR [v2-051023] (/Document/ DownloadSubmissionAttachment? submissionId=89144&docId=426 4638) ℹ	2	05/10/2023	Other	5 Mb

Checklist

Submission Questionnaire ✔
Attachments ✔

Coordinators

Antreas Anthimou (aa1u21 A.Anthimou@soton.ac.uk)
Cora Sargeant (ccs1r18 C.C.Sargeant@soton.ac.uk) **supervisor**
Sarah Wright (sfw1 S.F.Wright@soton.ac.uk)

➜ Create Amendment

⊘ Abandon Study

Appendix J   Greek Translation of Wilson et al, (2023) Statements

Round 1 Statements (GR)
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να νιώθει ότι σώμα του δεν ταιριάζει με το πώς βιώνουν το κοινωνικό τους φύλο.
Το βιολογικό και το κοινωνικό φύλο είναι διαφορετικές κατασκευές.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να ταυτιστεί με ένα άλλο φύλο περισσότερο από το φύλο που του έχει αποδοθεί.
Η ταυτότητα φύλου ενός ατόμου μπορεί να διαφέρει από το φύλο που του έχει αποδοθεί κατά τη γέννησή του.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να μην ταυτίζεται ούτε με το αρσενικό, ούτε με το θηλυκό βιολογικό φύλο.
Ιδέες και συστήματα κατηγοριοποίησης που συσχετίζονται με όρους όπως "αρσενικό" και "θηλυκό" είναι ξεπερασμένα.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να μην έχει κοινωνικό φύλο.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να αυτοπροσδιορίζεται με φύλο το οποίο δεν εμπίπτει στο δυαδικό μοντέλο του φύλου.
Η ταυτότητα κοινωνικού φύλου μπορεί να είναι ρευστή για κάποιους και στατική για άλλους.
Η ταυτότητα κοινωνικού φύλου δεν πρέπει να ταιριάζει πάντα με την έκφραση κοινωνικού φύλου τους.
Η έκφραση φύλου ενός ατόμου μπορεί να αλλάξει με την πάροδο του χρόνου.
Η ταυτότητα φύλου είναι ρευστή και μπορεί να αλλάξει με τη πάροδο του χρόνου του χρόνου.

Ο τρόπος που η κοινωνία κατανοεί το κοινωνικό φύλο μπορεί να αλλάξει με τη πάροδο του χρόνου.
Η χρήση εννοιών για την ταυτότητα συνεχίζει να εξελίσσεται με το χρόνο.
"Μη δυαδικό" είναι μια ορολογία "ομπρέλα" που χρησιμοποιείται για να περιλάβει ένα εύρος από ταυτότητες και εμπειρίες.
Οι τρανς/διεμφυλικές ταυτότητες είναι έγκυρες με και χωρίς ιατρικές παρεμβάσεις.
Το κοινωνικό φύλο και οι αντωνυμίες δεν συνδέονται πάντα.
Τα άτομα που τροποποιούν την έκφραση φύλου τους δεν είναι απαραίτητα τρανς/διεμφυλικά.
Οι άνθρωποι θα έπρεπε να διατηρούν μια αντίληψη που να βασίζεται λιγότερο στο κοινωνικό φύλο σε όλους τους τομείς της ζωής.
Οι άνθρωποι από τη φύση τους δεν έχουν κοινωνικό φύλο- εφαρμόζουμε ένα κατασκεύασμα κοινωνικού φύλου για να κατανοήσουμε το σώμα μας.
Οι άνθρωποι από τη φύση τους δεν έχουν κοινωνικό φύλο - εφαρμόζουμε ένα κατασκεύασμα κοινωνικού φύλου για την κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο οι άνθρωποι βιώνουν τον εαυτό τους.
Εκ φύσεως, ο τρόπος με τον οποίο ένα άτομο εκφράζεται δεν εξαρτάται από το κοινωνικό φύλο. Χρησιμοποιούμε την ιδέα του κοινωνικού φύλου για να κατανοήσουμε το πως εκφράζεται ένα άτομο.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να αλλάξει την έκφραση του κοινωνικού του φύλου για να ταιριάζει με την ταυτότητα φύλου του.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να αυτοπροσδιορίζεται ως ένα μείγμα αρσενικού και θηλυκού.
Η εμπειρία ενός ατόμου ως προς το κοινωνικό φύλο μπορεί να αλλάξει με την πάροδο του χρόνου.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να ταυτίζεται ως περισσότερο αρσενικό ή περισσότερο θηλυκό.

Ένα άτομο μπορεί βιώνει τον εαυτό του ως περισσότερο ή λιγότερο αρρενωπό ή περισσότερο ή λιγότερο θηλυπρεπή.
Ένας τρανς/διεμφυλικός άντρας μπορεί να παρουσιάζεται σαν "θηλυπρεπής", ή μια τρανς/διεμφυλική γυναίκα μπορεί να παρουσιάζεται σαν "αρρενωπή", χωρίς να επηρεάζει την ταυτότητα του/της ως τρανς/διεμφυλικό άτομο.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να αισθάνεται ότι είναι τόσο αρρενωπό όσο και θηλυπρεπές.
Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο ένα άτομο εκφράζεται μπορεί να συνδυάζει στοιχεία "αρρενωπότητας" και "θηλυπρέπειας".
Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο ένα άτομο εκφράζεται μπορεί να μην έχει στοιχεία "αρρενωπότητας" και "θηλυπρέπειας".
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να ταυτίζεται εξίσου και με τα δύο βιολογικά φύλα.
Η ταυτότητα φύλου μπορεί να αλλάζει ανάλογα με τις συνθήκες και τα κοινωνικά περιβάλλοντα.
Το βίωμα του κοινωνικού φύλου ενός ατόμου μπορεί να αλλάξει ως αποτέλεσμα των εμπειριών του.
Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο βιώνουμε το φύλο μπορεί να επηρεαστεί από άλλους παράγοντες (π.χ., εθνικότητα, αναπηρία, ηλικία).
Η εμπειρία του φύλου ενός ατόμου μπορεί να αλλάξει ως αποτέλεσμα εξωτερικής πίεσης (π.χ., προσδοκίες από άλλα άτομα - γονείς/δασκάλους κλπ.).
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να αλλάξει την έκφραση του κοινωνικού φύλου του για να ταιριάζει με τις νόρμες του περιβάλλοντος του (π.χ., ένα άτομο που ακολουθεί τους κανόνες ενδυμασίας στο σχολείο).
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να αλλάξει την έκφραση φύλου του για να προκαλέσει αντιπαράθεση με τις νόρμες του περιβάλλοντος του.
Όροι όπως "genderqueer" και "non-binary" βοηθούν στην επισήμανση του φύλου.
Αυτό που σημαίνει ένας όρος για ένα άτομο μπορεί να σημαίνει κάτι διαφορετικό για ένα άλλο.

Δεν χρειάζεται να επισημαίνουμε το κοινωνικό φύλο με όρους ταυτότητας (π.χ. genderqueer, μη δυαδικό, αρσενικό, θηλυκό).
Η έκφραση φύλου αναφέρεται στους τρόπους με τους οποίους ένα άτομο παρουσιάζει το κοινωνικό του φύλο.
Ορισμένα τρανς/διεμφυλικά άτομα ταυτίζονται με το δυαδικό μοντέλο του φύλου (π.χ., άντρας, γυναίκα).
Το να αλλάζεις την έκφραση φύλου σου, ακόμα και με ιατρικές επεμβάσεις, δεν αφορά αποκλειστικά τα τρανς/διεμφυλικά άτομα.
Οι αντωνυμίες "αυτοί/αυτές, αυτός/αυτή/αυτό" θα πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούνται για όλους, εκτός αν το άτομο έχει δηλώσει τις αντωνυμίες που επιθυμεί να χρησιμοποιεί.
Δεν χρησιμοποιούν όλα τα μη δυαδικά (non-binary) άτομα τις αντωνυμίες "αυτοί/αυτές, αυτός/αυτή/αυτό".
Οι αντωνυμίες είναι ένας σημαντικός και επιβεβαιωτικός εκφραστικός δείκτης.
Οι αντωνυμίες δεν είναι υπόδειξη του κοινωνικού φύλου ενός ατόμου.
Τα άτομα μπορούν να αποφασίζουν πώς θα ήθελαν να ερμηνεύουν οι άλλοι τα βιολογικά/σωματικά τους χαρακτηριστικά.
Υπάρχει έλλειψη εκφραστικών δεικτών ουδέτερων ως προς το φύλο.
Οι βιολογικοί/σωματικοί δείκτες θα πρέπει να είναι προσωπική επιλογή του ατόμου.
Το κοινωνικό φύλο είναι αποκλειστικά αρσενικό και θηλυκό.
Το βιολογικό φύλο και το κοινωνικό φύλο είναι το ίδιο κατασκεύασμα.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να εκφράσει τον εαυτό του μόνο ως αρσενικό ή θηλυκό.

Η εμπειρία ενός ατόμου με το κοινωνικό του φύλο είναι σταθερή και δεν μπορεί να αλλάξει.
Μπορείς να επιβεβαιώσεις το φύλο ενός ατόμου με βιολογικούς/σωματικούς δείκτες (π.χ. μυϊκή διάπλαση, φυλετικά χρωμοσώματα, γεννητικά όργανα).
Μπορείτε να επιβεβαιώσετε το κοινωνικό φύλο κάποιου με εκφραστικούς δείκτες (π.χ. τρόπος ένδυσης, μακιγιάζ).
Ένα άτομο πρέπει να εκφράζει το κοινωνικό φύλο του με βάση αυτού που του έχει ανατεθεί στη γέννα.
Με το να επιλέγεις κοινωνικό φύλο σημαίνει πως αποδέχεσαι την ύπαρξη δυαδικότητας (ή δυαδικού μοντέλου) ως προς το κοινωνικό φύλο.
Μόνο τα τρανς/διεμφυλικά άτομα χρειάζεται να αλλάζουν το σώμα τους μέσω βιολογικών/σωματικών δεικτών.
Το να είσαι τρανς/διεμφυλικό άτομο σημαίνει ότι η ταυτότητα φύλου σου είναι είτε αρσενικό είτε θηλυκό.
Το φύλο που μας ανατέθηκε στη γέννα πρέπει να υποστηρίζεται από ένα κοινωνικό περιβάλλον που κατηγοριοποιεί το άτομο σε συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες όπως αρσενικό και θηλυκό (π.χ. σε δημόσιες τουαλέτες).
Ένα άτομο πρέπει να μαθαίνει πως να συμπεριφέρεται και να παρουσιάζεται με βάση το κοινωνικό τους φύλο (π.χ., να είναι διεκδικητικό λόγω του κοινωνικού του φύλου).
Ένα άτομο πρέπει να μαθαίνει πεποιθήσεις για τον εαυτό του σύμφωνα με το κοινωνικό του φύλο (π.χ., να νιώθει περισσότερη αυτοπεποίθηση στο μάθημα των μαθηματικών ή Ελληνικών λόγω του κοινωνικού του φύλου).
Η έκφραση φύλου ενός ατόμου δεν μπορεί να αλλάξει με την πάροδο του χρόνου.
Το κοινωνικό φύλο ενός ατόμου πρέπει να προσδιορίζεται με βάση βιολογικούς/σωματικούς δείκτες.
Ορισμένοι εκφραστικοί δείκτες μας υποδεικνύουν ότι το άτομο ανήκει σε κάποιο κοινωνικό φύλο (π.χ. η χρήση μακιγιάζ υποδηλώνει ότι είστε γυναίκα).
Ιατρικές μέθοδοι που επιφέρουν μόνιμες αλλαγές στο σώμα είναι ενάντια στην ιδέα της ρευστής μορφής του φύλου.

Ένα άτομο μπορεί να βιώνει τον εαυτό του ως μόνο αρσενικό ή μόνο θηλυκό.
Το βιολογικό φύλο αναφέρεται στο να είσαι είτε αρσενικό ή θηλυκό.
Το βιολογικό φύλο αναφέρεται στους βιολογικούς/σωματικούς δείκτες ταξινόμησης των ατόμων ως αρσενικά ή θηλυκά (π.χ. διαφορές στα γεννητικά όργανα κατά τη γέννηση ή χρωμοσωμικές διαφορές).
Το βιολογικό φύλο είναι σταθερό, αλλά υπάρχουν εξαιρέσεις (π.χ., ιντερσεξ - αυτοί που μπορεί να αλλάξουν ως αποτέλεσμα ιατρικής παρέμβασης).
Είναι σημαντικό να ξέρεις το κοινωνικό φύλο ενός ατόμου.
Είναι εντάξει να υποθέτουμε (assume) το κοινωνικό φύλο κάποιου με βάση τα βιολογικά/σωματικά και εκφραστικά του χαρακτηριστικά- το άτομο θα πρέπει να κατανοήσει ότι δεν είναι δυνατόν οι υποθέσεις μας να είναι πάντα σωστές.
Σε οσμισμένες περιπτώσεις το δυαδικό μοντέλο του κοινωνικού φύλου (αρσενικό ή θηλυκό) είναι χρήσιμο (π.χ., στην αναζήτηση ιατρικής παρέμβασης).
Το σώμα ενός ατόμου μπορεί να είναι περισσότερο/λιγότερο αρσενικό ή περισσότερο/λιγότερο θηλυκό.
Ο τρόπος έκφρασης ενός ατόμου μπορεί να είναι περισσότερο/λιγότερο αρσενικό ή περισσότερο/λιγότερο θηλυκό.
Οι τρανς/διεμφυλικές ταυτότητες είναι έγκυρες με βάση ιατρική διάγνωση.
Οι τρανς/διεμφυλικές ταυτότητες είναι έγκυρες όταν το άτομο έχει υποβληθεί σε ιατρική παρέμβαση (π.χ., ορμονική θεραπεία).
Το κοινωνικό φύλο είναι εκ φύσεως βιολογικό αλλά δε χρειάζεται να ταιριάζει με το βιολογικό φύλο.
Ένα σώμα μπορεί να κυμαίνεται από το να είναι περισσότερο ανδροπρεπές στο να είναι περισσότερο θηλυπρεπές.
Ένα άτομο μπορεί να βιώνει τον εαυτό του σε ένα συνεχές από το να είναι περισσότερο ανδροπρεπές στο να είναι περισσότερο θηλυπρεπές.

Το να είσαι μη δυαδικό (non binary) άτομο σημαίνει να βιώνεις ένα κοινωνικό φύλο μεταξύ ανδροπρέπειας και θηλυπρέπειας.
Οι ορολογίες που χρησιμοποιούμε για την ταυτότητα φύλου (π.χ., μη δυαδικό, τρανς/διεμφυλικό) είναι σημαντικές επειδή μπορείς να ορίσεις αυτό που είσαι μόνο αν το ονομάσεις.
Το να βλέπεις πως άλλοι παρουσιάζουν το κοινωνικό τους φύλο βοηθάει στο να επιβεβαιώσει το δικό του κοινωνικό φύλο.
Το κοινωνικό φύλο είναι ένας τρόπος ομαδοποίησης των μελών μιας κοινωνίας με σκοπό τον προσδιορισμό ή ανάθεση χαρακτηριστικών (π.χ., ενδυμασία, ενδιαφέροντα, ύψος, κοινωνικός ρόλος κλπ.).
Το κοινωνικό φύλο είναι προϊόν της κοινωνικής νόρμας στην οποία υπάρχει.
Το βιολογικό φύλο ενός ατόμου καθορίζει το πως βιώνει το κοινωνικό του φύλο.
Το κοινωνικό φύλο θα έπρεπε να προσδιορίζεται στη γέννα.
Η ανακάλυψη ταυτοτήτων κοινωνικού φύλου σχετίζεται μερικώς με, αλλά δεν καθορίζεται ολοκληρωτικά, από το σώμα του ατόμου.
Η ιατρική μετάβαση από ένα φύλο σε κάποιο άλλο (π.χ., ορμονική θεραπεία ή χειρουργικές παρεμβάσεις) είναι σημαντική για την ταυτότητα φύλου.
Το βιολογικό φύλο ενός ατόμου μπορεί να αλλάξει με την πάροδο του χρόνου.
Ένα άτομο επηρεάζει τον περίγυρο του και αλλάζει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο εκφράζεται για να ταιριάξει (π.χ., να αλλάζει τον τρόπο που ντύνεται).
Ένα άτομο επηρεάζει τον περίγυρο του και αλλάζει πως βιώνει το κοινωνικό του φύλο για να ταιριάξει.
Ένα άτομο επηρεάζει τον περίγυρο του και αλλάζει την έκφραση του κοινωνικού του φύλου για να ταιριάξει.
Το κοινωνικό φύλο αφορά συνεχή αναζήτηση και αλλαγή ταυτοτήτων.

Ένα άτομο μπορεί να επιλέξει πως βιώνει το κοινωνικό του φύλο.
Οι εκφραστικοί δείκτες είναι σημαντικοί για τον προσδιορισμό του κοινωνικού φύλου ενός ατόμου.
Δεν θα πρέπει να δίνεται προσοχή στον προσδιορισμό του κοινωνικού φύλου με βάση βιολογικά/σωματικά ή/και εκφραστικά χαρακτηριστικά.
Ο όρος "μη δυαδικό" αναφέρεται στην αποδόμηση των ορίων του κοινωνικού φύλου.
Το να είσαι μη δυαδικό άτομο σημαίνει ότι δεν ταυτίζεσαι ούτε σαν άντρας, ούτε σαν γυναίκα.
Το να είσαι μη δυαδικό άτομο σημαίνει να ζεις με ένα κοινωνικό φύλο που δεν περιέχει αρσενικό/θηλυκό ρόλο.
Τα άτομα που δεν είναι δυαδικά "διαγράφουν" το φύλο τους επιλέγοντας ένα κοινωνικό φύλο (π.χ. επιλέγοντας "αρσενικό" όταν συμπληρώνουν μία φόρμα).
Η κοινωνία πρέπει να προσπαθήσει να απομακρυνθεί από μοντέλα κοινωνικού φύλου χρησιμοποιώντας το βιολογικό φύλο για διευκόλυνση όταν χρειάζεται (π.χ., για ιατρικούς λόγους).

Appendix K   Statements that did not Reach Consensus

#	Statements	%			
		1	2	3	4
5	A person can identify as neither male or female	3.2	16.1	45.2	35.5
7	A person may not have a gender	9.7	29.0	41.9	19.4
8	A person may identify as having a specific, further gender outside of the binary	0.0	22.6	48.4	29.0
14	Use of identity terms continues to evolve over time	0.0	16.1	35.5	48.4
15	Non-binary is an umbrella term to capture a range of identities and experiences	6.5	9.7	45.2	38.7
17	Gender and pronouns are not always connected*	9.7	25.8	35.5	29.0
20	People are inherently non-gendered; we apply a construct of gender to understanding our bodies	12.9	9.7	48.4	29.0
24	A person can identify as a mixture of male and female	3.2	19.4	48.4	29.0
29	A person can experience themselves to be both masculine and feminine	3.2	3.2	48.4	45.2
31	The way a person expresses themselves can possess neither masculine nor feminine elements	6.5	12.9	41.9	38.7
32	A person can identify equally with both sexes	6.5	22.6	38.7	32.3
38	A person can change their expression of their gender to challenge the norms of their environment	3.2	12.9	48.4	35.5
39	Terms such as "genderqueer" and "non-binary" help label gender	9.7	22.6	38.7	29.0
41	You do not need to label gender with an identity term (e.g., genderqueer; non-binary; male; female)	9.7	25.8	35.5	29.0
45	They/them pronouns should be used for all, unless you have been told the pronouns a person uses*	22.6	22.6	41.9	12.9
46	Not every non-binary person uses they/them pronouns*	9.7	12.9	48.4	29.0
47	Pronouns are an important and affirming expressive marker*	9.7	29.0	32.3	29.0
48	Pronouns are not indicative of gender*	6.5	35.5	48.4	9.7
50	There is a lack of gender-neutral expressive markers	12.9	12.9	45.2	29.0
51	Physical markers should be an individual's personal choice*	6.5	16.1	38.7	38.7
56	You can confirm someone's gender with physical markers*	25.8	38.7	35.5	0.0
57	You can confirm someone's gender with expressive markers*	32.3	48.4	16.1	3.2
59	In choosing a gender, individuals accept a binary narrative	29.0	38.7	29.0	3.2
62	How someone was assigned at birth should be reinforced through socially required identification, which places a person in one or the other male/female category (e.g., use of bathrooms)	35.5	35.5	19.4	9.7

68	Medical measures, that result in permanent changes to the body, oppose the idea of gender fluidity	41.9	38.7	16.1	3.2
70	Sex refers to being male or female	9.7	12.9	35.5	41.9
72	Sex is generally fixed, but there are outliers (e.g., intersex; those who change through medical interventions)*	6.5	16.1	38.7	38.7
73	It's important to know someone's gender	16.1	16.1	45.2	22.6
75	There are some moments where a binary understanding of gender (male or female) is useful (e.g., seeking medical transition/intervention)	0.0	9.7	45.2	45.2
77	A person's expression can be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine	3.2	9.7	38.7	48.4
78	Transgender identities are valid based on a medical diagnosis	35.5	32.3	22.6	9.7
79	Transgender identities are valid where people have had medical intervention (e.g., hormone therapy)	25.8	45.2	25.8	3.2
84	Identity terms (e.g., non-binary; transgender) are important because you can only be what you are by naming it	38.7	41.9	19.4	0.0
85	Seeing others present their gender helps to affirm one's own gender	9.7	45.2	32.3	12.9
90	Discovery of gender identities is somewhat related to, yet not completely determined by a person's body	6.5	25.8	48.4	19.4
92	A person's sex can change over time	32.3	29.0	32.3	6.5
94	A person influences their surroundings and alters how they experience their gender to fit	9.7	41.9	41.9	6.5
95	A person influences their surroundings and alters the expression of their gender to fit	3.2	45.2	38.7	12.9
96	Gender is the continuous searching and switching of identities	32.3	45.2	16.1	6.5
100	Non-binary refers to the deconstruction of gender boundaries	3.2	45.2	45.2	6.5
103	Individuals who are non-binary erase their gender by choosing a gender (e.g., selecting 'male' on a form)	25.8	41.9	29.0	3.2
105	Gender assumptions should be considered ethical mistakes rather than malevolence.	25.8	16.1	38.7	19.4
108	A person's sex is medically important and unchangeable. However, in public, if someone corrects me regarding their gender, it becomes my responsibility to address them correctly in the future.	6.5	9.7	41.9	41.9
111	I believe in the fluidity of gender. While I may not fully understand it, I believe that people experience their gender differently than the straightforward way in which sex is assigned.	3.2	25.8	35.5	35.5

Appendix L   Synthesis Process and Comparison with Wilson et al., (2023)

Statements	Code	Note: DI – Definitely Important I – Important SI – Slightly Important NI – Not at all important	
		Wilson et al (2023)	**Reached Consensus with UK but not CY**
1. Gender Embodies Biological and Physical Aspects			
[NI] Sex and gender are the same constructs	Biology & Physical	SAME	[NI] You can confirm someone's gender with physical markers
[NI] A person should express their gender in line with the gender they have been assigned at birth	Biology & Physical	SAME	[NI] How someone was assigned at birth should be reinforced through socially required identification, which places a person in one or the other male/female category (e.g., use of bathrooms)
[NI] Only transgender people need to alter their bodies through physical markers*	Biology & Physical	SAME	[NI] Certain expressive markers tells us the individual belongs to another gender (e.g., using make-up implies you are female)
[NI] A person should be gendered using physical markers*	Biology & Physical	SAME	[NI] Medical measures, that result in permanent changes to the body, oppose the idea of gender fluidity)
[NI] Certain expressive markers tell us the individual belongs to another gender (e.g., using makeup implies you are female)*	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	[I] Pronouns are an important and affirming expressive marker*
[NI] Gender should be assigned at birth	Biology & Physical	SAME	[I] There is a lack of gender-neutral expressive markers
[SI] A person's sex determines how they experience their gender	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	[I] Physical markers should be an individual's personal choice*
[SI] Medical transition (e.g., hormone therapy or surgical interventions) is important to gender identity	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	[NI] You can confirm someone's gender with expressive markers
[SI] Expressive markers are important in determining the gender of a person	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	
[I] Gender is biological in nature, but does not have to match sex*	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	
[I] A body can range from more masculine to more feminine	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	

[DI] A person can identify with another sex more than their assigned sex	Biology & Physical	SAME	
[DI] A person's gender identity can differ from their birth-assigned sex	Biology & Physical	SAME	
[DI] A person can feel that their body doesn't match their experience of their gender	Biology & Physical	SAME	
[DI] Sex refers to the physical markers of classifying individuals as male or female (e.g., genital differences at birth or chromosomal differences)	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	
[DI] Sex and gender are two separate constructs	Biology & Physical	SAME	
[SI] No attention should be paid to determining gender by physical and/or expressive markers	Biology & Physical	No Consensus	
2. Gender Interacts with the Environment			
[NI] A person should learn to act in accordance with their gender (e.g., a person being assertive due to their gender)	External factors that impact	SAME	[I] A person can change their expression of their gender to challenge the norms of their environment
[NI] A person should learn beliefs about themselves in accordance with their gender (e.g., a person feeling more confident in their maths or English abilities due to their gender)	External factors that impact	SAME	
[I] A person can change their expression of their gender to fit the norms of the environment (e.g., a person following a school uniform code)	External factors that impact	SAME	
[I] Gender identity can fluctuate over contexts and social environments	External factors that impact	SAME	
[I] A person's experience of their gender can change because of their lived experience	External factors that impact	SAME	
[I] Gender is a product of the cultural norms it conforms to*	External factors that impact	No Consensus	
[I] A person influences their surroundings and alters the way they express themselves to fit (e.g., changing their clothing)	External factors that impact	No Consensus	
[DI] Society's understanding of gender can change over time*	External factors that impact	SAME	

[DI] A person's experience of their gender can change because of external pressures (e.g., expectations of other people – parents/teachers etc.)	External factors that impact	I	
[DI] The way we can experience gender can be influenced by other factors (e.g., ethnicity, disability, age)*	External factors that impact	I	
3. Gender is Fluid and Individuals have an Active Role in Constructing it			
[SI] Being non-binary means living with a gender that falls between masculine and feminine	Fluid	No Consensus	[DI] Non-binary is an umbrella term to capture a range of identities and experiences
[I] A person can experience themselves on a spectrum from more masculine to more feminine	Fluid	No Consensus	[I] A person can identify as a mixture of male and female
[I] Gender identity can be fluid for some and static for others*	Fluid	DI	[I] A person can experience themselves to be both masculine and feminine
[I] A person's expression of their gender can change over time	Fluid	DI	[I] A person can identify equally with both sexes
[I] Gender identity is fluid and can fluctuate over time	Fluid	DI	
[I] A person can identify as more male or more female	Fluid	SAME	
[I] A person's body can be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine	Fluid	No Consensus	
[DI] A person can experience themselves to be more or less masculine, or more or less feminine	Fluid	I	
[I] A person can choose how they experience their gender	It's a choice	No Consensus	
[I] Gender expression is the ways in which an individual presents their gender	It's a choice	SAME	
[I] Individuals are allowed to decide how they would like their physical markers to be interpreted by others*	It's a choice	SAME	
[I] Gender should not be considered as a category to be chosen from, but rather as a mode of expression.**	It's a choice	No Consensus	
[I] A person's gender identity does not always match their gender expression	Mix and match	DI	
[I] The way a person expresses themselves can combine	Mix and match	SAME	

masculine and feminine elements			
[I] Not all people who alter their gender expression are transgender	Mix and match	DI	
[I] A person can alter their gender expression to match their gender identity	Mix and match	SAME	
[I] A transgender man may present as 'feminine', or a transgender woman may present as 'masculine', without compromising their identity as a transgender person*	Mix and match	DI	
[I] Changing your gender expression, even to the point of medical intervention, is not exclusive to transgender people*	Mix and match	SAME	
[I] People are inherently non-gendered; we apply a construct of gender to our understanding of how people experience themselves	We create our constructs	SAME	
[I] The way a person expresses themselves is inherently non-gendered; we apply a construct of gender to our understanding of a person's expression	We create our constructs	DI	
[SI] Gender is a way of grouping members of society to assign traits (e.g., clothing style; interests; height; social role, etc.)*	We create our constructs	No Consensus	
3.1 Gender Identity and Expressions Mature as We Grow Up			
[NI] A person's experience of gender is fixed and cannot change	Identity matures as we grow up	SAME	[DI] Use of identity terms continues to evolve over time
[NI] A person's expression of their gender cannot change over time	Identity matures as we grow up	SAME	
[I] A person's experience of gender can change over time	Identity matures as we grow up	SAME	
[I] Gender is not clear from birth but it becomes clear as we grow up.**	Identity matures as we grow up	No Consensus	
4. Gender can Exist Outside of the Binary			
[NI] Gender is exclusively male and female	Outside of the binary	SAME	[DI] A person may identify as having a specific, further gender outside of the binary

[NI] A person can only express themselves as male and female	Outside of the binary	SAME	[DI] A person can identify as neither male or female
[NI] Being transgender means your gender identity is either male or female	Outside of the binary	SAME	[DI] A person may not have a gender
[NI] A person can experience themselves to be only male or female	Outside of the binary	No Consensus	[I] The way a person expresses themselves can possess neither masculine nor feminine elements
[I] Being non-binary means a person does not identify as a man or a woman*	Outside of the binary	No Consensus	[NI] In choosing a gender, individuals accept a binary narrative
[I] Being non-binary means living with a gender absent of a male/female role	Outside of the binary	No Consensus	
5. Embracing Diversity in Interpretations and Experiences			
[I] Transgender identities are valid with and without medical interventions*	Understanding and respecting others.	DI	[DI] Gender and pronouns are not always connected
[I] In some cases, a person's gender may not be immediately apparent, so it's important for them (i.e., gender non-conforming people) to understand that others might require a bit of explanation and guidance.**	Understanding and respecting others.	No Consensus	[I] They/them pronouns should be used for all, unless you have been told the pronouns a person uses*
[DI] People should have the right to express themselves however they want.**	Understanding and respecting others.	No Consensus	[I] Not every non-binary person uses they/them pronouns*
[DI] We do not need to understand gender but only to understand and respect what the other person feels. It is not our business.**	Understanding and respecting others.	No Consensus	
[DI] I might not personally agree with gender fluidity, but I will always try to make other people feel accepted and as comfortable as possible.**	Understanding and respecting others.	No Consensus	
[I] What a term means to one individual may mean something different to another	Variance in interpretations and experiences	SAME	
[DI] Some transgender people identify with binary genders (e.g., man/woman)	Variance in interpretations and experiences	I	
[I] It's okay to assume someone's gender based on their physical and expressive markers; individuals should understand it's not possible to be right all the time*	Variance in interpretations and experiences	No Consensus	
5.1. Contemporary Understandings of Gender			

[I] People should maintain a less gender-based outlook across all areas of life*	Contemporary understandings of gender	SAME	[I] People are inherently non-gendered; we apply a construct of gender to understanding our bodies
[I] Society should strive to move away from models of gender, using sex to accommodate for when needed (e.g., medical reasons)*	Contemporary understandings of gender	No Consensus	[I] Terms such as "genderqueer" and "non-binary" help label gender
[I] Ideas and systems of classification related to male and female are outdated	Contemporary understandings of gender	DI	[I] You do not need to label gender with an identity term (e.g., genderqueer; non-binary; male; female)
[I] It is crucial to acknowledge that gender matters are not a topic to be taken lightly. Rather than becoming a trend, it should involve an earnest understanding of the relatively few people in this world who grapple with these experiences.**	Contemporary understandings of gender. Understanding and respecting others.	No Consensus	[I] Pronouns are not indicative of gender*