What beliefs influence children and young people's attitudes towards the transgender population?

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Aims: This review aims to identify and explore the specific beliefs that influence children and young people's (CYP's) attitudes towards the transgender population.

Method: A systematic review of the literature was undertaken and a total of 14 studies were included in the review. The review included studies from the United States, Europe, and Asia. Each study was appraised using Gough's (2007) Weight of Evidence Framework and awarded a quality assurance rating of low, medium, or high quality.

Findings: The review identified three sets of beliefs that appear to influence CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population: heteronormativity, conservatism and gender essentialism. Gender differences in beliefs were found to influence attitudes towards the transgender population as a whole and towards Male-to-Female (MtF) individuals and Female-to-Male (FtM) individuals.

Limitations: The key limitation within this review is that the mechanisms through which beliefs influence CYP attitudes are hypothetical. Further insight using qualitative approaches would deepen the understanding of the underpinnings of attitudes towards the transgender population, particularly transprejudice. A variety of measures were used across the included studies which limits the comparability of the finding and conclusions drawn.

Conclusions: This review identified three sets of beliefs that influence attitudes towards the transgender population. These beliefs represent a traditional, binary model of gender that contrasts with the experiences of gender-diverse populations. A more inclusive model of gender is proposed whereby acceptance, diversity and belonging are promoted.

Key words: transgender, gender identity, CYP, attitudes

Introduction

Approximately 200,000-500,000 transgender adults live in the United Kingdom (UK: Government Equalities Office, 2018). There are several different definitions of the term 'transgender' within the literature and this can often serve as an umbrella term for a various people and identities (Buck, 2016; Norton & Herek, 2013). For the purpose of this review, the term transgender will be defined as: individuals whose gender identity, expression or behaviour is inconsistent with their birth-assigned sex, and is inclusive of both those who have socially and medically transitioned and those who have not (Chen & Anderson, 2017; Buck, 2016; Carroll et al., 2012).

Transgender individuals are vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination. Stonewall (2018) found that 41% of transgender respondents had been the victim of a hate crime in the previous 12 months due to their gender identity and 40% had adjusted the way they dressed for fear of prejudice and discrimination. There are also threats to the safety of the transgender population, with 1651 hate crimes recorded in England and Wales by the police in 2017-2018 (Home Office, 2018). Even excluding the risk of physical threat, members of the transgender population face barriers within society that have a negative impact on their mental health and psychological, physical, social and economic wellbeing (APA, 2015). A survey exploring the mental health of the transgender population found that 84% had considered suicide at some point of their lives with 50% having attempted it at least once (McNeil et al., 2012).

A number of different terms have been used in studies referring to the negative attitudes and prejudice observed towards the transgender population including anti-transgender prejudice and transphobia (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012;

Broussard & Warner, 2018). For the purposes of this review the term 'transprejudice' has been chosen to describe negative attitudes towards the transgender population as it clearly represents the construct discussed and the population concerned (Ching & Xu, 2018; Winter et al., 2009).

An increasing number of children and young people identify as a gender different to the one assigned to them at birth (CYPT), placing them at risk of exposure to similar prejudices to those experienced by the adult transgender population. In 2017-2018 the UK's Tavistock and Portman Gender Identity Development Service (GIDS) received 2,519 referrals (713 birth-assigned males, 1806 birth-assigned females) from CYPT under the age of 18, an increase of 25 % from the previous year (GIDS, 2018).

A study by Stonewall and the University of Cambridge suggests that indeed CYPT do experience similar prejudices to those of the adult transgender population (Bradlow et al., 2017). In total, 3713 lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) pupils aged 11-19 were questioned with 483 (13%) identifying as transgender or a gender outside of a binary model. Bradlow and colleagues found that over half (51%) of CYPT were bullied at school due to their gender status. Approximately 84% of transgender and non-binary respondents self-harmed, and more than 45% had attempted to take their own lives (Bradlow et al., 2017).

While research investigating attitudes towards the adult transgender population is in its infancy (Aizura & Stryker, 2013), researchers have begun to examine the beliefs that might underlie prejudicial feelings towards the transgender population (Worthen, 2016; Norton & Herek, 2013). Research has identified that people who report negative attitudes tend to hold a stronger belief in a binary system of gender, and support traditional gender roles, together considered a stronger belief in *heteronormativity* (Worthen, 2016; Nagoshi et al., 2012). Additionally, people who endorse social *conservatism*, a set of conservative beliefs that encompass one's social, political and religious ideologies, tend to score highly on measures

of transprejudice (Norton & Herek, 2013; King et al., 2009). These findings suggest that beliefs about specific constructs are associated with higher levels of transprejudice.

Given that school represents a context featuring such high levels of transprejudice (Bradlow et al., 2017), a clearer understanding of CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population, and the beliefs that influence them, is important to craft effective interventions to improve the inclusion of this minority group. With such an understanding it may be possible to consider new ways of working in school that directly attend to those foundational beliefs, reducing transprejudice, and improving the emotional wellbeing and inclusion of CYPT in schools.

Method

Search Strategy

To address the research question 'What beliefs influence CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population', a systematic search of the literature was conducted using five databases: PsychInfo via EBSCO, Web of Science (WoS), Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC), Scopus and Cinahl. Search terms were generated based on the focus of the review, the research question and terms identified during a scoping search of the literature. The search terms used were: transgender* OR transsexual* OR transgenderism* OR gender non-conform* OR gender dysphoria* OR gender variant* AND transphobia* OR "anti-transgender prejudice*" OR transprejudice* OR prejudice* OR discrimination* AND belief* OR attitude* OR view* OR perception* OR thought* OR judgement* OR opinion* AND school* OR college* OR educat* NOT medic* OR health* OR "transgender experience" OR homophobia* OR lesbian* OR bisexual* OR intervention* AND child* OR adoles* OR "young people*"

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

For this review, the attitudes of CYP up to the age of 25 were included with those under 16 described as children and those over described as young people (Department for Education, & Department for Health and Social Care, 2014). Further inclusion criteria stated that studies must be published in English and peer-reviewed. Exclusion criteria included: reference to sexuality as the focus, unless attitudes towards the transgender population were relevant to the research question; a focus on health attitudes; a focus on medical issues; and a focus on the experiences of members of the transgender population.

The search was conducted in September 2018 and a total of 42 papers were identified. Of these, 33 papers did not meet the criteria. An additional nine papers were identified via a search of the reference lists of the included articles. The remaining full-text articles (N=18) were screened based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria; those that did not meet the criteria were excluded (N=3). A total of 15 papers were selected for this review (Figure 1; Moher et al., 2009). An overview of the studies included in the review can be found in Table 1.

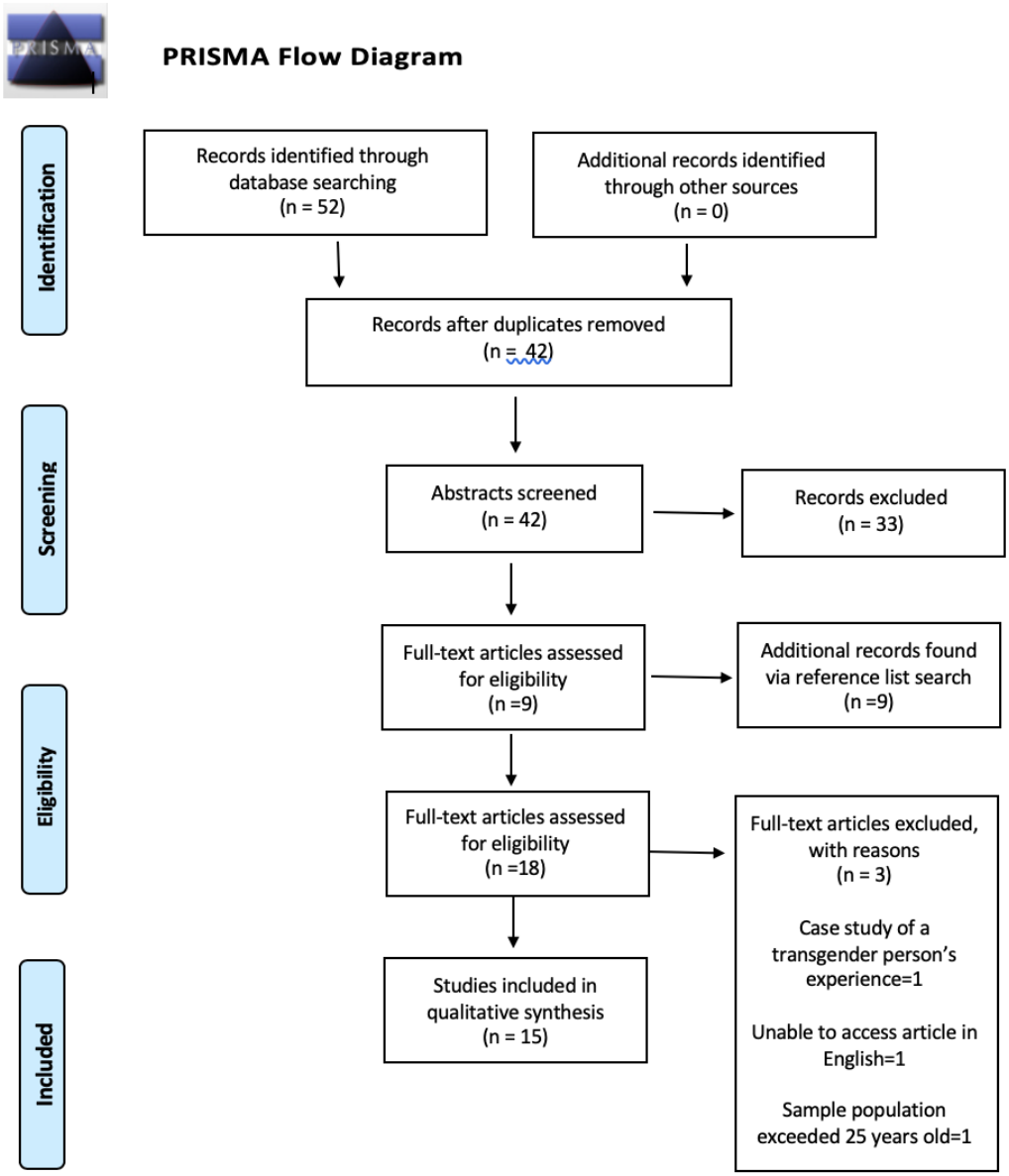

Figure 1. PRISMA diagram illustrating the systematic search process.

Quality assurance

Each study was assessed using Gough's Weight of Evidence framework (WoE: 2007). The WoE is based on four criteria A to D: WoE A considers the methodological relevance and suitability of each study. An adapted version of the Downs and Black checklist (1998) was used, with one point awarded for each of the criteria. A total of 12 points were available. One study employed a mixed-method methodology, and the Review Framework for

Qualitative Evaluation / Investigation Research (Woods et al, 2011) was used in addition for the qualitative section.

WoE B is review specific and considers the population, measures and reliability of each study in relation to the review focus and review question. WoE C is also review specific and considers the relevance of the evidence in relation to the review question. WoE D considers the three judgements and combines them to make an overall assessment of the evidence in relation to the review question. WoE D provides a categorisation of ‘high quality’, ‘medium quality’, or ‘low quality’ to evaluate the quality of the evidence in the review (See Table 2).

Table 1. Details for each study included in the review including authors, country, participants, measures and key findings.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
Adams et al., (2016) US	Components of gender-nonconformity.	Questionnaires.	145 female (mean age=18.8 years) 194 male (mean age=19.3 years) All heterosexual undergraduate students (UG)	The RWA Scale, Altmeyer, (1981). The Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992). The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al, 1999). The Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al, 2008) The Religious Fundamentalism Scale (Altmeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Violations of gender role, gender identity & sexual orientation norms (Study developed tool).	Males scored significantly higher on all measures of discomfort, physical aggression, homophobia, transphobia and benevolent sexism. Discomfort with violations of gender role norms, gender identity norms and sexual orientation norms were highly correlated with homophobia and transphobia (higher correlations for discomfort with gender identity norm violations) for males and females. Gender role, gender identity and sexual orientation were significantly moderately correlated with religious fundamentalism, right-wing authoritarianism and benevolent sexism.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
Barbir et al., (2017) US	Friendship, attitudes, and behavioural intentions of cisgender heterosexuals toward transgender individuals.	Questionnaires.	210 female UG aged 17-26 65 male UG aged 17-26	Transgender friendships (Study developed tool) Assessment of attitudes, beliefs, and behavioural intentions toward transgender individuals (Study developed tool)	Participants reported significantly fewer negative intentions, greater positive intentions and views, and greater supportive public intentions when they had at least one transgender friend.
Broussard,& Warner, (2018) US	Gender nonconformity is perceived differently for cisgender and transgender targets.	Vignettes and questionnaires.	Study 1: 152 female UG 80 male UG Mean age of 18.7 years Study 2: 144 female 73 male UG Mean age of 19.06 years	Study 1: Liking of target (Study developed tool). Distinctiveness Threat elicited by target (Study developed tool). Study 2: Same measures used.	Study 1: Cisgender targets were liked more than transgender targets with Gender identity and gender conformity were significant predictors of liking. The relationship between liking and transprejudice was moderated by gender identity and gender conformity. Study 2: Transprejudice increased when liking decreased. As transprejudice increased, distinctiveness threat increased for transgender targets.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
Carrera-Fernandez et al., (2014) Spain	Spanish adolescents' attitudes toward Transpeople: Proposal and validation of a short form of the Genderism and Transphobia Scale.	Questionnaires.	406 female 394 male Mean age of 15.19 years 75.8% attended public school	Self-report questionnaire (Study developed) Genderism and Transgender Scale (GTS: Hill & Willoughby, 2005) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory short form (Glick & Fiske, 1996) Modern Homophobia Scale (Raja & Stokes, 1998)	Boys reported significantly more negative attitudes towards transgender people than girls. Participant attitudes toward transmen were more positive than their attitudes toward transwomen.
Carroll et al., (2012) US	How do U.S students perceive Trans persons?	Questionnaires.	187 female UG, mean age of 20.8 years 46 male UG, mean age of 22.7 years	The Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1983). The Interpersonal Curiosity Scale (Litman & Pezzo, 2007). Thermometer Evaluation Scale (Herek & Capitanio, 1999) Affective Reaction to Target Scale (Oswald, 2007). Perceived Characteristics of the Target (Oswald, 2007).	Male participants were significantly less willing to interact with Female to Male (FtM) individuals than Male to Female (MtF) people. Participants were less willing to interact with FtM and showed the strongest negative reactions towards them. . Men reported highest willingness to interact with MtF and showed the lowest negative reactions.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
				The Social Distance Scale (Crandall, 1991). The Empathic Concerns Scale (Batson et al, 1981, 1988)	Females scores were similar across all four domains of the intake form for willingness to interact and negative reactions.
Chen & Anderson, (2017) China and US	Chinese college students' gender self-esteem and trans prejudice.	Online survey.	63 female college students. 61 male college students. Mean age of 23.7 years. All heterosexual and cisgender. 85.4% studied in China, 10.6% studied in US, 4.1% did not identify place of study	GTS (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) The Social Desirability Scale-17 (Stöber, 2001)	Males reported more transprejudice than females. Both male and females reported more violence toward, teasing of, and discomfort with trans women compared with transmen. Gender self-esteem was not a significant predictor of transprejudice.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
Ching & Xu, (2018) China	The effects of gender neuroessentialism on Transprejudice: An experimental study.	Experimental. Students were randomly assigned to read one of three fictitious articles about sex differences: biological determinist, interactionist or neutral baseline).	64 female UG 68 male UG Mean age of 20.2 years.	General Attitudes Survey (Hegarty & Golden, 2008). Essentialist Belief Scale (Haslam et al, 2000, 2002) Personal Stereotype Item (Eagly et al, 1991; Esses et al, 1994; Hegarty & Golden, 2008) Attitudes Toward Transgendered Individuals Scale (Walch et al, 2012) Two subscales of the Chinese Attitudes toward Transgenderism and Transgender Civil Rights Scale (King, 2008)	The biological determinist article increased the level of negative stereotypes of transgender people compared to the neutral article. Gender neuroessentialism leads to more negative attitudes and a lower intention to support equal rights of transgender people.
Costa & Davies, (2012) Portugal	Portuguese adolescents' attitudes toward sexual minorities: Transphobia, Homophobia, and Gender Role Beliefs.	Questionnaires.	126 female students 62 male students Mean age of 17 years.	GTS (Hill & Willoughby, 2005) The Affective Reactions toward Gay Men Scale (Davies, 2004) The Affective Reactions toward Lesbian Women Scale (Davies, 2004) The Gender Role Beliefs Scale (Study developed tool)	ARTGM was a strong predictor of genderism and transphobia. Males showed more negative attitudes toward transgender individuals, gay men and lesbians than female participants and showed more traditional gender role beliefs than females. Attitudes towards women's gender roles, men's roles and

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
					gender were highly significant predictors of genderism and transphobia.
Gazzola & Morrison, (2014) Canada	Cultural and personally endorsed stereotypes of Transgender men and Transgender women: Notable correspondence or disjunction?	Focus group and surveys.	Study 1: 7 female students 9 male students Mean age of 20.4 years Study 2: Total of 274 *Valence survey:* 2 females 11 males Mean age of 19.9 years Valence survey relevant to transgender men, n=7 and transwomen, n=7	Study 1: 3 Focus Groups: FG1= male, FG2= female, FG3=male and female Study 2: Cultural Stereotype Scale Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotype Scale Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al, 2008) Valence of Stereotype Threat	Eight themes were identified: Gendered personality and behaviours; sexed body shape; abnormal participants; rejected by society; mental illness; sex reassignment surgery; gay and lesbian; primacy of birth sex versus gender identity. Study 2: Participants held relatively neutral attitudes towards transgender men and women on average. Religion was significantly correlated with transphobia scale. Participants who had contact with transgender individuals had lower scores on the transphobia scale. The cultural stereotype of transmen was more strongly negatively valanced than transwomen.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
Gülgöz et al., (2018) US	Children's evaluations and categorisations of transgender children.	Vignette and task.	Study 1: 30 female children 25 male children Mean age=7.9 Study 2: 31 female children 27 male children Mean age=7.9	Study 1: Liking task and vignette (Study developed tool) Categorisation task of targets (Study developed tool) Study 2: Same as above.	Study 1: Children liked cisgender targets better than transgender targets and liked their own gender targets more than the other gender targets. Study 2: Children favoured targets of their own gender compared with targets of the other gender and were more likely to categorise transgender targets by their gender than expected by chance.
Nagoshi et al., (2008) US	Gender differences in correlates of homophobia and transphobia.	Questionnaires.	153 female UG 157 male UG Mean age=19.5	Transphobia Scale Nagoshi et al, 2008) The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al, 1999) Religious Fundamentalism (Altmeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al, 1975). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996)	Men scored significantly higher than women on: transphobia, homophobia, masculinity, hostile sexism, rape myth acceptance, sexual permissiveness and physical aggression proneness. Transphobia and homophobia were highly correlated for both sexes. Transphobia and homophobia were correlated with right-wing authoritarianism, religious

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
				The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1980) The Sociosexuality Inventory (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991) The Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992)	fundamentalism and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism was more strongly correlated with transphobia.
Tebbe & Moradi, (2012) US	Anti-transgender prejudice: A Structural Equation Model of associated constructs.	Questionnaires.	145 female UG 105 male UG Mean age=19.06	The Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al, 2008) Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale (Herek, 1988) Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale Female/Male version (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999) Traditional Gender Role Attitudes (Attitudes toward women Scale, Spence & Helmreich, 1978) Gender Role Beliefs Scale (Kerr & Holden, 1996). The Need for Closure scale (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994)	Men showed higher scores on the transphobia scale than females. Anti-LGB prejudice, traditional gender role attitudes and need for closure are associated with transprejudice. The pattern of associations between men and women across the constructs are similar but women scores were lower in transprejudice than men.

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
				The Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al, 1994) Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).	
Winter et al., et al (2009) China, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, UK, US	Transpeople, Transprejudice and Pathologicalization: A seven country factor analytic study.	Questionnaires.	541 female UG 277 male UG Mean age=20.16	Perceptions of transwomen 30-item questionnaire (Study developed tool)	5 factors identified: Mental illness x=0.86; Denial-women x=0.81; social rejection x=0.78; peer-rejection x=0.65; sexual deviance x=0.54.
Winter et al., (2008) Hong Kong and Canada	Measuring Hong Kong Undergraduate Student's Attitudes Towards Transpeople.	Questionnaire.	82 female UG 121 male UG Mean age: 21 (HK), 25 (CA)	Chinese GTS (Hill & Willoughby, 2005)	The Hong Kong sample were more transphobic than the Canadian sample although both show scores that are tolerant of the transgender population. Males were more transphobic than females and participants

Author and Country	Study title	Design	Sample	Key outcome measures	Key findings
					were less tolerant of gender variant males. 5 factors were identified for Chinese population: anti-sissy prejudice, anti-trans violence, trans unnaturalness, trans immorality, background genderism.

Table 2. Quality assurance table

Study	WoE A	WoE B	WoE C	WoE D
Adams et al., (2016)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Antoszewski et al., (2007)	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Barbir et al., (2017)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Broussard, & Warner, (2018)	High	Medium	High	High
Carrera-Fernandez et al., (2014)	High	Medium	High	High
Carrol et al., (2012)	High	Low	Medium	Medium
Chen, & Anderson, (2017)	High	Medium	High	High
Ching, & Xu, (2018)	High	Medium	High	High
Costa, & Davies, (2012)	High	Low	Medium	Medium
Gazzola, & Morrison, (2014)	Medium	Medium	High	Medium
Gülgöz et al., (2018)	High	High	High	High
Nagoshi et al., (2008)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Tebbe, & Moradi, (2012)	High	Medium	High	High
Winter et al., (2009)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Winter et al., (2008)	High	Medium	High	High

Findings

Fourteen articles enabled exploration of the beliefs that influence CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population. The reviewed studies explored specific beliefs and their links to attitudes towards the transgender population.

Gülgöz et al., (2018) conducted two studies to explore children's evaluations of transgender and cisgender peers who were the same or opposite sex to them; they found that children between the ages of 5-10 years showed a preference for cisgender children compared to transgender children. Children in study one rated transgender peers positively although they showed a preference for same-gender, cisgender peers: for example, cisgender girls favoured cisgender girls, followed by cisgender boys, transgender girls (birth-assigned male) and finally transgender boys (birth-assigned female). Cisgender refers to individuals for whom their gender identity and expression are the same as their birth-assigned sex (Riggs & Sion, 2017). The vignette used in study one may have caused some difficulties in interpretation for the participants as it did not specifically state whether the 'target' child was assigned a boy or girl at birth, it only implies their birth sex. The inherent ambiguity in the task was addressed in study two where Gülgöz et al., (2018) provided a fuller description of the target children's birth sex, pronouns and their views of their gender and preferences. The children in study two showed a preference for same-gender peers but did not distinguish between cisgender and transgender peers. Taking the results of both studies, the study was appraised as high quality by the WoE framework. Gülgöz and colleagues concluded that children showed a preference for cisgender target children over transgender target children with cisgender children preferring cisgender children of the same gender, followed by transgender peers of the same gender. However, when the results of study two, which provided a fuller description of the target child, were taken into account they demonstrated that children did not show a preference for cisgender peers over transgender peers. No gender

differences in preferences for peers were found and there was no significant correlation between participants' age and their evaluations of cisgender and transgender peers.

Two studies showed that as children develop into adolescence, heteronormative beliefs begin to influence their evaluations of non-conforming groups and a gender divide in attitudes becomes apparent (Costa & Davies, 2012; Carrera-Fernández et al., 2014). Costa and Davies (2012) explored the attitudes of adolescents aged 15-19 toward gay men, lesbian women, the transgender population and traditional gender roles. They found that adolescents who held negative attitudes towards the transgender population held similar attitudes towards lesbian women and gay men and endorsed the concept of traditional gender roles; this was especially true for participants who held negative attitudes towards gay men. Furthermore, adolescent males reported significantly more negative attitudes towards transgender individuals than the female adolescents. This study was rated as of medium quality by the WoE framework. It used its own assessment tool to measure participants' gender role beliefs, adapted items taken from other tools including The Gender Role Belief Scale and the Bias in Attitude Survey, and reworded elements of the Genderism and Transphobia Scale (GTS) to fit the audience. The finding that participants held similar attitudes towards the transgender and gay populations may suggest that a violation of traditional gender role beliefs impacts these attitudes via the mechanism of gender normativity. Carrera-Fernandez and colleagues (2014) also found that adolescent boys reported significantly more negative attitudes and beliefs towards transgender individuals than girls although the reported effect size was low *d=.10*. Furthermore, adolescents appraised gender non-conforming males (transwomen) significantly more negatively than gender non-conforming women (transmen). This study was also appraised by the WoE framework as of medium quality. Adolescent attitudes were collated using the Spanish version of the GTS and two factors that explained 54.2% of the variance were identified.

The remaining studies explore the attitudes of undergraduate students. Nagoshi et al (2008) explored gender role beliefs and found that a perceived threat to social status was significantly associated with attitudes toward traditional gender roles and benevolent sexism, the endorsement of traditional gender roles towards women. This finding suggests that people who hold strong but positive beliefs about women conforming to traditional gender roles are likely to hold negative views towards the transgender population. Additionally, a significant relationship between hostile sexism, religious fundamentalism (RF) and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) for men and women suggests a preference for traditionalist, heteronormative gender norms and prejudice toward deviance from this. Hostile sexism describes antipathy towards women, RF describes a certainty in the truth of one's religion, and RWA describes adherence to traditional, societal norms. The authors suggest that experiences that promote these norms are a potential mechanism for observed prejudices. This study was appraised as of medium quality by the WoE framework. The study-developed transprejudice tool requires further validation to ensure it is measuring attitudes towards the transgender population however the findings were relevant to the review question.

Adams et al (2016) also looked at undergraduate attitudes and proposed a three-component model that suggests a specific threat to social status as a mechanism for gender-based prejudice. This model was used to explore whether transprejudice was a result of outgroups' social identity and status or whether it resulted from a perceived deviation from gender heteronormativity. Several constructs were assessed: RWA, aggression, homophobia, transphobia, RF, ambivalent sexism and, discomfort with violations of gender roles, gender identity and sexual orientation norms. The study used a PATH analyses to explore the relationship between gender identity, gender roles and sexual orientation against theoretical models of homophobia and transphobia. Gender role norms and gender identity norms provided a correlation of .71; gender role norms and sexual orientation provided a correlation

of .74; gender identity norms and sexual orientation provided a correlation of .84. Analyses showed that RWA and RF were significantly correlated with discomfort of violations of gender roles, gender identity and sexual orientation norms. The high correlations found suggest that there is a relationship between gender beliefs and attitudes towards the gay and transgender population and a potential conflation amongst concepts. Furthermore, heteronormative and conservative attitudes were associated with higher levels of transprejudice. This study was rated as of medium quality by the WoE framework. The measures and analysis were appropriate although the actual probability values were not reported throughout the study.

The influence and impact of a perceived threat to social status amongst undergraduates was also explored by Tebbe and Moradi (2012). They used structural equation modelling (SEM) to analyse 250 undergraduate psychology students' attitudes toward several constructs including anti-lesbian, gay and bisexual prejudice (LGB), traditional gender roles, transprejudice, need for closure, and social dominance orientation. A need for closure describes an individual's need for firm, non-ambiguous, consistent information (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). Social dominance orientation refers to an individual's hope to maintain social hierarchies by increasing and maintaining the status of their in-group (Pratto et al., 1994). Somebody who scores highly on social dominance orientation would regard the heteronormative population to be the in-group and the transgender population the out-group. Tebbe and Moradi (2012) found that anti-LGB prejudice (.58), traditional gender role beliefs (.23) and need for closure (.12) provided unique associations with anti-transgender prejudice; each variable contributes to anti-transgender prejudice independently. These findings provide further evidence to suggest that transgressions in gender and sexual orientation beliefs impact attitudes towards the transgender population. It was rated as of high quality by the WoE

framework due to the design, methodology and relevance of the findings to the review question.

Broussard & Warner (2018) conducted three studies in this area, with two of the three particularly relevant to this review. In study one, the authors assessed the attitudes of 232 undergraduate students from the US towards gender-conforming and gender non-conforming cisgender and transgender female individuals. They found that gender non-conforming women and transgender women increased participants' perception of threat and decreased levels of liking compared to gender-conforming women. In study two, the authors assessed the attitudes of 217 US undergraduate students toward gender-conforming and gender non-conforming cisgender and transgender males. Broussard and Warner (2018) found that transgender men were appraised more negatively than cisgender men and feminine men were appraised more negatively than masculine men. Overall, gender-conforming targets were liked more than gender non-conforming targets with cisgender targets appraised more favourably than transgender targets. The authors found that as attitudes towards traditional gender roles, a binary gender system and transprejudice increased, evaluations of transgender and gender non-conforming individuals decreased, and the evaluations of perceived threat increased. This study was rated as of medium quality by the WoE framework.

Traditional gender role beliefs appear to influence the appraisal of transgender and cisgender individuals, with transgender individuals appraised more negatively. Gazzola and Morrison (2014) sought to understand the influence personal and cultural stereotypes have on the appraisal of transgender men and women. In their first study, three focus groups (FG) were used to explore the traits and attributes thought to best represent the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women; FG1 included only female participants, FG2 included only male participants and FG3 included both genders. Eight themes were identified: gendered personality and behaviours, sexed body shape, abnormal, rejected by society, mental illness,

sex reassignment surgery, gay and lesbian, and primacy of birth sex versus gender identity (see Gazzola & Morrison, 2014 for theme descriptions). The findings highlight how some people conflate the concepts of gender identity, gender expression, sex and sexual orientation, and appraise members of the transgender population through the lens of a heteronormative narrative. Additionally, the authors found that cultural stereotypes of transgender men were more negatively evaluated than that of transgender women, but not in the participants' personal evaluations. This study was appraised as of medium quality by the WoE framework as the findings are pertinent to the research question although the mixed methodology meant that initial themes were not explored in sufficient detail.

Ching and Xu (2018) conducted an experimental study to explore the impact of stereotyping on prejudice and attitudes towards sex differences. They grounded their study in the theoretical basis of psychological essentialism, the belief that social group membership is based on shared biological characteristics such as hormones, sex, brain and genes (Ching & Xu, 2018). Those that hold essentialist views of gender might, therefore, argue that men and women are categorically different due to these biological differences (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2011). One experimental group read an article that promoted essentialist beliefs about sex/gender, the second interactionist group read the same article but with arguments that questioned essentialist claims and a third group read a neutral article. Participants in the essentialist group reported more negative stereotypes and attitudes compared to the interactionist group and held a stronger belief in biological, categorical sex differences and the notion of stability of gender across the lifetime (Ching & Xu, 2018). This study was appraised as of high quality by the WoE framework due to the design employed and the relevance of the findings to the review's research question.

Winter et al., (2009) further contributed to the argument that transprejudice is fuelled by gender essentialism. The authors conducted a large study exploring the attitudes of 841

undergraduates from seven different countries towards transwomen (China, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, UK and US). The authors used the GTS and found five factors that accounted for 52% of the variance in beliefs towards transwomen; mental illness (30%), denial-women (7%), social rejection (6%), peer rejection (5%), and sexual deviance (4%). Denial-women describes a gender-essentialist belief that transgender women are not women. This study was rated as of medium quality by the WoE framework. The authors recommend caution in the interpretation of these findings due to the low sample sizes from each country and that the GTS has not yet produced a consistent factor structure across several studies leaves its cross-cultural validity in question (Winter et al., 2009; Costa & Davies, 2012; Carrera-Fernandez et al., 2012).

In an earlier study, Winter and colleagues (2008) recruited 203 undergraduate students from a university in Hong Kong to explore the use of the GTS in a different cultural context and gender differences in attitudes towards the transgender population. The original GTS sample from Canada were used as a comparison group (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Men scored significantly higher than women on levels of transprejudice and both sexes demonstrated significantly more transprejudice towards transmen than transwomen. Levels of transprejudice were higher in the Hong Kong sample. This study was appraised as of high quality by the WoE framework. Methodologically, the factor structure of the GTS differed between Hong Kong and Canada with five factors identified for the Hong Kong sample compared to the original three, however the findings raise important questions regarding the mechanisms of transprejudice within cultures and cross-culturally.

Gender self-esteem in relation to one's own gender and levels of transprejudice was explored by Chen and Anderson (2017). The majority their sample attended a Chinese university (85.4%) with 10.6% recruited from the US and 4.1% from other countries. A main effect for higher levels of teasing, violence towards and discomfort around transwomen was

found when compared to transmen, and men scored significantly higher on items relating to violence towards, teasing of and discomfort around members of the transgender population, although these results yielded a small effect size. Additionally, males reported more negative attitudes towards transwomen than transmen. The relationship between gender self-esteem and transprejudice was not significant. This may suggest that males hold more negative attitudes towards the transgender population than females internationally and cross-culturally although the underlying contributing factors and constructs may differ. This study was appraised as of high quality due to its methodological rigour and relevance to the research question.

To explore the influence of social contact on levels of transprejudice Barbir et al., (2017) used the contact hypothesis to explore heteronormative undergraduates' social contact with members of the transgender population. Using two study-developed measures, the authors measured constructs such as attitudes towards heteronormativity, homophobia and transprejudice, alongside behavioural intentions and friendship experiences. A factor analysis showed that the first measure demonstrated excellent reliability (a=.92-.96) and excellent convergent validity. The study found that those with at least one transgender friend self-reported fewer negative attitudes and intentions and more positive attitudes and intentions than those who did not have any social contact with a transgender person, suggesting that social contact correlated with a decrease in prejudice. It is unclear whether the impact seen was due to a participant's contact with one friend or more than one friend. This study received a rating of medium quality on the WoE framework. The measures and analysis were appropriate for the study and a clear description of the measure provides replicability. It is not clear from the study whether the undergraduate students were enrolled on the same course or whether they are representative of the population from which they were recruited.

Carroll et al., (2012) explored whether interpersonal curiosity and empathy were associated with the level of social interaction and willingness to help a transgender peer by asking participants to take on the pretend role of a peer counsellor. Heteronormative male undergraduate students reported more negative attitudes towards FtM individuals. Males reported that they would least prefer to interact with FtM individuals in a helping situation and reported greater negative feelings towards these individuals whereas they showed a greater preference for interaction with MtF individuals in a helping situation and fewer negative feelings. Carroll et al. (2012) did not find a significant relationship between levels of empathy, interpersonal curiosity and social interaction for cisgender or transgender peers suggesting an alternative driver for the attitudes reported. The study received a rating of medium quality from the WoE framework. The authors highlighted the lack of power with regards to a low male sample and only reported findings with observed power of above .75. Additionally, the study only used the negative affective subscale of the Affective Reactions to the Target measure due to low reliability of the positive subscale leading to a potential bias in the outcome data.

The reviewed research highlights that children and young people's attitudes towards the transgender community are shaped by the beliefs they hold, beginning at a young age. At the age of 5-10 years children already begin to show a preference for gender conforming peers, with children showing a preference for apparently cisgender peers, even those of the 'opposite' gender, above transgender peers (Gülgöz et al., 2018). In adolescence negative attitudes towards the transgender population become associated with a belief in traditional gender roles and norms (Costa & Davies, 2012; Carrera-Fernández et al., 2014). A stronger endorsement of these norms is associated with a stronger negative attitude towards those who violate them, with adolescents showing similar attitudes towards the gay and transgender populations (Costa & Davies, 2012; Carrera-Fernández et al., 2014).

In young people, anti-LGB prejudice is one of the largest predictors of negative attitudes towards the transgender population (Tebbe and Moradi, 2012). For many, there is no clear distinction between the concepts of gender identity, gender expression, sex, and sexual orientation and the conflation of sexuality and gender identity contributes to heteronormative beliefs being closely associated with negative attitudes towards both the gay and lesbian communities (Adams et al., 2016) as well as the transgender community (Adams et al., 2016; Carroll et al., 2012).

Men consistently display higher levels of prejudicial attitudes towards the transgender community than women (Chen and Anderson, 2017; Winter at al., 2008). Stronger conservative attitudes including a belief in traditional gender roles, right wing authoritarianism, and religious fundamentalism are associated with more negative attitudes towards the transgender community (Adams et al., 2016), and as attitudes towards traditional gender roles increase, evaluations of perceived threat to social status increase, and attitudes towards the transgender community decrease (Broussard and Warner, 2018; Nagoshi et al., 2008).

Findings showed that stronger beliefs in a strictly binary system of gender (Broussard and Warner, 2018), and in gender as underpinned by biological and psychological essentialism, were associated with more negative attitudes towards the transgender community (Ching and Xu, 2018; Winter et al., 2009). Thus an endorsement of traditional gender roles and norms might also be reinforced by a belief that men and women are fundamentally different based on the shared biological characteristics that define one as distinct from the other.

Discussion

The current review appraises fourteen studies exploring the beliefs that influence CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population. One study included children as participants, two included adolescents and the remainder sampled college students. This review provides a starting point to form an evidence-based understanding of CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population. With 12 of the 14 papers written within the last decade, exploring CYP's attitudes appears to be an emerging area of research.

Similar to beliefs underlying adult transprejudice (Worthen, 2016; Norton & Herek, 2013; Nagoshi et al., 2012), heteronormative (Gülgöz et al., 2018; Carrera-Fernandez et al., 2014; Costa & Davies, 2012), conservative (Barbir et al., 2017; Adams et al., 2016; and essentialist beliefs (Ching & Xu, 2018; Winter et al., 2009) influence CYP's attitudes about gender. Heteronormative, conservative, and essentialist beliefs represent traditional attitudes towards gender norms, gender roles, and gender identity, with men and women perceived as being separated by innate biological differences. Within this model whether a person can be rationally described as male or female is a question of bodily or chromosomal identification, with one's expected identity and forms of gendered expression predetermined by that fundamental biological distinction. The existence of the transgender community, which highlights a division between physical sex and gender identity, demonstrates that a traditional model of gender does not match the lived experience of gender diverse populations. Heteronormative, conservative, and essentialist beliefs are fundamental beliefs about the nature of gender and form a foundation upon which individuals build their own sense of their gender identity. It is perhaps not surprising that exposure to gender diverse populations might pose a threat to the social membership, masculine dominance, and the very gender identities of those with stronger heteronormative, conservative, and gender essentialist beliefs. In this way, the beliefs people hold about gender have implications for the ways members of the

transgender population are appraised (Ching & Xu, 2018; Adams et al., 2016; Barbir et al., 2017; Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Winter et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008).

It could be argued that CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population may be influenced by their inherent transgression of the model of gender represented by heteronormative, conservative, and gender essentialist beliefs. Members of the heteronormative majority group may feel that their social group membership is under threat, especially if the minority group represents violations in the core characteristics and meaning that validates group membership (Turner et al.,1987; Tajfel, 1959), in this case gender expression. Questioning these key characteristics may produce anxiety for in-group members and represent an attack on their own social identity, their place within the group and within society. In response to such threat, the group may respond aggressively and devalue the minority group (Williams, 2009; Jetten et al., 2004; Jetten et al., 2005; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Turner et al, 1987).

The defence of in-group membership may be most vehement when not only group membership, but the status of the group itself, is threatened (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Males represent a section of society for whom the transgender population represent a particular threat. Males generally report more negative attitudes than females towards transgender individuals and this is reflected in the wider research (Broussard & Warner, 2018; Adams et al., 2016; Chen & Anderson, 2017; Carrera-Fernandez et al., 2014; Costa & Davies, 2012; Gerhardstein & Anderson, 2010; Winter et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008 Winter et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006). There are several theories as to why males demonstrate higher levels of prejudice than females; for example, enforcing heteronormative ideals may be one way for men to maintain dominance and control over women and society (Hamilton, 2007). Alternatively, males may feel more pressure to adhere to strict masculine, heteronormative ideals which in turn contribute to the preservation and

maintenance of male dominance and control (Epstein et al., 2003). Furthermore, males that deviate from these ideals may pose a threat to masculinity by violating traditional gender norms, a binary gender system, and heterosexuality (Costa & Davies, 2012; Korobov, 2004), which, in the context of stronger gender essentialist beliefs, transgender women (those assigned a male sex at birth but who identify as female) may be seen to do. Overall, the evidence would suggest that males report greater levels of prejudice towards members of the transgender population, with transgender women, assigned male at birth, experiencing the greatest levels of prejudice.

The perceived threat of the transgender community to the model of gender endorsed by conservatism, heteronormativity, and gender essentialism is thus three-fold: the transgression of the gender rules upon which many people have built their own gender identities, the violations of the core characteristics and norms that validate membership of more conservative, heteronormative society, and the threat to masculine privilege posed when members of the 'male' population (as viewed from an essentialist perspective) transgress and challenge patriarchal norms. Ultimately, the problem is generated by an exclusive and reductionist model of gender, to which the solution might be found in educating children and young people about more inclusive models of gender, informed by all of our diverse lived experiences of gender, and within which we might all find somewhere to belong.

Implications for Educational Practice

The current review has identified that heteronormative, conservative and essentialist beliefs influence CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population. A more inclusive model of gender is needed whereby the elements of one's gender are represented on spectra, as opposed to being binary in nature, and perhaps ultimately determined by individuals' experience, as opposed to the appearance of their biology at birth. School staff, educational

professionals and Educational Psychologists (EPs) are well placed to consider, question and endorse a more inclusive model of gender with CYP.

It is possible that, without intention, educational settings internationally have indirectly contributed to some of the negative consequences experienced by CYPT by maintaining an environment that promotes a traditional model of gender. Educational settings are complex systems that could support a more inclusive model of gender at different levels throughout the organisation. Use of the recently developed Transgender Inclusive Behaviour Scale (TIBS: Kattari et al., 2018) would enable schools to explore their own environments and see how inclusive these are for gender diverse populations. EPs could also use this scale in research and practice to assess individual, group and organisational levels of inclusivity with findings potentially identifying and addressing attitudes towards the transgender population within schools.

A small number of studies have looked at the attitudes of school psychologists and counsellors towards, and in their work with, transgender individuals (Bowers et al., 2015; Riggs & Sion, 2017). These studies have reflected themes found in the wider literature; cisgender women reported more positive attitudes towards the transgender population and cisgender men reported higher levels of transprejudice. It is important that EPs continue to reflect on their own biases and the need to be reflective given the impact this may have on the CYP with whom they work (British Psychological Society, 2019).

The literature suggests that CYPT and adult mental health is impacted by transprejudice (Stonewall, 2018; Bradlow et al., 2017). The UK government has pledged to provide more support in schools for CYP's emotional and mental wellbeing by 2020/2021. The initiative should aim to address the impact transprejudice can have on CYPT's mental health and provide support for CYPT who experience this within school (Department of Health and Social Care and Department of Education, 2018). By providing school populations with a

more inclusive model of gender and a space in which to question and wonder, we may begin to strengthen positive affect and attitudes towards the transgender population.

Whilst it is important to address the needs of CYPT, it is of equal importance to explore ways in which prejudice and discrimination is addressed in the wider community. Sex and relationship education in the UK prioritises heteronormativity. The Stonewall School Report (2018) demonstrated that members of the LGBT population do not receive enough education or information about sex and relationships. The current review demonstrates that a potential change in attitudes towards the transgender population occurs between childhood and adolescence further supporting the need for inclusive education for all pupils in primary and secondary schools.

Directions for future research

Further research should aim to explore whether teaching CYP about gender identity at school leads to a decrease in levels of prejudice, and an increase in levels of belonging for CYP who identify along the gender spectrum.

An important next step is to begin to test the hypothesised mechanisms that influence attitudes towards the transgender population as proposed by this review. Furthermore, separate categories should be considered for children, adolescents and young people based on the differences in attitudes found within the research (Gülgöz et al., 2018; Costa & Davies, 2012; Nagoshi et al., 2008).

Researchers should attempt to endorse a measure that consistently measures levels of transprejudice across a variety of participants. A consensus with regards to the factor structure of popular measures of transprejudice will be helpful so that we can begin to understand the unique and shared underlying mechanisms that uphold transprejudice across the world.

Strengths and limitations

An understanding of the influences that impact CYP's attitudes towards the transgender population is a relatively new area of research and this review identifies key themes within the literature. Most studies within this review are quantitative; only one study used a mixed-methods approach providing a richer and more nuanced insight into the perceptions and stereotypes held by individuals towards the transgender population. Further insight using qualitative approaches would deepen our understanding of the underpinnings of attitudes towards the transgender population, particularly transprejudice.

A key limitation of this review is that the studies reviewed identified a number of clear beliefs that influenced attitudes towards the transgender population, but the specific mechanisms through which the prior might influence the latter are hypothetical. Examining and testing these hypothesised mechanisms is an important direction for future research to provide a clearer direction for means through which we might weaken negative attitudes and strengthen positive attitudes towards the transgender and gender diverse populations.

A second key limitation of this review is that the studies used a variety of measures to assess levels of transprejudice, which limits the comparisons available to make as we cannot be sure that each measure of transprejudice is measuring the same thing. In addition, papers reviewed included a wide age range of participants and this review has showed that children hold different attitudes to adolescents and adults. Further research is needed to explore attitudes in childhood, adolescence and young adulthood to understand the similarities and differences in attitudes towards the transgender population across the age-span as well as the development and maintenance of attitudes.

Conclusion

The published literature considering the beliefs that might underpin CYP attitudes towards the transgender community highlights three influential sets of beliefs: heteronormativity, conservatism, and gender essentialism. Together, these beliefs represent a binary model of gender within which one's gender expression and identity and ultimately one's gender assignment is biologically and physically determined. This model of gender forms the foundation upon which one's own gender identity may be built and from which a key aspect of one's social categorisation and to some extent social status is drawn. However, this model of gender is one which does not match the lived experience of gender diverse communities, who by their nature endorse a freer and more inclusive model of gender. This contradiction sets the context for cognitive dissonance, the 'othering' of gender diverse populations, the defence of in-group masculine norms, and for identity threat. Yet the solution to such a problem may be found in a more inclusive model of gender, where one's biological configuration, gender identity, and gender expression may not necessarily be congruent and may represent spectra along which people may fall anywhere, in multiple places, or nowhere at all, and in any configuration. Within this model of gender, experiences that conform to traditional gender norms are as acceptable as less common experiences and in this way within this model we might all find a place to belong.

Appendix A Down & Black Quality Assurance Checklist

STUDY:
TOTAL:
CATEGORISATION:

Question	Descriptor	Score
1. Focus on a specific, well-defined problem, construct or population?	YES 1 NO 0	
2. Is the hypothesis/aim/objective of the study clearly described?	YES 1 NO 0	
3. Are the main outcomes to be measured clearly described in the introduction or methods section? *If the main outcomes are first mentioned in the results section, the question should be answered no.*	YES 1 NO 0	
4. Are the characteristics of the participants included in the study clearly described?	YES 1 NO 0	
5. Were the participants in the study representative of the entire population from which they were recruited? *The study must identify the source population for patients and describe how the patients were selected. Participants would be representative if they comprised the entire source population, an unselected sample of consecutive patients, or a random sample. Random sampling is only feasible where a list of all members of the relevant population exists. Where a study does not report the proportion of the source population from which the patients are derived, the question should be answered as unable to determine.*	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	
6. Were the main outcome measures used accurate (valid and reliable)? *For studies where the outcomes measures are clearly described, the question should be answered yes. For studies which refer to other work or that demonstrates the outcome measures are accurate, the question should be answered yes.*	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	

7. Were the statistical tests used to assess the main outcomes appropriate? *The statistical tests used must be appropriate to the data. For example, non-parametric methods should be used for small sample sizes. Where little statistical analysis has been undertaken but where there is no evidence of bias, the question should be answered yes. If the distribution of the data (normal or not) is not described it must be assumed that the estimates used were appropriate and the question should be answered yes.*	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	
8. Are the main findings of the study clearly described? *Simple outcome data should be reported for all major findings so that the reader can check the major analyses & conclusions.*	YES 1 NO 0	
9. Does the study provide estimates of the random variability in the data for the main outcomes? *In non-normally distributed data the inter-quartile range of results should be reported. In normally distributed data the standard error, standard deviation or confidence intervals should be reported. If the distribution of the data is not described, it must be assumed that the estimates used were appropriate and the question should be answered yes.*	YES 1 NO 0	
10. Have actual probability values been reported for the main outcomes except where the probability value is less than 0.001?	YES 1 NO 0	
11. If any of the results of the study were based on "data dredging" was this made clear? *Any analyses that had not been planned at the outset of the study should be clearly indicated. If no retrospective unplanned subgroup analyses were reported, then answer yes.*	YES 1 NO 0 UNABLE TO DETERMINE 0	
12. Did the study have sufficient power to detect a clinically important effect where the probability value for a difference being due to chance is less than 5%?	YES 1 NO 0	
TOTAL		

12	9-12	HIGH
	5-8	MEDIUM
	0-4	LOW

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