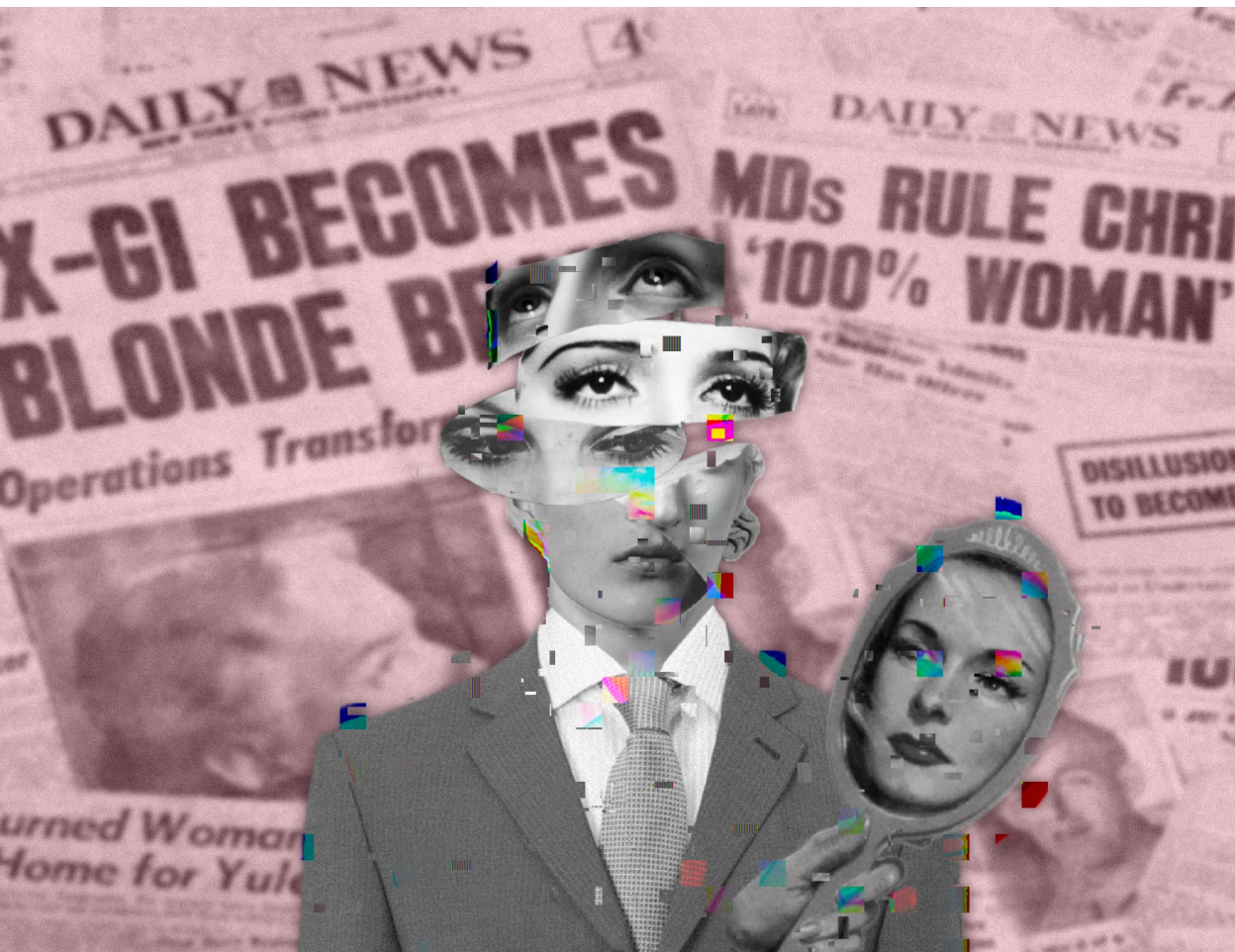


# From visibility to inclusion

Trans and gender diverse people in the media and in the workplace

Sofia Elena Bracco





# From visibility to inclusion

## Trans and gender diverse people in the media and in the workplace

**Sofia Elena Bracco**

Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Monday 2 June 2025 at 10.00 in Hörsal 6, hus 4, Albano, Albanovägen 12.

### Abstract

Trans and gender diverse (TGD) people's gender identities and expressions do not conform to the gender/sex they were assigned at birth. They experience discrimination and exclusion in various areas of life. However, in recent years, progress has been made: legislation has become more inclusive, and TGD people have gained greater visibility in public discourse. Heightened visibility can, on one hand, normalize gender diversity and help advance the rights of gender minorities; on the other, it can make TGD people more vulnerable to backlash and discrimination. Thus, this thesis examines TGD people's visibility in two areas: the media and the workplaces. The ultimate goal is to foster a better understanding of media influences and workplace discriminations, which could lead to more equitable treatment of TGD people both in the job market and in society.

Study I analyzed the way TGD people are represented in news media across three countries with different levels of legal protection and social acceptance of gender minorities: Italy, the UK, and Sweden. Through content analyses, I compared online news media headlines and analyzed the valence and roles TGD people are depicted in. Across all countries, trans women were more salient than trans men and gender diverse people. More TGD-inclusive countries featured more progressive representations of TGD people (such as headlines with neutral valence and less representations of discrimination and violence against TGD people). These findings highlight the way media reflect and potentially shape societal attitudes through varying degrees of positive and negative valence.

Study II investigated how positive and negative valence of news media TGD representations influenced attitudes toward them. Across two experimental studies, participants read articles on TGD issues with manipulated valence (positive, negative, neutral) and indicated their cognitive, affective, and behavioral attitudes toward gender minorities. Both studies found an effect of the articles' valence mediated by the feelings that participants experienced when reading the articles. In Study 1, positive representations led to increased positive feelings, which in turn enhanced positive cognitive attitudes toward TGD people. In Study 2, negative representations directly worsened cognitive and affective attitudes toward TGD people; higher positive feelings were linked to more positive cognitive, behavioral, and affective attitudes, while higher negative feelings were linked to more negative affective attitudes. This study showed that the valence of TGD media representations can influence attitudes toward them, especially through the effect of feelings.

Study III tested whether trans women and men with varying degrees of cis-gender-typical appearance (i.e., appearance that conforms to norms dictating how women and men should look like) would differ in perceived hireability. Participants with recruiting experience evaluated trans job applicants based on their CVs. The findings revealed that trans men were perceived as more hireable than trans women, regardless of their conformity to cisgender norms. Cis typicality only mattered for women, such that a cis-typical woman was rated as more attractive and thus more hireable, whereas a less cis-typical woman was perceived as unattractive and thus less hireable. Thus, trans women and trans men were perceived as hireable in different levels. These results suggest that gender identity, cisgender typicality, and attractiveness interact in influencing hiring decisions toward trans people, with trans women facing particular disadvantages when deviating from cis-typical appearance norms.

Study IV addressed the challenges of collecting sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) data within professional environments by exploring the balance between promoting inclusivity and safeguarding individuals from potential harm. While SOGI data collection has advantages, such as enhancing diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives and increasing the visibility of LGBTQIA+ employees, it also comes with significant challenges, including risks of discrimination, privacy concerns, and the issues of quantifying queerness. The article aims to be a guide for practitioners and researchers who collect SOGI data, so they can adopt a thoughtful approach that balances inclusivity and equity with the need to safeguard privacy and prevent harm. The study emphasizes the importance of considering the purpose, language, and cultural context of data collection, involving LGBTQIA+ stakeholders and employing a nuanced approach.

Stockholm 2025

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-241887>

ISBN 978-91-8107-220-4

ISBN 978-91-8107-221-1



**Stockholm  
University**

**Department of Psychology**

Stockholm University, 106 91 Stockholm



FROM VISIBILITY TO INCLUSION

Sofia Elena Bracco





# From visibility to inclusion

Trans and gender diverse people in the media and in the workplace

Sofia Elena Bracco

©Sofia Elena Bracco, Stockholm University 2025

ISBN print 978-91-8107-220-4

ISBN PDF 978-91-8107-221-1

Cover illustration by Eleonora Selle (grazie!)

Printed in Sweden by Universitetservice US-AB, Stockholm 2025



To nonna Milla.  
Wish you could have been  
here for this – and for the  
rest of my life.  
I see you in the flowers  
blooming and I hear you in  
the blackbirds' songs.  
I'll miss you forever.



# Abstract

Trans and gender diverse (TGD) people's gender identities and expressions do not conform to the gender/sex they were assigned at birth. They experience discrimination and exclusion in various areas of life. However, in recent years, progress has been made in many countries: legislation has become more inclusive, and TGD people have gained greater visibility in public discourse. Heightened visibility can, on one hand, normalize gender diversity and help advance the rights of gender minorities; on the other, it can make TGD people more vulnerable to backlash and discrimination. Thus, this thesis examines TGD people's visibility in two areas: the media and the workplaces. The ultimate goal is to foster a better understanding of media influences and workplace discriminations, which could lead to more equitable treatment of TGD people both in the job market and in society.

**Study I** analyzed the way TGD people are represented in news media across three countries with different levels of legal protection and social acceptance of gender minorities: Italy, the UK, and Sweden. Through content analyses, I compared online news media headlines and analyzed the valence and roles TGD people are depicted in. Across all countries, trans women were more salient than trans men and gender diverse people. More TGD-inclusive countries featured more progressive representations of TGD people (such as headlines with neutral valence and less representations of discrimination and violence against TGD people). These findings highlight the way media reflect and potentially shape societal attitudes through varying degrees of positive and negative valence.

**Study II** investigated how positive and negative valence of news media TGD representations influenced attitudes toward them. Across two experimental studies, participants read news articles featuring TGD representation with manipulated valence (positive, negative, neutral) and reported their cognitive, affective, and behavioral attitudes toward TGD people. Both studies found that the relationship between articles' valence and attitudes was mediated by the feelings that participants experienced when reading the articles. In Study 1, positive representation led to increased positive feelings, which in turn improved cognitive attitudes toward TGD people. In Study 2, negative representations worsened cognitive and affective attitudes toward TGD people within-

participants; higher positive feelings were linked to more positive cognitive, behavioral, and affective attitudes, while higher negative feelings were linked to more negative affective attitudes. This study contributed to understanding how media representations influence attitudes toward TGD people, as well as the role of feelings in attitude change.

**Study III** tested whether trans women and men with varying degrees of cisgender-typical appearance (i.e., appearance that conforms to the norms that dictate how women and men should look like) would differ in perceived hireability. Participants with recruiting experience evaluated trans job applicants based on their CVs. The findings revealed that trans men were perceived as more hireable than trans women, regardless of their conformity to cisgender norms. Cis typicality only mattered for women, such that a cis-typical woman was rated as more attractive and thus more hireable, whereas a less cis-typical woman was perceived as unattractive and thus less hireable. These results suggest that gender identity, cisgender typicality, and attractiveness interact in influencing hiring decisions toward trans people, with trans women facing particular disadvantages when deviating from cis-typical appearance norms.

**Study IV** addressed the challenges of collecting sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) data within professional environments by exploring the balance between promoting inclusivity and safeguarding individuals from potential harm. While SOGI data collection has advantages, such as enhancing diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives and increasing the visibility of LGBTQIA+ employees, it also comes with significant challenges, including risks of discrimination, privacy concerns, and the issues of quantifying queer-ness. The article aims to be a guide for practitioners and researchers who collect SOGI data, so they can adopt a thoughtful approach that balances inclusivity and equity with the need to safeguard privacy and prevent harm. The study emphasizes the importance of considering the purpose, language, and cultural context of data collection, involving LGBTQIA+ stakeholders and employing a nuanced approach.

# Acknowledgements

When I moved to a foreign country in the middle of a global pandemic, I experienced a kind of loneliness I had never felt before. It was difficult to even imagine that this place could ever feel like home. Four years later, it is difficult to keep track of all the support I have received throughout this journey. If it takes a village to raise a child, it also takes a village to finish a PhD. A few pages will surely not be able to convey the extent of my gratitude—yet, here’s me trying to thank you all as best as I can.

Marie, referring to you as my supervisor would be reductive. During the last four years, you have been my compass to navigate the ups and downs of academia and the mysteries of Swedish culture. You have taught me so much, not only in the realm of theoretical knowledge, but also about more important things: resilience, the value of social support, and the importance of allowing yourself to feel every emotion, the good ones as well as the bad ones. Thank you for allowing me to disagree with you, for pushing me to give more when you knew I could and for allowing me to rest when you knew I couldn’t. Thank you for participating equally in my successes and my failures. In academia, we focus so much on the importance of your supervisor checking in on your work, but rarely on the importance of your supervisor checking in on how you are doing. You have done both, allowing me to develop as a research but, most importantly, as a person. Thank you for never giving up on me.

Sabine, you have given me not only your trust, time, collaboration, and expertise, but also the chance to be where I am now. With incredible determination, you have fought for ten years to make the G-VERSITY project a reality. You have brought—and kept!—together an incredible team of people, who turned from colleagues to friends under your guidance. To me, you embody what a researcher should be: still excited about new ideas after all these years. Despite being involved in hundreds of projects, you have always showed up for me and for the work I am proud to share with you. Thank you for trusting me to be your co-organizer for the Bern conference, challenging me at every turn but also showing me that I was capable of more than I initially thought. I owe this PhD to you.

G-VERSITY ESRs, you have been a safe haven during this journey and I feel incredibly lucky to have walked this path with you. From the first low-quality videocalls to the final conference, knowing that I could rely on has been invaluable. So thank you to Rasika, Tatjana, Mary Ann, Hanna, Shannon, Serena, Yirou, Kezia, Franzi, Vlad, Andrea, Ana-Nzinga; I will always be cheering for you. A special thanks goes out to Federica, for giving me the same comfort as a cartoon playing in the background: always familiar, always appreciated. Also, thank you to all the academic and non-academic partners who enriched the G-VERSITY team, taking us under their (wise) wings.

Thank you to all the people who make the wheels of the Department of Psychology at Stockholm University turn, especially Erica Grahn, Valentina Barrios Pizarro, Jenny Bourelius, Monika Karlsson, Christian Portin, Henrik Dunér, Henric Bergqvist & Tommy Olin.

Thank you to the professors who have helped me along the way, giving me hope for the future of academia: Sabina Čehajić-Clancy for being an excellent and thought-provoking halftime opponent and thesis reviewer; Thekla Morgenroth for allowing me to visit their lab and pick their (brilliant) brain; Karen Douglas for lending me her expertise despite our collaboration being cut short; and Caterina Suitner for seeing potential in me when I was nothing but a confused master student, supervising me and encouraging me to apply for a PhD.

To my co-authors from the Boston meeting: Jojanneke van der Toorn, Waruguru Gaitho, William Ryan, Sharon Horne, Joel Anderson, and Emily Leskinen, writing alongside you has been a pleasure and I'm proud of what we've created.

To all the PhD students, researchers, research assistants, and alumni who have been my friends throughout the last four years: I could write a thousand pages, and still I wouldn't be able to put into words how grateful I am I met you. For every time you switched to English when I joined the conversation, for every 'short fika' that ended up lasting an hour, for every after work at Proviant (and the few ones elsewhere), for every eye-roll at my incredible jokes; thank you. We have stuck together through thick and thin, and you made every success sweeter and every failure more bearable.

Clara, you once said you put the 'party' in 'department', and that's what you've been doing since you arrived. It seems unthinkable I spent a year here without you, because it's now impossible for me to disentangle the PhD experience from you. It takes patience to be my friend me, and you have made the effort every day. You have made friendship feel easy to someone that sees everything as challenge and competition. Wherever life takes us, always know

that “there’s someone in your corner all the way across the sea” (couldn’t resist, sorry!). You are an extraordinary young woman and I hope we’ll stay close enough that I can see you thrive. You deserve it.

Elli, you were the first friend I made here as you welcomed me with open arms from day one. To me, you are what people mean when they talk about “queer community”. Not only are you a brilliant researcher, but also a compassionate person that taught me so much about being open-minded, spontaneous, and generous. Aggiungo una parte in italiano perché so che sarai in grado di capirla: so che andrai lontano, e non vedo l’ora di brindare al tuo dottorato.

My wee lasses, the support you have given me—especially during the last rough few months—has been more than I deserve. I’ve kept every motivational note, I’ve eaten all the motivational food, and I’ve cherished every moment we have been friends.

Ida, they say it takes more courage to acknowledge when the path we’re on is not leading where we want and to change direction than to persist despite the obstacles. You have shown me that recognizing our limits is not a sign of weakness, but sometimes the bravest thing we can do. Thank you for stirring the pot for the better. Ready to arm wrestle in six months when your muscle program will have worked out (pun intended)?

Anna, Newton said he only succeeded because he was standing on the shoulders of giants, and that’s true for me too: you were the giant whose shoulders I stood on for the last four years. From the first time we met, when you offered a friendly hand to a lost newbie in stats, to the very last day of the publishing process, following in your footsteps has made all of this bearable. I feel so lucky I could thread in your footsteps, because they are exceptional ones.

Astrid, I wish teenage me could have met you. You have shown me that caring deeply and being passionate about the things you like is not only admirable, but truly the coolest thing anyone can do. Thank you for always being there to help me fight my battles, even when I was too defeated to do so myself. Having you in my corner made me feel invincible and ready to take on anything the world threw my way.

Freja, thank you for every small gesture, every word of comfort, every chocolate. Jung once said that only the wounded physician can truly heal, and I believe the same is true for you: you were always able to tell when something was wrong—and you always knew how to make it better.

Raver, thank you for being the best half-time opponent and the worst Housemate I could have asked for. Long live Necrosia, and you: as I said before, I’m

glad you walked down this path and we got to meet. I see bright things in your future.

Philip, speaking Italian with you always made home feel a little less far. Thank you for showing me the ropes, the department always felt a little emptier without you.

To all the other people who have been part of this, I am in your debt and I will always think of you fondly: Martin, Andreas, Yannick, Nhi, Miriam, Melanie, Jessica, Rebecca, Tim, Niklas, Thomas, Elahe, Billy, William, Ingela, Franziska, Philip S., Louise, Viktoria, Zaur, Erik, Hellen, Carlos, Amanda, Joanna. I've never been an optimist, but if you are the future, the future looks bright.

To my housemates and friends: living with me is not easy (but neither is living with you, eh!), so thank you for being patient. You have made a house feel like a home, and I couldn't have been luckier. So thanks to Ludi & Tila for the tough love, to Mette for the music, to Ines for the patience, to Jesper for the boulders on our shoulders, to Vanesa & Zion for the adventures, to Noemi per l'affetto. Also, shout out to all the people who have gravitated around and within Bokbindarvägen 32 over the years: Rika, Flo, Emma, Anis, Nellie, Csenge, Mark, Sasha, Sam, Carolina, Sophia, Ebba.

To the friends of a lifetime: Alberto, Eleonora, Valentina, Chiara, Elisabetta, Federica, Vittoria, thank you for still being by my side after all this time. You have taught me the meaning of friendship. And last but not least, Laura: thank you for being family. Now that we are apart, I think of those summer afternoons on your living room floor, eating ice cream and watching Gossip Girls, as some of the happiest times of my life. I miss having you close.

To my family: papà, zio, Enrica, Ginevra, Pietro, Saul. Thank you for being a "centro di gravità permanente" and for always feeling like home. To those who are gone: nonna Tere, nonno Meco, and especially nonna Milla e nonno Ciano. Nonni Tumiati, if we truly go somewhere after we die, I hope that you are together, and I hope that nothing hurts. You have been my happy place, my safe haven, and I would trade many of my tomorrows for one yesterday with you on the terrace in Andora. Till we meet again.

And lastly, to the most important people in my life: my mother and my sister. I am who I am because of you: it's hard to tell where you end and I begin, and maybe the point is that it doesn't really matter.

Nene, I often say you have taught me how to read and write, while you have actually taught me to love to read and write—which has led me to where I am. It might seem like a cliché, but I've only made it through the darkness because



you made it through before me and showed me it was possible. You have always been the lens through which I've filtered reality: what was cool, what I could get away with, which books to read. Even now, when I walk into any shop, I can immediately spot ten things you'd love, while I struggle to figure out what I truly like. You are the catalyst through which I make sense of the world around me, and you always will be. You are a fundamental piece of me I would not make sense without.

Mamma, there's a saying: "The house doesn't fall if the bones are good". And that's what you've given me: good bones. My house has shaken, wavered, cracks have appeared in the walls. Yet, it hasn't fallen because you built its foundations. Everything I've done, everything I've "achieved," has only been possible because throughout my life I've had the simplest yet most powerful thing on my side: your unconditional love and unwavering support. If I had to describe the feeling of secure attachment you've given me, it would be this: a deep-rooted certainty that, as long as you're here, everything will be alright. As long as we have each other, as long as mom's around, things can be sorted out. I will spend the rest of my life trying to give the same amount of love back to you, and yet it could never be enough. Grazie.

We used to be four, like the legs of a chair, and then it was as if one suddenly snapped off. Some days it feels like we're still stuck in that moment, those terrifying instants when you're aware you're falling, but you are yet to realize why. But other days it feels like we have, almost successfully, turned the chair into a stool, three-legged but still functioning. We know it will never be as comfortable as the chair, but it still holds the weight. And, sometimes, that's all you need.

# List of studies

This doctoral thesis was based on the following studies:

- I. **Bracco, S. E.**, Sczesny, S., & Gustafsson Sendén, M. (2024). Media portrayals of trans and gender diverse people: A comparative analysis of news headlines across Europe. *Sex Roles*, 90(4), 491-507. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-024-01461-6>
- II. **Bracco, S. E.**, Sczesny S., & Gustafsson Sendén, M. (2025). Shaping attitudes toward trans and gender diverse people: The impact of positive and negative media representations. [*Under review at the Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*]
- III. **Bracco, S. E.**, Sczesny, S., & Gustafsson Sendén, M. (2025). Discrimination in hiring decisions: The impact of gender identity and cisgender-typical appearance on the hireability of transgender candidates. [*Manuscript*]
- IV. van der Toorn, J., **Bracco, S. E.**, Gaitho, W., Ryan, W. S., Horne, S. G., Anderson, J. R., & Leskinen, E. A. (2024). Inclusion and protection in tension: Reflections on gathering sexual orientation and gender identity data in the workplace. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12632>

# Contents

Abstract.....	1
Abbreviations.....	11
Introduction.....	13
Aims and objectives.....	15
Gender, sex, and other undefinable definitions.....	15
An integrative framework of gender/sex.....	15
Gender: something that we do or something that we are?.....	19
Gender categorization and stereotypes.....	21
Agency, communion, and TGD-specific traits.....	22
Physical appearance and beauty norms.....	24
Contact with and attitudes toward TGD people.....	25
Attitudes (and backlash) toward gender diversity.....	25
Attitudes components and parasocial contact.....	27
Media representations of TGD people.....	29
Summary of studies.....	32
Study 1.....	33
Aim.....	33
Background and hypothesis.....	33
Methods.....	35
Results.....	38
Additional analyses.....	38
Discussion	
and limitations.....	42
Study 2.....	43

Aim .....	43
Background and hypotheses .....	44
Methods .....	45
Results.....	46
Discussion and limitations .....	49
Study 3 .....	50
Aim .....	50
Background and hypotheses .....	51
Methods .....	52
Results.....	54
Discussion and conclusions.....	56
Study 4 .....	58
Aim .....	58
Background and discussion .....	58
Discussion .....	61
Media representations and their meanings .....	62
The role of individual variables in attitude change .....	65
(Trans)gender stereotypes in the workplace .....	67
The perceiver and the perceived.....	68
Theoretical and practical implications.....	70
Limitations and future directions .....	73
An argument for a critical perspective on visibility .....	75
Conclusion .....	77
References.....	78

# Abbreviations

ANCOVA	Analysis of covariance
ANOVA	Analysis of variance
Cis	Cisgender (not transgender)
DEI	Diversity, equity (or equality), inclusion
LGBTQIA+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, asexual, etc.
OR	Odds ratio
SOGI	Sexual orientation and gender identity
TGD	Trans and gender diverse
Trans	Transgender



# Introduction

*“Who was I now—woman or man?  
That question could never be answered  
as long as those were the only choices;  
it could never be answered if it had to be asked.”*

— Leslie Feinberg, *Stone Butch Blues* (p. 241)

In September 2020, an 18-year-old girl from Italy was murdered by her own brother for being in a relationship with a trans man, whom the perpetrator claimed had “infected” her (Il Post, 2020). The case shook public opinion and quickly gained national attention; however, its media coverage revealed a profound lack of awareness on how to write about trans and gender diverse (TGD) people respectfully. The trans man was often called by his former feminine name and described as “a lesbian girl”, “a female friend who has been using a male name”, “the victim’s female partner”, “the trans”, and “a trans girl biologically female who identified as a man and was known with a male name”. Their relationship was often described as a “lesbian relationship” (Porrovecchio, 2020).

Despite the particularly shocking nature of this case, the misrepresentation of TGD identities in the media is neither an isolated incident nor confined to Italy (e.g., Åkerlund, 2019; Oliveira-Araujo, 2022; Zottola, 2018). Similar patterns of misrepresentation have been observed globally, as media coverage of TGD issues is rapidly increasing (Wood et al., 2019). TGD people are a minority group by status and by numbers, comprising approximately 0.5-3% of the population (Meerwijk & Sevelius, 2017). They face discrimination and marginalization in various areas of life, including access to services and employment (European Commission, 2023a). Even within the LGBTQIA+ community, their experiences are often sidelined, included in the acronym but not analyzed independently (Worthen, 2013). They have been marginalized in media until recently; when coverage did occur, it was often disrespectful or inaccurate (e.g., Billard, 2016). So, what changed? During the 2010s, following the increased acceptance of sexual minorities, TGD people gradually gained both

visibility and rights. In 2014, Time magazine featured trans actress and activist Laverne Cox on their cover, inaugurating the “transgender tipping point” and announcing that the fight for trans rights would be the next civil rights frontier for the US (Steinmetz, 2014). While it seemed that positive change was on the horizon, history has shown that rapid progress for marginalized groups is often followed by a swift and intense backlash (e.g., Anduiza & Rico, 2024; Patterson et al., 2021). More than a decade later, while some advancements have been made, visibility has also revealed its downsides. A vitriolic backlash to the progress gained by the TGD community has spread, with open expressions of transphobia becoming commonplace among politicians and laypeople alike (e.g., Laviertes, 2024; McKeon, 2023). In 2018, the US introduced 32 anti-trans bills; in 2024, the number was 674 (Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024). In 2019, more than half of UK citizens agreed that people should be allowed to change their sex on their birth certificate; by 2023, the percentage had dropped to 30% (Bancroft, 2023a). For the first time, the UK Home Office suggested a connection between this decline in support and the way TGD issues have been discussed by politicians and media in an increasingly polarized way (Bancroft, 2023b; Turner, 2024). News media can set the tone for public opinions and attitudes regarding certain social groups, influencing and being influenced by their audiences (Happer & Philo, 2013). Social and personal attitudes can impact the lives of marginalized groups, increasing discrimination toward them and making them more vulnerable to exclusion in vital areas such as the job market (Perez-Arche & Miller, 2021).

For TGD people, gaining access to stable, meaningful employment is critical to move beyond the margins of society (Gedikli et al., 2023). Yet, they often face hiring discrimination when applying for jobs, especially if their TGD status can be inferred from their appearance (Bachmann & Gooch, 2018b). Those who conform to cisgender norms face a difficult choice in their workplace: either disclose their gender identity and risk potential discrimination or even violence, or conceal it and not satisfy their needs for authenticity and belonging, which are crucial for mental wellbeing (Shepherd & Brochu, 2024). This ‘double bind’ raises ethical questions about the collection of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) data in professional settings. The absence of comprehensive and reliable data on TGD populations hinders the development of policies aimed at supporting them and of solutions that address the obstacles they face. At the same time, the collection and use of such data holds power, creating potential risks for people who may prefer to remain private about their identities.



## Aims and objectives

The aim of this thesis is to document attitudes toward TGD people in a time of change, exploring both their origins in media representations and their impact on fundamental areas of life such as the workplace. The research focuses on two domains: the media and the workplace. First, it documents how TGD people are portrayed in news media and how these representations can influence people's cognitive, behavioral, and affective attitudes toward them. Second, it examines hiring discrimination toward trans people who embrace or disrupt gender norms, and the ethical challenges of collecting sexual orientation and gender identity data in professional settings.

More specifically, the four main aims are:

1. To delineate how TGD people are represented in news media across different national contexts.
2. To test whether and how media representations of TGD people influence attitudes toward them.
3. To investigate hiring discrimination against trans women and trans men with different degrees of cisgender-typical appearance.
4. To reflect on the benefits and risks of collecting sexual orientation and gender identity data in the workplace.

To address these aims, the thesis employs a mixed-methods approach, including content analysis of media representations, experimental studies on media effects and hiring discrimination, and theoretical reflections on data collection practices. By integrating these perspectives, the research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how attitudes toward TGD people are shaped, reinforced, and manifested in society, and what consequences they can entail. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to provide empirical data that can contribute to improve the inclusion of TGD people in various settings.

## Gender, sex, and other undefinable definitions

### An integrative framework of gender/sex

In this thesis, I define trans and gender diverse (TGD) people as those whose gender identities and/or expressions do not conform to the gender they were assigned at birth based on their sex characteristics (American Psychological Association, 2015; Hyde et al., 2019). Popular discourse as well as science

usually make a distinction between the terms *sex* and *gender*. Sex is typically used to refer to someone's biological characteristics, such as chromosomes, hormones, and primary and secondary sex characteristics (i.e., genitalia; Bosson et al., 2022; Kessler & MacKenna, 1978). In contrast, gender often refers to the culturally and socially constructed aspects of being male or female, encompassing both societal interpretations of biological sex (e.g., gender roles and stereotypes) and gender identity (i.e., an individual's self-categorization as male or female within a given social context; Kessler & MacKenna, 1978; Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020). More specifically, gender identity can be described as "a person's deeply felt, inherent sense of being a boy, a man, or male; a girl, a woman, or female; or an alternative gender (e.g., genderqueer, gender nonbinary, gender-neutral) that may or may not correspond to a person's sex assigned at birth" (American Psychological Association, 2015, p. 862).

Before delving deeper into TGD people's experiences, it is important to acknowledge that terms related to gender and sex, as well as their meanings, are context-dependent and continually evolving. The way these concepts are understood in this thesis reflects a 21st-century, White, Western perspective, which originated in the 1910s with sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld: he was the first to challenge the conflation between gender identity and sexual orientation by distinguishing between 'transvestites' and 'homosexuals'. Before that, the consensus was that being trans and being gay represented variations along a single continuum of 'gender/sexual inversion' (Crocq, 2021). The term *transsexual* was coined by Hirschfeld in 1932, but would become widespread only in the 1950s. After the 1970s, the term *transgender* began to take hold, advocated for by trans activist Virginia Price (Heyam, 2022). However, it is critical to recognize that these terms and their significance do not universally apply. Many societies across the world recognize, celebrate, and even hold sacred identities that exist beyond the binary—despite colonial efforts to erase Indigenous cultures and force a gender/sex binary upon them (e.g., Ford & Coleman, 2024; Kalra & Shah, 2013).

Over time, psychology has approached the study of gender in different ways, with four main perspectives emerging (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018): a) an evolutionary one, which prioritizes the biological and genetic components of gender and sex, arguing that gender differences in society stem from distinct evolutionary pressures for women and men (e.g., Davies & Shackelford, 2006); b) a social structural one, which attributes gender and its differences to societal structures and power dynamics (e.g., early formulation of social role theory; Eagly, 1987); c) a social identity one, which sees gender as one of many social identities whose salience varies depending on the context (e.g., Schmader &

Block, 2015); d) an integrative one, which incorporates elements from multiple approaches (e.g., integrative social role theory; Eagly & Wood, 2016). This thesis follows the integrative approach proposed by Morgenroth and Ryan (2020), which integrates social psychological theories with Judith Butler's concept of *gender trouble*, a critique that challenges and disrupts the gender/sex binary. This approach is based on these fundamental assumptions: that distinguishing between sex and gender is not always useful; that neither gender nor sex are binary; that believing that they are is harmful; that gender does not automatically follow from sex.

The belief in a clear distinction between gender and sex gained traction in the 1970s, supported by second-wave feminists who wanted to prove that the barriers women faced were not the product of biology, but rather of rigid gender norms and biased socialization (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). However, questions have been raised about how—and whether—to disentangle the two concepts, and how to use each term appropriately (e.g., Kessler & MacKenna, 1978; Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020). Judith Butler (1990) critiqued a binary division between sex and gender, noting that sex is subject to prescriptive and proscriptive societal norms just as much as gender is. They argue that “perhaps this construct called sex is as culturally constructed as gender”, concluding that “the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all” (p. 10). More recently, Hyde et al. (2019) have advocated for the use of the term *gender/sex* to highlight the inseparability of biological and sociocultural factors suggesting that the distinction between what is biological and what is sociocultural is far from clear-cut. In other words, gender and its sociocultural proceedings inform and produce an idea of sex (Faye, 2021). In the thesis, for the sake of brevity, I will use the term *gender*, and clarify which aspects of it are salient in specific situations (e.g., biology, social influences, norms).

In the Western world, the dominant belief is that sex and gender are binary. The gender binary refers to the social system that categorizes sex and gender as consisting of two opposite, mutually exclusive categories: women and men (Bosson et al., 2022). It consequently claims that (sociocultural) gender follows from (biological) sex. The argument that women and men are fundamentally different due to biologically determined traits is known as gender essentialism (e.g., Atwood et al., 2024). This perspective assumes that gender categories are innate, fixed, present from birth and stable throughout a person's life. However, the very existence of TGD people challenges this notion, suggesting that these categories are not rigid nor unchanging (Fine et al., 2023). TGD people disrupt the assumptions that most people are—or should be—cisgender, meaning identifying with the gender/sex they were assigned at birth. This belief, rooted in the belief that gender always and inevitably stems from sex, is termed cisnormativity (Berger & Ansara, 2021).

While acceptance toward the idea that gender identities are not binary is growing (Ridgeway & Saperstein, 2024), people still strongly believe that biological sex is determined by undeniable differences between women and men (Parker et al., 2022). Typically, most people with XX chromosomes develop characteristics associated with the female sex, while those with XY chromosomes generally develop characteristics associated with the male sex. However, this is not universally true, and additional chromosomal variations beyond XX and XY also exist (e.g., Hegarty et al., 2021). People born with bodies that do not conform to the normative definitions of woman or man are known as intersex, and comprise up to 2% of the population (Crocetti et al., 2024). Regarding psychological and behavioral gender differences, their binary nature is often overemphasized among the general population. Studies show that most people possess a mix of stereotypically masculine and feminine characteristics, traits, and interests (Joel et al., 2015). Even behaviors considered inherently feminine or masculine (e.g., using cosmetics, being good at math) can mostly be ascribed to differences in sociocultural contexts (Hyde et al., 2019). Gender differences on personality and traits are not significant enough to warrant the existence of two distinct genders (Hyde et al., 2019). Thus, scientific research overall supports a ‘gender similarity’ rather than a ‘gender dimorphism’ hypothesis: women and men’s scores on most psychological constructs, skills, traits, and characteristics overlap rather than differ (Hyde et al., 2019).

Overall, the gender/sex binary is a system that reinforces power structures that harm TGD people, cisgender women and, indirectly, cisgender men by sanctioning those who do not adhere to it (Saguy et al., 2021). Even those who do conform to the gender/sex binary are not immune to its negative consequences (e.g., sexism for women, toxic masculinity for men; Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Zehnter et al., 2021). Why, then, does it persist? Ultimately, the gender/sex binary fulfills various psychological needs: it grants an omnipresent group membership and a stable sense of self (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020). TGD people often embody ‘gender trouble’, which poses a threat to the gender system, by challenging conventional gender norms (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020). As such, the definition of gender *diversity* is contingent on a shared understanding of what gender *normality* represents, and is therefore continuously evolving—reflecting the complexity, fluidity, and contextual nature of how these concepts are understood.

## Gender: something that we do or something that we are?

The understanding of gender in psychology, sociology, and philosophy has undergone a significant shift over time—from being seen as a fixed, biological attribute to being understood as a socially constructed and actively performed identity (Butler, 1990; Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018). Rather than something one *is*, gender was reinterpreted as something one *does*, in mutual interaction with the social and cultural context people are immersed in. This reconceptualization has been shaped by many influential theorists; here, I will present the contributions of Garfinkel, Goffman, West and Zimmerman, Kessler and MacKenna, and Butler, who contributed to a deeper understanding of how gender is enacted, regulated, and interpreted in everyday life.

In 1967, ethnomethodologist Garfinkel (1967) published the case of Agnes, pseudonym of a trans woman who sought gender confirmation surgery. The case represents one of the first accounts of trans experiences from a sociological rather than a pathological point of view. Agnes appeared indistinguishable from a cis woman, both in terms of behavior and appearance, making Garfinkel and the doctors dismiss the possibility that she could ‘simply’ be trans: at that time, trans women were believed to mimic femininity without successfully embodying it (Schilt, 2016). Additionally, the diagnostic criteria of being trans implied a psychological disorder, and Agnes did not appear mentally ill. The case of Agnes became paradigmatic as one of the first accounts to show that medical professionals, too, tended to determine gender on the bases of appearances rather than sex assigned at birth. It demonstrated that socially, mentally, and psychologically being a woman or a man could override the underlying biology that is assigned to bodies and seen as a determinant of gender (Kessler & MacKenna, 1978).

During the 1970s, the biological nature of gender started to be questioned. For example, in sociology, Goffman (1976) developed the concept of *gender display*. He theorized gender as an optional performance, an enactment of gendered behaviors that people exhibit to conform to societal rituals and expectations. These behaviors are “conventionalized portrayals” (p. 69), scripts that distinguish how women and men participate in social situations. Thus, according to Goffman, gender only exists in (and because of) situations that give it importance—mostly, social interactions. West and Zimmerman (1987) built on the idea of gender display, but argued that gender does not exist only in certain situations: it permeates all interactions, being inescapable. Indeed, while certain gender displays are optional (e.g., being chivalrous, wearing make-up), people cannot opt out of being perceived as belonging to a gender category or not. A person can choose whether or not to conform to gender norms and displays, but has little control over the gender category others will

assign them to. Thus, West and Zimmerman (1987) advanced the idea of *doing gender*: gender is an ongoing activity that recurs in everyday interactions, an achieved status constructed through sociocultural meanings. Agnes's case is, again, an example of this: she was not mimicking femininity, but rather learning it in the same way cisgender women do from a very early age. Kessler and MacKenna (1978) distinguished between achieved and ascribed roles: while achieved roles are acquired over time (e.g., being a doctor or a parent), ascribed roles are what people *are* and what they are perceived by others as being (e.g., being young or Black). What if gender itself was an achieved, rather than an ascribed, role? What if one is not born as, but rather *becomes* a woman, as Simone de Beauvoir (1949) suggested?

Judith Butler re-elaborated the concepts of gender display and doing gender as *gender performativity* in their book *Gender Trouble* (1990). Gender performativity frames gender not simply as a display or an achievement, but as a situated social practice. According to Butler, gender is produced through its own performance, through repeated acts coded as masculine or feminine—and socially sanctioned accordingly. Thus, gender is performed, but also performative, meaning it reinforces its own existence (e.g., greeting another person by attributing gender to them). It is this repeated performance that 'obscures' the performative nature of gender, making it appear natural, and leading to the belief that an innate concept of sex exists prior to cultural interpretation. However, deviations from established gender norms expose its constructed nature, and are often met with negative social consequences. In Butler's view, gender is not merely an internal identity, but an active process of interpreting and reshaping the gender norms imposed by society. However, it is important to notice that Butler's theory does not imply that gender is simply a choice—which would invalidate some TGD experiences. Identity is constructed, meaning it carries both determined and arbitrary components (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018). TGD lives highlight that *being* gender—meaning feeling a strong sense of belonging to a certain gender—is a significant aspect of gender identity that should not be overlooked when trying to reduce gender solely to a cultural construct (Tate et al., 2014).

Morgenroth and Ryan (2020) integrated concepts that originated primarily in gender studies and sociology with social psychological theories. For example, in their framework, the 'character' that people embody when performing gender corresponds to being categorized as women or men, while the 'scripts' they enact reflect gender roles and stereotypes. The framework also explores how cis people respond when others disrupt or deviate from expected gender performances: depending on the entity of disruptions, different threat may be elicited in cisgender people. First, at an individual level, TGD can be perceived as a personal threat, especially among people who have high gender

essentialist beliefs and a strong gender identity, and among men—specifically those who uphold traditional masculinity (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020; Nagoshi et al., 2019). At a group level, TGD people can elicit distinctiveness threat, meaning a threat to the clear differentiation between groups—here, women and men (Branscombe et al., 1999; Ma et al., 2024). For example, binary trans people cross the boundaries of genders, moving from one to another; non-binary and agender people exist in between and outside such boundaries. Questioning the boundaries’ legitimacy in this way also means questioning the legitimacy of the gender hierarchy and binary system (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). When cis people are threatened, they may react by developing negative attitudes toward them, delegitimizing their identities, keeping their distance from them, refusing to support them or policies in their favor (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020).

## Gender categorization and stereotypes

As described above, people cannot opt out of being categorized by others. Gender categorization is a fundamental aspect of social interactions, activated even before age or race categorization (K. L. Johnson & Ghavami, 2011). This means that, upon encountering someone, people immediately categorize them as either a woman or man on the bases of culturally recognized cues (e.g., height, facial features, voice, clothing; Martin & Mason, 2022). What happens, though, when someone does not fit neatly into the categories of women and men, either due to their appearance or behavior? TGD people often challenge traditional gender norms, as their gender expression does not always align with societal expectations of masculinity or femininity. Thus, they can be categorized according to their gender identity or according to their sex assigned at birth, depending on both the perceived (e.g., the TGD person’s gender expression) and the perceiver (e.g., the cis person’s levels of gender essentialism; Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021). For example, in an experimental research, Wittlin et al. (2018) found that 40 to 50 percent of participants did not categorize a trans person according to their self-identified gender, but rather according to their sex assigned at birth. When TGD people are wrongly categorized, often in favor of their birth sex rather than their gender identity, they are misgendered (McLemore, 2015; Simpson & Dewaele, 2019).

Assigning someone to a gender category means associating them with gender stereotypes, which are shared beliefs about their typical characteristics (Eagly & Sczesny, 2019). Stereotypes are descriptive, prescriptive, and proscriptive,

meaning they illustrate how people are, how people should be, and how people should not be (e.g., Eagly & Sczesny, 2019). Gender stereotypes comprise of four components: traits (e.g., helpful, confident), roles and behaviors (e.g., taking care of children, earning a wage), occupations (e.g., nurse, mechanic), and physical appearance (e.g., small, strong; Deaux & Lewis, 1984).

## Agency, communion, and TGD-specific traits

Regarding traits, (cis)gender stereotypes are structured around two core dimensions: agency/competence and communion/warmth (Abele et al., 2016; Cuddy et al., 2008). Agency, typically ascribed to men, encompasses traits associated with the pursuit of individual goals, such as being ambitious, goal-oriented, competent. Communion, typically ascribed to women, includes traits associated with the pursuit of communal goals, such as being friendly, caring, warm, people-oriented (Abele et al., 2016). Thus, men are expected to be more agentic and less communal, whereas women are expected to be more communal and less agentic (Sczesny et al., 2018).

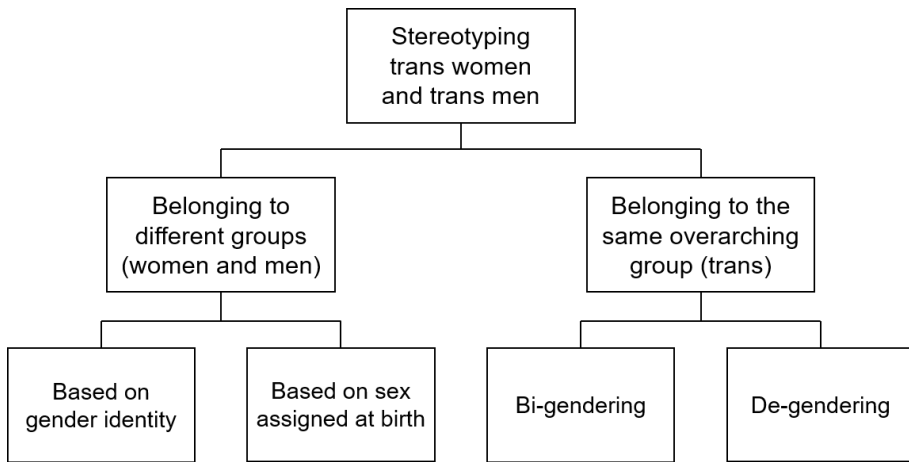
According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2016), gender stereotypes stem from the different social roles that women and men traditionally occupy in society. Since they perform—and are expected to perform—different jobs and tasks (e.g., men as leaders, women as caregivers), people come to believe they inherently possess the associated traits (e.g., men are competent, women are warm; correspondence inference theory, Gilbert & Malone, 1995). The jobs and tasks that women and men perform have different statuses, which creates a gender hierarchy where men and agency are attributed more status than women and communion (Ridgeway, 2009; Rudman et al., 2012). For example, the prototype of a successful worker and leader is often aligned with masculine-typed agentic traits (Abele, 2003; Schein et al., 1996). Cis men mostly face penalties when engaging in low-status feminine behaviors rather than neutral ones (Kozlowski & Power, 2022). On the other hand, cis women who engage in counter-stereotypical behaviors (e.g., being agentic) violate both gender norms and the gender hierarchy.

There is limited research on how (cis)gender stereotypes apply to TGD people (Means & Morgenroth, 2024). Theoretically, binary trans women and men could be stereotyped either as fundamentally different—the way cisgender women and men are perceived—or as part of an overarching and undifferentiated ‘transgender’ group (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021; Figure 1). When stereotyped as belonging to different groups, the stereotypes can be based on their gender identity (e.g., a trans man perceived as similar to a cis man) or assigned sex at birth (e.g., a trans man perceived as similar to a cis woman).



If TGD people are grouped as belonging to the broad ‘trans’ label, they may be perceived as possessing both agentic and communal traits (bi-gendering) or as lacking gendered traits altogether (de-gendering). So far, empirical research has found that trans people are more often de-gendered (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021): rather than being seen as similarly communal as cis women and as similarly agentic as cis men, trans people were rated low on both traits. Being perceived as having low agency and low communion could trigger negative evaluations and behavioral responses, according to stereotype content model and the BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007), which shows how combinations of agency and communion trigger different reactions in people.

Figure 1. Model of different ways to stereotype trans women and trans men.



Thus, it appears that the roles that TGD people occupy are not clearly defined in terms of agency and communion. However, they occupy unique roles that lead to specific stereotypes: when asked to describe trans women and men, the most common words used were *deviant*, *sexualized*, *confused*, *mentally ill*, *disgusting* (Gazzola & Morrison, 2014; Howansky et al., 2021). This shows that people still often view TGD identities as either a passing phase (i.e., confused), a mental illness, or a deviation that elicits disgust. Many TGD people report the *sexualized* stereotype as one of the most widespread and damaging ones affecting their community (Anzani et al., 2021, 2024). Another stereotype unique to TGD people is that of *deceiver*: when people who concealed a stigmatized identity (e.g., TGD status) reveal it, they are perceived as less moral and sociable than those who disclosed it from the beginning (e.g., Le Forestier et al., 2022). Altogether, traditional theories of gender roles and stereotypes—developed for and by cisgender people—do not seem to capture the

specific dynamics experienced by TGD people, who may require different conceptual frameworks.

## Physical appearance and beauty norms

Concerning physical appearance, for example, cis men are expected to be tall and strong, while cis women are expected to be graceful and polished (Deux and Lewis, 1985). These stereotypes about appearance translate into prescriptive beauty norms, especially for women, who should try their best to be as attractive as possible (Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020). Women pay society a larger beauty tax than men, meaning they are expected to devote more time, energies, and resources to looking attractive (Ramati-Ziber et al., 2020). Women's attractiveness and physical appearance can also have consequences in the workplace. While men are mostly evaluated in terms of competence, for women more aspects matter, such as competence, morality, and attractiveness (Mene-gatti et al., 2021; Moscatelli et al., 2020). Being perceived as attractive can lead to social benefits for women (e.g., Eagly et al., 1991), including higher chances of getting a job (Jawahar & Mattsson, 2005) and higher salaries (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985). However, women can also be penalized when too attractive: they are perceived as less qualified and, thus, as deserving a lower salary (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; S. K. Johnson et al., 2014). Appearance also plays a significant role in relation to the core dimensions of agency and communion, which are inferred on the bases of facial features and gendered appearance cues. For example, people with feminine features are more often associated with communal roles that entail lower status, such as being a team member rather than a leader (von Stockhausen et al., 2013). Contrarily, masculine-looking cisgender women can gain advantages in the workplace, receiving more opportunities as they are assumed to be more agentic (Dozier, 2019).

For TGD people, not conforming to gendered appearance norms (willingly or not) can represent a visible marker of their TGD status (L. R. Miller & Grollman, 2015), often leading to increased discrimination, misgendering, and identity denial (Connell, 2010; Morgenroth, van der Toorn, et al., 2024). While some TGD people reject norms that would have them present in traditionally masculine or feminine ways, others may choose to conform to cisgender expectations to avoid being recognized as TGD unless they disclose their identity. Those who can successfully conceal their TGD status are considered *passing* as cisgender and, if they do not disclose it, they are in *stealth* (Anderson et al., 2020; Dias et al., 2021). Whether passing or not makes a TGD person more or less likely to be hired will be investigated in this thesis.

So far, we know that trans men who transitioned at work reported experiencing social benefits, such as being considered more competent, being asked for their opinion more, and being promoted more often when presenting as a man rather than as a gender non-conforming woman (Schilt, 2006; Schilt & Wiswall, 2008). This self-perception is confirmed by wage statistics that show that trans men earn more after transitioning, while trans women earn less (Carpenter et al., 2022; Geijtenbeek & Plug, 2018).

For many TGD people, passing is part of a self-affirmation journey that leads society to perceive them as they perceive themselves (Goetz, 2022). They describe finally feeling “seen” when affirmed in their gender identity (Anderson et al., 2020). However, this also means that their sense of identity can become partially dependent on cis people’s approval. As gender and beauty norms create a gender hierarchy, so does passing: within the TGD community, those who conform to cisnormative expectations and beauty standards gain the most acceptance (Billard, 2019). Similarly to how attractive and feminine women gain societal advantages, passing can grant TGD people acceptance, safety, and access to services and spaces they could not otherwise benefit from (Anderson et al., 2020; Dias et al., 2021). Those who do not pass often face heightened discrimination, misgendering, and identity denial (Connell, 2010; Morgenroth, van der Toorn, et al., 2024). However, while identity concealment may offer safety, it also comes at significant psychological costs—similarly to how adherence to beauty norms for women can lead to body dissatisfaction and negative psychological outcomes (Glauert et al., 2009). Passing can have negative repercussions on the mental and physical wellbeing of TGD people, including increased depression and anxiety (To et al., 2020). Thus, the concept of passing remains controversial within the TGD community, even though it is felt as a priority by most of its members (Anderson et al., 2020).

## Contact with and attitudes toward TGD people

### Attitudes (and backlash) toward gender diversity

Attitudes are people’s evaluations of various aspects of the world, including social groups (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; McGuire, 1989). Overall, attitudes toward TGD people have shifted in recent years. Between 2019 and 2023, the percentage of EU citizens who considered transphobic discrimination to be widespread rose from 48% to 57% (European Commission, 2023b). Public

opinion remains divided on legal recognition: while almost half of respondents support the inclusion of a third-gender option on official documents, 30% believe that transgender people should not be allowed to change their legal documents at all; interestingly, both support and opposition to this issue have increased over time, indicating a growing polarization (European Commission, 2023b). Despite these differences, 64% of EU citizens believe trans and cis people should have the same rights, and nearly 70% would feel comfortable working with a trans or intersex colleague. Also, these attitudes are more positive among people with LGBTQIA+ friends and acquaintances (European Commission, 2023b).

In the UK, public support for trans people has declined significantly, from 82% in 2019 to 64% in 2023 (Clery, 2023). The proportion of people who self-identify as “very prejudiced” against trans people has risen from 2% to 6% (Clery, 2023). Support for legal gender recognition has also weakened, with only 30% of respondents now agreeing that trans people should be allowed to change their documents, down from 53% in 2019 (Clery, 2023). This trend is not merely a reflection of Europe’s broader shift toward conservative politics (Aktas, 2024), as attitudes toward other stigmatized groups (e.g., sexual minorities) and behaviors (e.g., abortions) have remained stable or even improved (Clery, 2023). The National Center for Social Research attributes the decline in TGD support to the constant political and media debates about trans issues, suggesting that rapid policy changes may have overestimated public consensus, triggering a backlash. Simply said, TGD-inclusive laws might have been implemented ‘too fast’, leading people to believe TGD issues are now solved. A similar pattern is observed in the United States, where the percentage of people who believe society has gone “too far” in accepting trans people has increased from 29% in 2018 to 36% in 2024 (Orth, 2024).

Negative attitudes toward TGD people are more prevalent among certain demographic and ideological groups (Hatch et al., 2022; Napier, 2024; Perez-Arche & Miller, 2021). Specifically, men, heterosexual individuals, and those with high levels of political conservatism, social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and religious fundamentalism are more likely to hold negative views (e.g., Dierckx et al., 2017; Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015). Endorsement of gender essentialism and traditional gender roles further contribute to these negative attitudes (Cao & Atinc Gurcay, 2022; Harrison & Michelson, 2019). Having no or little contact with both sexual and gender minorities also contributes to developing negative attitudes (Earle et al., 2021; Kanamori et al., 2022). There is strong correlation between attitudes toward TGD and LGB people (e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Norton & Herek, 2013); however, research consistently finds that public acceptance of sexual minorities is higher than acceptance of gender minorities (Bachmann &

Gooch, 2018a; European Commission, 2023b). Furthermore, many studies on LGBTQIA+ populations do not differentiate among the acronym's subgroups, assuming their experiences and discrimination patterns overlap. There is now growing recognition of the need to distinguish the T from the rest of the acronym when doing research, since gender minorities experience deeper and more complex patterns of discrimination than sexual minorities (Worthen, 2013).

Overall, backlash against TGD inclusion can be categorized into four main rhetorical strategies: minimization, denial, moralization, and exaggeration of threat (Vandello, 2025). Minimization involves downplaying the significance of TGD issues, often through mockery, claims that more pressing social problems exist, or arguments that the TGD population is too small to warrant policy changes. Denial entails rejecting either the existence of trans identities or the reality of the discrimination they face. Moralization frames trans individuals as immoral, disruptive, or harmful to societal order. Exaggeration of threat is the opposite of minimization, portraying trans people as a dangerous and powerful minority with a hidden agenda aimed at influencing children or 'converting' people. The strategy a person adopts depends on how threatening they perceive TGD people to be (Vandello, 2025). When trans people are perceived as posing a low threat, opponents tend to rely on minimization and denial, which have more passive yet still harmful effects (e.g., rendering the group invisible, dismissing their concerns). However, when trans people are perceived as a major societal threat, opponents shift toward moralization and exaggeration of threat, which can lead to active discrimination, social exclusion, and even aggression. It is important to notice that people may endorse contradicting beliefs: for example, they may believe that TGD people are an insignificant minority unworthy of policy attention (minimization) and, at the same time, that they are a powerful, threatening group exerting malicious influence (exaggeration of threat; Morgenroth, Means, et al., 2024).

### Attitudes components and parasocial contact

According to the tripartite (or ABC) model, attitudes have three main components: a cognitive one (i.e., thoughts and beliefs about the attitude object), an affective one (i.e., feelings and emotions toward the attitude object), and a behavioral one (i.e., actions and actions intentions involving the attitude object; e.g., Breckler, 1984; Rosenberg et al., 1960; Smith et al., 1956). These components concur to form overall attitudes, but can also be investigated separately.

Cognitive attitudes toward TGD people include beliefs, thoughts, and opinions that can range from “Being transgender is a sin” (Clark & Hughto, 2020) to “Although most of humanity is male or female, there are also identities in between” (Kanamori et al., 2017). Behavioral attitudes refer to past behaviors (e.g., having marched in support of TGD rights) and future behavioral intentions (e.g., being willing to march in support of TGD rights). A common method to measure behavioral intentions is to assess people’s desire for social distance, meaning the degree to which they want to separate themselves (physically and psychologically) from the members of another group (Bogardus, 1992). Typically, this entails asking people whether they would accept to have contact with an outgroup member in different areas of their lives, ranging from living in the same neighborhood as them (not intimate) to being in a relationship with them (very intimate; Bogardus, 1933). Social distance toward TGD people has been used as a proxy for stigma against them (Tompkins et al., 2015). Behavioral intentions can also be measured through people’s willingness to engage in collective action, meaning actions taken by a group to achieve a common goal, often in support of a cause and to promote social change (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Self-reported collective action intentions (e.g., “I would be willing to sign a petition in support of a minority group”) have been shown to predict actual participation in such actions (e.g., signing the petition; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995).

Affective attitudes encompass positive and negative intergroup emotions: according to the intergroup emotions theory (Mackie et al., 2015), they are emotions that arise from intergroup processes and interactions. They are tied to group membership, in the sense that they reflect the emotions of a person as a member of a group (e.g., “As a cisgender person, I feel distrust toward transgender people”) (Mackie & Smith, 2018). Intergroup emotions play an important part in attitude formation and attitude change: for example, positive intergroup emotions can influence support for policies that target outgroup members, while negative intergroup emotions can be antecedents of violence toward social groups (Čehajić-Clancy, 2022). In this way, intergroup emotions are theoretically and empirically distinct from individual feelings, which refer to personal reactions to situations or events (Mackie et al., 2000). Individual feelings can influence how an attitude object is perceived as well: according to the feelings-as-information theory (Schwarz & Clore, 1983, 2003), people often use feelings as a heuristic, relying on their emotional status to make judgements. For example, when people are in a good mood, they also interpret their surroundings more positively and report more positive attitudes toward social stimuli. In intergroup contact, inducing positive feelings in people has been shown to reduce tension—and thus the likelihood of negative reactions that can be elicited by presenting people with counter-stereotypical

information about a stigmatized outgroup (Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2021). Thus, individual feelings also play an important role in attitude research.

Attitudes about outgroups are formed through either direct or indirect contact with them. While direct contact means interacting with one or more members of the outgroup (Allport, 1954), indirect contact can have many forms. These include: extended contact, where an ingroup member has an outgroup friend (Wright et al., 1997); imagined contact, where the interaction with an outgroup member is imagined (Crisp & Turner, 2009); and mediated contact, where the outgroup is encountered indirectly (Park, 2012). Mediated contact can be divided into vicarious contact, where an intergroup interaction is witnessed (Joyce & Harwood, 2014), and parasocial contact, where an outgroup member is observed in the media (Schiappa et al., 2005). According to the parasocial contact hypothesis, media representations of social groups simulate direct contact with them (Schiappa et al., 2005; Park, 2012), since they enable the audience to come into contact with groups they would not normally meet in everyday life (Joyce & Harwood, 2014).

Research has increasingly shown that parasocial contact—such as interactions with outgroup members portrayed in television, film, and news—can promote attitude change and reduce prejudice toward outgroups (e.g., Park, 2012; Sink & Mastro, 2018). Parasocial interactions, or the imagined relationships audiences form with media figures, can simulate some of the beneficial effects of direct contact by increasing familiarity, reducing intergroup anxiety, and challenging stereotypes (Schiappa et al., 2005). While parasocial contact is generally less powerful than face-to-face interactions, it still represents an important tool for prejudice reduction, particularly when opportunities for direct contact are limited (Paluck, 2009; Tukachinsky et al., 2015). This is the case for TGD people: only 12% of EU citizens report having friends or acquaintances who identify as trans, with significant variation across countries—some reporting rates as low as 2% (European Commission, 2023b). Thus, cis people often rely on parasocial contact through news and entertainment media to form attitudes toward the TGD community.

## Media representations of TGD people

Representations of TGD people in news and entertainment media—and thus parasocial contact with them—used to be uncommon and, if present, often overtly discriminatory (Baker, 2014). The situation shifted with the 2014 transgender tipping point (Steinmetz, 2014). Yet, increased media attention did not necessarily equate positive representation; when marginalized groups first gain visibility, they were often portrayed in a negative light (Carilli,

2021). For example, when media started reporting about gay men during the 1980s and 1990s, they were prevalently portrayed as deviant, mentally ill, and HIV-positive (e.g., Alwood, 1996; Gross, 1991). Similarly, early representations of TGD people often framed them as mentally ill, deceptive, or even predatory (Capuzza & Spencer, 2017). While such stigmatizing portrayals persist, media representations of TGD people are gradually improving: representations of TGD people as pioneers advocating for rights, in professional roles such as politicians, professional athletes and celebrities are starting to emerge (Åkerlund, 2019; Wood et al., 2019). Media representations can be found both in news and entertainment media. News media aim to report facts and maintain objectivity, offering audiences brief opportunities for parasocial contact (Edgerly & Vraga, 2019). In contrast, entertainment media such as books, films, and television series allow for more prolonged and emotionally nuanced engagement with characters, resulting in deeper parasocial relationships (Capuzza & Spencer, 2017; Schiappa et al., 2006).

Few studies have examined the effects of TGD media representations on audiences' attitudes. Most of this research has focused on entertainment media, such as television shows and fictional stories. For instance, Gillig et al. (2018) found that positive storylines in a TV show improved attitudes toward TGD people and increased support for TGD-inclusive policies. Experimental studies that used entertainment stimuli show similar trends: Orellana et al. (2022) found that exposure to fictional stories about trans women reduced participants' transnegativity, an effect mediated by emotional transportation into the story and intergroup anxiety. Likewise, Taracuk and Koch (2023) reported an increase in positive attitudes following exposure to a sympathetic portrayal of trans experiences in a TV show, although no effects were observed for behavioral intentions. Conversely, Solomon and Kurtz-Costes (2018) found that exposure to negative representations of TGD people in TV shows worsened attitudes, while positive representations had no significant positive effect. Studies that examined the effects of news media representations have mostly focused on the coming out of celebrities and public figures. Overall, they found that mere exposure to celebrity coming out stories had little to no direct effect on people's attitudes (Thompson, 2022). Instead, evaluating the coming out as a positive societal change was associated with greater support for TGD-inclusive policies (Laporte & Eggermont, 2023).

From the perspective of TGD people, many people recall the first time they saw themselves represented in mainstream media (Cavalcante, 2017). They describe these as cathartic moments that led them to recognize their own TGD identity, or that made cisgender people around them aware of their existence. However, such representations might impact cisgender audiences differently. A trans participant in Cavalcante's study (2017) described watching the film



*TransAmerica* at the cinema and overhearing a cis woman in the audience comment on the trans woman protagonist: “I really liked her. By the middle of the film, you almost forget that she’s a guy.” (p. 544). This remark suggested that the character’s likeability stemmed precisely from the fact that it was possible to forget or ignore her trans identity. This is still often the case with contemporary media representations of TGD people: the ones who are accepted by cis audiences are often the ones who can conceal their TGD identities by seamlessly conforming to cisgender norms in terms of appearance and behavior (Ryan, 2016). For example, when Caitlyn Jenner announced her transition, she seemed to “want to magically go from being a clearly masculine male to a clearly feminine female”, facilitating her categorization within the gender binary and thus making her easier to accept (Ryan, 2016). Overall, TGD people with race and class privilege, financial resources, support networks, and a binary gender expression can reap the benefits of being visible. However, this visibility can also lead to the expectation that all TGD people will conform to the same standards or experiences, creating subtyping (Richards & Hewstone, 2001). In other words, when high-profile TGD people—particularly those who fit more traditional or binary gender expressions—are the most represented ones, people can risk categorizing them as exceptions, not representative of all TGD people. This can further marginalize those who do not meet these narrow expectations or who do not benefit from the same privileges.

In conclusion, media representations of TGD people become more frequent, they also become more varied, offering a wider range of portrayals that can either challenge or reinforce existing biases. Importantly, media not only shapes public attitudes toward TGD people, but also reflects the broader social norms and values of a given society. For instance, as mentioned above, the use of misgendering and derogatory language in Italian news coverage (Porrovecchio, 2020) reflects not just biases in media, but a cultural and legal context where protection for TGD people remains limited (Rosati et al., 2025). In democratic societies, public attitudes and laws are closely connected, meaning that widespread prejudice can hinder legal protections for marginalized groups. At the same time, laws play a role in legitimizing behaviors, attitudes, and even outgroups and, over time, lead to shifts in public opinion. Thus, media both influences and is influenced by societal attitudes.

## Summary of studies

This thesis used a mixed-methods approach to examine how the presence of TGD people in the media and in the workplace can influence perceptions of and attitudes toward them. Two studies employed experimental designs to test for causal mechanisms, while the other two explored how TGD people are represented and included in media and in data collection practices.

First, to better understand the visibility of TGD people in media and the ways they are portrayed to large audiences, I analyzed media headlines across countries with varying levels of legal protection and social acceptance toward gender minorities. Headlines were coded and organized through content analyses, and differences between countries were tested using multinomial logistic regressions. Additionally, I incorporate here text mining analyses that were not included in the published paper. Next, to assess whether media representations of TGD people actually influence people's attitudes toward them, I experimentally manipulated the content of news articles and measured readers' cognitive, behavioral, and affective attitudes after exposure to news articles with different valence. The analyses tested the direct effects of the articles on attitudes, as well as the mediation of feelings elicited by the article and the moderation of pre-existing attitudes. This allowed for a better understanding of how individual feelings and beliefs affect the reception of media messages and their impact on attitudes. Additionally, I assessed predictors of attitudes toward TGD people, such as the influence of previous direct and parasocial contact.

Second, I turned to a domain where attitudes toward trans people and gender diversity have tangible, concrete consequences: the workplace. Thus, an experimental study tested whether gender identity and gender expression—specifically, adherence to cisnormative appearance norms—affected perceptions of trans people's hireability and possessed traits. Finally, building on the findings of the workplace study, I conclude the thesis with a theoretical reflection on the benefits and risks of collecting sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) data in workplace settings, offering suggestions for best practices aimed at promoting inclusion and safeguarding the wellbeing of LGBTQIA+ employees.

# Study 1

## Aim

The aim of Study 1 was to investigate media representations of TGD people in online news media across European countries with different levels of legal protection and social acceptance of gender minorities: Sweden (high levels), the UK (medium levels), and Italy (low levels). Using theory-driven content analysis, we developed a coding scheme of the key dimensions of TGD media representations, and compared their frequencies across different countries.

## Background and hypothesis

According to the parasocial contact hypothesis (Schiappa et al., 2005) and social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2016), perceptions and stereotypes of TGD people can be inferred from the social roles they are represented in. For TGD people, past research has often investigated which roles occur most often in entertainment media (e.g., Capuzza & Spencer, 2017; Ryan, 2009), but research in news media is scarce (e.g., DeJong et al., 2021; Oliveira-Araujo, 2022). These studies documented common representations of TGD people (see Table 1 for an overview), which include negative roles such as criminal, predator, deceiver, frequently associated with involvement in illicit activities such as drug dealing and sex work. A complementary role to that of criminal that is becoming increasingly common is that of the victim, either of violence or of discrimination (e.g., Baker, 2014). However, positive roles have also been emerging, showing TGD people gaining acceptance and rights, and as pioneers in various fields such as politics, showbusiness, and sports (Åkerlund, 2019; Baker, 2014; Wood et al., 2019).

Table 1. Overview of the recurrent themes identified by previous researchers in media representations of TGD people

Recurrent themes	Authors
Deceiver/trickster	Billard, 2016; Capuzza, 2014; Mogul et al., 2011
Criminal/threat	Baker, 2014; Mogul et al., 2011
Victim, brutalization of trans violence	Baker, 2014; DeJong et al., 2021; Wood et al., 2019
Mentally unstable	Mogul et al., 2011

Sexualized	Billard, 2016; Mogul et al., 2011
Misgendering, deadnaming, problematic language	Billard, 2016; Capuzza, 2014; DeJong et al., 2021; Wood et al., 2019
Surgery, medicalization	Baker, 2014; Capuzza, 2014
Gaining acceptance, being empowered and resilient	Åkerlund, 2019; Baker, 2014; Wood et al., 2019

---

Another factor of TGD media is how gender—and which gender identities—is represented: trans women tend to be overrepresented in media compared to trans men and gender diverse people, and often with a focus on their bodies (e.g., Åkerlund, 2019; Billard, 2016), despite the number of trans women and trans men being nearly the same (Leinung & Joseph, 2020). Misgendering and the use of outdated or offensive terminology, which contribute to the reinforcement of marginalization, have also been found in previous studies (Billard, 2016; Capuzza, 2014). Additionally, TGD people can be represented as part of a community, which can help convey the message that they have support and are not isolated, but at the same time increase the perception of them as an outgroup (Knowles et al., 2022). Representing them as individuals, on the other hand, carries the risk of subtyping (Richards & Hewstone, 2001). So far, most studies have focused on the representation of specific TGD people (Barker-Plummer, 2013; Wood et al., 2019), thus it is not known how often media represent TGD people as part of a community or as single individuals.

The countries selected for the present study—Sweden, the UK, Italy—differ in their legal protection and social acceptance of TGD people; as societal laws and norms influence discourse, media headlines about sexual and gender minorities may vary depending on each country’s context. In the ranking of achieved LGBTI rights (ILGA Europe, 2024), Sweden is in 11<sup>th</sup> place out of 49 countries (64.4% of LGBTI human rights achieved), the UK is 15<sup>th</sup> (51.9%), and Italy is 35<sup>th</sup> (25.4%)<sup>1</sup>. Sweden, the first country in the world to legally allow ‘gender change’ in 1972, has protected transgender identities and expressions under the Prohibition of Discrimination Act since 2009. In the UK, the 2010 Equality Act recognizes gender identity and ‘gender reassignment’ as a protected characteristic, providing legal protections to binary trans people. Italy, despite having some general anti-discrimination laws, does not grant legal protection to gender minorities. Within the European context, Italy

<sup>1</sup> In the 2022 ILGA ranking, which we followed when conducting the study, Sweden was in 6<sup>th</sup> place, the UK in the 14<sup>th</sup>, and Italy in the 33<sup>rd</sup>.

and Sweden represent two opposing ends of the spectrum regarding legal protection and social acceptance of TGD people. The UK serves as an intermediate reference point, particularly given that much of the non-US-based research on TGD media representations has been conducted there (e.g., Baker, 2014; Zottola, 2018). Additionally, while TGD media representation in British press has been the subject of several studies (e.g., Baker, 2014; Zottola, 2018), we are aware of only one study focusing specifically on Sweden (Åkerlund, 2019), and none on Italy.

Overall, we expected more inclusive countries to feature more positive valence, more positive roles (i.e., pioneer, professional), an unbiased representation of gender identities, less misgendering, less focus on bodies, and a focus on both individuals and groups compared to less inclusive countries; we also expected trans women to be more represented than trans men and gender diverse people.

## Methods

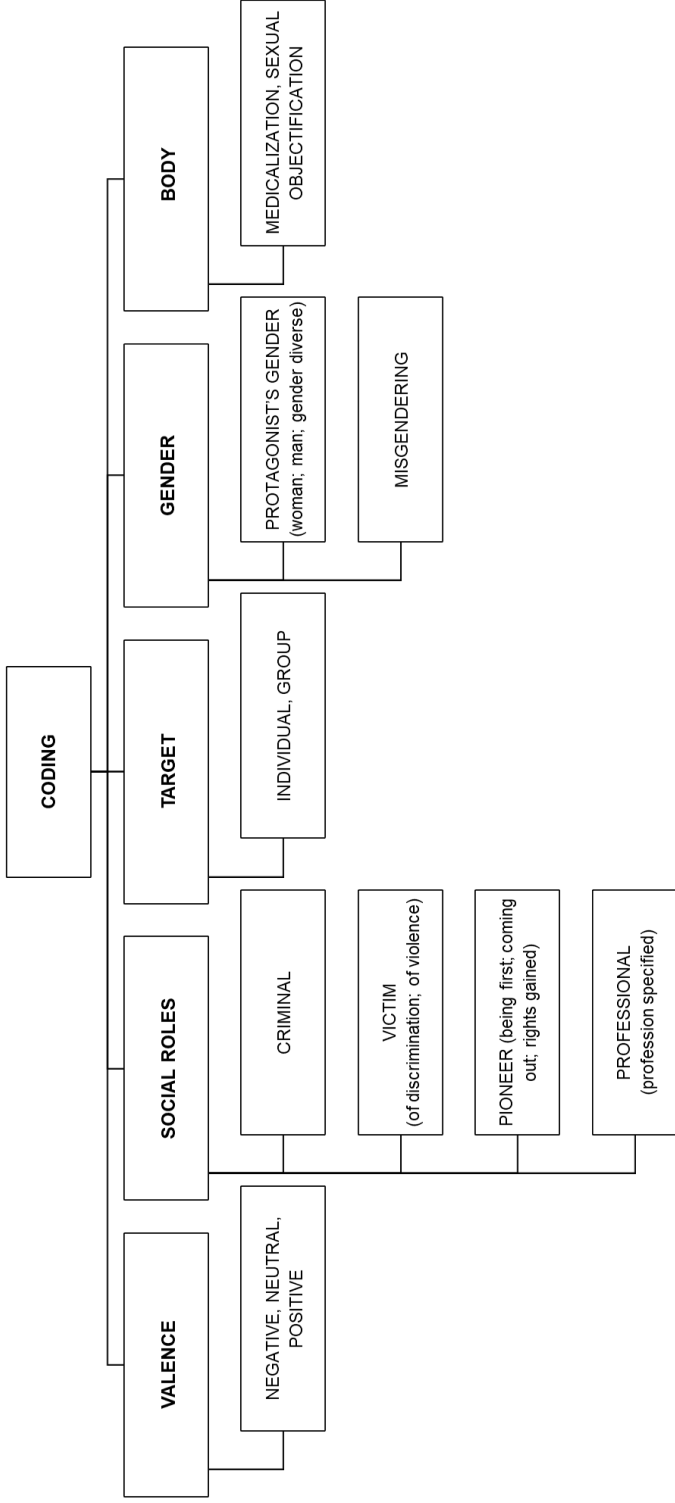
We collected online news headlines featuring at least one of the search terms (i.e., *trans\**, *non-binary*, *genderfluid*, *genderqueer*) from the most read news providers in each country (Newman, 2021). We included the first 100 headlines from the 3 most read news providers in each country, starting with articles published on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2021 and going back in time. The final dataset consisted of 830 headlines, since one Italian news provider featured only 30 articles that matched the search terms.

We employed content analysis, which is “a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method” (Neuendorf, 2011, p. 277). It involves six pre-analysis decisions that researchers need to consider: 1) theoretical and conceptual backing (here: using sociopsychological theories and previous research as an underlying rationale); 2) a plan for the scope of the investigation (here: analyzing the headlines’ content and comparing it across countries); 3) review of past research and development of measures (here: integrating past research and theories in a new coding scheme and a codebook with instructions for coders); 4) defining the population of messages to be analyzed (here: exposure-based approach including the three most read online newspapers in Sweden, the UK, and Italy.); 5) immersion in the message pool (here: inductive part of the coding to discover variables that might have not been detected otherwise); 6) decision on whether to use human coding and/or computer coding (here: we used both data-driven computerized coding and theory-driven human coding to capture the full extent of the headlines’ meaning). Then, six methodological decisions have to be taken: 1) unitizing (here:

using headlines as units); 2) sampling (here: 100 articles per newspaper, starting from the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2021 and going backwards); 3) measurement (here: labels were created and checked for exhaustiveness and mutual exclusivity); 4) training (here: coders were given a codebook with instructions); 5) reliability (here: intercoder reliability measured); 6) reportage (here: the whole process was reported in detail).

Eventually, the coding scheme included five dimensions (Figure 2): valence, roles, target, gender, and, body. For each country, two native speakers coded the headlines. The average intercoder reliability across countries was  $M\kappa = 0.81$ . Disagreements were resolved upon joint discussion. To establish which dimensions statistically differed between countries, multinomial logistic regressions were calculated with country as predictor and the coded dimensions as criteria.

Figure 2. Coding scheme used for content analysis.



## Results

Regarding valence, we found that Italian headlines were more likely than Swedish and British ones to have negative valence (41%), but surprisingly also more likely than British ones to have positive valence (33%). In Swedish and British headlines, neutral valence was most common (40-41%).

About a third of the articles included TGD people in different roles. There were almost no occurrences of TGD people in criminal roles or as sexually objectified. However, almost half of the Italian headlines that included roles represented TGD people as victims—and more often of violence. For positive roles, Italy was more likely to represent TGD as pioneers than the other countries. The most common professional fields were sports (in Sweden and the UK) and showbusiness (in Italy), whereas other professions, such as the military and politics, were more uncommon.

As predicted, trans women were featured more often (at least twice as much) than trans men across all countries. Issues of misgendering were more frequent in Italy. The focus on TGD people's bodies was most common in Sweden, with a specific focus on medicalization. While all countries featured more headlines representing TGD people as individuals, in Italy that occurred in almost 70% of the articles, compared to 47% of Swedish articles and 44% of British articles.

## Additional analyses

In addition to the content analysis reported in the published paper, I conducted data-driven text mining to gain a deeper understanding of the headlines' content. The headlines were cleaned from stop words (e.g., prepositions, pronouns, common adverbs like then and now, common nouns like people) and search-criteria words (e.g., transgender, trans). Subsequently, I employed text mining (Silge & Robinson, 2017) and sentiment analysis through the Bing sentiment lexicon (Hu & Liu, 2004), which categorizes words into binary positive and negative categories.

The most frequently used words in each country are visualized through word clouds and divided by sentiment (Figures 3a-b). The overrepresentation of women is clearly visible across all countries, as are some differences between them. In the UK, there was an abundance of words related to sports—reflecting the results of the content analysis, which found the professional field of sports was the most common in the UK. In Italy, many frequent words had association with violence—as victim of violence emerged as a frequent role

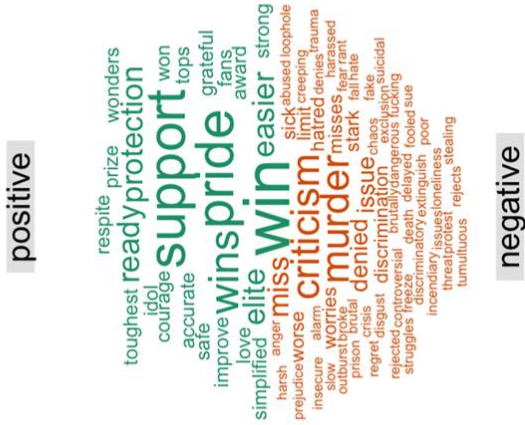


in the content analysis. In Sweden, frequent words were binary, change, and correction, likely referring to the strong focus on medicalization found in the content analysis. Most negative words across all countries had violent connotations; they were more frequent in the Italian and the UK context. The positive ones included pride/proud, win/wins, support, and open. Thus, the negative content was more associated with violence, while the positive content was more associated with feelings and achievement.

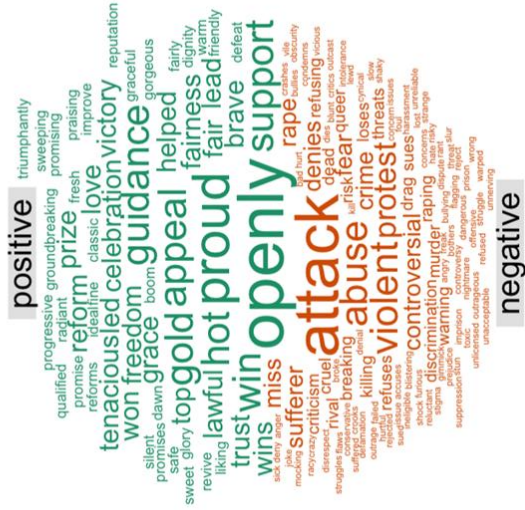


Figure 3b. Sentiment word clouds for Sweden, the UK, and Italy

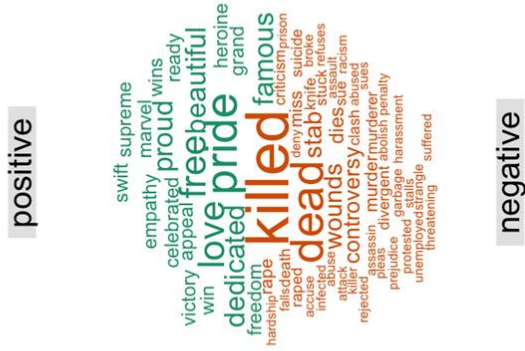
Sweden



UK



Italy



## Discussion and limitations

The present study examined how headlines about TGD people vary across countries with differing levels of legal protection and social acceptance of gender minorities. Media both influences and is influenced by public attitudes, legislation, and sociocultural contexts (Arendt, 2013; Ramasubramanian, 2013). While some expectations were confirmed by the study's results, others were not. The higher levels of negative content in Italy may be linked to the country's lower legal protection of TGD people and higher rates of violence against them. While such coverage could potentially raise awareness of the systemic discrimination and violence that TGD people experience, it also risks reinforcing narratives of disempowerment, spectacularizing TGD suffering (Wood et al., 2019).

In this study, harmful representations of TGD people as criminals and sexually objectified—which used to be central in media representations of TGD people (e.g., Billard, 2016; Mogul et al., 2011)—were scarce. Instead, there was a budding presence of more positive roles, such as pioneer and professional. The more TGD-inclusive countries did not feature mostly positive valence, but rather neutral one; this could signal that more inclusive countries are moving toward a more nuanced representation of TGD experiences and issues.

Despite equal numbers of trans men and trans women in society (Leinung & Joseph, 2020), trans women were given much more visibility than trans men (in line with past literature; Åkerlund, 2019; Billard, 2016; Capuzza, 2014). Trans men, in turn, had more visibility than gender diverse people (e.g., non-binary). Since cisgender men are more often represented in news than cisgender women (Gustafsson Sendén et al., 2015), the opposite finding for trans people could be the product of gender essentialist beliefs that identify trans women with their sex assigned at birth (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009).

Regarding focus, having articles that depict TGD celebrities and public figures could create strong parasocial bonds, such that people could become more familiar with groups they might not otherwise interact with (Joyce & Harwood, 2014). However, mostly representing TGD people more often as individuals than as part of a larger community may lead the audience to perceive them as not representative of their minority group, thus subtyping them while leaving overarching stereotype of TGD people unchanged (Richards & Hewstone, 2001). Only using headlines can be a limitation of this study, as it did not allow for in-depth text analysis that might have uncovered more complex narrative strategies. However, headlines are what draws attention to news story and what audiences consume more often (Gabiolkov et al., 2016). Future studies could expand on headlines research by including longer texts and images.

Furthermore, differences in gendered language (Gygax et al., 2019) could account for some results, as in Italian both personal and inanimate nouns are grammatically coded for gender. This increases the chances of misgendering, which was indeed more common in Italian headlines. As misgendering and the use of outdated or offensive terminology can reinforce marginalization of TGD people (Billard, 2016; Capuzza, 2014) and since language can be a subtle way of communicating prejudice about minority groups (Carnaghi et al., 2008), future research could investigate this further.

Also, although Italy shows lower social acceptance of gender minorities compared to the UK and Sweden, there are no major differences between these two. This may explain the lack of statistically significant differences between the UK and Sweden in certain dimensions, such as the valence of headlines. However, it is important to note that these headlines were collected in 2021, and the situation in the UK has since become more polarized (Clery, 2023). Lastly, it is important to note that this study is correlational, not causal. While it found associations between how TGD people are represented in the news and the national context they are situated in, media could also act as a precursor of social change and influence the attitudes of its readers.

In conclusion, to our best knowledge, this was the first study to compare media representations of TGD people across different countries. We found that more inclusive countries featured more progressive representations in terms of valence, roles, and harmful discursive strategies (e.g., misgendering, objectification). Future studies should test whether such differences can influence readers' attitudes toward TGD people.

## Study 2

### Aim

The aim of the research was to test whether positive, negative, and neutral media representations of TGD people influence cisgender people's attitudes toward them. As shown in Study 1, media representations of TGD people differ in valence (i.e., positive, negative, neutral). It comprises of two studies: Study 1 (between-participants), with positive and negative articles as the experimental stimuli and cognitive attitudes as the outcome; Study 2 (between- and within-participants), with positive, negative, and neutral articles as the experimental stimuli and cognitive, behavioral, and affective attitudes as the

outcome. Both studies also investigated the role of feelings in the relationship between media representations and attitudes.

## Background and hypotheses

The ways minorities are represented in news and entertainment media can set social norms regarding gender identities, thereby shaping public opinion about TGD people (Jacobs & Meeusen, 2021; Sink & Mastro, 2018). It can influence readers' support for policies (Li, 2023), uphold societal structures and status quo (Kleemans et al., 2017), perpetuate discriminations (Avalos, 2023), and influence attitudes (Jacobs & Meeusen, 2021).

So far, research on media representation of TGD people has mostly focused on the ways they are represented (as I did in Study 1), with less attention given to the attitudinal consequences of such representations. When investigated, the focus has mostly been on self-reported exposure to entertainment media—therefore often on fictional TGD people (Gillig et al., 2018; Orellana et al., 2022; Solomon & Kurtz-Costes, 2018; Taracuk & Koch, 2023; van Meer & Pollmann, 2022). The studies that investigated news media and real-life TGD people have almost exclusively centered on the coming out of specific celebrities, such as Caitlyn Jenner or Elliot Page (Laporte & Eggermont, 2023; P. R. Miller et al., 2020; Thompson, 2022). Some have found that positive news coverage of TGD people related to increased policy support (Gillig et al., 2018; Laporte & Eggermont, 2023), while others found that exposure to celebrities' coming out as TGD had little to no effect on attitudes (Thompson, 2022). However, when subjective emotional evaluations were included (e.g., interpreting coming out stories as positive), attitudes did change they did (Gillig et al., 2018; Laporte & Eggermont, 2023).

Most importantly, few studies have experimentally manipulated exposure to media representations of TGD people; they found that entertainment media representations had tangible effects on participants' support for TGD-inclusive policies (Taracuk & Koch, 2023), and they reduced negative attitudes toward trans people (Orellana et al., 2022). However, negative representations of trans women increased negative attitudes toward them (Solomon & Kurtz-Costes, 2018). As feelings are important in attitude change (Brown et al., 2007; Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2020) and can influence the effects of media representations on attitudes (Gillig et al., 2018; Orellana et al., 2022), we tested the mediating role of the feelings elicited by the articles.

We expected positive media representations to elicit positive feelings and improve attitudes toward TGD people, and negative representations to elicit negative feelings and worsen attitudes. We also expected positive and negative feelings to mediate the relationship between media representations and attitudes. We also considered mediating and moderating factors, such as feelings elicited by the representation, gender binary beliefs, and previous direct and indirect contact with TGD people; these variables were also tested as predictors of attitudes. As past studies have often focused on cognitive attitudes, we include five different attitudinal outcomes.

## Methods

A total of 730 cisgender participants from the UK (61.2% women, 38.8% men,  $M_{\text{age}} = 38.98$ ,  $SD = 14.04$ ) participated in Study 1. A total of 387 cisgender participants from the UK (70.5% women, 29.5% men,  $M_{\text{age}} = 42.1$ ,  $SD = 13.5$ ) participated in Study 2. For Study 1, the post-hoc power analysis with G\*Power determined that, with a sample of 730 participants and 3 groups, the analyses had 99% power to detect a 0.25 effect size. For Study 2, an a priori power analysis with G\*Power for a 3×2 experimental design determined that the minimum required sample size to detect a 0.25 effect size with 95% power for 3 groups measured at two times would be a total of 317 participants. Both studies were preregistered, including design, hypotheses, measures, and analyses.

In both studies, participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions: a news article with positive TGD representation, a news article with negative TGD representation, or a neutral article (with no TGD representation in Study 1, and with neutral TGD representation in Study 2). The content of the articles was based on real news articles from BBC News (collected in the Study 1), the most-read online news website in the UK (Newman et al., 2021). The article included a broad depiction of the current situation of TGD rights in the UK rather than focusing on a specific individual or coming out moment. It consisted of brief paragraphs about LGBTQIA+ data from the UK census, medical care and hormone therapies for TGD people, the impact of TGD inclusion in the workplace, and the experience of a fictitious trans woman transitioning in the workplace to increase parasocial contact. In Study 1, the control article covered a story unrelated to TGD topics (specifically, about cargo ships). In Study 2, participants completed two surveys: at Time 1, we assessed their attitudes toward TGD people and individual variables such as gender binary beliefs and previous contact with TGD people; one

week later, at Time 2, they read the manipulated news article, and their attitudes were assessed again. In this way, we could also control how the baseline attitudes affected the feelings elicited by the article.

In Study 1, we assessed cognitive attitudes toward TGD people. In Study 2, we expanded upon this by assessing cognitive attitudes, affective attitudes in the form of positive and negative intergroup emotions (e.g., “I feel warmth/fear toward TGD people”), and behavioral attitudes in the form of social distance (e.g., “How would you feel having a TGD person as your colleague?”) and collective action intentions (e.g., “How likely are you to sign a petition in support of TGD people?”). In both studies, we measured the feelings elicited by the articles, as well participants’ quantity and quality of previous direct and parasocial contact with TGD people, gender binary beliefs, and demographics. Besides the experimental focus of the studies, we also tested how self-reported previous direct and parasocial contact with TGD people, as well as gender binary beliefs, were associated with participants’ attitudes towards them.

## Results

The means for each experimental condition from Study 1 and Study 2 are reported in Table 2.

Table 2. Means of attitudinal outcomes by condition for Study 1 and Study 2

	Condition (article’s valence)		
	Negative	Control	Positive
<b>Study 1 (scale 1-5)</b>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Cognitive attitudes	3.86 <sub>a</sub> (0.84)	3.93 <sub>a</sub> (0.83)	3.93 <sub>a</sub> (0.88)
Positive feelings	2.46 <sub>a</sub> (0.84)	2.59 <sub>b</sub> (0.83)	2.67 <sub>b</sub> (0.88)
Negative feelings	1.29 <sub>a</sub> (0.50)	1.23 <sub>a</sub> (0.49)	1.19 <sub>a</sub> (0.43)
<b>Study 2 (scale 1-7)</b>			
Cognitive attitudes	4.92 <sub>a</sub> (1.32)	5.30 (1.23)	5.15 <sub>a</sub> (1.27)
Social distance	4.43 <sub>a</sub> (1.34)	4.77 <sub>a</sub> (1.40)	4.66 <sub>a</sub> (1.37)
Collective action intentions	2.54 <sub>a</sub> (1.63)	2.99 <sub>a</sub> (1.81)	2.80 <sub>a</sub> (1.68)
Positive intergroup emotions	4.40 <sub>a</sub> (1.25)	4.70 <sub>b</sub> (1.22)	4.66 <sub>b</sub> (1.18)
Negative intergroup emotions	2.25 <sub>a</sub> (1.38)	1.99 <sub>a</sub> (1.10)	2.06 <sub>a</sub> (1.27)
Positive feelings	2.97 <sub>a</sub> (1.27)	3.63 <sub>b</sub> (1.15)	3.90 <sub>b</sub> (1.38)

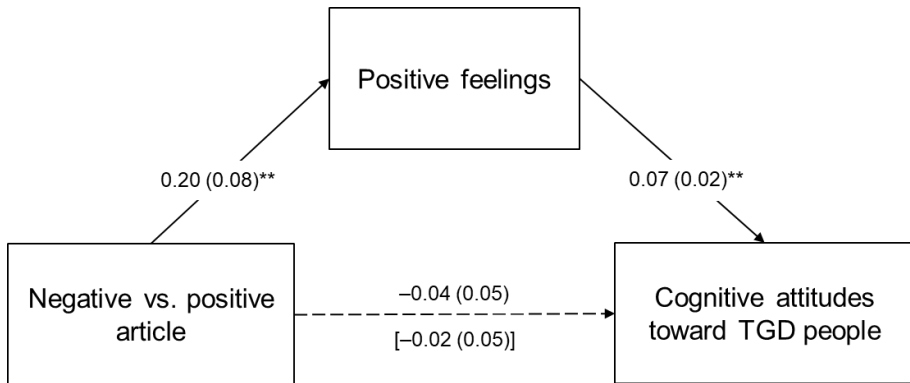


Negative feelings 2.26<sub>a</sub> (1.32) 1.89<sub>b</sub> (1.15) 1.69<sub>b</sub> (1.02)

Note. Means with differing subscripts within rows are significantly different at the  $p < .05$

Study 1 found no direct effect of the manipulation of the valence of TGD media representations on cognitive attitudes. However, the articles affected participants' feelings, such that the positive article elicited more positive feelings than the negative article. Positive feelings significantly mediated the relationship between valence of media representations and attitudes, such that reading an article with positive TGD representations compared to one with negative representations elicited more positive feelings, which in turn predicted more positive cognitive attitudes (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Significant mediation model of the relationship between articles' valence on attitudes through positive feelings, controlling for individual and contact variables.

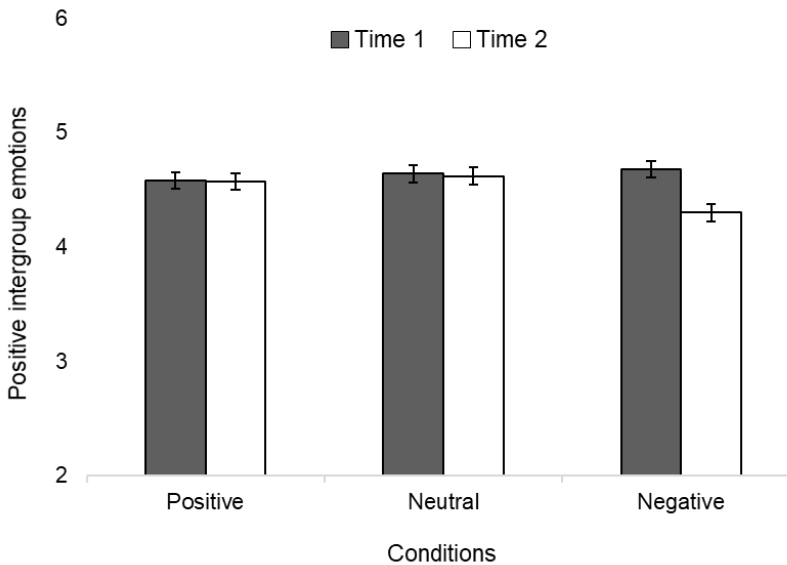
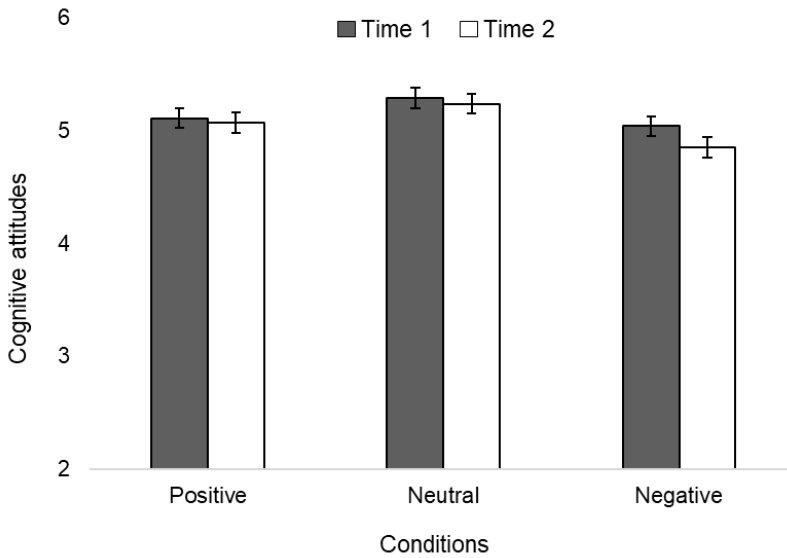


Participants who reported more previous parasocial contact with TGD people also held more negative attitudes toward them. The quantity of parasocial contact also significantly moderated the relationship between articles' valence and attitudes, such that participants with high parasocial contact reported more negative attitudes after reading either positive or negative articles compared to those who read the control one.

Study 2 included five attitudinal outcomes, and found a direct effect of the articles' valence on two of them from Time 1 (pre-test) to Time 2 (post-test): cognitive attitudes and positive intergroup emotions (Figure 5). Negative me-

dia representations had negative effects on both attitudinal outcomes, worsening them within participants from Time 1 to Time 2. There was no significant effect on for behavioral attitudes nor on negative intergroup emotions.

Figure 5. Attitude change between Time 1 and Time 2 for cognitive attitudes and positive intergroup emotions



As in Study 1, the articles elicited different feelings: the positive and the neutral article elicited more positive feelings than the negative one, which in turn elicited more negative feelings than the positive and the neutral ones (see Table 2). The mediation analyses found that positive feelings mediated the relationship between the positive article, compared to the neutral and the negative article, and all attitudinal outcomes (for negative emotions, only the positive vs. negative comparison was significant). Including baseline attitudes as a moderator, we found that the mediations were strongest at average and high levels of the moderator—thus among participants who reported more positive or average attitudes at Time 1. Negative feelings mediated only the relationship between the negative vs. positive article and negative intergroup emotions at low and average levels of the moderator, thus for participants who reported low or average negative intergroup emotions at Time 1. In both studies, gender binary beliefs emerged as the strongest predictor of attitudes toward TGD people.

## Discussion and limitations

Across two experimental studies, we compared the effects of media representations of TGD people with different valence (positive, negative, neutral) on attitudes toward them and on feelings elicited by the article.

The only direct effects of TGD media representations on attitudes toward them were negative: in Study 2, negative representations of TGD people—and thus negative parasocial contact with them—worsened cognitive attitudes and positive intergroup emotions toward them. Thus, negative parasocial contact with TGD people had more effects on attitudes than positive contact. These results align with previous research showing that negative experiences exert stronger effects on attitudes than positive ones (Baumeister et al., 2001; Barlow et al., 2012). Here, we found direct effects of negative parasocial contact, but no direct effects of positive contact.

Importantly, feelings elicited by the articles' valence played an important role, as we know that attitude change is facilitated by positive feelings (Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2016). Past research on entertainment media has shown that feeling personally involved in the story could influence attitudes toward TGD characters (Gillig et al., 2018). For news media, the impact of the story seems to be less about the content itself and more about whether the audience perceives it as a positive or negative event (Laporte & Eggermont, 2023; Miller et al., 2020; Thompson, 2022). Indeed, through the mediation of positive feelings, positive parasocial contact with TGD people improved attitudes toward them.

In Study 2, through the inclusion of baseline attitudes, we could show that the feelings elicited by reading the articles were in part dependent on participants' pre-existing attitudes. Specifically, participants with average or positive baseline attitudes toward TGD people were more emotionally affected by the articles' valence than those with negative baseline attitudes, such that the mediating effects of feelings were stronger. This might be motivated by a heightened sensitivity of participants who are already favorable toward TGD people, leading them to feel stronger emotional reactions to both positive and negative representations of gender minorities. Future studies should investigate this further.

Additionally, in both studies, there was a negative correlation between the quantity of previous parasocial contact with TGD people and cognitive attitudes toward them; this means that the more TGD media representations people are exposed to, the more negative their attitudes toward them. It is possible that people with negative attitudes toward TGD people overestimate their exposure to such media representations, as people with negative biases tend to overestimate the prevalence of groups they feel threatened by (Schemer & Meltzer, 2020). However, in Study 2, participants who reported more parasocial contact perceived it as more positive—yet their attitudes remained more negative. Also, in Study 1, reading an article that featured TGD people worsened the attitudes of people with frequent parasocial contact with them, regardless of the article's valence.

In conclusion, we found that media representations of TGD people can influence attitudes toward them, especially when feelings are elicited. While negative representations can have direct effects on attitudes, positive representations can improve attitudes through the mediation of positive feelings. This study adds to the literature about news media and its influence on minority groups, as well as to the literature on the role of feelings in attitude change.

## Study 3

### Aim

The aim of this experimental study was to test the hireability of trans women and trans men with different levels of cisgender-typical appearance. TGD people experience discrimination in the workplace and in hiring decisions (Bachmann & Gooch, 2018b), but not always equally: in everyday life, trans women

and TGD people whose appearance does not conform to gender norms report more discrimination (Miller & Grollman, 2015).

## Background and hypotheses

Trans people's unemployment rate is twice as high as that of their cisgender counterparts (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2023). If hired, they are more likely to be employed in low occupational classes (e.g., routine occupations) than in high ones (e.g., managerial occupations; Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2023). More than 80% of trans workers report having been discriminated against because of their gender identity at least once in their professional lives; more than half have been verbally, physically, or sexually harassed in the workplace (Sears et al., 2024). One in five trans people does not feel able to wear clothes that match their gender expression at work (Bachmann & Gooch, 2018b). Almost one in six trans workers who are open about their identity are not addressed with their correct names and pronouns (Bachmann & Gooch, 2018b). Despite the severity of the discrimination, research on TGD experiences in the workplace remains scarce (McFadden, 2020).

Most studies on TGD experiences in the workplace are qualitative (e.g., Brewster et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2012; Mizock et al., 2018; Schilt, 2006) and often focus on the challenges of transitioning while being employed (e.g., Budge et al., 2010; Schilt & Wiswall, 2008). In a meta-analysis, McFadden and Crowley-Henry (2016) found that less than 20% of studies about trans people in the workplace were quantitative, and even less were experimental. The qualitative studies have often highlighted the barriers that trans people face in occupational aspirations and prospects: for some, certain careers (e.g., childcare, positions with high customer interactions) remain entirely unattainable due to discrimination, limited opportunities, or broader structural inequities (Budge et al., 2010). Especially trans people who felt less gender congruent (and therefore less passing) reported having had to manage their career aspirations as a result (Budge et al., 2010). Another important matter is that of identity disclosure: job applications typically require candidates to list prior work experiences, references, and education. However, for trans people, this can involve having to disclose experience gained under a legal name they no longer use (i.e., *deadname*; Turton, 2021). Choosing to disclose such information signals their trans identity to potential employers, increasing the risk of being discriminated against.

So far, few studies have experimentally tested hiring discrimination faced by trans people who apply for a job. Overall, correspondence studies—where

fake CVs are submitted to real job postings—have shown that trans applicants were 6% to 36% less likely to receive callbacks than their cisgender counterparts (Drydakís, 2024; Granberg et al., 2020; Martínez-Alfaro et al., 2024). Comparisons between trans women and trans men have so far been inconclusive (Granberg et al., 2020; Stanton, 2023). Still, evidence shows that trans women were more likely to be hired by companies with gender-inclusive policies than by ones without, and less likely to be hired in male-dominated fields (Drydakís, 2024; Granberg et al., 2020). Also, the suggested wage for trans women was lower than that suggested wage for cis men (Drydakís, 2024). This aligns with the within-subject wage penalty that exists for trans workers (Geijtenbeek & Plug, 2018; Granberg et al., 2020): after transitioning, trans women usually earn less than they did before transitioning, while trans men have the same or a slightly increased salary. Few studies have investigated individual factors that might make recruiters less likely to hire a transgender employee, such as being a man, conservative, and authoritarian, and having traditional and binary beliefs about gender and gender roles (e.g., Hatch et al., 2022; Napier, 2024)

Thus, we expected less cis-typical candidates and trans men to be considered more hireable than cis-typical candidates and trans women, respectively. We also expected a significant interaction between gender identity and cis-typicality, such that the effect of candidates' cis-typical appearance on hireability would be stronger for trans women than for trans men. Additionally, we investigated the mediating role of the candidate's perceived attractiveness, agency, and communion, as well as the moderating role of participant's intolerance to gender ambiguity and desire for cis assimilation.

## Methods

A total of 451 UK participants (204 women, 245 men, 2 non-binary; 45 part of the LGBTQIA+ community;  $M_{\text{age}} = 42.4$ ,  $SD = 10.8$ ) with recruiting experience completed the study. The study employed a 2 (candidate's gender identity: trans woman or trans man)  $\times$  2 (cis-typicality: cis-typical or less cis-typical) between-participants experimental design. An a priori power analysis with G\*Power resulted in 400 participants over 4 groups for a 0.25 effect size, 0.05 alpha error probability, 95% power. Each participant was presented with: the job description of a vacant position in a sales company; one randomly assigned summary describing the work experiences and education of a trans candidate, including their photograph. Afterward, participants completed scales assessing their hiring decisions, perceptions of the candidate (i.e. their attrac-

tiveness, agency, and communion), as well as individual factors such as intolerance to gender ambiguity and desire for cisgender assimilation, as well as demographic variables.

The candidates' photographs were created by combining typically feminine or masculine faces (from the Feminized & Masculinized Face Transforms subset of the Chicago Face Database; Bjornsdottir et al., 2023) with typically feminine or masculine bodies (containing gendered clues such as long/short hair and typically feminine/masculine clothes). This resulted in 4 possible candidates (Figure 6). The candidates' education and previous work experience matched the requirements of the vacant position, and were identical for all candidates (Figure 7).

Figure 6. Target stimuli used in the fictitious summaries.

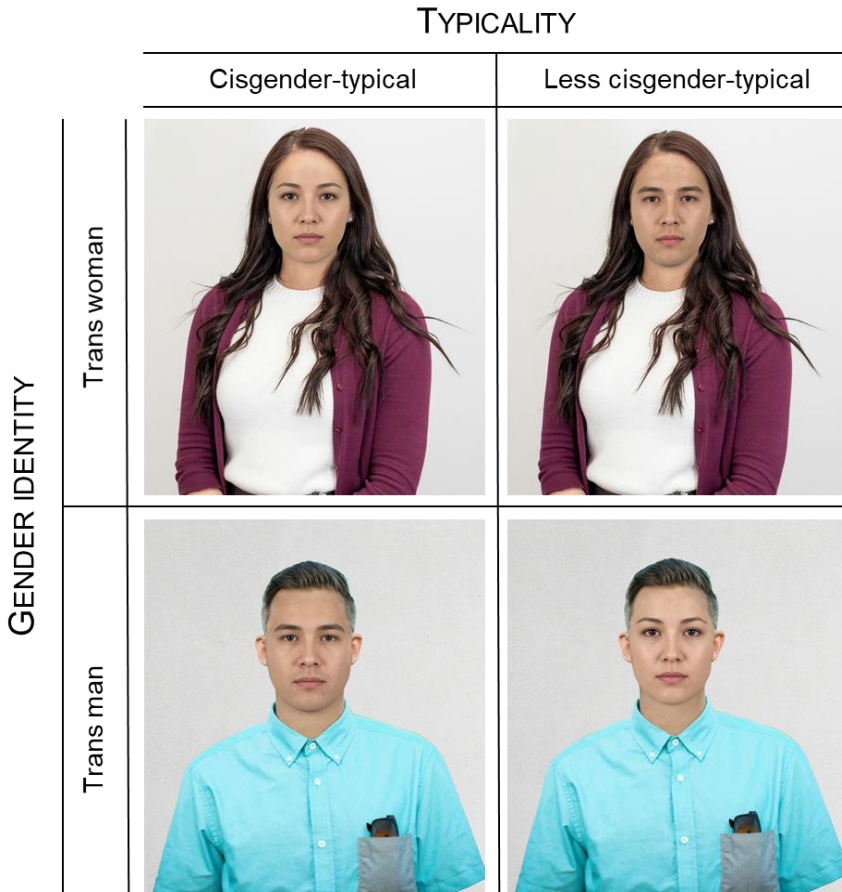



Figure 7. One of the 4 possible summaries participants were presented with.



**JENNIFER LEE**  
Assistant Store Manager  
✉ j.lee@mainstay.com

**Candidate's summary**

Jennifer has four years of experience in sales, with a background in both client engagement and internal process improvement.

Her previous roles at Mainstay Market and Standard Supply Co. have given her solid knowledge of sales, account management, and sales performance analysis.

**Competence and experience:**

- Developed and executed sales strategies;
- Managed client relationships and established trust;
- Mentored junior sales staff and optimized team performance.

Jennifer obtained a Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration. Please note that this was under her previous legal name, Jonathan Lee, before she transitioned.

## Results

Means for the different experimental conditions are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of the main outcomes by condition

	Trans Woman		Trans man	
	Cis typical <i>M (SD)</i>	Less cis typical <i>M (SD)</i>	Cis Typical <i>M (SD)</i>	Less cis typical <i>M (SD)</i>
Candidate's hireability	5.61 <sub>a</sub> (0.89)	5.43 <sub>a</sub> (0.93)	5.69 <sub>b</sub> (0.80)	5.78 <sub>b</sub> (0.87)
Allocated salary	36'062 <sub>a</sub> (20.14)	35'660 <sub>a</sub> (20.43)	35'956 <sub>a</sub> (21.21)	35'568 <sub>a</sub> (20.56)
Candidate's attractiveness	5.75 <sub>a</sub> (1.00)	3.74 <sub>b</sub> (1.47)	4.32 <sub>c</sub> (1.37)	4.47 <sub>c</sub> (1.39)
Candidate's agency	5.47 <sub>a</sub> (0.87)	5.44 <sub>a</sub> (0.87)	5.39 <sub>a</sub> (0.82)	5.63 <sub>a</sub> (0.76)
Candidate's communion	5.05 <sub>a</sub> (0.85)	4.98 <sub>a</sub> (0.92)	5.07 <sub>a</sub> (0.87)	5.17 <sub>a</sub> (0.81)

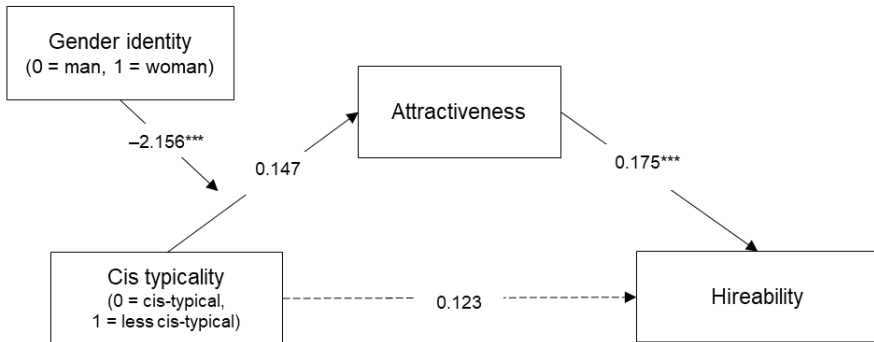
*Note.* Means with differing subscripts within rows are significantly different at  $p < .05$ .



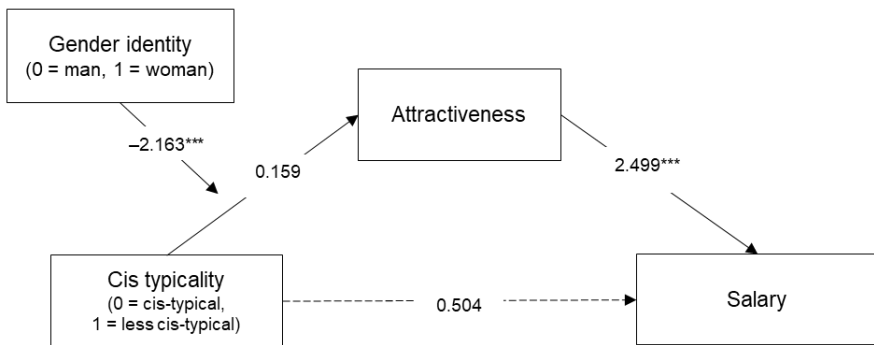
In contrast to the hypothesis, cis typicality did not have a direct effect on hireability, while gender identity did: trans men were considered more hireable than trans women. The interaction between cis typicality and gender identity was not significant; thus, the hypothesis that cis typicality would matter more for trans women was not supported. There were no effects on allocated salary. Both gender identity and cis typicality had a direct effect on attractiveness, such that trans women were considered more attractive than trans men and cis-typical applicants were considered more attractive than less cis-typical ones. Additionally, the interaction between cis typicality and gender identity was significant, meaning that attractiveness was influenced by cis typicality for trans women. Overall, less cis-typical trans women were considered significantly less attractive than all other applicants, while cis typical trans women were considered significantly more attractive than all other applicants. Two moderated mediations (Model 7, Hayes; Figure 8) revealed that perceived attractiveness significantly mediated the relationship between cis typicality and hireability and between cis typicality and allocated salary, but only for trans women: this means that being more or less cis-typical mattered strongly for women's attractiveness, which in turn influenced their hireability and allocated salary, reducing them when they did not look cis-typical. Instead, men's attractiveness, and thus men's hireability and allocated salary, were not influenced by their cis typicality.

Figure 8. Moderated mediation of attractiveness in the relationship between cis typicality and hireability (a) and salary (b), with gender as a moderator.

a)



b)



Hireability and allocated salary correlated positively with applicants' perceived attractiveness, agency, and communion. They correlated negatively with gender ambiguity intolerance and desire for cisgender assimilation, indicating that participants who felt uncomfortable with gender ambiguity and those who wanted trans people to assimilate to cis-normative standards rated all trans candidates as less hireable than the participants with lower ambiguity intolerance and cisgender assimilation.

## Discussion and conclusions

This study confirms well-documented gender biases that exist between cis women and men in the workplace (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2007; Goldin, 1990; Olivetti et al., 2024), showing that trans men were considered more hireable than trans women. However, the inclusion of additional factors such as cis-

typical appearance and attractiveness revealed additional mechanisms: the gender difference between trans women and trans men was primarily driven by cis typicality, such that the less cis-typical woman was rated significantly lower in hireability than the less cis-typical man. This suggests that penalties for violating gendered norms are not evenly distributed: the less cis-typical woman faced more penalties than her male counterpart, possibly due to the more rigid beauty norms that regulate women's appearance (Ramati-Ziber et al 2019). In contrast, no significant differences emerged between the cis-typical candidates, indicating that gender-based biases are most pronounced when candidates deviate from conventional cisnormative expectations. Previous literature has shown the role of cis women's attractiveness in hiring decisions (e.g., Menegatti et al., 2021). These effects seem to apply to trans women as well: the less cis-typical trans woman was rated as the least attractive, while the cis-typical trans woman as the most attractive out of all participants; both ratings influenced their hireability. For men, cis typicality did not seem to matter for attractiveness nor hireability.

We did not find any significant difference between candidates in ratings of agency and communion. This lack of differentiation aligns with previous findings by Gallagher and Bodenhausen (2021), which suggest that trans people are categorized into a broad, undifferentiated 'trans' group, where their trans status overrides other gender differences. Still, it should be noted that the skills and experiences of the candidate matched the demands of the job ad almost perfectly, which could have influenced participants' ratings of the candidates' agency and communion.

One limitation of the present study is the absence of a cisgender control group. This was a methodological choice: discrimination between cisgender and transgender people in the workplace is well-documented, whereas differences in discrimination between transgender men and women have received far less empirical attention beyond salary gaps. Nonetheless, we recognize that including a cisgender comparison group would have strengthened the design, and we recommend that future studies either incorporate cisgender applicants or use the same faces with different gender labels to allow for direct comparisons. Additionally, we acknowledge the potential influence of social desirability bias on participants' responses. Prior research has shown that, while correspondence studies consistently reveal hiring discrimination against transgender people (Drydakis, 2024; Granberg et al., 2020; Martínez-Alfaro et al., 2024), lab experiments have failed to capture this bias (Van Borm et al., 2020; Van Borm & Baert, 2018), suggesting that people's stated attitudes may not fully align with their real-world behaviors. To address this limitation, we varied the cis typicality of our targets, aiming to capture subtler forms of bias that might transpire despite social desirability.

Regarding faces, our experimental stimuli included only one person, which may have influenced the results. Therefore, future research should include more stimuli to eliminate the confounding of the specific face we selected, enhancing external validity. In this study, we chose to vary the trans candidate's facial features rather than gender expression (e.g., clothes, hair, make-up). It would also be valuable to investigate how TGD expressions may change depending on the professional roles and fields trans people work in, such as having a customer-facing position or not.

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that appearance and passing as cisgender may affect the hireability of trans women. Thus, the heightened scrutiny that women face regarding their appearance and attractiveness, especially in professional settings, is not limited to cisgender women. Not having a cis-typical appearance did not come at a cost for trans men. This study adds to how attractiveness and appearance biases affects trans people in the workplace, with differences based on their gender identity.

## Study 4

### Aim

This article illustrates the potential benefits and risks that come with collecting sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) data in the workplace, encouraging reflection on inclusive and mindful approaches to its implementation. Here, we review existing literature, offer practical guidance for decision-makers, and outline future research avenues.

### Background and discussion

Measuring a group is often key to understanding it more deeply. This is true for researchers as well as for governments and social institutions: if they are interested in meeting the needs of a population, they must first know who the population is and how many individuals it includes (Guyan, 2022). While progress has been made in measuring the growing size of the LGB population, data is still lacking when it comes to gender minorities: in Europe, for instance, there are no official statistics on the size of the TGD population. This lack of data can lead to the spread of contradictory narratives: while some

claim that TGD people are so few they are virtually nonexistent and thus society should not worry about their needs, others argue that TGD identities are multiplying as some sort of trend (Morgenroth, Means, et al., 2024). Attempts to measure the TGD population have been made in various countries, often led by independent LGBTQIA+ organizations rather than government agencies (e.g., Stonewall, 2022). However, the most common method used to assess the size of the TGD population is keeping track of the amount of people who have undergone gender confirmation surgery or have requested gender change on official documents.

These approaches significantly underestimate the size of the TGD population by reinforcing a medicalized view of TGD identities, which does not account for those who do not seek medical transition (e.g., non-binary people, some binary trans people). In the UK, fewer than 5000 people were issued a Gender Recognition Certificate between 2004 and 2018. Assuming that approximately 1% of the UK's population—which is around 68 million people (Office for National Statistics, 2023)—is TGD, the figure falls short by more than fifty thousand individuals. A step toward more accurate SOGI data collection was taken in 2021, when the UK census included questions on sexual orientation and gender identity for the first time. With a total response rate higher than 92%, the results showed that people were willing to disclose such information. However, the decision to incorporate SOGI questions into the census was not without controversy, with debates on how to formulate questions correctly and in the most inclusive way. The benefits of including such questions is that they help normalize TGD identities: when presented as just another demographic people can be, as with age or ethnicity, gender diversity becomes more socially acknowledged. This normalization could in part explain why there are higher numbers of TGD people in younger generations (Herman et al., 2022): while TGD people have always existed, lack of societal recognition previously prevented many from openly identifying as such, and those who did were not registered anywhere.

In the workplace, employers who want to be inclusive and aim for a better organizational climate need to be aware of the experiences of their TGD employees. Professional norms typically encourage little personal disclosure and formal interactions. Thus, disclosing an LGBTQIA+ identity can be seen as unprofessional, in the sense that deviations from cisheteronormativity are often seen as inherently sexual and inappropriate. This phenomenon, called heteroprofessionalism (Morgenroth, Kirby, et al., 2024), results in workplaces accepting only certain forms of queerness—specifically, the ones that conform to cisheteronormativity. For example, it can be acceptable for a gay employee to mention his husband, but not for a queer polyamorous person to mention their multiple partners.

Collecting SOGI data, especially in the workplace, must be understood as a delicate process that carries the potential to both improve and harm the lives of minority groups. On one hand, SOGI data serve as tangible evidence that LGBTQIA+ people exist, are not merely a passing trend, and deserve policies designed to enhance their well-being. Thus, this process carries symbolic benefits, as it validates marginalized identities and normalizes their presence in society, and practical benefits, as it provides a necessary foundation for targeted interventions and policy implementation. However, SOGI data collection can come with side-effects contribute to the erasure or othering of certain identities. In the worst cases, it can lead to privacy breaches and even turn into a tool for the surveillance and persecution of stigmatized identities, particularly in regions where LGBTQIA+ identities are not protected. Thus, careful consideration must be given to how these data are collected, stored, and used to ensure that their benefits outweigh potential risks.

The practical recommendation upon embarking on SOGI data collection is to consider the following questions: why is the data being collected and who will it serve (e.g., is it for theoretical or practical purposes?); how are identities measured and assessed (e.g., are the labels used centered around cisheteronormative language?); in what context are the data collected (e.g., is data collection taking place in an environment hostile to LGBTQIA+ people, which could influence their response rate?); how are data collected, processed, and stored (e.g., is the data fully anonymized?); who is involved in the data collection (e.g., are LGBTQIA+ people part of the decision process?).

## Discussion

The year 2025 is proving to be a dark time for doing research on TGD people and, above all, for *being* TGD. As I am writing this, the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has ordered a mass retraction & revision of their research to remove terms newly prohibited by the US government (Heidt, 2025). These terms include, but are not limited to, keywords such as *gender*, *transgender*, *non-binary*, and *LGBT* (Heidt, 2025). This directive originated from a White House executive order that aims to halt “ideologically motivated” attempts to “deny the biological reality of sex”, which is: there are only two sexes, man and woman (The White House, 2025). Despite being met with outrage from the majority of the scientific community (Heidt, 2025), this decision fits within a broader pattern of backlash toward TGD people that has been spreading across the Western world over the last few years (Anduiza & Rico, 2024; Vandello, 2025). TGD athletes are being banned from competing, access to healthcare for trans youth is being blocked, and incidents of transphobic discrimination and violence keep increasing (Human Rights Campaign, 2024). Many of these new bills and legislations seem to be aimed at further marginalizing TGD people, reversing the visibility they had only recently gained. At a time like this, research on TGD people and topics is more crucial than ever.

Thus, this thesis aimed to interrogate the concept of visibility in the domains of media and the workplace, with its positive and negative consequences: the benefits of promoting awareness and inclusion, as well as the risks of exposing individuals to scrutiny and potential harm. I focused on these two domains as they are central to TGD inclusion. TGD visibility in the media is increasingly rapidly, raising awareness of gender minorities but also generating backlash toward them (Faye, 2018; Vandello, 2025). Being represented can normalize marginalized identities, offer role models for people to look up to, and foster acceptance (Koch-Rein et al., 2020). Regarding the workplace, employment not only grants financial independence, but also access to a range of essential services and benefits which contribute to improved health outcomes (Gedikli

et al., 2023). The inclusion of TGD people in the workplace also creates opportunities for direct contact with cis people, further promoting understanding and acceptance (Kanamori et al., 2022).

In the media studies (Study 1 and 2), visibility was investigated through media representations. Thus, I focused on the way news media representations of TGD people can vary (e.g., in valence, in roles) depending on the national context they are produced in (Study 1), and what impact they can have on cisgender people's attitudes toward them (Study 2). This meant analyzing both the quantity and the quality of TGD visibility through the eyes of everyday media consumers, who tend to encounter TGD people in media more often than in face-to-face interactions (Jolley et al., 2025). These studies not only examined *who* is visible in the media and the *way* TGD people are represented, but also the consequences that these representations can have on the audience's attitudes. In the workplace studies (Study 3 and 4), visibility was examined through physical appearance and conformity to cisgender norms that regulate it. Study 3 showed that facial appearance that deviates from cis gendered norms can constitute an issue for trans women who apply for a job: their less cis-typical appearance negatively impacted their perceived attractiveness and, consequently, their hireability. Ultimately, the tension between the benefits and drawbacks of visibility was discussed in Study 4, which highlighted the pros (e.g., affirming identity, providing data to implement interventions and allocate resources) and cons (e.g., privacy risks, flattening of diversity) of collecting SOGI data and making TGD experiences visible in the workplace. In this section, I will discuss the central findings of this research, their implications, and limitations.

## Media representations and their meanings

The mapping of TGD representations in news media (Study 1) marked the first instance of a cross-country comparison, and revealed significant differences across national contexts. These findings highlight how media and society are intertwined: not only can media shape public attitudes toward certain groups, but it also serves as a mirror of the society in which it operates, reflecting roles and discursive strategies that can be considered legitimate in some contexts but not in others (Ramasubramanian, 2013).

The overall valence of news headlines provides an immediate indicator of the way TGD people are represented. The most TGD-inclusive countries, meaning Sweden and the UK, predominantly presented headlines with neutral valence rather than positive, contrary to potential expectations. Given that news media often contain negative content (which is more likely to be deemed



newsworthy; Robertson et al., 2023), it is unlikely that any group would be portrayed primarily in positive terms. Nevertheless, the prevalence of neutral headlines could be an indicator that more accepting countries are presenting nuanced portrayals of TGD people, documenting both episodes of discrimination and violence and instances of success and achievements, maintaining an overall balance between the two (Clark, 1969). Importantly, the UK also demonstrates that lack of negative media representation does not equal presence of positive representation: Italy, more polarized, was more likely than the UK to feature negative valence, but also positive one.

One encouraging sign of positive change is that the stigmatizing roles of criminals and oversexualized, which TGD people used to be frequently depicted in (Baker, 2014; Capuzza & Spencer, 2017), were largely absent from our results—even in countries with lower levels of acceptance toward gender minorities. Other openly discriminatory roles that were once common (e.g., deviant, mentally ill; Baker, 2014; Billard, 2016) did not appear at all, and thus were not included in the final coding scheme. However, such representations could still be found in countries where gender diversity remains highly stigmatized, as well as in partisan media (e.g., Fox News in the US, Libero in Italy). Also, it is important to notice that media are not the only source of stereotypes and roles; thus, the disappearance of certain roles from the media does not mean that those specific stereotypes are not present in the lives of TGD people anymore. For example, despite the lack of sexual objectification in our dataset, TGD people and particularly trans women still report being stereotyped in those terms (Anzani et al., 2021).

While representing TGD people in criminal roles is becoming less frequent, representing them as victims is gaining traction. This might lead to two different outcomes: it could point to greater societal recognition of transphobic violence and discrimination, mobilizing people to collective action in support of TGD people; or it could reinforce the perception that being TGD inevitably leads to suffering and violence, and that TGD people have low agency (Capuzza & Spencer, 2017; Wood et al., 2019). Additionally, framing TGD people as victims might trigger belief-in-a-just-world thinking (e.g., Hayes et al., 2013), where people rationalize injustices by blaming victims to preserve their belief that the world is fair. Thus, exposure to representations of TGD people as victims might lead audiences to assume that they must have done something to deserve their fate, shifting the focus from systemic violence that is the actual root cause (Hammond et al., 2011; Vonderhaar & Carmody, 2015). Future studies could explore the relations between the victimization of TGD people in the media and possible victim-blaming toward them, and whether it increases support for collective action.

TGD people have become newsworthy through the coming out of celebrities and public figures (Billard, 2016). Study 1 has shown many instances of media featuring TGD celebrities and public figures—which are also what many of the studies on parasocial contact with TGD people have referred to (Laporte & Eggermont, 2023; P. R. Miller et al., 2020; Thompson, 2022). Indeed, representations focused on specific individuals can facilitate the formation of parasocial bonds with them, giving audiences the illusion of familiarity with the person and, by extension, familiarity with the TGD community. While this can have positive effects, featuring TGD people mostly as celebrities and exceptional individuals (e.g., professional athletes) might hinder people from seeing them as representative of the larger TGD group, instead viewing them as exceptions, in a phenomenon known as subtyping. This happens when outgroup members who do not fully fit existing stereotypes are classified as ‘unusual cases’ or subtypes of the larger group they belong to (Bott & Murphy, 2007; Richards & Hewstone, 2001). Since stereotypes are resistant to change and people want to preserve their existing beliefs (e.g., Hilton & Hippel, 1996; Johnston, 1996), subtyping leaves the stereotype of the larger outgroup unchanged, undermining the positive effects of intergroup contact (Riek et al., 2013). Thus, if people hold negative stereotypes of the TGD community, seeing a privileged TGD celebrity on the news might not improve them; rather, they might categorize that person as an exception who is not reflective of TGD people. Future studies should investigate more in depth how this focus on public figures is perceived by TGD people and whether it brings positive or negative consequences.

Overall, the largest differences in media representations of TGD people were found between Italy (representing low levels of TGD acceptance) and the UK (medium levels) and Sweden (high levels), which appeared more similar to each other. This pattern could also be explained by the fact that Sweden and the UK mostly differed in terms of legal protection rather than social acceptance of TGD people, suggesting that social perceptions of a group might influence their media representations more than the legal protections that a country offers. Additionally, Italy also featured less TGD-related content overall (230 headlines in total), indicating that the topic might still be a taboo compared to more inclusive countries.

Study 2 demonstrated that media representations with different valence can influence attitudes toward TGD people. Exposure to negative articles, which meant negative parasocial contact with TGD people, resulted in more negative cognitive attitudes and reduced positive intergroup emotions. Thus, negative representations worsened people’s beliefs toward TGD people and reduced their positive emotions, but did not make them more afraid, disgusted, or hostile, nor less willing to support TGD people through behaviors such as joining

movements or increasing social distance from them. In contrast, exposure to positive media representations had the potential to improve attitudes, primarily through the elicitation of positive feelings. Thus, exploring the emotional responses through which media representations have the potential to improve attitudes toward TGD people is crucial.

### The role of individual variables in attitude change

Past literature has found that feelings and intergroup emotions play a key role in attitude change: positive feelings facilitate persuasion and attitude change (Petty et al., 1993), and positive intergroup emotions can have a facilitating role in fostering and maintaining intergroup contact (e.g., Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2016). Accordingly, I found that the feelings elicited by the valence of media representations led to attitude change (Study 2). The mediating effect of positive feelings was replicated across Study 2.1 and Study 2.2, suggesting that positive feelings elicited by media representations could be a robust pathway for improving attitudes. In contrast, negative feelings mediated the relationship between media representations and negative intergroup emotions only in Study 2.2, and did not mediate changes in cognitive or behavioral attitudes. This difference may indicate that, while negative media representations can increase existing negative emotions, they may be only effective at influencing attitudinal outcomes of the same valence (i.e., negative intergroup emotions).

When participants' pre-existing baseline attitudes were measured it emerged that the mediation of positive feelings was mostly significant for participants who already held positive or average attitudes toward TGD people. This pattern might be related to the increased polarization of the news content people consume, meaning that positive representations increased positive feelings and thus positive attitudes in those who were already positive toward TGD people from the start. The spread of the internet has provided people with an increased number of news providers to choose from (Knobloch-Westerwick & Johnson, 2014), reinforcing the tendency to consume news that aligns with people's pre-existing views, reinforcing their beliefs (confirmation bias; Lord et al., 1979). As a result, echo chambers are becoming increasingly polarized, especially online (Dahlgren et al., 2019). This dynamics contribute to a 'reinforcing spiral' in which people engage with news that validates their ideas, further reinforcing their beliefs, and driving them toward even more extreme content (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Slater, 2015). Thus, for TGD people, this might mean that positive media representations of them may be consumed by audiences that already hold positive attitudes toward them, and vice versa for

negative representations and attitudes. These findings show that positive media representations can help improve attitudes among people who already have positive or neutral views of TGD people; however, they also reveal the challenge of reaching those with negative attitudes toward TGD people. It remains unclear how media representations can be designed to change the views of people who hold strong negative attitudes, and this is an important area for future research.

Another individual variable whose relationship with attitudes has raised questions is that of self-reported previous parasocial contact with TGD people. Indeed, unexpectedly, higher levels of previous parasocial contact with TGD people were associated with more negative attitudes toward them (Study 2.1 and 2.2). However, it is important to notice that participants self-reported their media exposure, which means that those with pre-existing negative attitudes might have overestimated their exposure to TGD media representations (minority salience and overestimation; see Kardosh et al., 2022). This tendency to overestimate exposure may be linked to the media's tendency to repeatedly focus on certain issues, even when public interest is low. In fact, despite British media portraying TGD issues as highly divisive (Alston, 2018), British citizens did not seem to feel strongly about them, denying that they are cause for national concern (Stonewall, 2022). This seems to be confirmed by the results of Study 2, where participants' attitudes toward TGD people were mostly positive. As a result, constant media coverage on the topic might lead to fatigue, making people more likely to react negatively when they come across yet another article debating TGD issues. In fact, Study 2.1 found that exposure to any TGD-related article, regardless of its valence, led to worsened attitudes toward TGD people for those who reported frequent parasocial contact with them. Future research, involving more controlled exposure to TGD media, could provide deeper insights into these mechanisms, such as whether there is a threshold of exposure beyond which attitudes might become more resistant to change or even more negative.

Finally, other individual variables played a role in shaping attitudes toward TGD people. Existing literature provides a comprehensive list of predictors of prejudice toward TGD people, together with demographic variables commonly associated with it (for comprehensive reviews, see Hatch et al., 2022 and Napier, 2024). In my experimental studies, I found that attitudes toward TGD people were more negative among men, older participants, those with lower educational levels, those who held strong gender binary beliefs, those high in intolerance for gender ambiguity and desire for cisgender assimilation. Notably, gender binary beliefs emerged as the strongest predictor of attitudes toward TGD people, in line with previous findings (e.g., Prusaczyk & Hodson, 2020). These results indicate that both demographic factors and deeply held

beliefs, such as the gender binary ones, can influence prejudice. Moreover, those who bring gender trouble by challenge gender norms may be perceived as particularly threatening to men, since masculinity a precarious status, difficult to attain and easy to lose (Vandello & Bosson, 2013).

### (Trans)gender stereotypes in the workplace

Study 3 tested hiring discrimination and perceptions of applicants who were openly trans (as indicated by the summary that stated they had transitioned), but with gender expressions that varied in cis typicality. While past literature has found no significant hiring discrimination against trans men in hiring simulation studies (Granberg et al., 2020), we had multiple reasons to expect that trans men would be more hireable than trans women. Firstly, trans men report passing more often than trans women do (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009; To et al., 2020). Trans men who come out at work often report positive experiences: they gain more authority, higher salaries, and increased perceived competence than they had when presenting as gender nonconforming masculine women (Schilt, 2006; Schilt & Wiswall, 2008). They report being taken more seriously, receiving more recognition for doing the same work as before, and avoiding intrusive questions about their bodies (Schilt, 2006; Schilt & Wiswall, 2008). Trans women, on the other hand, are more likely to delay coming out at work, knowing they will lose status and money (Carpenter et al., 2022; Geijtenbeek & Plug, 2018). Thus, from the perspective of people who have lived and worked both as gender nonconforming women and as a trans men, many report being better off after transitioning. While this aligns with the findings of Study 3, which indicate that trans men are not penalized for appearing less cis-typical, other evidence has shown that trans men were miscategorized as women more often than trans women were miscategorized as men (Morgenroth, van der Toorn, et al., 2024). Thus, more research is needed to understand the role of cis typicality and gender expression for trans men, since existing research has disproportionately focused on trans women.

Indeed, the issue of cis-typical appearance seems to be a double-edged sword mostly for trans women, who have to consider it when applying for a job. Disclosing TGD identity (whether on purpose or not) precludes the possibility of being stealth in a new workplace—which trans people often seek after transitioning (Budge et al., 2010). Still, this loss of career capital can be preferable to the struggle of being out as a trans person in workplaces that do not ensure equality between trans and cis employees. However, when trans people do not immediately disclose their transness in social interactions and instead do so later on, they can be perceived as untrustworthy and dishonest (Le Forestier

et al., 2022; Morgenroth, Kirby, et al., 2024). Thus, for binary trans people, passing as cisgender can come with both positive and negative consequences: while they are expected to do whatever they can to conform to cisgender expectations and ‘looking cis’ can grant them safety, there is also a penalty for the ‘deception’ that is involved in the process of passing (see Billard, 2019). This aligns with findings by Morgenroth, Means et al. (2024) that show that people often hold contradictory beliefs about TGD matters: they may simultaneously claim that they can always tell when someone is trans because sex cannot be changed, while also arguing that TGD people should always disclose their trans status, or else be complicit in deception.

Regarding stereotypes in terms of agency and communion, Study 3 found no significant differences between trans women and trans men. Thus, in comparisons to cis women and men that tend to be stereotyped as, respectively, more communal and more agentic, TGD people were perceived as undifferentiated, in line with previous research (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021). Moreover, looking more masculine or feminine did not affect stereotype content, which contradicts previous research that found that masculine-looking and nonconforming women were perceived as more agentic (Dozier, 2019; Klysing et al., 2022) or as a better fit for a leadership position (Sczesny et al., 2006). Thus, while gendered appearance leads to the attribution of stereotypical characteristics for cis women and men, it seems that for TGD people their TGD status ‘overrides’ traditional gender stereotypes, placing them into a separate category: the overarching TGD group. The findings suggest that different mechanisms might be at play for TGD people than for cis people when it comes to stereotype content. For example, while attractiveness and communion are predictors of hireability for cis women, and agency is for cis men (e.g., Menegatti et al., 2021), they did not have a significant impact on the hireability of trans women and trans men. Future research should investigate what aspects of TGD people stereotypes can impact hiring decisions toward TGD people, and investigate whether the stereotype content model only applies to cis women.

## The perceiver and the perceived

Throughout this thesis, visibility is a key concept; a distinction must be made between what visibility means for the perceiver and for the perceived. In Study 1 and 2, I mostly focused on the effects that media representations can have on the perceivers (cisgender people), such as improving or worsening their attitudes toward TGD people. In Study 3 and 4, I focus on the (possible) discrimination that TGD people may experience in the workplace; however, I do

not measure the psychological consequences that neither media nor workplace discrimination can have on the perceived ones (TGD people).

As Schooler et al. (2004) suggest in the case of Black and White women, media representations might have different meanings for cis and TGD people. TGD people, who are aware of the stigmatized portrayals typically associated with their group, might view powerful TGD celebrities as allies and role models. At the same time, though, they might also feel like the media is setting an unreachable standard and offering a narrow view of TGD identities and experiences (Li, 2023; Mocarski et al., 2019). This creates a paradox: while binary trans people who conform to beauty standards may be applauded for their appearance, this very visibility also reinforces unrealistic expectations. Femininity and womanhood are heavily dictated by gendered expectations on appearance (Jackson et al., 1988; Pacilli et al., 2023). Women's appearances, looks, and bodies are hyper-scrutinized compared to men's (Calogero, 2012; Moradi & Huang, 2008), and the pattern seems to hold true for trans women as well. Thus, trans women who look cis-typical can be rewarded with acceptance (here: being hired; Study 3). However, with the body surveillance that comes with being a woman (e.g., Koskela, 2012), they risk being objectified and evaluated on the base of their physical appearance (Billard, 2019; Comiskey et al., 2020; Mogul et al., 2011).

This was also the case in the workplace, where trans women were discriminated against on the bases of their attractiveness, which was tied to their cis typicality. Overall, trans women occupied a peculiar position across our studies: they were overrepresented in media across all countries (Study 1), and stood out as the most discriminated against in the workplace (Study 3). The salience of trans women in media discourse can be explained by their challenge to the gender hierarchy: by rejecting manhood, they also reject the social privileges that come with it, choosing instead to occupy a category with 'lower' social status. If they are equated with their sex assigned at birth (gender essentialist beliefs; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009), their transitions can be perceived as more shocking and newsworthy than trans men's: men's deviations from masculinity are more noticeable—and often more sanctioned—than women's deviations from femininity. Thus, future studies on media representations could also investigate whether trans women and trans men are described with different valence.

Ultimately, regarding the effects of hiring discrimination on TGD people, unemployment and identity concealment can perpetuate their marginalization, leading to further mental health struggles (Morgenroth, Kirby, et al., 2024; Zhou et al., 2024). On the other hand, TGD people can experience positive consequences from coming out at work and in other areas of their lives (e.g.,

Salter & Sasso, 2021; Taube & Mussap, 2024). Therefore, while it is essential to recognize the impact that the dynamics investigated in this thesis can have on cisgender people who represent the social majority, it is equally important to consider the significant consequences that these phenomena can have on the minorities themselves.

## Theoretical and practical implications

This thesis offers several theoretical contributions, including expanding the understanding of intergroup contact with TGD people and the role that feelings play in it, revisiting gendered theories such as the stereotype content model, which were modeled on cis people's experiences and lives, and examining the role of attractiveness and normative appearance in hiring discrimination against (trans) women. It extends the application of intergroup contact theories and the parasocial contact hypothesis to TGD people, a group that has not been studied as extensively as others (Means & Morgenroth, 2024). By measuring the effects that the valence of news media representations can have on people's attitudes, this thesis addresses a gap left by the uneven focus of previous research on entertainment media (e.g., Gillig et al., 2018; Solomon & Kurtz-Costes, 2018) and the coming out stories of specific individuals (e.g., Laporte & Eggermont, 2023; Thompson, 2022). Through its experimental approach, it paves the way for new research avenues that can explore the impact of various types of news content that people encounter in their everyday lives.

The findings also contribute to the attitude formation and intergroup contact literature by emphasizing the role of positive feelings in facilitating the benefits of parasocial contact. In recent years, theories that prioritize the affective component of attitudes over the cognitive one are gaining stride (Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010; Ho et al., 2024). Media plays an important role in triggering emotions that can lead to long-term shifts in attitudes and beliefs. News outlets, advertisements, and social media platforms frequently use emotional appeals—such as fear, hope, pride, or anger—to capture attention and influence audiences (e.g., Poels & Dewitte, 2019; Zhang & Clark, 2018). For instance, political advertisements that emphasize threats or danger can evoke fear, gradually influencing people's attitudes toward security, immigration, or threat. On the other hand, inspirational stories shared through media can increase positive emotions such as hope and solidarity, encouraging community-oriented values (Dale et al., 2020). Given that people consume media daily, repeated exposure to emotional content can profoundly influence how



people perceive others and society. The results of Study 2 point toward feelings being crucial in improving attitudes toward TGD people: it was not merely the valence of parasocial contact that mattered, but rather the feelings that the contact elicited.

In Study 1, I developed a coding scheme with cross-cultural validity that can be used to analyze TGD news media representations beyond the context and time of the study. To my best knowledge, it is the only coding scheme that has been simultaneously applied across multiple countries and languages. While previous research had already derived recurring roles and discursive strategies about TGD people from news media (see Table 1), TGD media representations are rapidly evolving, highlighting the need for up-to-date frameworks.

The research also adds to the limited literature demonstrating the existence of hiring discrimination against TGD people, which has mostly focused on the disparities between cis and trans people (e.g., Granberg et al., 2020; Van Borm et al., 2020). Study 3 took a different direction by examining how conformity to cis-typical appearances influenced hiring decisions between trans women and trans men. By incorporating visual stimuli rather than relying solely on written descriptions (e.g., Drydak, 2024; Stanton, 2023), this study addressed the fact that real-life hiring situations usually involve face-to-face interactions where people evaluate applicants on the basis of their appearance. Furthermore, Study 3 contributes to the literature on TGD people's stereotypes, supporting the theory that trans women and men are undifferentiated in ratings of agency and communion rather than fitting into the existing boxes as cis women and men do (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021). Numerous studies have examined the conditions under which cis women and cis men face discrimination (e.g., Sczesny et al., 2006; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015); however, their results fail to fully apply to TGD people, whose experiences need to be understood more specifically. For example, social role theory posits that women and men are expected to behave in accordance to socially defined gender roles. TGD people, by existing outside traditional roles, can be seen as disrupting these expectations, thus being perceived negatively due to the challenge they present to deep-seated norms about gender. So, while we can borrow concepts from existing models, discrimination against TGD people is uniquely interwoven with the rigidity of traditional gender expectations and the uncertainty they carry, calling for the development of TGD-specific theoretical frameworks.

From a practical standpoint, this research can be used as the foundation for various practical interventions. One of its takeaways is the importance of mindful and inclusive language in representations of TGD people. Study 1 and 2 show how the way TGD people are represented can (re)produce stereotypes

and influence attitudes. Given this, news providers should follow journalistic guidelines developed with and by TGD people to ensure that coverage is accurate, respectful, and inclusive. Media representation also needs to go beyond the same narratives (e.g., White, privileged celebrities), diversifying who is represented and how. Additionally, Study 2 found that even a single, brief, negative article could negatively influence attitudes toward TGD people. This reinforces the need for media literacy interventions that could teach audiences about the impact of biased representations, encouraging them to counterbalance negative representations with more authentic and diverse ones.

In professional settings, this thesis sheds light on the subtle but pervasive ways in which appearance-based biases shape hiring discrimination against trans people. Organizations need to critically examine how implicit biases around gender expression and physical appearance might influence hiring decisions and the work environment. Employers and HR professionals should be made aware that their perceptions of attractiveness may favor candidates who align with gender-conforming expectations, and also familiarize themselves with different forms of gender expression. Furthermore, the work of inclusion does not end with preventing hiring discrimination; rather, it begins there. Hiring people from underrepresented groups is only the first step toward creating a diverse workforce: organizations must then focus on retaining, managing, valuing, and promoting this diversity (Kiradoo, 2022; Van Laar et al., 2019). To thrive in the workplace, TGD employees need to feel psychological safety (Goldberg et al., 2021; Huffman et al., 2021). For example, even a simple action such as managers and colleagues adding their pronouns to email signatures can encourage inclusivity by signals to TGD employees that their identity is respected and recognized.

The need for awareness of the pros of cons of TGD people being (made) salient in a work context is also important when collecting SOGI data. Data serve a meaningful purpose, whether it is informing policy decisions, allocating resources, or addressing discrimination. However, simply collecting this data without clear safeguards can expose TGD employees to privacy risks or even unintended harm. Organizations need to prioritize transparency, ensuring that individuals know why their data is being collected and how it will be used. Thus, it is important that policies affecting marginalized communities should not be designed *for* them, but *with* them. In interventions aimed at changing organizational practices, decision makers should include people with different experiences and backgrounds in the decisions on how to accomplish inclusion for marginalized groups. An important part of developing effective recommendations is testing them to determine which practices actually work. Just as gender equality initiatives in the workplace need to be assessed to identify the most effective strategies (Kalev et al., 2006), the collection of SOGI data

should be approached in a similar way. By testing and improving these practices over time, organizations can ensure that their policies not only align with their intentions but also lead to meaningful, lasting changes for marginalized groups.

Taken together, this thesis emphasizes that achieving real inclusivity—whether in media, workplaces, or policies—requires more than just good intentions. It demands a deeper awareness of the tangible impacts of representation, a willingness to challenge ingrained biases, and a commitment to centering the voices of the people most affected by these issues.

## Limitations and future directions

First, I want to address the two main limitations of my overall PhD work. As non-binary writer and academic Kit Heyam (2022) notices, “the trans histories that we point to most often are the easy stories” (p. 9). This is true for this thesis too. Apart from investigating the impact of a more or less cis-typical appearance, this work does not consider the complexity of intersecting identities (Cole, 2009) that contribute to increased discrimination of some TGD people (e.g., Abreu et al., 2023; Jefferson et al., 2013). It does not address issues of race and class, nor does it explore the experiences of the most marginalized members of the TGD community, such as sex workers and asylum-seekers.

Another limitation of this research is its main focus on trans women and trans men, which does not capture the diverse identities, expressions, and experiences that exist within the TGD community. By centering binary trans identities, the studies overlook those who challenge binary norms more visibly and more purposefully—the ones who embody Butler’s (1990) gender trouble. Additionally, the research is carried out in Western countries and, apart from the first study, does not deeply analyze the sociocultural context it is situated in. It does not maintain the cross-cultural design used in Study 1, instead remaining focused on the UK for matters of linguistic convenience. Although the UK is currently a focal point for discussions on TGD rights, more research that examines TGD experiences across different cultural, linguistic, and national contexts is needed (for promising exceptions, see Dias et al., 2021; Martínez-Alfaro et al., 2024; Oliveira-Araujo, 2023).

Perhaps the most significant limitation of this thesis is that it does not directly incorporate the voices of the TGD people it studies. Given the amount of qual-

itative research on TGD experiences compared to quantitative studies, I recognize the importance of conducting more quantitative research in this area. However, the participants of these studies were cisgender. If time and resources had allowed, the next phase of this research would have involved the direct participation of TGD people. A common critique of the rapid increase of TGD representation is that it is often told from an external perspective rather than by the people it seeks to represent—while sharing this sentiment, I am guilty of it in my own research. Although progress is being made, and more scholars of diverse gender identities and sexual orientations are entering the field, there is still a tendency for quantitative research on marginalized groups to be conducted without actively engaging their voices. Future quantitative work should prioritize participatory research approaches that center TGD people in both the design and execution of studies concerning their lives.

More specifically, Study 1 was limited by the focus on headlines rather than full-text articles. Although headlines are the form of news that people most often interface with (Gabelkov et al., 2016), they lack the depth and complexity that can be found in full-text articles. Analyzing them may have offered richer, more varied depictions of TGD people and more complex framings. The focus on headlines also made it challenging to code for implicit assumptions, such as equating a feminine name with a woman protagonist. Additionally, the linguistic and cultural constraints of analyzing headlines in multiple languages may have influenced the results; for example, it is easier to avoid gendering someone in English and Swedish, while it is challenging in Italian, creating more chances of misgendering (Gygax et al., 2019). Future research could expand by investigating full-text articles and considering other linguistic contexts to better understand TGD media representations.

The main limitation of Study 2 is related to the small effect sizes found, which were likely due to the design choice of exposing participants to brief, one-off media stimuli. While small effects can accumulate over time (Funder & Ozer, 2019), especially with frequent media exposure, future studies could investigate whether repeated or prolonged exposure to TGD media representations could result in long-lasting and stronger attitude changes. The use of neutral representations also proved challenging, as participants did not perceive the neutral article as distinct from the positive one. This could be attributed to the highly polarized nature of attitudes toward TGD people, suggesting that future research might benefit from exploring mixed-valence articles with mixed valence. Furthermore, while the study measured attitudes, it did not assess behaviors. Future studies could directly test behaviors, such as asking participants to sign a petition at the end of the study, to gain a better understanding of how media exposure translates into real-world behavior.

Study 3 examined hiring biases toward trans women and trans men, with the limitation of not having included cisgender applicants as a comparison group. A more comprehensive analysis could compare cisgender and transgender candidates with various gender expressions. Additionally, the study relied on manipulated images of masculine and feminine people rather than real photographs, which limits the ecological validity of the findings. Future studies should consider using real-life interactions to capture the complex effects of gender diversity in hiring contexts. Moreover, the study concentrated on facial features without manipulating other relevant gender cues that would likely influence hiring decisions in face-to-face interactions, such as voice and mannerisms.

## A critical reflection on visibility and inclusion

This thesis focuses on a marginalized group that challenges one of the most deeply ingrained assumptions of Western societies: that everyone is either a woman or a man, and that even if some reject this notion, the biological reality of the body is inescapable (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2020). As the bringers of gender trouble, TGD people being visible can have important consequences on society. They have the potential to challenge the gender system and create space for diverse gender expressions, also for cis people. However, in order to be visible, TGD people often have to suppress part of the revolutionary potential inherent in their gender dissent. If the master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house (Lorde & Clarke, 2007)—meaning that systemic oppression cannot be solved using the tools provided by the oppressing system itself—then perhaps the visibility that is acceptable to the majority is not the visibility needed to challenge the gender binary more radically.

For all media, being largely consumed is the priority. Thus, media employ “discursive strategies which render transgender identities coherent and, crucially, consumable” (Lovelock, 2017, p. 739). This means that the aim of most TGD representations is not bringing visibility to a marginalized group, but rather constructing this group as something intelligible for popular audiences. So, this is how figures like Caitlyn Jenner go from embodying the prototype of the American man (a gold medal-winning athlete) to embracing traditional feminine roles in terms of appearances and behaviors. Her story did not challenge the gender binary nor made people question the legitimacy of gender roles and stereotypes. Rather, it reinforced them. Such discourse conveys the idea that nature is fixed, but occasionally makes mistakes in sex assignment. Such ‘mistakes’ can be corrected through medical interventions like surgery

and hormone therapy, ultimately allowing individuals to reintegrate into the existing gender system without fundamentally challenging its underlying structure (Lovelock, 2017). However, it is necessary to stress that TGD people, whether public figures or not, should not bear the responsibility to challenge the gender binary, especially because they are the ones who have most to lose (Serano, 2007).

Just as media visibility often offers a false promise of progress while reinforcing narrow and exclusionary ideals, workplace visibility for gender minorities can similarly risk becoming a tool to sustain the status quo. Tokenistic hiring—where a few TGD employees are brought in organizations, largely for symbolic purposes—can encourage individual beliefs in upward mobility, strengthen their support toward organizations that remain structurally discriminatory (Danaher & Branscombe, 2010). Rather than signaling systemic change, such practices often create the illusion that success is attainable for all members of marginalized groups, masking how these systems are designed to maintain existing hierarchies. In this way, organizations may strategically use visibility to present a progressive image—a form of ‘rainbow-washing’ that seems aimed at inclusion, while leaving systemic inequalities unquestioned (Gutierrez et al., 2022; Schopper et al., 2023). Also, hiring of a few visible *diverse* employees can discourage criticism and distort perceptions of fairness, while ultimately legitimizing a cisnormative system under the guise of diversity and innovation.

Thus, while seemingly opening doors for marginalized communities, visibility can too often function as a selective filter, allowing in only those who conform to the expectations established by the majority (Ridgeway & Saperstein, 2024). This can reinforce existing hierarchies and leave the most vulnerable members of the TGD community even more exposed to further discrimination. Visibility, in this sense, offers a precarious form of acceptance—one that is contingent on how TGD people look, behave, and present themselves. Those who align with societal norms may gain recognition, but the threat of exclusion does not fully disappear, serving as a mechanism of control rather than liberation (Beauchamp, 2019). By showcasing token representation (Yoder, 1991)—such as including a non-binary character in a film or hiring a trans worker—the media and the workplace can create a false sense of progress, leading people to believe that equality has been achieved and that no further action is needed. Ultimately, being visible does not equate being included: real inclusion demands structural changes and collective advocacy, led by marginalized groups and supported by the broader majority.

# Conclusion

This thesis investigated the role of visibility in shaping attitudes toward TGD people, as well as the tangible impact of discrimination in professional settings. The findings highlight both the promise and the perils of increased representation: while visibility has the potential to normalize gender diversity and foster inclusion, it can also reinforce harmful stereotypes, provoke backlash, and create new forms of marginalization.

Study I demonstrated how media representations of TGD people vary across countries, reflecting and potentially shaping societal attitudes. Study II revealed that the feelings elicited by media representations of TGD people play a crucial role in shaping attitudes toward them. In professional contexts, Study III showed that hiring decisions are influenced by gender identity, cisgender-typical appearance, and attractiveness—factors that disproportionately disadvantage trans women who do not conform to cis-normative beauty standards. Finally, Study IV examined the complexities of collecting SOGI data in the workplace, emphasizing the need for careful, context-sensitive approaches that prioritize both inclusivity and privacy.

Taken together, these studies highlight the importance of assessing the mechanisms through which visibility of TGD people operates in the media and in the workplace. While increased representation can lead to progress, it does not automatically translate into improved living conditions for TGD people. Instead, visibility must be accompanied by structural and cultural shifts that challenge deep-seated biases and dismantle systemic barriers. Only through a nuanced and intersectional approach can we move toward a society where visibility does not just expose, but truly empowers.

I will conclude with the words of trans writer and activist Elizabeth Day (2015): “For every Caitlyn Jenner or Laverne Cox or Jazz Jennings, there is a Lucy Meadows, a transgender primary school teacher in Accrington, Lancashire, who faced distressing media intrusion following her transition and who killed herself in March 2013.”

# References

- Abele, A. E., Hauke, N., Peters, K., Louvet, E., Szymkow, A., & Duan, Y. (2016). Facets of the Fundamental Content Dimensions: Agency with Competence and Assertiveness—Communion with Warmth and Morality. *Frontiers in Psychology, 7*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01810>
- Abreu, R. L., Tyler Lefevor, G., Barrita, A. M., Gonzalez, K. A., & Watson, R. J. (2023). Intersectional microaggressions, depressive symptoms, and the role of LGBTQ-specific parental support in a sample of Latinx sexual and gender minority youth. *Journal of Adolescence, 95*(3), 584–595. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jad.12139>
- Åkerlund, M. (2019). Representations of Trans People in Swedish Newspapers. *Journalism Studies, 20*(9), 1319–1338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1513816>
- Aktas, M. (2024). The rise of populist radical right parties in Europe. *International Sociology, 39*(6), 591–605. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02685809241297547>
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.
- Alston, K. (2018, March 5). The transgender arguments dividing society. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-43255878>
- Alwood, E. (1996). *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians and the News Media*. Columbia University Press.
- American Psychological Association. (2015). Guidelines for psychological practice with transgender and gender nonconforming people. *American Psychologist, 70*(9), 832–864. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039906>
- Anderson, A. D., Irwin, J. A., Brown, A. M., & Grala, C. L. (2020). “Your Picture Looks the Same as My Picture”: An Examination of Passing in Transgender Communities. *Gender Issues, 37*(1), 44–60. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-019-09239-x>
- Anduiza, E., & Rico, G. (2024). Sexism and the Far-Right Vote: The Individual Dynamics of Gender Backlash. *American Journal of Political Science, 68*(2), 478–493. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12759>
- Anzani, A., Lindley, L., Tognasso, G., Galupo, M. P., & Prunas, A. (2021). “Being Talked to Like I Was a Sex Toy, Like Being Transgender Was Simply for the Enjoyment of Someone Else”: Fetishization and Sexualization of Transgender and Nonbinary Individuals. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 50*(3), 897–911. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-021-01935-8>



- Arendt, F. (2013). Dose-dependent media priming effects of stereotypic newspaper articles on implicit and explicit stereotypes. *Journal of Communication*, 63(5), 830–851. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12056>
- Atwood, S., Morgenroth, T., & Olson, K. R. (2024). Gender essentialism and benevolent sexism in anti-trans rhetoric. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 18(1), 171–193. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12099>
- Avalos, S. (2023). A Comparative Content Analysis of the News Media Framing of Trans Homicide Between Trans Men and Trans Women in the U.S. from 2016 to 2022. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 08862605231220014. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231220014>
- Bachmann, C. L., & Gooch, B. (2018a). *LGBT in Britain: Trans Report*. Stonewall. [https://files.stonewall.org.uk/production/files/lgbt\\_in\\_britain\\_-\\_trans\\_report\\_final.pdf?dm=1724230505](https://files.stonewall.org.uk/production/files/lgbt_in_britain_-_trans_report_final.pdf?dm=1724230505)
- Bachmann, C. L., & Gooch, B. (2018b). *LGBT in Britain: Work Report*. Stonewall. [https://files.stonewall.org.uk/production/files/lgbt\\_in\\_britain\\_work\\_report.pdf?dm=1724230506](https://files.stonewall.org.uk/production/files/lgbt_in_britain_work_report.pdf?dm=1724230506)
- Baker, P. (2014). ‘Bad Wigs and Screaming Mimis’: Using Corpus-Assisted Techniques to Carry Out Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Trans People in the British Press. In *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies* (pp. 211–236). Bloomsbury Academic. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781472593634.ch-009>
- Banaji, M. R., & Heiphetz, L. (2010). Attitudes. In *Handbook of social psychology*, Vol. 1, 5th ed (pp. 353–393). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Bancroft, H. (2023a, September 21). *Britain becoming more liberal-minded but not on trans issues, survey finds*. The Independent. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/liberal-society-trans-labour-values-b2415706.html>
- Bancroft, H. (2023b, October 5). *Rise in anti-trans hate crimes could be fuelled by politicians, Home Office admits*. The Independent. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/home-office-transgender-sunak-hate-crimes-b2424505.html>
- Barker-Plummer, B. (2013). Fixing Gwen: News and the mediation of (trans) gender challenges. *Feminist Media Studies*, 13(4), 710–724. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2012.679289>
- Beauchamp, T. (2019). *Going Stealth: Transgender Politics and U.S. Surveillance Practices*. Duke University Press.
- Bennett, W. L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. *Journal of Communication*, 58(4), 707–731. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00410.x>
- Berger, I., & Ansara, G. Y. (2021). Cisnormativity. In A. E. Goldberg & G. Beemyn (Eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Trans Studies*. SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781544393858.n45>

- Billard, T. J. (2016). Writing in the Margins: Mainstream News Media Representations of Transgenderism. *International Journal of Communication, 10*, 4193–4218.
- Billard, T. J. (2019). “Passing” and the Politics of Deception: Transgender Bodies, Cisgender Aesthetics, and the Policing of Inconspicuous Marginal Identities. In T. Docan-Morgan (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Deceptive Communication* (pp. 463–477). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96334-1\\_24](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96334-1_24)
- Bosson, J. K., Buckner, C. E., & Vandello, J. A. (2022). *The Psychology of Sex and Gender* (Second edition). SAGE.
- Bott, L., & Murphy, G. L. (2007). Subtyping as a knowledge preservation strategy in category learning. *Memory & Cognition, 35*(3), 432–443. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193283>
- Bracco, S. E., Sczesny, S., & Gustafsson Sendén, M. (2024). Media Portrayals of Trans and Gender Diverse People: A Comparative Analysis of News Headlines Across Europe. *Sex Roles, 90*(4), 491–507. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-024-01461-6>
- Branscombe, N. R., Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of social identity threat. In *Social identity: Context, commitment, content* (pp. 35–58). Blackwell Science.
- Breckler, S. J. (1984). Empirical validation of affect, behavior, and cognition as distinct components of attitude. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47*(6), 1191–1205. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.47.6.1191>
- Brewster, M. E., Velez, B. L., Mennicke, A., & Tebbe, E. (2014). Voices from beyond: A thematic content analysis of transgender employees’ workplace experiences. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 1*(2), 159–169. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000030>
- Brown, C., Dashjian, L. T., Acosta, T. J., Mueller, C. T., Kizer, B. E., & Trangsrud, H. B. (2012). The Career Experiences of Male-to-Female Transsexuals. *The Counseling Psychologist, 40*(6), 868–894. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000011430098>
- Budge, S. L., Tebbe, E. N., & Howard, K. A. S. (2010). The work experiences of transgender individuals: Negotiating the transition and career decision-making processes. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*(4), 377–393. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020472>
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.
- Calogero, R. M. (2012). Objectification Theory, Self-Objectification, and Body Image. In T. Cash (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Body Image and Human Appearance* (pp. 574–580). Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-384925-0.00091-2>
- Cao, X. & Atinc Gurcay. (2022). The Anxiety Factor: Moral Traditionalism, Interpersonal Contact Diversity and Support for Transgender Candidates and Rights. *Journal of Homosexuality, 69*(13), 2209–2232. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2021.1935622>

- Capuzza, J. C. (2014). Who Defines Gender Diversity? Sourcing Routines and Representation in Mainstream U.S. News Stories About Transgenderism. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, *15*, 115–128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2014.946195>
- Capuzza, J. C., & Spencer, L. G. (2017). Regressing, Progressing, or Transgressing on the Small Screen? Transgender Characters on U.S. Scripted Television Series. *Communication Quarterly*, *65*(2), 214–230. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2016.1221438>
- Carilli, T. (2021). Marginalized Voices in the Global Media Dialogue. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.1136>
- Carpenter, C. S., Lee, M. J., & Nettuno, L. (2022). Economic outcomes for transgender people and other gender minorities in the United States: First estimates from a nationally representative sample. *Southern Economic Journal*, *89*(2), 280–304. <https://doi.org/10.1002/soej.12594>
- Cavalcante, A. (2017). Breaking into Transgender Life: Transgender Audiences' Experiences with "First of Its Kind" Visibility in Popular Media. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, *10*(3), 538–555. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cccr.12165>
- Čehajić-Clancy, S., Goldenberg, A., Gross, J. J., & Halperin, E. (2016). Social-Psychological Interventions for Intergroup Reconciliation: An Emotion Regulation Perspective. *Psychological Inquiry*, *27*(2), 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1047840X.2016.1153945>
- Clark, C. (1969). Television and social controls: Some observations on the portrayals of ethnic minorities. *Television Quarterly*, *8*(2), 18–22.
- Clery, E. (2023). *A liberalisation in attitudes?* (British Social Attitudes 40: Moral Issues). National Centre for Social Research. <https://natcen.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2023-09/BSA%2040%20Moral%20issues.pdf>
- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, *64*(3), 170–180. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564>
- Comiskey, A., Parent, M. C., & Tebbe, E. A. (2020). An Inhospitable World: Exploring a Model of Objectification Theory With Trans Women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *44*(1), 105–116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319889595>
- Connell, C. (2010). Doing, undoing, or redoing gender?: Learning from the workplace experiences of transpeople. *Gender and Society*, *24*(1), 31–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243209356429>
- Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. N. (2009). Can imagined interactions produce positive perceptions?: Reducing prejudice through simulated social contact. *American Psychologist*, *64*(4), 231–240. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014718>
- Crocetti, D., Garland, F., Griffiths, D. A., Monroe, S., Mhuirthile, T. N., Roen, K., Singh, P., & Suesch-Schwend, A. (2024). Editorial Introduction to Centring Intersex Issues: Global and Local Dimensions. *Social Sciences*, *13*(11), Article 11. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci13110602>

- Crocq, M.-A. (2021). How gender dysphoria and incongruence became medical diagnoses – a historical review. *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience*, 23(1), 44–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19585969.2022.2042166>
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(4), 631–648. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.631>
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and Competence as Universal Dimensions of Social Perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the BIAS Map. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 40, pp. 61–149). [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(07\)00002-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(07)00002-0)
- Dahlgren, P. M., Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2019). Reinforcing spirals at work? Mutual influences between selective news exposure and ideological leaning. *European Journal of Communication*, 34(2), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323119830056>
- Dale, K. R., Raney, A. A., Ji, Q., Janicke-Bowles, S. H., Baldwin, J., Rowlett, J. T., Wang, C., & Oliver, M. B. (2020). Self-transcendent emotions and social media: Exploring the content and consumers of inspirational Facebook posts. *New Media & Society*, 22(3), 507–527. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819865720>
- Danaher, K., & Branscombe, N. R. (2010). Maintaining the system with tokenism: Bolstering individual mobility beliefs and identification with a discriminatory organization. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 49(2), 343–362. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466609X457530>
- Davies, A. P. C., & Shackelford, T. K. (2006). An evolutionary psychological perspective on gender similarities and differences. *American Psychologist*, 61(6), 640–641. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.61.6.640>
- Day, E. (2015, August 23). Lives transformed: Do famous transgender people help the cause? *The Observer*. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/aug/23/famous-transgender-help-the-cause-caitlyn-jenner-laverne-cox-kellie-maloney>
- de Beauvoir, S. (1949). *The Second Sex*. Vintage Books.
- Deaux, K., & Lewis, L. L. (1984). Structure of gender stereotypes: Interrelationships among components and gender label. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(5), 991–1004. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.46.5.991>
- DeJong, C., Holt, K., Helm, B., & Morgan, S. J. (2021). “A Human Being Like Other Victims”: The Media Framing of Trans Homicide in the United States. *Critical Criminology*, 29(1), 131–149. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-021-09559-z>
- Dias, C. K., da Rocha, L. R. L., Tateo, L., & Marsico, G. (2021). “Passing” and its effects on Brazilian transgender people’s sense of belonging to society: A theoretical study. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 31(6), 690–702. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2535>
- Dierckx, M., Meier, P., & Motmans, J. (2017). “Beyond the Box”: A Comprehensive Study of Sexist, Homophobic, and Transphobic Attitudes Among the

- Belgian Population. *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies*, 4(1), 5–34. <https://doi.org/10.11116/digest.4.1.1>
- Dozier, R. (2019). “You Look Like a Dude, Dude”: Masculine Females Undoing Gender in the Workplace. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 66(9), 1219–1237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2018.1500778>
- Drydakis, N. (2024). Employment discrimination against transgender women in England. *International Journal of Manpower, ahead-of-print*(ahead-of-print). <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-09-2023-0528>
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex Differences in Social Behavior* (1st editio). Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203781906>
- Eagly, A. H., Ashmore, R. D., Makhijani, M. G., & Longo, L. C. (1991). What is beautiful is good, but...: A meta-analytic review of research on the physical attractiveness stereotype. *Psychological Bulletin*, 110(1), 109–128. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.110.1.109>
- Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders* (pp. xii, 308). Harvard Business School Press.
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Harcourt Brace college publ.
- Eagly, A. H., & Sczesny, S. (2019). Editorial: Gender Roles in the Future? Theoretical Foundations and Future Research Directions. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01965>
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2016). Social Role Theory of Sex Differences. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, 1–3. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663219.wbegss183>
- Earle, M., Hoffarth, M. R., Prusaczyk, E., MacInnis, C., & Hodson, G. (2021). A multilevel analysis of LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) rights support across 77 countries: The role of contact and country laws. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 60(3), 851–869. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12436>
- Ederly, S., & Vraga, E. K. (2019). News, entertainment, or both? Exploring audience perceptions of media genre in a hybrid media environment. *Journalism*, 20(6), 807–826. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917730709>
- Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2023). *Equality and Human Rights Monitor*. <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/our-work/equality-and-human-rights-monitor/equality-and-human-rights-monitor-2023>
- European Commission. (2023a). *Discrimination in the European Union: Report*. Publications Office. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/936462>
- European Commission. (2023b). *Eurobarometer on the social acceptance of LGBTIQ people in the EU*. European Commission. <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2972>
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2000). *Sexing the body: Gender politics and the construction of sexuality* (1st ed). Basic Books.
- Faye, S. (2021). *The Transgender Issue: An Argument for Justice*. Allen Lane an imprint of Penguin Books.

- Fine, R. D., Gelman, S. A., & Ho, A. K. (2023). Changing beliefs about gender: The relation between contact with gender nonconforming individuals and gender essentialism. *Psychology & Sexuality, 14*(3), 542–558. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2023.2181706>
- Ford, J. V., & Coleman, E. (2024). Gender diversity, gender liminality in French Polynesia. *International Journal of Transgender Health, 25*(4), 926–942. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2023.2291128>
- Funder, D. C., & Ozer, D. J. (2019). Evaluating Effect Size in Psychological Research: Sense and Nonsense. *Advances in Methods and Practices in Psychological Science, 2*(2), 156–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2515245919847202>
- Gabrielkov, M., Ramachandran, A., Chaintreau, A., & Legout, A. (2016). Social Clicks. *Proceedings of the 2016 ACM SIGMETRICS International Conference on Measurement and Modeling of Computer Science, 179–192*. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2896377.2901462>
- Gallagher, N. M., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2021). Gender essentialism and the mental representation of transgender women and men: A multimethod investigation of stereotype content. *Cognition, 217*, 104887. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2021.104887>
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Polity Press.
- Gazzola, S. B., & Morrison, M. A. (2014). Cultural and Personally Endorsed Stereotypes of Transgender Men and Transgender Women: Notable Correspondence or Disjunction? *International Journal of Transgenderism, 15*(2), 76–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2014.937041>
- Gedikli, C., Miraglia, M., Connolly, S., Bryan, M., & Watson, D. (2023). The relationship between unemployment and wellbeing: An updated meta-analysis of longitudinal evidence. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 32*(1), 128–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1359432X.2022.2106855>
- Geijtenbeek, L., & Plug, E. (2018). Is there a penalty for registered women? Is there a premium for registered men? Evidence from a sample of transsexual workers. *European Economic Review, 109*, 334–347. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2017.12.006>
- Gilbert, D. T., & Malone, P. S. (1995). The correspondence bias. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*(1), 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.1.21>
- Gillig, T. K., Rosenthal, E. L., Murphy, S. T., & Folb, K. L. (2018). More than a Media Moment: The Influence of Televised Storylines on Viewers' Attitudes toward Transgender People and Policies. *Sex Roles, 78*(7–8), 515–527. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0816-1>
- Glauert, R., Rhodes, G., Byrne, S., Fink, B., & Grammer, K. (2009). Body dissatisfaction and the effects of perceptual exposure on body norms and ideals. *International Journal of Eating Disorders, 42*(5), 443–452. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eat.20640>

- Goetz, T. G. (2022). Self(ie)-Recognition: Authenticity, Passing, and Trans Embodied Imaginaries. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 23(4), 256–278. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15240657.2022.2133525>
- Goffman, E. (1976). Gender Display. In E. Goffman (Ed.), *Gender Advertisements* (pp. 1–9). Macmillan Education UK. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-16079-2\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-16079-2_1)
- Goldberg, A. E., Matsuno, E., & Beemyn, G. (2021). “I Want to Be Safe...And I Also Want a Job”: Career Considerations and Decision-Making Among Transgender Graduate Students. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 49(8), 1147–1187. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00110000211037671>
- Goldin, C. (1990). *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (Nos. gold90-1). National Bureau of Economic Research. <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/understanding-gender-gap-economic-history-american-women>
- Granberg, M., Andersson, P. A., & Ahmed, A. (2020). Hiring Discrimination Against Transgender People: Evidence from a Field Experiment. *Labour Economics*, 65, 101860. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2020.101860>
- Grigoropoulos, I., & Kordoutis, P. (2015). Social Factors Affecting Antitransgender Sentiment in a Sample of Greek Undergraduate Students. *International Journal of Sexual Health*, 27(3), 276–285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19317611.2014.974792>
- Gross, L. (1991). Out of the Mainstream. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 21(1–2), 19–46. [https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v21n01\\_04](https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v21n01_04)
- Gustafsson Sendén, M., Sikström, S., & Lindholm, T. (2015). “She” and “He” in news media messages: Pronoun use reflects gender biases in semantic contexts. *Sex Roles*, 72(1), 40–49. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0437-x>
- Gutierrez, L., Montiel, I., Surroca, J. A., & Tribo, J. A. (2022). Rainbow Wash or Rainbow Revolution? Dynamic Stakeholder Engagement for SDG-Driven Responsible Innovation. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 180(4), 1113–1136. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-022-05190-2>
- Guyan, K. (2022). *Queer data: Using gender, sex and sexuality data for action*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Gygax, P. M., Elmiger, D., Zufferey, S., Garnham, A., Sczesny, S., Stockhausen, L., von, Braun, F., & Oakhill, J. (2019). A language index of grammatical gender dimensions to study the impact of grammatical gender on the way we perceive women and men. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10(JULY). <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01604>
- Hammond, E. M., Berry, M. A., & Rodriguez, D. N. (2011). The influence of rape myth acceptance, sexual attitudes, and belief in a just world on attributions of responsibility in a date rape scenario. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 16(2), 242–252. <https://doi.org/10.1348/135532510X499887>
- Happer, C., & Philo, G. (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 1(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v1i1.96>

- Harrison, B. F., & Michelson, M. R. (2019). Gender, Masculinity Threat, and Support for Transgender Rights: An Experimental Study. *Sex Roles, 80*(1–2), 63–75. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0916-6>
- Hatch, H. A., Warner, R. H., Broussard, K. A., & Harton, H. C. (2022). Predictors of Transgender Prejudice: A Meta-Analysis. *Sex Roles, 87*(11), 583–602. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-022-01338-6>
- Hayes, R. M., Lorenz, K., & Bell, K. A. (2013). Victim Blaming Others: Rape Myth Acceptance and the Just World Belief. *Feminist Criminology, 8*(3), 202–220. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085113484788>
- Hegarty, P., Prandelli, M., Lundberg, T., Liao, L.-M., Creighton, S., & Roen, K. (2021). Drawing the Line Between Essential and Nonessential Interventions on Intersex Characteristics With European Health Care Professionals. *Review of General Psychology, 25*(1), 101–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1089268020963622>
- Heidt, A. (2025). ‘Mind-boggling’: US CDC orders gender-related terms cut from scientific papers. *Nature*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-025-00367-x>
- Heilman, M. E., & Saruwatari, L. R. (1979). When beauty is beastly: The effects of appearance and sex on evaluations of job applicants for managerial and nonmanagerial jobs. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 23*(3), 360–372. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073\(79\)90003-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073(79)90003-5)
- Heilman, M. E., & Stopeck, M. H. (1985). Being attractive, advantage or disadvantage? Performance-based evaluations and recommended personnel actions as a function of appearance, sex, and job type. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 35*(2), 202–215. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(85\)90035-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(85)90035-4)
- Herman, J. L., Flores, A. R., & O’Neill, K. K. (2022). *How Many Adults and Youth Identify as Transgender in the United States?* The Williams Institute. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Trans-Pop-Update-Jun-2022.pdf>
- Heyam, K. (2022). *Before we were trans: A new history of gender* (First US edition). Seal Press.
- Hill, D. B., & Willoughby, B. L. B. (2005). The Development and Validation of the Genderism and Transphobia Scale. *Sex Roles, 53*(7), 531–544. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-7140-x>
- Hilton, J. L., & Hippel, W. von. (1996). Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology, 47*(1), 237–271. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.47.1.237>
- Ho, V. C., Berman, A. H., Andrade, J., Kavanagh, D. J., Branche, S. L., May, J., Philson, C. S., & Blumstein, D. T. (2024). Assessing immediate emotions in the theory of planned behavior can substantially contribute to increases in pro-environmental behavior. *Frontiers in Climate, 6*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fclim.2024.1344899>
- Howansky, K., Wilton, L. S., Young, D. M., Abrams, S., & Clapham, R. (2021). (Trans)gender stereotypes and the self: Content and consequences of gender identity stereotypes. *Self and Identity, 20*(4), 478–495. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2019.1617191>



- Hu, M., & Liu, B. (2004). Mining and summarizing customer reviews. *Proceedings of the 2004 ACM SIGKDD International Conference on Knowledge Discovery and Data Mining - KDD '04*, 168. <https://doi.org/10.1145/1014052.1014073>
- Huffman, A. H., Mills, M. J., Howes, S. S., & Albritton, M. D. (2021). Workplace support and affirming behaviors: Moving toward a transgender, gender diverse, and non-binary friendly workplace. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, 22(3), 225–242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2020.1861575>
- Human Rights Campaign. (2024). *The Epidemic of Violence Against the Transgender &...* <https://reports.hrc.org/an-epidemic-of-violence-2024>
- 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>
- Jackson, L. A., Sullivan, L. A., & Rostker, R. (1988). Gender, gender role, and body image. *Sex Roles*, 19(7), 429–443. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00289717>
- Jacobs, L., & Meeusen, C. (2021). Coming Out of the Closet, Also on the News? A Longitudinal Content Analysis of Patterns in Visibility, Tone and Framing of LGBTs on Television News (1986-2017). *Journal of Homosexuality*, 68(13), 2144–2168. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2020.1733352>
- Jawahar, I. M., & Mattsson, J. (2005). Sexism and Beautyism Effects in Selection as a Function of Self-Monitoring Level of Decision Maker. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90(3), 563–573. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.3.563>
- Jefferson, K., Neilands, T. B., & Sevelius, J. (2013). Transgender women of color: Discrimination and depression symptoms. *Ethnicity and Inequalities in Health and Social Care*, 6(4), 121–136. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EIHS-08-2013-0013>
- Joel, D., Berman, Z., Tavor, I., Wexler, N., Gaber, O., Stein, Y., Shefi, N., Pool, J., Urchs, S., Margulies, D. S., Liem, F., Hänggi, J., Jäncke, L., & Assaf, Y. (2015). Sex beyond the genitalia: The human brain mosaic. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(50), 15468–15473. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1509654112>
- Johnson, K. L., & Ghavami, N. (2011). At the Crossroads of Conspicuous and Concealable: What Race Categories Communicate about Sexual Orientation. *PLOS ONE*, 6(3), e18025. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0018025>
- Johnson, S. K., Sitzmann, T., & Nguyen, A. T. (2014). Don't hate me because I'm beautiful: Acknowledging appearance mitigates the “beauty is beastly” effect. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 125(2), 184–192. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2014.09.006>
- Johnston, L. (1996). Resisting change: Information-seeking and stereotype change. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 26(5), 799–825. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-0992\(199609\)26:5<799::AID-EJSP796>3.0.CO;2-O](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199609)26:5<799::AID-EJSP796>3.0.CO;2-O)

- Jolley, D., Paterson, J. L., Deric, D., Lovato, T., & McCarthy, J. (2025). Exploring How Parasocial Intergroup Contact With Transgender Influencers on TikTok Reduces Transgender Conspiracy Beliefs. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 35(1), e70020. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.70020>
- Joyce, N., & Harwood, J. (2014). Improving Intergroup Attitudes through Televised Vicarious Intergroup Contact. *Communication Research*, 41(5), 627–643. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650212447944>
- Kalev, A., Kelly, E., & Dobbin, F. (2006). Best Practices or Best Guesses? Assessing the Efficacy of Corporate Affirmative Action and Diversity Policies. *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), 589–617.
- Kalra, G., & Shah, N. (2013). The Cultural, Psychiatric, and Sexuality Aspects of Hijras in India. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 14(4), 171–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2013.876378>
- Kanamori, Y., Xu, Y. J., Harrell-Williams, L. M., & Lightsey, O. R. (2022). Intergroup Contact, Intergroup Anxiety, and Anti-Transgender Prejudice: An Examination Using Structural Equation Modeling. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 51(4), 1943–1958. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-021-02192-5>
- Kardosh, R., Sklar, A. Y., Goldstein, A., Pertzov, Y., & Hassin, R. R. (2022). Minority salience and the overestimation of individuals from minority groups in perception and memory. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 119(12), e2116884119. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2116884119>
- Kessler, S. J., & MacKenna, W. (1978). *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. Wiley.
- Kiradoo, G. (2022). *Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in the Workplace: Strategies for Achieving and Sustaining a Diverse Workforce* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 4392136). Social Science Research Network. <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4392136>
- Kleemans, M., Schaap, G., & Hermans, L. (2017). Citizen sources in the news: Above and beyond the vox pop? *Journalism*, 18(4), 464–481. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915620206>
- Klysing, A., Renström, E. A., Gustafsson-Sendén, M., & Lindqvist, A. (2022). Gender diversity in recruitment: Influence of gender trouble on applicant attraction and evaluation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 52(8), 781–802. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12809>
- Knobloch-Westerwick, S., & Johnson, B. K. (2014). Selective Exposure for Better or Worse: Its Mediating Role for Online News' Impact on Political Participation\*. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(2), 184–196. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12036>
- Knowles, E. D., Tropp, L. R., & Mogami, M. (2022). When White Americans see “non-Whites” as a group: Belief in minority collusion and support for White identity politics. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 25(3), 768–790. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211030009>

- Koch-Rein, A., Haschemi Yekani, E., & Verlinden, J. J. (2020). Representing trans: Visibility and its discontents. *European Journal of English Studies*, 24(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13825577.2020.1730040>
- Koskela, H. (2012). “You shouldn’t wear that body”: The problematic of surveillance and gender. In *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*. Routledge.
- Kozlowski, D., & Power, I. (2022). Unpacking Backlash: Social Costs of Gender Non-Conformity for Women and Men. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 12(2), 9–32.
- Laporte, H., & Eggermont, S. (2023). News coverage on transgender celebrities in Belgium: Parasocial contact, attitudes, and policy support. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 0(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2023.2244981>
- Lavietes, M. (2024, July 19). *RNC speakers lean into homophobic and transphobic rhetoric*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-politics-and-policy/rnc-speakers-lean-homophobic-transphobic-rhetoric-rcna162505>
- Le Forestier, J. M., Page-Gould, E., & Chasteen, A. L. (2022). Concealment stigma: The social costs of concealing. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 101, 104340. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2022.104340>
- Leinung, M. C., & Joseph, J. (2020). Changing Demographics in Transgender Individuals Seeking Hormonal Therapy: Are Trans Women More Common Than Trans Men? *Transgender Health*, 5(4), 241–245. <https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2019.0070>
- Li, M. (2023). Exemplifying Power Matters: The Impact of Power Exemplification of Transgender People in the News on Issue Attribution, Dehumanization, and Aggression Tendencies. *Journalism Practice*, 17(3), 525–553. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1930104>
- Lord, C. G., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. (1979). Biased assimilation and attitude polarization: The effects of prior theories on subsequently considered evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37(11), 2098–2109. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.37.11.2098>
- Lorde, A., & Clarke, C. (2007). *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Crossing Press.
- Lovelock, M. (2017). Call me Caitlyn: Making and making over the ‘authentic’ transgender body in Anglo-American popular culture. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 26(6), 675–687. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2016.1155978>
- Ma, R., Fink, E. L., & Atwell Seate, A. (2024). When my group is under attack: The development of a Social Identity Threat Scale. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 27(4), 738–758. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302231187857>
- Mackie, D. M., Maitner, A. T., & Smith, E. R. (2015). Intergroup Emotions Theory. In *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination* (2nd ed.). Psychology Press.

- Martin, A. E., & Mason, M. F. (2022). What does it mean to be (seen as) human? The importance of gender in humanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 123*(2), 292–315. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000293>
- Martínez-Alfaro, A., Silverio-Murillo, A., & Balmori-de-la-Miyar, J. (2024). What's in a name? Evidence of transgender labor discrimination in Mexico. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, 227*, 106738. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2024.106738>
- McFadden, C. (2020). Discrimination Against Transgender Employees and Jobseekers. In K. F. Zimmermann (Ed.), *Handbook of Labor, Human Resources and Population Economics* (pp. 1–14). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57365-6\\_35-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57365-6_35-1)
- McFadden, C., & Crowley-Henry, M. (2016). A Systematic Literature Review on Trans\* Careers and Workplace Experiences. In T. Köllen (Ed.), *Sexual Orientation and Transgender Issues in Organizations: Global Perspectives on LGBT Workforce Diversity* (pp. 63–81). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29623-4\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29623-4_4)
- McGuire, W. J. (1989). The Structure of Individual Attitudes and Attitude Systems. In *Attitude Structure and Function*. Psychology Press.
- McKeon, C. (2023, October 5). *Rishi Sunak tacks to right with comments on sex education and transgender rights*. The Independent. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/rishi-sunak-gender-speech-transphobic-b2424369.html>
- McLemore, K. A. (2015). Experiences with Misgendering: Identity Misclassification of Transgender Spectrum Individuals. *Self and Identity, 14*(1), 51–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2014.950691>
- Means, K. K., & Morgenroth, T. (2024). The ubiquity of the gender/sex binary: Power and status in social psychology. *Frontiers in Social Psychology, 2*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/frsps.2024.1455364>
- Meerwijk, E. L., & Sevelius, J. M. (2017). Transgender Population Size in the United States: A Meta-Regression of Population-Based Probability Samples. *American Journal of Public Health, 107*(2), e1–e8. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303578>
- Menegatti, M., Pireddu, S., Crocetti, E., Moscatelli, S., & Rubini, M. (2021). The Ginevra de' Benci Effect: Competence, Morality, and Attractiveness Inferred From Faces Predict Hiring Decisions for Women. *Frontiers in Psychology, 12*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.658424>
- Miller, L. R., & Grollman, E. A. (2015). The Social Costs of Gender Nonconformity for Transgender Adults: Implications for Discrimination and Health. *Sociological Forum, 30*(3), 809–831. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12193>
- Miller, P. R., Flores, A. R., Haider-Markel, D. P., Lewis, D. C., Tadlock, B., & Taylor, J. K. (2020). The Politics of Being “Cait”: Caitlyn Jenner, Transphobia, and Parasocial Contact Effects on Transgender-Related Political Attitudes. *American Politics Research, 48*(5), 622–634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X20906460>

- Mizock, L., Riley, J., Yuen, N., Woodrum, T. D., Sotilleo, E. A., & Ormerod, A. J. (2018). Transphobia in the workplace: A qualitative study of employment stigma. *Stigma and Health, 3*(3), 275–282. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000098>
- Mocarski, R., King, R., Butler, S., Holt, N. R., Huit, T. Z., Hope, D. A., Meyer, H. M., & Woodruff, N. (2019). The rise of transgender and gender diverse representation in the media: Impacts on the population. *Communication, Culture and Critique, 12*(3), 416–433. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcz031>
- Mogul, J. L., Ritchie, A. J., & Whitlock, K. (2011). *Queer (in)justice: The criminalization of LGBT people in the United States (Vol. 5)*. Beacon Press.
- Moradi, B., & Huang, Y.-P. (2008). Objectification Theory and Psychology of Women: A Decade of Advances and Future Directions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32*(4), 377–398. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00452.x>
- Morgenroth, T., Kirby, T. A., & Van Der Toorn, J. (2024). Heteroprofessionalism: The power of the gender/sex binary in the workplace. *Current Opinion in Psychology, 60*, 101908. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2024.101908>
- Morgenroth, T., Means, K. K., Mueller, A. S., & Sass, K. D. (2024). The Contradictory Nature of Anti-Transgender Rhetoric. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 19485506241250374*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506241250374>
- Morgenroth, T., & Ryan, M. K. (2018). Gender Trouble in Social Psychology: How Can Butler's Work Inform Experimental Social Psychologists' Conceptualization of Gender? *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01320>
- Morgenroth, T., & Ryan, M. K. (2020). The Effects of Gender Trouble: An Integrative Theoretical Framework of the Perpetuation and Disruption of the Gender/Sex Binary. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691620902442>
- Morgenroth, T., van der Toorn, J., Pliskin, R., & McMahan, C. E. (2024). Gender Nonconformity Leads to Identity Denial for Cisgender and Transgender Individuals. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 15*(1), 46–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506221144148>
- Moscatelli, S., Menegatti, M., Ellemers, N., Mariani, M. G., & Rubini, M. (2020). Men Should Be Competent, Women Should Have it All: Multiple Criteria in the Evaluation of Female Job Candidates. *Sex Roles, 83*(5), 269–288. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01111-2>
- Nagoshi, C. T., Raven Cloud, J., Lindley, L. M., Nagoshi, J. L., & Lothamer, L. J. (2019). A Test of the Three-Component Model of Gender-Based Prejudices: Homophobia and Transphobia Are Affected by Raters' and Targets' Assigned Sex at Birth. *Sex Roles, 80*(3), 137–146. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0919-3>
- Napier, J. L. (2024). A Cross-Cultural Investigation of Prejudice Against Transgender People. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 19485506241289638*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506241289638>

- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., Robertson, C. T., & Kleis Nielsen, R. (2021). *The Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2021*.
- Norton, A. T., & Herek, G. M. (2013). Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Transgender People: Findings from a National Probability Sample of U.S. Adults. *Sex Roles*, 68(11), 738–753. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0110-6>
- Office for National Statistics. (2023). *Population estimates for the UK, England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland*. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/annualmidyearpopulationestimates/mid2023>
- Olivetti, C., Pan, J., & Petrongolo, B. (2024). Chapter 8—The evolution of gender in the labor market. In C. Dustmann & T. Lemieux (Eds.), *Handbook of Labor Economics* (Vol. 5, pp. 619–677). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.heslab.2024.11.010>
- Olveira-Araujo, R. (2022). The (r)evolution of transsexuality in the news media: The case of the Spanish digital press (2000-2020). *Journalism*, 146488492211053. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221105316>
- Olveira-Araujo, R. (2023). Who drives news coverage of trans issues? Intermedia agenda setting dynamics in Spanish digital press. *Journalism*, 14648849231222701. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849231222701>
- Orellana, L., Totterdell, P., & Iyer, A. (2022). The association between transgender-related fiction and transnegativity: Transportation and intergroup anxiety as mediators. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 13(2), 228–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2020.1759677>
- Orth, T. (2024). *Where Americans stand on 20 transgender policy issues*. YouGov. <https://today.yougov.com/politics/articles/48685-where-americans-stand-on-20-transgender-policy-issues>
- Pacilli, M. G., Spaccatini, F., & Roccato, M. (2023). “You Look So Beautiful... But Why Are You So Distressed?”: The Negative Effects of Appearance Compliments on the Psychological Well-being of Individuals in the Workplace. *Sexuality & Culture*, 27(2), 659–673. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-022-10033-3>
- Paluck, E. L. (2009). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict using the media: A field experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 574–587. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0011989>
- Park, S.-Y. (2012). Mediated Intergroup Contact: Concept Explication, Synthesis, and Application. *Mass Communication and Society*, 15(1), 136–159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2011.558804>
- Parker, K., Menasce Horowitz, J., & Brown, A. (2022). *Americans' Complex Views on Gender Identity and Transgender Issues*. Pew Research Center. [https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2022/06/PSDT\\_06.28.22\\_GenderID\\_fullreport.pdf](https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2022/06/PSDT_06.28.22_GenderID_fullreport.pdf)

- Patterson, K., Santiago, A. M., & Silverman, R. M. (2021). The enduring backlash against racial justice in the United States: Mobilizing strategies for institutional change. *Journal of Community Practice*, 29(4), 334–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2021.1998875>
- Perez-Arche, H., & Miller, D. J. (2021). What Predicts Attitudes toward Transgender and Nonbinary People? An Exploration of Gender, Authoritarianism, Social Dominance, and Gender Ideology. *Sex Roles*, 85(3), 172–189. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01212-3>
- Petty, R. E., Schumann, D. W., Richman, S. A., & Strathman, A. J. (1993). Positive mood and persuasion: Different roles for affect under high- and low-elaboration conditions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(1), 5–20. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.1.5>
- Poels, K., & Dewitte, S. (2019). The Role of Emotions in Advertising: A Call to Action. *Journal of Advertising*, 48(1), 81–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2019.1579688>
- Porrovecchio, G. (2020, September 14). *Ciro non è “Cira” o una “ragazza lesbica”, è una persona trans. Lo volete capire o no?* The Vision. <https://the-vision.com/attualita/ciro-transfobia-odio-giornali/>
- Prusaczyk, E., & Hodson, G. (2020). The Roles of Political Conservatism and Binary Gender Beliefs in Predicting Prejudices Toward Gay Men and People Who Are Transgender. *Sex Roles*, 82(7), 438–446. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01069-1>
- Ramasubramanian, S. (2013). Intergroup Contact, Media Exposure, and Racial Attitudes. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 42(1), 54–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2012.707981>
- Ramati-Ziber, L., Shnabel, N., & Glick, P. (2020). “The beauty myth: Prescriptive beauty norms for women reflect hierarch-enhancing motivations leading to discriminatory employment practices”: Correction to Ramati-Ziber, Shnabel, and Glick (2019). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 119(2), 343–343. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000269>
- Richards, Z., & Hewstone, M. (2001). Subtyping and Subgrouping: Processes for the Prevention and Promotion of Stereotype Change. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5(1), 52–73. [https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0501\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0501_4)
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2009). Framed Before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations. *Gender & Society*, 23(2), 145–160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243208330313>
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Saperstein, A. (2024). Diversifying Gender Categories and the Sex/Gender System. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 50(1), 385–405. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-030222-035327>
- Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2013). Reverse Subtyping: The Effects of Prejudice Level on the Subtyping of Counterstereotypic Outgroup Members. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 35(5), 409–417. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2013.823616>

- Robertson, C. E., Pröllochs, N., Schwarzenegger, K., Pärnamets, P., Van Bavel, J. J., & Feuerriegel, S. (2023). Negativity drives online news consumption. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 7(5), 812–822. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-023-01538-4>
- Rosati, F., Compare, C., Lorusso, M. M., Baiocco, R., Albanesi, C., Pistella, J., & Pellegrini, V. (2025). Italian Political Agendas on LGBTQIA+ Issues: Perceived Stigma and Civic Engagement Among Sexual and Gender Marginalized Communities. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-025-01117-4>
- Rosenberg, M. J., Hovland, C. I., McGuire, W. J., Abelson, R. P., & Brehm, J. W. (1960). *Attitude organization and change: An analysis of consistency among attitude components. (Yales studies in attitude and communication.)*, Vol. III (pp. x, 239). Yale Univer. Press.
- Rudman, L. A., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Nauts, S. (2012). Status incongruity and backlash effects: Defending the gender hierarchy motivates prejudice against female leaders. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(1), 165–179. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.10.008>
- Ryan, J. R. (2009). *Reel gender: Examining the politics of trans images in film and media* [PhD Thesis, Bowling Green State University]. [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc{\\_}num=bgsu1245709749](http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc{_}num=bgsu1245709749)
- Ryan, J. R. (2016). From transgender to trans. In *Introducing the new sexuality studies* (pp. 124–135).
- Saguy, T., Reifen-Tagar, M., & Joel, D. (2021). The gender-binary cycle: The perpetual relations between a biological-essentialist view of gender, gender ideology, and gender-labelling and sorting. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 376(1822), 20200141. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0141>
- Salter, N. P., & Sasso, T. (2021). The positive experiences associated with coming out at work. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 41(2), 224–240. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-11-2020-0322>
- Schemer, C., & Meltzer, C. E. (2020). The Impact of Negative Parasocial and Vicarious Contact with Refugees in the Media on Attitudes toward Refugees. *Mass Communication and Society*, 23(2), 230–248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2019.1692037>
- Schiappa, E., Gregg, P. B., & Hewes, D. E. (2005). The Parasocial Contact Hypothesis. *Communication Monographs*, 72(1), 92–115. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0363775052000342544>
- Schiappa, E., Gregg, Peter B., & and Hewes, D. E. (2006). Can One TV Show Make a Difference? Will & Grace and the Parasocial Contact Hypothesis. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 51(4), 15–37. [https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v51n04\\_02](https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v51n04_02)
- Schilt, K. (2006). Just One of the Guys?: How Transmen Make Gender Visible at Work. *Gender & Society*, 20(4), 465–490. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206288077>
- Schilt, K. (2016). The Importance of Being Agnes. *Symbolic Interaction*, 39(2), 287–294. <https://doi.org/10.1002/symb.231>



- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: “gender normals,” transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender and Society*, 23(4), 440–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243209340034>
- Schilt, K., & Wiswall, M. (2008). Before and After: Gender Transitions, Human Capital, and Workplace Experiences. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.2202/1935-1682.1862>
- Schmader, T., & Block, K. (2015). Engendering Identity: Toward a Clearer Conceptualization of Gender as a Social Identity. *Sex Roles*, 73(11), 474–480. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0536-3>
- Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2001). The Good, the Bad, and the Manly: Threats to One’s Prototypicality and Evaluations of Fellow In-Group Members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37(6), 510–517. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.2001.1476>
- Schooler, D., Ward, L. M., Merriwether, A., & Caruthers, A. (2004). Who’s that Girl: Television’s Role in the Body Image Development of Young White and Black Women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(1), 38–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00121.x>
- Schopper, T., Berbers, Anna, & Vogelgsang, L. (2023). Pride or Rainbow-Washing? Exploring LGBTQ+ Advertising from the Vested Stakeholder Perspective. *Journal of Advertising*, 0(0), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2024.2317147>
- Sczesny, S., Nater, C., & Eagly, A. H. (2018). Agency and Communion: Their implications for gender stereotypes and gender identities. In *Agency and Communion in Social Psychology*. Routledge.
- Sczesny, S., Spreemann, S., & Stahlberg, D. (2006). Masculine = competent? Physical appearance and sex as sources of gender-stereotypic attributions. *Swiss Journal of Psychology: Official Publication of the Swiss Psychological Society = Schweizerische Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie = Revue Suisse de Psychologie.*, 65(1), 15–23. <https://doi.org/10.1024/1421-0185.65.1.15>
- Sears, B., Mallory, C., Lin, A., & Castleberry, N. M. (2024). *Workplace Experiences of Transgender Employees*. Williams Institute. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Trans-Workplace-Discrimination-Nov-2024.pdf>
- Serano, J. (2007). *Whipping Girl: A Transsexual Woman on Sexism and the Scapegoating of Femininity*. Seal Press.
- Shepherd, B. F., & Brochu, P. M. (2024). Let’s get real: Identity concealment, burnout, and therapeutic relationship quality among psychology trainees with concealable stigmatized identities. *Psychotherapy*, 61(2), 125–136. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pst0000522>
- Silge, J., & Robinson, D. (2017). *Text Mining with R* (First edit). O’Reilly. <http://oreilly.com/catalog/errata.csp?isbn=9781491981658>
- Simpson, L., & Dewaele, J. M. (2019). Self-misgendering among multilingual transgender speakers. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2019(256), 103–128. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2018-2014>

- Sink, A., & Mastro, D. (2018). Mediated Contact With Gay Men as a Predictor of Modern Homonegativity: An Analysis of Exposure to Characters Appearing on Television Between 2000 and 2015. *Communication Reports*, 31(2), 78–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08934215.2017.1360374>
- Slater, M. D. (2015). Reinforcing Spirals Model: Conceptualizing the Relationship Between Media Content Exposure and the Development and Maintenance of Attitudes. *Media Psychology*, 18(3), 370–395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2014.897236>
- Smith, M. B., Bruner, J. S., & White, R. W. (1956). *Opinions and personality* (pp. vii, 294). John Wiley & Sons.
- Solomon, H. E., & Kurtz-Costes, B. (2018). Media's Influence on Perceptions of Trans Women. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 15(1), 34–47. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-017-0280-2>
- Stamarski, C. S., & Son Hing, L. S. (2015). Gender inequalities in the workplace: The effects of organizational structures, processes, practices, and decision makers' sexism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01400>
- Stanton, I. (2023). *Hiring Discrimination against Transgender Individuals in the US Labor Market* [UVM Honors College Senior Thesis, University of Vermont]. <https://scholarworks.uvm.edu/hcoltheses/594>
- Steinmetz, K. (2014, May 29). *The Transgender Tipping Point*. TIME. <https://time.com/135480/transgender-tipping-point/>
- Stonewall. (2022). What do the British public REALLY think about trans people? *Stonewall*. <https://www.stonewall.org.uk/news/what-do-british-public-really-think-about-trans-people>
- Taracuk, M. D., & Koch, J. M. (2023). Use of a media intervention to increase positive attitudes toward transgender and gender diverse individuals. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, 24(1), 86–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2021.1878479>
- 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>
- Taube, L. N., & Mussap, A. J. (2024). Coming Out to Family and Friends in the Trans and Gender Diverse Context. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 71(1), 147–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2106465>
- The White House. (2025, January 21). *Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism And Restoring Biological Truth To The Federal Government*. The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/defending-women-from-gender-ideology-extremism-and-restoring-biological-truth-to-the-federal-government/>
- Thompson, J. (2022). *Meeting Elliot: A quasi-experiment on the effect of parasocial contact with transgender celebrities on mass attitudes towards transgender individuals*. Open Science Framework (OSF). <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/n5pq4>

- To, M., Zhang, Q., Bradlyn, A., Getahun, D., Giammattei, S., Nash, R., Owen-Smith, A. A., Roblin, D., Silverberg, M. J., Tangpricha, V., Vupputuri, S., & Goodman, M. (2020). Visual Conformity with Affirmed Gender or “Passing”: Its Distribution and Association with Depression and Anxiety in a Cohort of Transgender People. *The Journal of Sexual Medicine*, *17*(10), 2084–2092. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsxm.2020.07.019>
- Trans Legislation Tracker. (2024). *U.S. anti-trans legislation history*. <https://trans-legislation.com/learn>
- Tukachinsky, R., Mastro, D., & Yarchi, M. (2015). Documenting Portrayals of Race/Ethnicity on Primetime Television over a 20-Year Span and Their Association with National-Level Racial/Ethnic Attitudes. *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*(1), 17–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12094>
- Turton, S. (2021). Deadnaming as disformative utterance: The redefinition of trans womanhood on Urban Dictionary. *Gender and Language*, *15*(1), 42–64. <https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.18816>
- Van Borm, H., & Baert, S. (2018). What drives hiring discrimination against transgenders? *International Journal of Manpower*, *39*(4), 581–599. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-09-2017-0233>
- Van Borm, H., Dhoop, M., Van Acker, A., & Baert, S. (2020). What does someone’s gender identity signal to employers? *International Journal of Manpower*, *41*(6), 753–777. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-03-2019-0164>
- Van Laar, C., Meeussen, L., Veldman, J., Van Grootel, S., Sterk, N., & Jacobs, C. (2019). Coping With Stigma in the Workplace: Understanding the Role of Threat Regulation, Supportive Factors, and Potential Hidden Costs. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01879>
- van Meer, M. M., & Pollmann, M. M. H. (2022). Media Representations of Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals on Dutch Television and People’s Stereotypes and Attitudes About LGBs. *Sexuality & Culture*, *26*(2), 640–664. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-021-09913-x>
- Vandello, J. A. (2025). Minimization, denial, moralization, and exaggeration: A taxonomy of backlash to transgender recognition and rights. *New Ideas in Psychology*, *76*, 101126. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2024.101126>
- Vandello, J. A., & Bosson, J. K. (2013). Hard won and easily lost: A review and synthesis of theory and research on precarious manhood. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *14*(2), 101–113. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029826>
- von Stockhausen, L., Koeser, S., & Sczesny, S. (2013). The gender typicality of faces and its impact on visual processing and on hiring decisions. *Experimental Psychology*, *60*(6), 444–452. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1618-3169/a000217>
- Vonderhaar, R. L., & Carmody, D. C. (2015). There Are No “Innocent Victims”: The Influence of Just World Beliefs and Prior Victimization on Rape Myth Acceptance. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *30*(10), 1615–1632. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260514549196>
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing Gender. *Gender & Society*, *1*(2), 125–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002>

- Wittlin, N. M., Dovidio, J. F., LaFrance, M., & Burke, S. E. (2018). About face: Memory for transgender versus cisgender targets' facial appearance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 78*, 77–92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2018.04.009>
- Wood, F., Carrillo, A., & Monk-Turner, E. (2019). Visibly Unknown: Media Depiction of Murdered Transgender Women of Color. *Race and Justice*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368719886343>
- Worthen, M. G. F. (2013). An Argument for Separate Analyses of Attitudes Toward Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Men, Bisexual Women, MtF and FtM Transgender Individuals. *Sex Roles, 68*(11–12), 703–723. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0155-1>
- Wright, S. C., Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., & Ropp, S. A. (1997). The extended contact effect: Knowledge of cross-group friendships and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73*(1), 73–90. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.1.73>
- Yoder, J. D. (1991). Rethinking Tokenism: Looking Beyond Numbers. *Gender & Society, 5*(2), 178–192. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124391005002003>
- Zehnter, M. K., Manzi, F., Shrout, P. E., & Heilman, M. E. (2021). Belief in sexism shift: Defining a new form of contemporary sexism and introducing the belief in sexism shift scale (BSS scale). *PLOS ONE, 16*(3), e0248374. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0248374>
- Zhang, L., & Clark, C. (2018). *Affect, Emotion, and Rhetorical Persuasion in Mass Communication*. Routledge.
- Zhou, C., van der Toorn, J., & Jaspers, E. (2024). *The Double-Edged Sword of “Being Out” at Work: Its Impact on Perceived Professionalism, Morality, and Cooperation Intentions* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 5039039). Social Science Research Network. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5039039>
- Zottola, A. (2018). Transgender identity labels in the British press. *Journal of Language and Sexuality, 7*(2), 237–262. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.17017.zot>