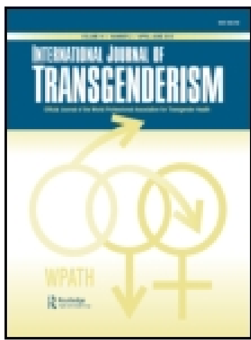

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Cultural and Personally Endorsed Stereotypes of Transgender Men and Transgender Women: Notable Correspondence or Disjunction?

Stephanie Beryl Gazzola
Melanie Ann Morrison

ABSTRACT. To date, the content of stereotypic beliefs about transgender women and men has received limited empirical scrutiny. To address this omission, 2 studies were conducted. Study 1 utilized 3 focus groups ($N = 16$; 7 women and 9 men), with 8 themes emerging from a thematic analysis of the data. Traits extracted from these themes, in conjunction with a comprehensive list of attributes, were then distributed to a sample of university students (Study 2: $N = 274$; 219 women and 55 men). For this study, participants were instructed to evaluate: (a) the extent to which the traits/attributes encapsulated the cultural stereotype of transgender women or men and (b) the degree to which they personally believed these characteristics applied to transgender persons. Results indicated that the cultural stereotype of transgender men was more negative than the stereotype for transgender women. A similar finding did not emerge for participants' personal stereotypes about transgender individuals. As well, participants espousing more negative cultural stereotypes also evidenced greater levels of trans prejudice. The implications of these findings in terms of how researchers conceptualize trans prejudice are discussed, as are suggestions for future inquiry.

KEYWORDS. Transgender, stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, gender identity

Research on the lives of transgender individuals (i.e., "people who have gender identities, expressions, or behaviors not traditionally associated with their birth sex;" Gender Education and Advocacy, 2001, para. 3) suggests that transgender persons are frequently victims of discrimination (Hill & Willoughby, 2010; Lombardi, 2009). Widespread institutional discrimination occurring in health care (Kenagy, 2005), housing (Budge, Tebbe, & Howard, 2010), and employment (National Centre for Transgender Equality and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force [NCTE], 2011) has been documented, as have high rates of interpersonal discrimination in the form of physical and verbal harassment. The latter have been documented within the homes of transgender persons, as well as at school, at work, and in public places (Clements-Nolle, Marx, & Katz, 2006; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2006; NCTE, 2011). Indeed, some researchers (e.g., Kenagy, 2005; Lombardi, 2009) contend that *most* transgender individuals will experience discrimination at some point in their lives.

Prejudice against transgender persons also has been documented; specifically, studies

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investigating the nature of trans prejudice (i.e., negative beliefs about individuals who, in appearance and/or identity, do not conform to society's current conceptualization of gender; King, Winter, & Webster, 2009) and transphobia (i.e., an irrational fear or hatred of, or an emotional disgust toward, individuals who do not conform to society's gender expectations; Hill & Willoughby, 2005, 2010) have been conducted. At present, results from this growing body of research suggest that transgender women (i.e., transgender individuals who identify as women or feminine including male-to-female transgender individuals) are subject to greater negativity than transgender men (i.e., transgender individuals who identify as men or masculine, including female-to-male transgender individuals; Winter, Webster, & Cheung, 2008). As well, male participants have consistently reported higher levels of transphobia than have female participants (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter, Webster, & Cheung, 2008).

Of importance to the current study is the contention that stereotypes exert influence, partially or wholly, on prejudice and discrimination (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Tajfel, 1981). Specifically, the content of a stereotype informs the nature of the prejudice directed against the outgroup in question, which, in turn, influences the type of discrimination directed toward the outgroup (Fiske et al., 2002; Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). Thus, investigating the stereotypes ascribed to transgender people is a valuable addition to the extant literature on perceptions of transgender individuals and resultant antitransgender attitudes and behaviors. With the exception of Antoszewsi, Kasielska, and Kruk-Jeromin's (2009) study,[1] research examining the stereotypes attributed to transgender men and women has not appeared in the published literature. The goal of the current study, therefore, is to address this omission.

DEFINITION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A *stereotype* is defined as "the collection of attributes believed to define or characterize the members of a social group" (Oaks, Haslam, & Turner, 1994, p. 1) and "is shared, in essential features, by large numbers of people" (Stallybrass, 1977, as cited in Tajfel, 1981, p. 143; emphasis in Tajfel). Stereotypes are described as shared to indicate that the same or similar traits are used to describe a social group by most individuals in one culture (e.g., Katz & Braly, 1933; Madon et al., 2001). How the same traits come to be ascribed to a group by many different people has been attributed to intergroup relations; stereotype content is often described as arising out of intergroup conflict and/or from cultural values that are transmitted by various sources (e.g., the media and to children by their caretakers; Fiske et al., 2002; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007; Madureira, 2007; Oaks et al., 1994; Tajfel, 1981).

The Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) postulates that stereotype content is the product of intergroup relations and can be defined along two dimensions: warmth, comprising traits such as "tolerant" and "sincere," and competence, comprising traits such as "independent" and "competitive" (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Fiske et al., 2002). Four combinations of the warmth and competence dimensions, representing four categories of stereotypes, are frequently highlighted within the SCM: envious stereotypes (where the social group is viewed as possessing high competence and low warmth), paternalistic stereotypes (high warmth and low competence), contemptuous stereotypes (low competence and warmth), and admiration (high warmth and competence). As one might expect, stereotypes reflecting admiration are often applied to one's ingroup or closely allied social groups (Fiske et al., 1999, 2002).

Evidence within the SCM paradigm suggests that stereotypes are associated with discriminatory behaviors through a relationship that is mediated by prejudiced affect (i.e., negative emotional responses to outgroup members; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). In a series of studies, the relationship between the stereotypes of outgroups, the emotions they elicit, and perceptions of their treatment by other people was measured and manipulated experimentally using a fictitious outgroup (Cuddy et al.,

2007). The results of these studies supported a causal relationship between stereotypes and discriminatory behavioral intentions, which was mediated by prejudice. For example, the outgroup described as low-warmth and low-competence was reacted to with contempt, which was found to increase participants' predictions that the group would be subjected to active harm behaviors (i.e., those "conducted with directed effort to overtly affect the target group"; Cuddy et al., 2007, p. 633) as well as passive harm behaviors (i.e., those "that are conducted or experienced with less directed effort, but still have repercussions"; Cuddy et al., 2007, p. 633). Physiological evidence also supports this relationship. For example, a neuroimaging study has shown that participants' neural activity patterns differentiated between groups stereotyped as low competence and low warmth (e.g., homeless people and drug-addicted persons) and groups with other stereotypes (Harris & Fiske, 2006). Participants were exposed to images of several social groups and asked to rate the degree to which they felt pride, envy, pity, or disgust—emotions which had previously been associated with the four stereotype categories (Harris & Fiske, 2006). Unlike the images of other social groups, images of outgroups that elicited disgust (i.e., those stereotyped as low in warmth and competence) did not activate the neural center that is associated with social perception (the medial prefrontal cortex); rather, the center associated with viewing pictures of objects was active (Harris & Fiske, 2006). The authors concluded that stereotypes may predict physiological responses to outgroups and, importantly, groups stereotyped as low in competence and warmth may not be perceived as human. Indeed, the dehumanization of outgroups has long been associated with discriminatory behaviors (see Haslam, 2006, for a review).

Overall, the SCM indicates that stereotype content influences the nature of prejudice and discrimination against an outgroup. Thus, knowledge about stereotypes of transgender individuals is essential to developing a complete image of the social constraint and condemnation they face. However, excepting Antoszewski, Kasielska, and Kruk-Jeromin's (2009) study, to our knowledge stereotypes of transgender individuals have not been empirically investigated. Despite the lack of direct evidence, research on stereotypes of social groups perceived to exhibit gender nonconformity suggests that transgender individuals may be subjected to highly negative stereotypes. For example, Claussel and Fiske (2005) found that cross-dressers were stereotyped as low in both warmth and competence. Based on previous research, this finding suggests that cross-dressers, like other groups stereotyped as low-warmth and low-competence, would likely be subjected to contemptuous prejudice and discrimination in the form of harassment and exclusion (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002). In a separate study, Geiger, Harwood, and Hummert (2006) found that an "angry butch" stereotype of lesbian women emerged as a highly negative social categorization (e.g., "unfeminine," "masculine," "boyish," "aggressive," and "cruel"). The studies of gender nonconforming social groups suggest that stereotypes of transgender individuals, who generally are nonconforming to the gender assigned to them at birth, may be quite negative. It is our contention that understanding the stereotypes ascribed to transgender women and men may be highly informative for future research on the prejudice and discrimination directed against transgender individuals, as well as for potential causal linkages amongst these constructs.

OBJECTIVES

Using best practices in stereotype measurement (Madon et al., 2001; Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008), our key objective was to document the content of stereotypes ascribed to transgender men and women and the relationship between this content and trans prejudice. Two studies were conducted to achieve these fundamental goals. In Study 1, focus groups (FGs) were used to document the traits participants deemed particularly relevant to the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women; in other words, how do participants perceive society to view transgender

women and men? As well, participants were asked to comment on the traits that they felt personally reflected transgender persons; in other words, those they personally endorsed. The following research questions guided Study 1:

1. How do participants perceive society to view transgender women and men? and
2. Which stereotype traits do participants personally endorse regarding transgender women and men?

In Study 2, using a larger sample of participants, cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women were documented, as were participants' personal endorsement of those cultural stereotypes. The resultant stereotype content is interpreted in the context of theoretical work and past research on trans prejudice and discrimination. The following hypotheses were addressed in Study 2:

1. The cultural stereotype of transgender women is significantly stronger and more negatively valenced than that of transgender men.
2. Participants' personal stereotypes of transgender women are stronger and more negatively valenced than those of transgender men.
3. Male participants endorse stronger and more negatively valenced personal stereotypes of transgender men and women than do female participants.
4. Trans prejudice is significantly correlated with the strength and valence of participants' stereotypes of transgender men and women, such that a higher degree of prejudice is associated with stronger and more negative stereotypes.

STUDY 1

Purpose

Study 1 was designed to document university students' beliefs about transgender men and women and their perspectives on how these groups are often perceived by others—namely, "society." FGs were conducted to gather in-depth information, with the understanding that the stereotypes that emerged from Study 1 would then be used to form the stereotype content for evaluative purposes in Study 2.

Methods Used in Study 1

Participants

Participants ($N = 16$) were recruited from a Western Canadian university and, being a part of the Psychology Participant Pool, received course credit for their involvement. The sample was composed of women ($n = 7$) and men ($n = 9$). Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 30 years ($M = 20.44$ years, $SD = 2.83$), and all but one participant (who identified as Aboriginal) indicated a Caucasian ethnic identity. The sample was mostly Christian ($n = 12$), three participants indicated that they did not practice a religion, and one participant indicated practicing "spirituality." Participants rated religion as moderately important in their daily lives, on average ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.59$, range = 1–7). Finally, most of the sample ($n = 9$) did not know any transgender individuals, with the remaining participants ($n = 7$) reporting that they knew one to two transgender persons. Pseudonyms were used to protect participants' identity.

Measures

Focus Group (FG) Protocol. FG discussions were employed in the present study to gather information regarding the specific traits used to describe transgender individuals and those most salient to participants. Other studies (e.g., Madon, 1997; Morrison et al., 2008) have used open-ended items on questionnaires for this purpose. As individuals' personal beliefs about social groups have been found to deviate from their knowledge of cultural stereotypes of the same social groups (Devine & Elliot, 1995), the FG protocol was designed to elicit discussion among participants about the traits that are often associated with transgender men and women by others (e.g., in media representations) and their personal beliefs about

transgender men and women. The semistructured FG protocol consisted of 14 principal items,[2] some of which were followed by probes that the moderator used to guide the discussion and encourage participant input. Participants also completed a paper-and-pencil demographic questionnaire, which asked for details concerning their age, gender identity, race/ethnicity, religion, and contact with transgender individuals.

Procedure

The following procedure was approved by a university research ethics board. In accordance with Krueger's (1994) recommendations, each FG consisted of five to six people and was conducted in a conference room on the university campus. The principal investigator (a Caucasian, female-bodied, female-identified graduate student) acted as moderator for each FG. Previous research has found that trans prejudice differs between men and women (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008); thus, one FG was conducted with only male participants and another with only female participants. The third FG was composed of both male and female participants to obtain cross-gender reactions. An informed consent sheet containing information about the study procedure and participant rights was distributed prior to commencement of the discussion. The moderator then administered the FG protocol, allowing for topic-relevant detours when appropriate. Participants completed the demographic survey independently immediately after the FG ended and were thanked and debriefed. Each discussion was approximately 1.5 hr in length, and the survey took approximately 5 min to complete.

Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to interpret the FG data. In accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendations, the principal investigator examined the data to identify codes based on participants' descriptions of transgender men and women (e.g., the code "masculine body shape" was derived from attributions such as "has male physical features"). These codes were then combined into themes (e.g., the code "masculine body shape" was incorporated into the theme "sexed body shape"). Codes were distributed between themes based on attributions made by FG participants. For example, the code "confident" was included in the theme "abnormal" because participants expressed the opinion that transgender individuals must be confident because they are visibly different from the nontransgender majority. As well, the code "flamboyant" was perceived to reflect transgender women and men, and participants connected this trait with gay or lesbian sexual identity. Themes were then compared to illuminate any connections between them (e.g., the themes "sexed body shape" and "abnormal" are connected by participants' beliefs that incongruence between transgender individuals' body shape and the clothing they wear render them highly salient and different from nontransgender individuals). Due to the exploratory nature of this study, themes were not predefined before analysis. Rather, the goal of this analysis was an understanding of participants' beliefs about transgender persons.

Results

All participants could identify at least one person whom they had seen in the media or had personally met who fit the provided definitions of transgender men and women. Further, the samples evidenced little confusion about who are transgender individuals; thus, the sample appeared to have some working knowledge about transgender men and women, which allowed them to identify and contemplate pertinent issues when prompted. Eight themes were extracted from these discussions.

Theme 1: Gendered Personality and Behaviors

Transgender women (i.e., male-to-female transgender individuals) generally were assigned feminine gender roles. Participants believed them to have feminine personalities, enjoy feminine hobbies, and seek employment in traditionally feminine occupations. For example, when asked to describe a stereotype of transgender women, participants in FG1

suggested that they are perceived as nurturing and likely to be employed as a nurse or secretary. Across all three groups, transgender women were described as wearing feminine attire including dresses and makeup. They also were believed to wear wigs in order to appear more feminine. Transgender men (i.e., female-to-male transgender individuals), however, were described more ambiguously, as possessing feminine and masculine personality traits and engaging in traditionally masculine and feminine hobbies. FG1 (composed of women) described transgender men as "emotionally strong" and FG2 (composed of men) suggested they were more likely to be aggressive. On the contrary, FG3 (composed of both women and men) suggested that transgender men are more feminine than nontransgender men. Additionally, transgender men were conceptualized as being interested in traditionally masculine hobbies (e.g., contact sports) or occupations (e.g., trades) but being unable to do so due to physical limitations and/or rejection by nontransgender men. For example, Hannah (FG1) said, "It might make them feel more like a man if she [*sic*] gets hired as a construction worker" and "I don't know if people would accept him at that kind of job [referring to the oil industry]." Thus, though transgender men may desire traditionally masculine occupations, several barriers (e.g., acceptance by other men) to their participation in such employment were perceived.

Theme 2: Sexed Body Shape

In contrast to beliefs about their personalities, transgender individuals were believed to possess the physical characteristics stereotypical of their sex at birth. Across all FGs, transgender women were described as physically "look[ing] like a man" (Joe, FG2), including having broad-shoulders and large hands and feet. Similarly, transgender men were described as being petite compared to other men. This theme reflects participants' beliefs that physical characteristics cannot be changed and that transgender people are recognizable because they literally look different from nontransgender men and women. The prominence of this recognizability is evident in Theme 3.

Theme 3: Abnormal

Participants believed transgender men and women to be highly different from nontransgender men and women and, for that reason, also to be highly noticeable. Transgender individuals were described as "odd," "weird," "different," and "gross." When discussing the salience of transgender people, Peter (FG3) suggested that they "stuck out like a sore thumb." In general, participants believed transgender women to be more noticeable than transgender men due to the relatively lower social acceptance of a "man" wearing feminine clothing (e.g., dresses) in comparison to a "woman" wearing masculine clothing (e.g., pants). The salience of transgender individuals was linked to their unusualness or abnormality; some participants suggested that they would be less noticeable if they were more common. For example, participants suggested that "whatever is in a minority, at first anyway, appears to be more striking to the eye" (Joe, FG2). Thus, the "abnormal" theme represents participants' beliefs that transgender people are highly different from nontransgender people and that this difference is visually apparent.

Theme 4: Rejected by Society

Participants believed that transgender individuals often experience rejection from society at large. Participants indicated that they are perceived as "freaks" and "outcasts." Joe (FG2) said, "It is natural for us to fear what is the unknown, and they are quite unknown today." This rejection often took the form of ridicule. Transgender women, in particular, were reported to often be the targets of humor in film and television; participants reported seeing caricatures of transgender women in which the incongruity between their "masculine" body and "feminine" mode of dress was emphasized. This ridicule also was believed to extend to real life. For example, when discussing the reaction to a transgender man entering a public men's bathroom, Samantha (FG3) suggested that other men would "ridicule [him] for it [his transgender identity/appearance]" and, hence, participants believed that transgender

individuals often experience rejection. Overall, transgender individuals (particularly women) appear to be positioned as outsiders through media in which they are ridiculed and degraded.

Theme 5: Mental Illness

Additionally, transgender individuals were believed to be mentally ill. This sentiment was expressed in FG1 when a participant described them as having "something in the brain that's not right" (Kate). This issue often emerged when discussing the position of sex reassignment surgery in provincial health care plans. Participants generally believed that it should be given coverage similar to that provided for mental illnesses: "Same if someone has a mental disorder, it would be the same sense" (Bill, FG3). In some cases, this theme was expressed in participants' beliefs that transgender individuals are confused about their gender identity and require therapy to resolve this confusion. For instance, Samantha (FG3) described transgender individuals as "probably confused," and Hannah (FG1) suggested that "they should talk to a therapist first [before obtaining hormonal or surgical means of transitioning] to figure out if that's actually how they feel." Thus, many participants equated transgender individuals' gender transitions with mental illness.

Theme 6: Sex Reassignment Surgery

Surgical and hormonal means of transitioning had a prominent place in the FG discussions. In FG3, when asked what comes to mind when transgender individuals are defined, Samantha said, "Sometimes you can't even tell if they're on the hormone pills." Furthermore, when directly asked about how common they believed sex reassignment surgery to be among transgender individuals, most participants indicated that they would either assume or wonder if a transgender person, particularly a transgender woman, had had sex reassignment surgery. Thus, having used surgical or hormonal means to alter one's gender expression was perceived to be a salient feature of transgender individuals' experiences.

Theme 7: Gay and Lesbian

Across all groups, transgender men and women were described as gay or lesbian based on the gender assigned to them at birth. Thus, transgender men (female-to-male) were believed to be attracted to women (and labeled "lesbian"), and transgender women (male-to-female) were believed to be attracted to men (and labeled "gay"). Despite the fact that these attraction patterns are heterosexual based on transgender individuals' gender identities, the sexual minority labels went unchallenged (i.e., no participant disagreed with these labels when brought forward in the FGs). Some participants indicated that transgender people had undergone a gender transition to better attract others who share their sex and "wouldn't see a lot of reason" (Brad, FG2) for someone to transition if they were heterosexual. Others suggested that transgender people were homosexual by necessity because heterosexual men and women would not be romantically interested in them: "What girlfriend is going to want her boyfriend to dress as a woman?" (Kate, FG1). In sum, the finding that transgender individuals are conceptualized as gay (transgender women) and lesbian (transgender men) reflects participants' continued reliance on the gender identity assigned at birth in reference to transgender women's and men's sexual orientations.

Theme 8: Primacy of Birth Sex Versus Gender Identity

This presumption was evident as an underlying factor in some participants' beliefs about transgender individuals. Others, however, perceived transgender individuals as members of the gender with which they identify. In this group, some participants believed that transgender individuals were "born in the wrong body" (i.e., they had an internal gender identity that took precedence over the one assigned at birth). These sentiments were reflected in phrases such as "If someone feels uncomfortable with their body they should be able to change" (Francis, FG2). These participants were likely to believe that being transgender was genetic and not chosen; for example,

"I think they're just born into the wrong body and I just feel that the environment can't change that, it's more biological" (Samantha, FG3). On the other hand, participants who gave primacy to birth sex were under the impression that transgender women were "really" men and transgender men were "really" women. At times, this perspective was couched in religious justifications: "You're born who you are and that's the way God made you . . . Your gender is what God made you so that's who you should be" (Kate, FG1). This belief was expressed via direct attributions (e.g., saying, "It's a woman?" when referring to a transgender man; Amanda, FG1), indirect attributions (e.g., saying, "Men that dress as women"; Frank, FG2), and pronoun choice (e.g., referring to transgender men as "she" and transgender women as "he"). These participants were likely to think that a transgender identity was a choice; for example, Kate (FG1) expressed disbelief that therapy would help transgender individuals when she said, "They *want* to be who they *want* to be" (emphasis added). They also were more apt to promote the description of transgender individuals as homosexual, reflecting their beliefs that transgender individuals were "really" members of that gender to which they were assigned at birth.

Discussion

A complete summary of the trait descriptors that emerged from the FG discussions can be found in Table 1. These findings, however, are limited by the relatively small sample employed in this study and the lack of data on transgender stereotype strength and valence. Furthermore, although asked to differentiate between societal stereotypes and their own endorsement of the stereotypes, participants often conflated these concepts during the FGs. This rendered it difficult to separate participants' perceptions and endorsements of stereotypes. Additional detail on stereotypes of transgender men and women, particularly with respect to strength and valence, was thus sought with a larger sample in Study 2. The traits obtained in Study 1 were used to increase the applicability of a general list of traits to transgender stereotypes.

STUDY 2

Purpose

Study 2 was intended to quantitatively examine the content, valence, and strength of university students' stereotypes of transgender men and women by combining the traits gleaned from the FG discussions (Study 1) with a more general list.[3] The latter was developed based on the traits used in previous investigations of stereotype content (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 1995; Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001; Morrison et al., 2008). Study 2 extends the stereotype content literature by examining whether empirical indicators of strength and valence of the transgender stereotypes are associated with prejudice. Finally, participants' warmth and competence ratings of transgender men and women were measured to

Table 1. Themes and Traits Extracted from Focus Group Discussions

Theme	Associated traits
Gendered personality/behaviors	Wears women's clothes, wears a wig, wears make-up, has feminine personality, has masculine personality, emotional, nurturing, gentle, athletic, tough, shy, soft-spoken, loud
Sexed body shape	Feminine body shape (e.g., breasts, petite), masculine body shape (e.g., broad shoulders, big hands, muscular)
Abnormal	Abnormal, noticeable, confident
Rejected by society	Outcast, a joke
Mental illness	Mentally ill, confused
Sex reassignment surgery	Has had sex reassignment surgery (genital surgery)
Gay/Lesbian	Gay, lesbian, flamboyant
Primacy of birth sex versus Gender identity	Really a man, really a woman, born in the wrong body, feels like a woman, feels like a man

assess the position of these groups in the SCM framework (Fiske et al., 2002).

Hypotheses

In accordance with previous research (e.g., Winter et al., 2009) that found transgender women to be evaluated more negatively than transgender men, it was hypothesized that the cultural stereotype of transgender women is significantly stronger and more negatively valenced than that of transgender men (Hypothesis 1) and participants' personal stereotypes of transgender women are stronger and more negatively valenced than those of transgender men (Hypothesis 2).

Previous research (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008) also suggests that men evaluate transgender men and women more negatively than do women potentially because transgender individuals are perceived as posing a threat to traditional social values (e.g., genderist and heterosexist values), which men are generally invested in to a greater extent than are women, and/or to heterosexual men's sexual orientation (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Winter et al., 2008). For example, heterosexual men may feel their sexual orientation is threatened by transgender women who they may find attractive. Thus, it is hypothesized that male participants endorse stronger and more negatively valenced personal stereotypes of transgender men and women than do female participants (Hypothesis 3). Finally, in accordance with the finding that stereotypes are associated with prejudice (Cuddy et al., 2007; Ramasubramanian, 2010), it is hypothesized that trans prejudice is significantly correlated with the strength and valence of participants' stereotypes of transgender men and women, such that a higher degree of prejudice is associated with stronger and more negative stereotypes (Hypothesis 4).

Method

Participants

Students ($N = 274$; two surveys were excluded because no items were answered) were recruited from a western Canadian university and randomly assigned to one of four surveys: a valence survey relevant to transgender men ($n = 7$), a valence survey relevant to transgender women ($n = 7$), a stereotype content survey relevant to transgender men ($n = 130$), or a stereotype content survey relevant to transgender women ($n = 128$). The valence surveys measured participants' perceived positivity and negativity of stereotypic traits as they pertain to transgender men and women, and the stereotype content survey measured participants' awareness of cultural stereotypes about transgender men and women and their subsequent endorsement of these stereotypes. Stereotype strength and valence were measured separately to ensure ratings on one attribute did not influence ratings on the other (see Morrison et al., 2008). Further, the size of the sample completing the valence survey component of the study was deemed sufficient based on previous research (e.g., Morrison et al., 2008) that had employed a similar number of participants.

Participants recruited from the university participant pool were awarded class credit for their cooperation and those recruited from the university web portal were entered into a lottery for a $50 prize. Participants were not permitted to take part in both Studies 1 and 2. Study 1 participants were excluded from Study 2 by placing a condition on their eligibility to participate in the university computer system that hosted the studies.

Participants who completed the valence surveys had a mean age of 19.86 ($SD = 1.66$, range = 18 to 24 years). This sample was mostly composed of men ($n = 11$; women, $n = 2$; one participant declined to provide a gender identity). All participants identified as heterosexual. The sample was predominantly Caucasian (64%, $n = 9$), with some identifying as Asian/Pacific Islander (7%, $n = 1$), East Indian (14%, $n = 2$), and "other" (7%, $n = 1$ [not specified]). With respect to religious affiliations, participants identified as Christian (57%, $n = 8$) and Hindu (14%, $n = 2$); three (21%) indicated that they had no religious affiliation. Reported religious importance ranged from 2 to 7 (higher scores indicate greater importance of religion in daily life; $M = 4.57$, $SD = 1.34$) and frequency of attending religious services

ranged from 1 to 4 (higher scores indicate greater frequency; $M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.03$).

The demographic composition of the samples for the surveys that addressed the content of stereotypes of transgender men and women was similar. Both samples had a mean age of approximately 21 years and were composed mostly (79%) of women. Two (1%) of the participants who completed the transgender men version of the survey indicated an "other" gender identity. These participants identified as a man with feminine qualities and as having no primary gender, respectively.[4] The samples also were predominantly heterosexual, Caucasian, and Christian. Religious importance ranged from 1 to 7 ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.72$) and frequency of attending religious services ranged from 1 to 4 ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.02$). A minority of participants (14%, $n = 36$) reported having contact with transgender friends, family members, or acquaintances. See Table 2 for details on the demographic composition of the survey samples.

Measures

Cultural Stereotype Scale (CSS). Previous research has measured stereotype content by asking participants to rate the degree to which each adjective on a list is characteristic of the group in question (e.g., Boysen, Vogel, Madon, & Wester, 2006; Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001; Morrison et al., 2008). In the present study, the adjectives on the Cultural Stereotype Scale (CSS) include descriptors of behaviors, personality traits, and physical characteristics derived from Morrison et al.'s (2008) list and the traits developed based on the FGs conducted in Study 1 (see Table 1 for a list of the added traits). In addition, the strength of a stereotype is often determined using the mean of participants' ratings on a response scale from "extremely uncharacteristic" to "extremely characteristic" for each stereotype trait (e.g., Boysen et al., 2006; Madon et al., 2001). The strength of the perceived cultural stereotypes then was measured by asking participants to indicate how characteristic of transgender men or women each trait on the predefined list was believed to be by society on an 11-point scale (with anchors 1 = *Not at all characteristic* and 11 = *Extremely characteristic*). In the present study, the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women comprise the traits that at least 50% of participants rated with a 9, 10, or 11, which signifies a trait deemed characteristic of transgender men or women, and no more than 10% of participants rated with a 1, 2, or 3, which signifies a trait deemed uncharacteristic of transgender men or women (Madon, 1997). The cultural counterstereotypes comprise traits that at least 50% of participants rated with a 1, 2, or 3 and no more than 10% rated with a 9, 10, or 11 (Madon, 1997). By recording the traits believed to be highly characteristic and uncharacteristic of a group, this procedure allows for a cultural stereotype to be characterized by both the presence and the absence of traits.

Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotypes Scale (PECS). Based on Devine and Elliot's (1995) conclusions that high- and low-prejudice individuals are equally aware of prevailing cultural stereotypes but differ with respect to their personal endorsement of these stereotypes, participants' knowledge and endorsement of cultural stereotypes were measured separately using the Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotypes Scale (PECS). Participants were asked to choose the five traits that they perceived to be essential to the cultural stereotype of transgender men or women and to rate the degree to which they personally believe them to be characteristic of transgender men or women on an 11-point scale (with anchors 1 = *not at all characteristic* and 11 = *extremely characteristic*). Total scores can range from 5 to 55; higher scores indicate stronger personal endorsement of the cultural stereotype.

Transphobia Scale (TS). The Transphobia Scale (TS; Nagoshi et al., 2008) was designed to measure attitudes about transgender individuals. The original version had 9 items that were based on the writings of Bornstein (1998). Several items were modified to improve their specificity (e.g., the TS item "I would be upset if someone I'd known for a long time revealed to me that they used to be another gender" became "I would be upset if a man I'd known for a long

Table 2. Demographic Information for Participants Who Completed the Stereotype Surveys ($N = 257$)

Category	Transgender women survey *n* (%)	Transgender men survey *n* (%)
Gender		
Women	98 (76.6)	100 (76.9)
Men	26 (20.3)	24 (18.5)
Other	0 (0)	2 (1.5)
Age (years)		
M	21.16	21.49
SD	3.86	4.65
Range	18–46	18–51
Sexual orientation		
Straight	120 (93.8)	117 (90)
Pansexual[a]	2 (1.6)	0 (0)
Bisexual	0 (0)	8 (6.2)
Queer	2 (1.6)	2 (1.5)
Other	1 (.8)	0 (0)
Ethnicity		
Caucasian	107 (83.6)	111 (85.4)
Aboriginal	6 (4.7)	2 (1.5)
African American	0 (0)	1 (.8)
Asian/Pacific Islander	3 (2.3)	4 (3.1)
Latino/a	1 (.8)	1 (.8)
Middle Eastern	1 (.8)	1 (.8)
East Indian	3 (2.3)	4 (3.1)
Other	6 (4.7)	2 (1.5)
Religious affiliation		
Christianity	61 (47.7)	74 (56.9)
Islam	2 (1.6)	5 (3.8)
Buddhism	1 (.8)	0 (0)
Hinduism	0 (0)	1 (.8)
None	50 (39.1)	37 (28.5)
Other	13 (10.2)	10 (7.7)
Religious importance		
1. Very unimportant	20 (15.6)	13 (10.0)
2.	7 (5.5)	8 (6.2)
3.	9 (7.0)	5 (3.8)
4. Neither important nor unimportant	45 (35.2)	44 (33.8)
5.	24 (18.8)	23 (17.7)
6.	8 (6.3)	22 (16.9)
7. Very important	13 (10.2)	10 (7.7)
Religious service attendance		
Never	42 (32.8)	33 (25.4)
On special occasions	41 (32.0)	42 (32.3)
Now and then	29 (22.7)	34 (26.2)
Usually	16 (12.5)	18 (13.8)
Contact with transgender individuals		
Family members	1 (0.8)	2 (1.5)
Friends	10 (7.8)	13 (10.0)
Acquaintances	23 (18.0)	18 (13.8)

Note. Percentages that do not total 100% are due to missing values.

[a]"Pansexual" is a sexual orientation characterized by an absence of limitation or inhibition in sexual choice based on gender identity ("Pansexual," 2011).

time revealed to me that he used to be a woman" and "I would be upset if a woman I'd known for a long time revealed to me that she used to be a man"). The modified TS contained 12 items and employed a 7-point response scale (with anchors: 1 = *completely disagree*, 4 = *neither agree nor disagree*, and 7 = *completely agree*). Total scores could range from 12 to 84, with higher scores indicating more transphobia. Nagoshi et al. (2008) found the TS to possess excellent test–retest and scale score reliability and to provide strong evidence attesting to the content and construct validity of the measure. The alpha coefficient for the modified TS in the present sample was .91 (95% confidence interval [.89, .93]), suggesting superior scale score reliability. Additionally, a factor analysis indicated that the hypothesized one-factor structure of the TS was maintained. The one-factor solution in the factor analysis explained 46.81% of the variance, and all items loaded on one factor at .4 or above.

Valence of Stereotype Traits (VST). The valence of a stereotype refers to the degree to which it is positive and/or negative. Participants in the valence group were asked to rate the valence of the CSS and Warmth-Competence Scale descriptors for either transgender women or transgender men on a 9-point scale (with anchors −4 = *very negative* to +4 = *very positive*).

Demographic Questionnaire. Several items were included to collect demographic information about the sample. This questionnaire was similar to that distributed in Study 1 and included several additional items regarding participants' sexual orientation, frequency of attending religious services, the number of participants' transgender acquaintances, family members, and friends, and the amount of time spent with transgender individuals (in hours per week).

Procedure

The following procedure was approved by a university research ethics board. The measures were compiled into four online surveys, which were accessible to university students through a link posted to a psychology research website and the university web portal. Each measure was presented as a separate page. Participants were able to skip any question except for the consent question at the bottom of the informed consent form. Participants were assigned to complete one of four surveys. Surveys 1 and 2 contained (in order) the VST for transgender men or transgender women, respectively, and the demographic questions. Surveys 3 and 4 contained the transgender men or transgender women versions of the CSS and PECS, in addition to the TS and demographic questions.

The first page in each survey was the informed consent form, which participants were required to sign before continuing. The terms *transgender men* and *transgender women* were defined for participants at the beginning of each measure. *Transgender men* was defined as "people who were born female but now live their lives as men," and *transgender women* was defined as "people who were born male but now live their lives as women." A debriefing form was displayed at the end of the surveys. Each survey took approximately 30 min to complete.

Analysis

Descriptive statistics, including means and standard deviations, were computed on the modified TS for transgender men and women and compared to the scale midpoint. To examine associations between transphobia and key sociodemographic variables, correlation coefficients were computed between TS scores and self-perceived importance of religion, frequency of attendance at religious services, and contact with transgender individuals. Contact with transgender individuals was converted into a dichotomous variable (no contact = 1, $n = 212$; contact = 2, $n = 43$) in order to compare TS results between those who had previous contact with transgender individuals and those who had no previous contact. This variable was dichotomized due to the small number of participants with previous contact and the corresponding low variability in these data.

Stereotype Content and Valence. Frequency data was computed to determine the traits most commonly included by participants

in the cultural stereotype, as well as those most commonly endorsed by participants. Multiplicative Index (MI, which denotes a valence X perceived strength of characteristic of social group computation) was calculated to connote both stereotype strength and valence in one variable. Single-sample t tests were conducted to determine whether the valence of each stereotype and counterstereotype trait was significantly negative or positive. Statistical significance was calculated at a probability level of $p < .01$ to account for suspected inflation of the family-wise error rate due to the large number of t tests conducted.

Hypothesis 1. After determining that the dependent variable was not significantly skewed or influenced by outliers,[5] the CSS stereotype and counterstereotype MI data were submitted to a 2 (Participant Gender) × 2 (Target Gender) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA)[6] to test the hypothesis that the transgender women stereotype was stronger and more negative than the transgender men stereotype.

Hypotheses 2 and 3. To determine whether participants personally endorsed stronger and more negative stereotypes of transgender women and whether male participants' stereotypes were more negative than female participants' stereotypes, the PECS MI data were analyzed using a 2 (Participant Gender) × 2 (Target Gender) between-subjects ANOVA.

Hypothesis 4. A Pearson correlation was used to determine whether trans prejudice is significantly correlated with the strength and valence of participants' stereotypes of transgender men and women.

Results

Means on the modified TS for transgender men survey participants (M = 45.85, SD = 16.24) and transgender women survey participants (M = 41.80, SD = 15.67) were both slightly below the midpoint (Mid. = 48). This suggests that participants possessed relatively neutral attitudes towards transgender men and women on average.

To examine associations between transphobia and key sociodemographic variables, correlation coefficients were computed between TS scores and self-perceived importance of religion, frequency of attendance at religious services, and contact with transgender individuals. For the transgender women survey, TS scores were significantly associated with stronger perceptions about the importance of religion, $r(117) = .28$, $p = .002$, and greater frequency of attendance at religious services, $r(119) = .34$, $p < .001$. For the transgender men survey, a statistically significant correlation emerged between TS scores and perceptions of the importance of religion, $r(114) = .25$, $p = .008$. A statistically significant correlation also emerged between TS scale scores and frequency of attending religious services, $r(115) = .23$, $p = .015$.

As contact with transgender individuals was relatively rare in the present sample, there was little variability in the responses to the contact items. Participants who had contact with transgender individuals had lower TS scores (M = 31.87, SD = 10.94) than those who had no contact (M = 45.96, SD = 15.89), $t(233) = 5.23$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.03$ (see Table 2 for data on participants' contact with transgender individuals).

Stereotype Content

The content of the cultural stereotypes and counterstereotypes of transgender men and transgender women can be found in Table 3. Several traits appear in the cultural stereotypes of both transgender men and women including "confused," "abnormal," and "gay." However, participants are more likely to believe that transgender women wear makeup and women's clothes and that they were "born in the wrong body." Alternatively, participants are more likely to believe that transgender men have "had sex reassignment surgery" and are "outcasts." The average CSS Multiplicative Index for transgender men was neutral ($M = -.42$, $SD = .69$), with the CSS MI for transgender women being slightly positive ($M = 2.79$; $SD = 0.96$).

Several cultural counterstereotype traits also emerged. The presence of "attractive" in the counterstereotype of both groups and "sexy" in that of transgender women suggests that they

Table 3. Cultural Stereotypes and Counterstereotypes Most Frequently Attributed to Transgender Men and Transgender Women

Trait	Transgender men		
	CSS	Mean valence	MI
Cultural stereotype ($n = 124$)			
Gay	60%	0.14	1.20
Confused	58%	−0.14	−1.17
Abnormal	57%	−1.57	−13.27
Outcast	53%	0 .86	7.00
Sex reassignment surgery	52%	0.50	4.13
Cultural counterstereotype ($n = 119$)			
Abusive	57%	−2.14	−7.13
Attractive	54%	0.57	2.00
Smelly	53%	−1.86	−7.17
Criminal	53%	−2.14	−8.18
Spiritual	52%	0.29	1.09
	Transgender women		
	CSS	Mean valence	MI
Cultural stereotype			
Wears women's clothes	72%	1.29	11.57
Wears makeup	64%	1.00	8.88
Gay	61%	−0.57	−4.88
Abnormal	56%	−0.14	−1.16
Born in wrong body	52%	1.00	8.03
Confused	51%	−0.71	−5.75
Cultural counterstereotype			
Sexy	74%	−0.43	−1.23
Attractive	63%	−0.57	−1.91
Smelly	61%	−2.43	−8.25
Abusive	58%	−2.29	−7.66
Violent	58%	−2.00	−6.84
Criminal	54%	−2.43	−9.09
Poor	51%	−1.29	−4.99
Lazy	51%	−2.43	−8.71
Spiritual	50%	0.14	0 .57

Note. The stereotype percentages indicate the proportion of participants who rated the trait a 9, 10, or 11 on the Cultural Stereotype Scale (CSS). The counterstereotype percentages indicate the proportion who rated the trait a 1, 2, or 3 on the CSS. Valence (possible range = −4 to +4). MI = Multiplicative Index [an MI for each descriptor was computed by multiplying the mean valence (range = −4 to +4) by each participant's CSS score (range = 1 to 11). Each score could be between −44 (maximally associated/endorsed, negatively valenced trait) and +44 (maximally associated/endorsed, positively valenced trait)].

are not believed to be targets of sexual attraction. Furthermore, the presence of the traits "abusive" and "criminal" in both counterstereotypes and "violent" in the counterstereotype of transgender women appears to suggest that they are not considered threatening by participants. The average Cultural Counter-Stereotype MI for transgender men was slightly negative ($M = -3.88$; $SD = 2.09$), with the average Cultural Counter-Stereotype for transgender women being negative also ($M = -5.36$; $SD = 2.32$).

Results indicated that no traits comprising the stereotype and counterstereotype of transgender men were significantly different from zero; the only traits significantly different from zero in the stereotype and counterstereotype of transgender women were "criminal," "abusive," "lazy," and "smelly."[7] Therefore, the stereotypes of transgender women and men are composed of neutral traits, while the counterstereotype of transgender women is composed of neutral and negative traits.

Table 4. Five Most-Personally Endorsed Stereotypes About Transgender Women ($n = 92$) and Transgender Men ($n = 96$)

Trait	Transgender women			
	Frequency	PECS	Valence	MI
Confused	39%	6.13	−0.96	−5.88
Born in the wrong body	30%	6.31	0.85	5.36
Gay	28%	6.70	−0.66	−4.42
Butch	27%	6.50	−1.29	−8.39
Outcast	25%	5.82	0.29	1.69
	Transgender men			
	Frequency	PECS	Valence	MI
Confused	31%	6.54	−0.13	−0.85
Outcast	28%	7.07	1.11	7.85
Born in the wrong body	26%	7.62	1.43	10.90
Butch	21%	6.71	0.14	0.94
Gay	19%	6.65	0.17	1.13

Note. PECS = Personal Endorsement of the Cultural Stereotypes (possible range = 0 to 11); Valence (possible range = −4 to +4); MI = Multiplicative Index (possible range = −44 to +44)

The PECS-measured participants' personal endorsement of the cultural stereotypes—the five most frequently endorsed stereotypes for transgender men and women—appear in Table 4. The average transgender women PECS MI was $M = 1.31$, $SD = 4.89$; and the average for the transgender men PECS MI was $M = 1.10$, $SD = 4.62$. These means are significantly greater than the neutral point (i.e., zero; transgender men, $t = 2.37$, $p = .02$; transgender women, $t = 2.61$, $p = 0.01$), suggesting a slight positivity insofar as participants' personal endorsement of transgender women and men stereotypes. For transgender women, the most negatively endorsed trait was "butch" (MI = −8.39) and the most positively endorsed trait was "born in the wrong body" (MI = 5.36). For transgender men, the most negatively endorsed trait was "confused" (MI = −0.85) while the most positively endorsed trait was also "born in the wrong body" (MI = 10.90).

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1. The cultural stereotype of transgender women was expected to be significantly more negative than that of transgender men based on previous research that has found that more prejudice is directed toward transgender women than toward transgender men (Winter et al., 2009).

The expected main effect of Target Gender was evident, $F(1, 238) = 621.38$, $p < .001$. However, contrary to Hypothesis 1, the MI of transgender men ($M = -.43$, $SD = .69$) was more strongly negatively valenced than that of transgender women ($M = 2.79$, $SD = .96$). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

The comparison of counterstereotype MI data between participant and target genders also supports this finding, as a main effect of Target Gender was evident, $F(1, 238) = 15.41$, $p < .01$, and the counterstereotype of transgender men was less strongly negative ($M = -3.88$, $SD = 2.09$) than that of transgender women ($M = -5.36$, $SD = 2.32$). These findings indicate that the cultural stereotype of transgender men is more negative than that of transgender women. Furthermore, the large effect size ($\eta^2 = .72$) for the main effect of target gender in the stereotype analysis and the moderate effect size ($\eta^2 = .06$) for the main effect of target gender in the counterstereotype analysis indicate that these trends reflect practically important stereotype differences.

Hypotheses 2 and 3. The PECS MI (i.e., the mean product of participants' PECS rating and the mean valence of each trait nominated as

part of the stereotypes of transgender men or transgender women) was the dependent variable of interest in Hypotheses 2 and 3. The mean MI for transgender women was expected to be more strongly negative than that for transgender men overall (Hypothesis 2) and the stereotype endorsed by male participants was expected to be more strongly negative than that endorsed by female participants overall (Hypothesis 3).

A main effect of Target Gender was not observed, $F(1, 183) = .05$, $p = .82$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$. The personal stereotypes of transgender women ($M = 1.45$, $SD = 4.89$) were not significantly different from those of transgender men ($M = 1.17$, $SD = 4.57$). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the present data. The expected main effect of Participant Gender was observed, $F(2, 183) = 3.11$, $p = .047$. Male participants ($M = -.53$, $SD = 4.37$) endorsed a more strongly negative stereotype of transgender individuals than did female participants ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 4.73$). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported; however, the small effect size ($\eta^2 = .03$) makes questionable the practical significance of the hypothesis.

Relationship Between Stereotype Content and Prejudice

Hypothesis 4. The cultural and personal stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women (i.e., CSS MI and PECS MI) were both expected to correlate negatively with TS scores, thereby demonstrating a relationship between prejudice and stereotype content.

The CSS MI for transgender men was significantly negatively associated with TS scores, $r(115) = -.18$, $p = .049$. However, the association between CSS MI scores for transgender women and trans prejudice was nonsignificant, $r(113) = -.16$. The associations between the PECS MI for transgender men, $r(91) = -.003$, and women, $r(89) = -.21$, and TS scores also were not significant.

Discussion

In Study 2, the content, strength, and valence of stereotypes of transgender men and women were investigated quantitatively. Six traits were deemed representative of the cultural stereotype of transgender women, nine traits were included in the cultural counterstereotype of transgender women, and the cultural stereotypes and counterstereotypes of transgender men each included five traits. Results indicate that some stereotypic traits are shared between transgender men and women. Moreover, the five traits most frequently chosen to describe the stereotypes of transgender men and women on the PECS were identical. The similarities between the CSS stereotype and the five most frequently chosen traits on the PECS suggest that a few traits may be central to the stereotype of transgender individuals; for example, "confused" and "gay" were included in both the CSS and PECS and "born in the wrong body" and "outcast" appear in the PECS and the CSS for both transgender women and transgender men. However, analysis of the CSS responses also identifies differences in the stereotypic content of transgender men and women. For example, "born in the wrong body" was included in the cultural stereotype of transgender women but not that of transgender men. For the cultural counterstereotype, some commonalities between the traits ascribed to transgender men and transgender women also were found.

Many of the traits included in the cultural and personal stereotypes were assigned positive or neutral valence ratings. The evidence that transgender individuals are frequent victims of discrimination (Kenagy, 2005; Lombardi, 2009; NCTE, 2011) and that other gender nonconforming outgroups are subjected to negative stereotypes (Claussel & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006) suggests that stereotypes of transgender men and women would also be negative. The results of this study, however, are consistent with previous research on trans prejudice, which has often found neutral or positive attitudes toward transgender individuals (e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Winter et al., 2008). Indeed, Glick and Fiske (2001) have demonstrated that a uniformly negative stereotype is not required to promote discrimination and that seemingly positive stereotypes also can be used to justify widespread

discriminatory practices. Further, some neutral or positively valenced traits may have negative implications nonetheless; for example, some of the counterstereotype traits for transgender men and transgender women (i.e., “attractive” and “sexy”) are consistent with other research (e.g., Schilt & Westbrook, 2009) that has suggested that transgender individuals are not recognized as legitimate targets of sexual or romantic attraction. The neutral and positive valences assigned to many of the traits included in stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women are therefore not necessarily indicative of a lack of prejudice or discriminatory behavioral intentions directed at transgender individuals.

In addition to recording the traits included in stereotypes of transgender men and women, four hypotheses were investigated. Hypothesis 1 proposed that the cultural stereotype of transgender women would be significantly stronger and more negatively valenced than that of transgender men. However, the converse relationship was found: transgender men were found to be subject to a more strongly negative cultural stereotype than were transgender women. The trans prejudice research is inconsistent on this point, with some studies finding more prejudice directed against transgender women (Winter et al., 2009) and others finding no difference in the degree of prejudice against transgender men and women (Gerhardstein & Anderson, 2010). Given the neutral stereotype of transgender men, the results of the present study may reflect participants’ relatively greater familiarity with transgender women (which would contribute to the greater strength of the stereotype of transgender women) and ambiguity with respect to the cultural stereotype of transgender men. Due to the unanticipated nature of this finding, further examination is warranted.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants’ personal stereotypes of transgender women would be stronger and more negatively valenced than those of transgender men. Instead, no significant differences were found in personal endorsement of transgender men and transgender women stereotypes. Thus, the finding that cultural stereotypes of transgender women are stronger and more negative than those of transgender men does not extend to personal endorsement of these stereotypes. It is possible that the nonsignificant difference between personal stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women may reflect a concern with impression management among participants. Participants may have reported neutral-to-positive personal stereotypes about both transgender men and women to avoid appearing prejudiced, thus obscuring any differences in personal beliefs about transgender individuals, despite the finding that three of the five stereotype traits for transgender women were negatively valenced.

The third hypothesis—that male participants would endorse stronger and more negative personal stereotypes of transgender men and women than would female participants—was supported. Thus, the result commonly found in trans prejudice research that men hold more negative attitudes toward transgender individuals than do women (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008) also can be observed in endorsed stereotype content. Male participants may be more likely than female participants to perceive transgender individuals as threatening to their social standing and/or heterosexuality (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Winter et al., 2009). In their review of media reports on crimes committed against transgender individuals, Schilt and Westbrook (2009) contend that a perceived threat to the (male) perpetrator’s heterosexuality is often presented as the motive behind violence against transgender individuals.

Finally, as predicted in Hypothesis 4, participants with higher trans prejudice also reported more negative cultural stereotypes. This finding indicates that empirical measures of stereotype strength and valence can be associated with prejudice and replicates previous research on associations between cultural stereotype content and prejudice (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; Morrison et al., 2008; Ramasubramanian, 2010). This association may be due to confirmation bias (Wason, 1960), which contends that prejudiced individuals may be more likely to notice and subsequently internalize negative cultural stereotypes than positive stereotypes

(see Castelli, Zecchini, Deamicis, & Sherman, 2005, and Werth, Forster, & Strack, 2000, for examples of this bias in the stereotype content reported for other social groups). Though levels of trans prejudice were low in the present study, it can be extrapolated that people who are highly prejudiced against transgender individuals may also be more likely to perceive and remember the negative traits portrayed as stereotypical of them.

This relationship, however, was only significant when the correlation between cultural stereotype MIs for transgender men and trans prejudice scores were tested. Conversely, one might expect levels of personal endorsement of the cultural stereotype and trans prejudice scores to be more closely associated (e.g., see Devine & Elliot, 1995). This unexpected result may be due to the relatively low variability found in participants' PECS responses, as most mean responses converged around zero. Limited variability in one variable could impede correlations from reaching significance.

Investigation of stereotype content for specific groups may lead to more accurate predictions of the nature of, and extent to which these groups are subjected to, prejudice. Much of the contemporary research on the relationship between stereotype content and prejudice has employed relatively generic measures of stereotype content and prejudice within a larger sample of social groups (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007). For example, within the SCM paradigm, two general dimensions (i.e., warmth and competence) describe stereotype content, while prejudice is defined as one of four common affects (Fiske et al., 2002). The present study extends this previous research by demonstrating that group-specific stereotype content and prejudice are related.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present research examined the content, strength, and valence of transgender stereotypes, using both qualitative (Study 1) and quantitative (Study 2) methods. Several similar findings emerged in Studies 1 and 2; for instance, traits derived from the abnormal (i.e., "abnormal"), mental illness (i.e., "confused"), and gay or lesbian (i.e., "gay") themes from Study 1 were also evident in the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women in Study 2.[8] Additionally, traits derived from the gendered behaviors and personality (i.e., "wears women's clothes" and "wears make-up") and the primacy of gender identity versus birth sex (i.e., "born in the wrong body") themes were evident in the stereotype of transgender women. Finally, the sex reassignment surgery (i.e., "had sex reassignment [genital] surgery") and rejected from society (i.e., "outcast") themes were replicated in the stereotype of transgender men. Notably, none of the adjectives derived from the FG themes were evident in the cultural counterstereotypes of either transgender men or women. Thus, there is a high degree of agreement between the descriptions provided in the qualitative and quantitative studies, supporting the validity of the stereotype content.

Some findings, however, differed between the two studies. For example, the "sexed body shape" theme was not replicated; the "sex reassignment surgery" theme was only included in the stereotype of transgender men; and the trait "spiritual" was included in the counterstereotypes that emerged in Study 2. The reasons that transgender individuals and spirituality are believed to be mutually exclusive remain unclear; however, religious individuals may interpret changing one's body as sinful and thus believe spirituality and sex reassignment surgery to be mutually exclusive. Overall, this stereotype content may be useful when constructing scales to measure prejudice. For instance, items relating to the spirituality of transgender individuals appear already in several trans prejudice measures (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009).

Importantly, the results of Study 2 suggest two findings about stereotypes of transgender individuals: (a) they are believed to be members of the gender they were assigned to at birth, and (b) they are pitied. Both of these findings are reflective of prejudice toward transgender individuals; that is, the trait "gay" was included in the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women and in

participants' personal endorsements of these stereotypes. Thus, this trait appears to be a central element of transgender stereotypes. Although "gay" has several definitions, Study 1 participants' responses demonstrate that they used it as an umbrella term to refer to homosexual women and men (Avert, 2011). Further, when transgender individuals were described as "gay" in Study 1, participants used the gender assigned to transgender individuals at birth as the referent for this label (i.e., transgender women were stereotyped as gay men; transgender men were stereotyped as lesbian women). Indeed, it was difficult for most Study 1 participants to contemplate the existence of transgender individuals who are attracted to members of the gender with which they identify (e.g., transgender women attracted to other women). As Studies 1 and 2 participants were drawn from the same population, it is likely that they understood the term "gay" in the same way. Thus, the presence of this trait in the core stereotype of transgender men and women implies not only a presumption of sexuality but also reflects the sample's bias toward birth sex as the "legitimate" indicator of one's gender. Additionally, the conflation of sexual orientation and gender identity in transgender stereotypes has implications for transgender individuals as it puts them at risk for being misunderstood and marginalized, especially those whose sexual orientations do not conform to the stereotype (i.e., lesbian transgender women, gay transgender men). Indeed, the conflation of these concepts has been linked to legislative and policy discrimination against transgender individuals, particularly as it relates to employment access legislation (Currah & Minter, 2000–2001; Weinberg, 2009–2010).

Second, several traits that were deemed highly characteristic of the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women and frequently identified as representative of these stereotypes on the PECS (i.e., "confused," "born in the wrong body," "abnormal") suggest that transgender individuals are regarded with pity. Study 1 participants also discussed feeling pity for transgender individuals. The affect "pity" has been linked to passive harm behaviors in the SCM (Cuddy et al., 2007). One core stereotype trait, "outcast," suggests that transgender individuals are perceived as frequent victims of passive harm (which includes neglect and exclusion from society). Transgender individuals are often victims of systemic discrimination through exclusion from suitable housing and employment (NCTE, 2011), demonstrating that they are victims of passive harm at the society level. As much as pity has been found to be associated with paternalistic sexism, which places women in a powerless position relative to men (Glick & Fiske, 2001), stereotypes of transgender women and men that are denotative of pity may reflect their powerless and neglected position in society. Transgender men and women are believed to be mistaken about themselves and pitied for this perceived confusion and the challenges it entails.

Although the SCM is often used to examine stereotype content, it does not appear to accurately capture stereotypes against transgender individuals. The Warmth-Competence Scale (Fiske et al., 2002) used to measure adherence to the warmth and competence stereotype dimensions of the SCM was originally employed in the current study, however, the scale's factor structure was not found to be valid when applied to stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women. Thus, it was not used in the analyses. It may be that warmth and competence do not appropriately capture the content of transgender stereotypes. Rather, a "social distancing" construct may be more appropriate to encompass the stereotypes applied to transgender men and women. This construct would be consistent with the traits directly related to social distance in these stereotypes (i.e., "outcast" in Study 2 and the "rejected from society" theme in Study 1) and those that implicitly relegate transgender men and women to outsider positions (i.e., the "abnormal" theme in Study 1). Thus, the concepts upon which the SCM is predicated do not apply well to stereotypes of transgender women and men.

The studies described in this paper, though preliminary, provide some content for transgender stereotypes and counterstereotypes, as held by university students. It is suggested that this

content be considered when designing scales to measure trans prejudice. The differences in stereotype content between transgender men and transgender women also affirm the importance of considering these stereotypes, as well as trans prejudice against transgender men and transgender women, separately. Moreover, it highlights the insight gained if researchers avoid using the superordinate category "transgender" when examining the social forces of stereotyping and prejudice. Further, on the basis of a review of trans prejudice measures (e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi et al., 2008), it does not appear that there is considerable overlap with scales designed to measure homonegativity, particularly those that are more contemporary in nature (e.g., Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Consequently, the stereotype content obtained in this study, with the exception of traits tapping gender violations, particularly for men, contributes to our understanding of what appears to be a qualitatively distinct form of social bias.

Finally, the studies in question present a theoretical challenge to the universal applicability of the SCM, as it was not found suitable for stereotypes of transgender women and transgender men. Although theoretical in nature, there are potential clinical applications for these findings. The stereotype content may aid clinicians (e.g., Smith, Shin, & Officer, 2012) to understand the prejudice transgender clients have faced, as well as the potential differences between the experiences of transgender women and men. Moreover, the inclusion of this content in interventions designed to reduce trans prejudice may be beneficial in confronting stereotypes held by society.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

First, the authors relied on convenience samples. This limits the ability to generalize the stereotype content. Specifically, the overrepresentation of women in the Study 2 sample and the reliance on university students for the Studies 1 and 2 samples may have led to the elucidation of more positive stereotypes and less trans prejudice than would be expected from a general population sample. For instance, women have consistently shown less prejudice than men toward transgender individuals (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008), and postsecondary education has been shown to reduce prejudice levels among students (Wagner & Zick, 1995). Future research on the content of transgender stereotypes should be conducted with samples that may have proportionally greater capacity to affect the lives of transgender people (e.g., teachers, employers, and physical and mental health care professionals; NCTE, 2011).

Second, on analyzing the PECS results, it appears that some participants may be engaging in impression management. Thus, future efforts should be made to decrease any social desirability pressures on participants. For example, the confidentiality of participants' responses could be emphasized directly before they complete a measure of personal stereotypes. A scale designed to assess participants' motivation to manage their impressions and/or stereotype measures that are less prone to bias due to impression management (e.g., implicit priming and physiological measures) could be employed in future studies.

Several additional avenues for further investigations are suggested by the present studies. First, only a minority of participants (14% in Study 2) reported personally knowing a transgender person. It is likely that stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women are, thus, derived from portrayals of transgender individuals in the media. At present, there is little empirical information available about how transgender individuals are represented in television, in film, on the Internet, and in print media (see Cahill, 1998, and Schilt & Westbrook, 2009, for reviews of print media reports on crimes involving transgender individuals). A thorough review of these representations would provide information on the messages people receive about transgender individuals and, perhaps, how these messages contribute to stereotypes of transgender individuals.

The relationship between transgender stereotype content, discriminatory behaviors, and affective prejudice ought to be investigated, as

research on their associations may provide insights into how interventions can be designed to combat trans negativity. Promising interventions designed to modify both positive and negative stereotype ascription have been documented with the use of perspective taking (e.g., Wang, Ku, Tai, & Galinsky, 2013); however, the effect of this intervention with transgender women and men is currently unknown. Further, little research at present (see Gerhardstein & Anderson's 2010 study for a notable exception) has examined the correspondence between trans prejudiced attitudes and discrimination toward transgender individuals. Thus, assessments of an anti-transgender attitude-behavior linkage are encouraged. It also may be valuable in future interventions to move away from a focus on the etiology of transgenderism that has been found with other social groups (e.g., gay men and lesbian women; Jewell, Morrison, & Gazzola, 2012), to be dichotomized typically on the basis of biological or personal choice rationale. Emphasizing the differences among transgender individuals as well as the diversity in decision making and motivations will likely be important.

Finally, though the present research examined nontransgender individuals' stereotypes of transgender individuals, it did not examine the way in which these stereotypes are viewed by men and women who are transgender (i.e., their metastereotypes; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). Future research should assess the content of transgender individuals' metastereotypes, as they may play a significant role in stereotype threat (i.e., decreases in performance due to the belief that one's ingroup is subject to negative stereotypes; Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009) and development of a minority identity (May & Stone, 2010). Specifically, transgender men and women may experience (a) activation of negative thoughts that can bias the interpretation of what they are thinking, feeling, and doing; (b) significant self-doubt and anxiety that can lead to cognitive or behavioral paralysis; and (c) depletion of emotional resources that are exerted due to temporary concern or rumination about the situation and one's performance in it (Burgess, Warren, Phelan, Dovidio, & van Ryn, 2010; Schmader, 2010). Empirical research examining the breadth of outcomes associated with the experience of stereotype threat for transgender women and men has not been undertaken thus far.

In sum, directions for future research include extensions of the present study to other research populations (e.g., teachers and health care professionals), an analysis of media representations of transgender individuals, investigations into the associations between stereotype content, trans prejudice and discrimination, and studies of the content and effects of transgender metastereotypes.

NOTES

1. It is important to mention that the study by Antoszewski, Kasielska, and Kruk-Jeromin (2009) is available only in Polish.
2. The items progressed from a broad introductory topic (i.e., gender roles) to definitions of *transgender man* and *transgender woman* (to ensure that participants possessed a uniform understanding of these terms); to cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women; and finally, to participants' beliefs about transgender men and women. Specifically, participants' thoughts about transgender individuals, examples of transgender people they have seen in the media or met in person, opinions about issues related to transgender rights, and reactions to images of transgender individuals (including two publicly available photographs of middle-aged transgender individuals and four previously validated photographs of young adults; Gerhardstein & Anderson, 2010) were addressed.
3. Thirty-one traits were derived from the themes developed in Study 1 and added to an extant list of traits supplied by Morrison et al. (2008). These traits correspond to the extracted themes (see Table 1) and were listed in participants' own words when possible. The entire list was then examined for synonyms and redundant words. When synonyms were found, the words that were most similar to those used by Study 1 participants were given preference to increase the likelihood of employing words with which Study 2 participants would be familiar.
4. Analyses were performed both including and excluding the participants who indicated an "other" gender identity. No differences in the results were found; therefore these participants were left in the sample.
5. As none of the dependent variables under consideration displayed significant skew or contained significant outliers, this information will not be repeated for each analysis.

6. This and the following ANOVAs were conducted with and without controlling for the mode of participant recruitment (i.e., participant pool or web portal). As no statistically significant differences were found when controlling for mode of recruitment, the results of the uncontrolled ANOVAs are presented.

7. Tables pertinent to the one-sample *t* tests are available from the authors upon request.

8. It should be mentioned that, at present, several stereotypes of transgender men appear to overlap with those that have been attributed to gay men (e.g., soft voice, feminine, emotional, gentle, outspoken, proud [Madon, 1997], and cross-dressing; feels like a woman; and excessively emotional and attention seeking [Boysen, Vogel, Madon, & Wester, 2006]). In addition, correlations between transphobia and homonegativity measures have been conducted (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012) and tend to evidence correlations ranging from .50 to .68. Despite this, we recommend evaluating the overlap more closely when considerably more research (e.g., additional studies concerning the stereotypes of transgender men and women that could augment the findings from the present investigation) has been conducted so that, eventually, the "distinctiveness of the variety of anti-LGBT prejudices" can be uncovered (Tebbe & Moradi, 2012).

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