

To Explore the Basis of Prejudice in Gender Conforming Individuals Against Transgender People in the Indian Context

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ABSTRACT

Transphobia and prejudice against trans people is a widely promulgated social phenomenon. In the view of growing psychological and scientific interest in understanding this type of prejudice and its basis, this study aims at identifying perspectives used in contemporary psychological literature, to explain prejudice against trans individuals by cisgenders (or gender-conforming individuals) in the Indian Context.

Keywords: Gender, Gender Identity, Cisgender, Transphobia, Trans Prejudice

Psychological Research

The method through which psychologists try to understand how persons and animals act. The psychological study refers to the process (IGNOU, 2017). Psychological research's importance and significance are widely acknowledged in nearly every aspect of human existence. Empirical and theoretical studies have been successfully conducted in the psychological domains of learning, motivation, perception, concept learning, memory, etc. Survey Method of Research and Steps in Survey Construction

According to VandenBos (2015, p. 1054), a survey is a study in which a set of participants is chosen from a population; further, the information about those participants or their views is gathered, measured, and evaluated. The data is often collected through self-report questionnaires or interviews, and the results hence gained can be extrapolated to the entire population. Furthermore, the survey is the most commonly employed form of data collection in social sciences (Neuman, 2014, p. 316). Researchers begin with a survey by posing an applied or theoretical research problem (Neuman, 2014, pp. 320-321). Further, the method of deduction is employed while going ahead with the survey research. Survey questions are formulated by conceptualising the variable(s) and then utilising the same for crafting the survey question(s). Furthermore, the survey questions need to be clear, precise, non-ambiguous and complete. Then, the survey questions are organised, grouped and given a sequence according to the research question, the type of respondent, and the type of survey chosen (mail questionnaire, telephone interview, face-to-face interview, web survey). Further, a plan of action for the recording of data is mapped out. A pilot survey is conducted

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with a small group of respondents similar to the ones who will answer in the final survey. If and when interviewers are employed, they must be familiarised with the questions. Then a representative sample of respondents is chosen. And then, the respondents have to be located (in person, by phone, via mail, or over the Internet). The respondents are given the required instructions before they answer the questionnaire or are interviewed. And after the completion of the questionnaire or interview, they are thanked for their participation. Subsequently, an identifying number is attributed to each sampled respondent, and the same is attached to the questionnaire. Evaluations of the responses provided are done after all the required data is gathered. The original questionnaires are saved and the accumulated data is entered into the computer and the quantitative data is organised and prepared for statistical analysis. The survey method necessitates careful record-keeping and labelling.

Objectives of Psychological Research

The primary goals or objectives of psychological research are to describe, explain, predict and control behaviour (Kumar, 2010). Description involves merely observing a behavioural phenomenon and taking a note of everything about it; while the goal of explanation is to build a theory, highlighting the factors that may underlie and explain the behavioural phenomenon in question. Prediction involves determining what behaviour would occur in future and control involves changing or modifying a behaviour from an undesirable one to one that's more desirable. Lastly, the application of these psychological techniques and principles to more so often directed towards improving the quality of human life.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Gender as a concept is far more complicated than the normative male or female dichotomies, often used in our society. It is a multidimensional concept that includes how an individual perceives themselves, how society perceives them, and the physical reality of their body (Egan & Perry, 2001; Johnson & Repta, 2012). Tate et al. (2013) emphasised that the best way of understanding one's gender identity is in terms of both one's sex category and one's present perception of oneself in relation to social gender categories. They have claimed two main ways in which individual experiences birth-assigned sex categories and current sex identities: cisgender and transgender (Tate et al., 2013).

The terms sex and gender are frequently used interchangeably, despite their distinct connotations. Gender is a social construct that refers to the behaviours and characteristics that are associated with masculinity and femininity in a specific cultural and social environment (Wood & Eagly, 2002). Whereas, the term 'sex' refers to an individual's biological traits as defined by their anatomy and physical attributes at birth (Wood & Eagly, 2002). Gender identity refers to an individual's innate sense of identification as a man, woman, both or neither (Wood & Eagly, 2002). Transgender, according to VandenBos (2015, p. 1102), refers to individuals "having or relating to a gender identity that differs from the culturally determined gender roles for one's birth sex (i.e., the biological sex one was born with) or for one's sex as surgically assigned at birth." On the other hand, individuals who are cisgender have a gender identity that matches the sex they were assigned at birth. Cisgender identification appears to be the most common gender experience profile, and hence defines the vast majority of people (Tate et al., 2013).

The Supreme Court of India on 15 April 2014, passed a historical judgement that recognised transgender people as the "third gender" (Limaye, 2014). National Legal Services Authority v. Union of India (2014, p. 10) described transgender as the "umbrella term for persons

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whose gender identity, gender expression or behaviour does not conform to their biological sex. Transgender may also take in persons who do not identify with their sex assigned at birth, which include Hijras/Eunuchs who describe themselves as “third gender” and they do not identify as either male or female.” There are currently 4.83 lakh transgender people in India (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011).

Social role theory claims that male and female genders have distinct roles as a result of biological, ecological, and social distinctions (Eagly, 1987; Ellemers, 2018; Huang et al., 2018). Over time, the social perceptions of masculinity and femininity have been moulded by these specialised positions. Those ideas are reinforced that perpetuate the stereotypical behavioural characteristics and roles that society deems to attribute to an individual's biological sex, that is, gender-conforming ideas (Spivey et al., 2018; Thomas & Blakemore, 2013). Further, the same authors also mentioned, the gender nonconforming ideas that are contrary to the stereotypical behaviour and roles attributed to the person's biological sex are regularly discouraged. Gender non-conformity refers to the “behaviour that differs from that of others of the same sex or from cultural expectations of male and female behaviour” (VandenBos, 2015).

Numerous correlational studies show that transprejudice is significantly linked with homonegativity (a prejudiced attitude or discriminatory behaviour directed toward a person because of their gender identity), belief in conventional gender role standards, and right-wing authoritarianism (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006). Right-wing authoritarianism, initially proposed by Canadian social psychologist Robert Altemeyer in 1981, identifies political conservatism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism as important predictors of prejudice, racism, and right-wing extremism (VandenBos, 2015, p. 921). Furthermore, the breach of gender roles is highly connected with negative reactions from others. Individuals who defy gender norms are frequently subjected to prejudice and discrimination in social and professional settings (Friedman & Downey, 1999; Li et al., 2016). Because male stereotypes of features and duties are less flexible than female preconceptions, these reactions may be more evident in men showing gender nonconformity (Diekman et al., 2004). However, because of their superior position in patriarchal culture, atypical males may be given the “benefit of the doubt” in some circumstances (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). Regardless of sexual orientation, anyone who does not comply with gender roles might face prejudice (Duncan et al., 2019).

The current research study is investigating the basis of negative attitudes against transgender people, often known as transphobia or transprejudice. Transprejudice is defined as “the negative valuing, stereotyping, and discriminatory treatment of individuals whose appearance and/or identity does not conform to the current social expectations or conventional conceptions of gender” (King et al., 2009, p. 17). Instead, researchers frequently use the word transphobia to highlight the apparent parallels between negative views toward transgender people and homosexuals, which arise from a disdain for their gender non-conforming behaviours and attitudes (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Furthermore, so far, only a few studies have explicitly examined views about transgender individuals, and virtually all of them have been conducted in the United States and Canada (Elischberger et al., 2018). Henceforth, the present study aims to reduce this gap by trying to understand the basis of the negative attitude in the Indian context.

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The survey method was used by Elischberger et al. (2016) to examine the attitudes and behavioural intentions of U.S. adults towards transgender children. Similarly, Barbir et al. (2017) utilised the survey method to understand the behaviours and attitudes to figure out the links between cisgender, heterosexual college students' social contact with transgender people, which was measured by the number of friendships they had. Henceforth, in the present study as well, it was decided to employ the survey method for data collection. This was done to target a larger sample while ensuring better precision in measuring the data collected due to the presence of the standardized stimulus leading to high reliability and elimination of the researcher's bias. Further, the online survey method made it possible to collect data from various geographical locations within the Republic of India.

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

A Survey Research Design was used to measure the extent of prejudice exhibited by cis individuals against trans individuals in the Indian context. A new scale (Prejudice against Trans Individuals, henceforth referred to as the PAT-scale) consisting of a 28-item questionnaire pool and 5 dimensions (Gender Role/ Beliefs, Socialization, Dogmatism, Social Identity and Human Value) was constructed. The items presented were in the form of statements. They were marked on seven-point Likert scale, which ranged from “Strongly Disagree” (accorded the score of 1) to “Strongly Agree” (accorded the score of 7) and indicated the degree to which a respondent agreed or disagreed with the statement presented. A high score on the scale indicated higher prejudice.

Procedure

Construction of the Task

Since the aim of the study was to explore the basis of prejudice in gender conforming individuals (or cisgenders) against trans Individuals, the survey questionnaire was carefully designed on the lines of the already existing scales for measuring prejudice and social psychological theories which explain it in the context of gender. Due to the paucity of literature on the topic at hand, it was decided that a new scale, which specifically measured Trans-Prejudice could be constructed. Each dimension was carefully chosen to portray the plausible causes or factors that form the very basis of prejudice against trans individuals by gender conforming individuals.

The Data for the study was collected by creating a google form, which was circulated across online platforms such as LinkedIn, Reddit, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. Informed consent was taken from all participants and voluntary participation was ensured. All ethical codes of conduct were duly followed and privacy of each respondent was maintained. Adequate information regarding the trans gender community and the eligibility criteria of the study (which included anyone who identified as a cisgender between the age of 18-55yrs and has Indian Citizenship) was provided in the form.

Once the data was collected, the results were analysed using SPSS software. A reliability analysis was performed and Cronbach's Alpha was calculated to test the reliability of the scale. Results were interpreted and conclusions were drawn from the sample.

Sample

Convenient or accidental sampling approach was used to invite/recruit participants for the study. A total of 234 cis-gender individuals, between the ages of 18-55, participated in the

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survey research. Most of the respondents were college going women currently pursuing under graduation.

RESULTS

Table-1 Total Reliability of the scale

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.933	28

Table-2 Dimension-wise reliability

Dimension-1 (GRB)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.885	7

Table-3 Dimension-2 (Socialisation)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.951	5

Table-4 Dimension-3 (Dogmatism)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.770	6

Table-5 Dimension-4 (Social Identity)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.920	5

Table-6 Dimension-5 (Human Value)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.865	5

Table 7 Dimension-wise descriptives

Dimensions	Maximum Possible Score	Mean Score Obtained	Standard Deviation	Skewness	Number of Items
Gender Role/Beliefs	49	13.28	7.61	1.51	7
Socialisation	35	8.37	5.46	2.03	5
Dogmatism	42	9.00	4.42	3.09	6
Social Identity	35	6.15	3.17	4.72	5
Human Value	35	5.85	3.09	5.80	5

**High Score Indicates Higher Prejudice*

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Demographics

Figure 1

Gender
234 responses

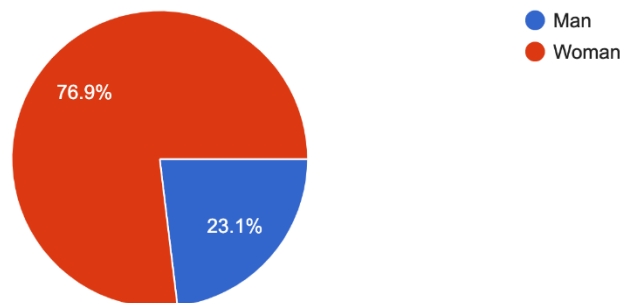


Figure 2

Age
234 responses

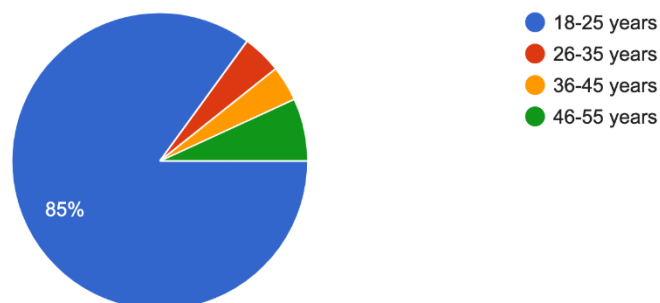
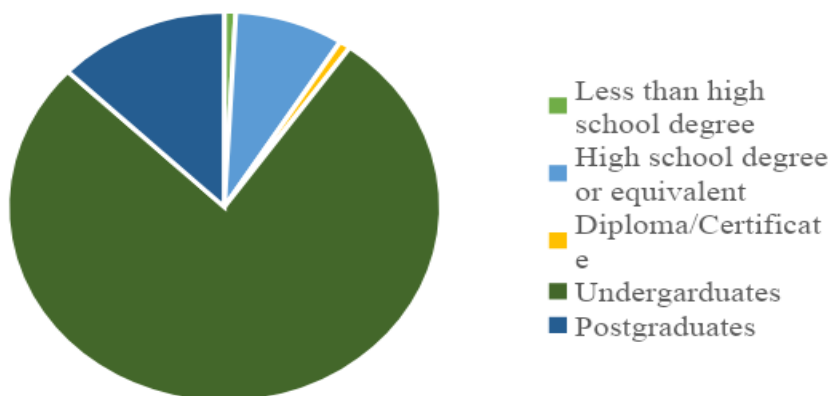


Figure 3 Level of Education of the Participants



DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to explore the basis of prejudice in gender conforming individuals against transgender people in the Indian context. A newly designed survey questionnaire scale was developed to measure the extent of prejudice exhibited by cis

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genders, falling between the age groups of 18-55, against trans individuals living in India. The scale consisted of a 28-item questionnaire pool which was further divided into 5 dimensions namely: - 1) Gender Roles/Beliefs; 2) Socialisation; 3) Dogmatism; 4) Social Identity; and 5) Human Value. The items presented were in the form of statements. They were marked on seven-point Likert scale, which ranged from “Strongly Disagree” (accorded the score of 1) to “Strongly Agree” (accorded the score of 7) and indicated the degree to which a respondent agreed or disagreed with the statement presented. A high score on the scale indicated higher prejudice.

The seriousness of the problems associated with transgender prejudice cannot be understated. Not only are transgender individuals harassed at a high rate in school and at work, but are also denied equal treatment at times when critical care is needed, such as at hospitals, domestic violence shelters, and when turning to public servants such as police (Grant et al., 2011). A proper measurement scale to assess the levels of transgender prejudice can help evaluate the success of programs or interventions aimed at lessening the problems associated with transgender prejudice in the society. However, few of the existing transgender prejudice scales correctly tap into transgender prejudice. Instead, current scales are narrow in scope, measuring only part of the causes that underlie transgender prejudice, or generalize too much to other attitudinal targets (such as the LGBTQIA+ community).

The goal of this study was to create a scale that will more accurately and reliably capture the ways in which prejudice is expressed towards transgender individuals. Because the scales that currently exist to measure transgender prejudice may be methodologically flawed, it is difficult to know whether a given study that attempts to measure, correlate, or reduce levels of transgender prejudice is accurately measuring the proper construct. A properly designed scale can not only contribute to the nascent field of transgender prejudice research, but also allow researchers to trust that the construct they are measuring is the construct they wish to measure.

The present study focused on taking trans prejudice “the negative valuing, stereotyping, and discriminatory treatment of individuals whose appearance and/or identity does not conform to the current social expectations or conventional conceptions of gender” (King, Winter, & Webster, 2009, pg. 20) as the variable to be assessed and measured in gender conforming individuals against trans individuals living in India. Due to the paucity of literature on the topic at hand, it was decided that a new scale (Prejudice against Trans Individuals, henceforth referred to as the PAT-scale), which specifically measured Trans-Prejudice could be constructed. Each dimension was carefully chosen to portray the plausible causes or factors that form the very basis of prejudice against trans individuals by gender conforming individuals.

The first dimension - ‘Gender Roles/ Beliefs’ at its core, represents a set of essentialist belief systems, that promulgates the idea that certain traits are biologically based, immutable, informative, and discrete (Bastian & Haslam, 2006). Individuals who have essentialist gender beliefs view sex chromosomes, represented by the set of genitalia present at birth, as biologically tied to one’s gender identity. These individuals would also believe that gender is an unchanging characteristic, and that a person will be born, live, and die, all with the same gender. This would further shape their gender identity (an individual’s innate sense of identification as a man, woman, both or neither) (Wood & Eagly, 2002). Furthermore, those who essentialize gender roles would base evaluations of a person’s inherent abilities, likes,

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dislikes, and other traits on that person's sex assigned at birth. An example would be deciding that a person likes the color pink, likes to sew, and does not know anything about cars, because that person happens to be a woman. In this way, essentializing gender roles may work to deny transgender individuals their gender identity, with those high in essentialism evaluating transgender individuals not as men born women or women born men, but as women dysfunctionally acting like men and men dysfunctionally acting like women. This dimension consisted of a total of 7 items, presented in statement form, and aimed to assess the degree to which strong gender conforming beliefs attribute to the development of negative attitudes in essentialist individuals towards people who don't conform or fit into these conventional gender roles (in this case trans individuals).

The second dimension- 'Socialization' (a continuing process whereby an individual acquires a personal identity and learns the norms, values, behavior, and social skills appropriate to his or her social position, Albert Bandura, 1963), aimed to measure how previous exposure to and familiarity with a gender neutral environment determined the extent to which a cisgender person is comfortable being in the vicinity of trans individual in different domains in life. This dimension represented the idea that, if cis individuals hold prejudice towards trans individuals, they will feel less comfortable operating in the same physical or social space as trans individuals (Bogardus, 1925). This underlying theory makes socialisation and social proximity an appropriate measure of trans prejudice due to how trans prejudice manifests in people who are not familiar with a gender-neutral environment. This dimension consisted of a total of 5 items.

The third dimension- 'Dogmatism', Milton Rokeach (1948, 1960) represents another approach that explains prejudice. It focuses on cognitive styles, specifically 'a generalised syndrome of intolerance called dogmatism or closed-mindedness' which is characterised by isolation of contradictory belief systems from one another, resistance to belief change in the light of new information and appeals to authority to justify the correctness of existing beliefs. For example: a person who grew up with staunch evangelical or religious beliefs might be driven by perceptions and cognitive styles that argue that the attitude-target (a trans individual in this case) is violating their religion's value system and this often leads to the development of a negative attitudes towards the target individual (Herek, 1987; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). As such, individuals who are higher in religiosity may express more prejudiced attitudes toward transgender people due to increased belief in, and adherence to, specific doctrinal ordinances against gender variant behavior (Finlay & Walther, 2003; Whitley, 2009). They are more likely to feel validated in expressing transprejudice (Norton & Herek, 2013; Willoughby et al., 2010). Scales devised to measure these cognitive styles have good reliability, correlate well with other measures of prejudice and have been used extensively Rokeach (1960). This dimension consisted of a total of 6 items.

The fourth dimension- 'Social Identity', is based on the theory of intergroup conflict, and has been extensively used to explain prejudiced gender attitudes and discriminatory behaviors by moving away from an individual or interpersonal approach to a focus on social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A social group is defined as a collection of individuals who classify themselves as members of the same social category; people in a social group achieve social consensus about the evaluations of their group and group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity consists of an individual's self-concept which derives from his or her membership in one or more groups, including gender, ethnicity, occupation, and sexual orientation groups (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) Luhtanen and

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Crocker (1992). Tajfel and Turner (1986) put forward some assumptions of this theory. People strive for a positive social identity, which is determined through favorable comparisons between the ingroup, or one's own group, and the relevant outgroups, or the groups to which a person does not belong. Individuals perceive their ingroup as distinct in positive ways from relevant outgroups. If the positive distinctiveness of the ingroup is threatened by the relevant outgroup, people in the dominant ingroup may try to do everything possible to maintain their superiority, which can include negative attitudes or violent behaviors toward the relevant outgroup. The current study used SIT to help explain. There has been little previous research using SIT to explain trans prejudice. However, homosexuality and transgenderism are both violations of traditional gender norms, and Nagoshi et al. (2008) found that sexual prejudice was significantly correlated with transprejudice. Therefore, the findings of research examining attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women can be cautiously used to make predictions about the factors that influence attitudes toward transpeople. Abrams, Carter, and Hogg (1989) were the first researchers to use SIT (social identity theory) to help understand prejudice based on sex or gender. Abrams et al. (1989) stated that SIT assumes that when a comparison is made between ingroup and outgroup members, ingroup members will feel threatened if the outgroup has similar characteristics to the ingroup, as the similarity threatens the ingroup distinctiveness. Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny (2009) examined the relationship between sexual prejudice and heterosexual men's need to maintain a positive and distinct gender self-esteem (i.e., the importance of gender to a person's self-identity), and explained that relationship using SIT. As discussed previously, SIT proposes that group members are motivated to perceive their ingroup as distinct in positive ways from the relevant outgroups. Gay men, the relevant outgroup, share the same biological sex category with heterosexual men. Therefore, this relevant outgroup threatens heterosexual men's ingroup identity by threatening the positive distinctiveness of the ingroup. Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny (2009) indicated that according to SIT and previous research findings (e.g., Herek, 1986, 1987), heterosexual men, more than heterosexual women, should derive their gender self-esteem from their group membership as a heterosexual man. Heterosexual men then have to struggle more than heterosexual women to differentiate their group from homosexuals and maintain their positive distinctiveness. This may result in heterosexual men's higher levels of sexual prejudice than heterosexual women. This dimension consisted of a total of 5 items, presented in statement form, and aimed to assess the degree to which strong social identity and ingroup and outgroup beliefs may attribute to the development of negative attitudes in groups of gender conforming individuals towards people or groups who don't conform these conventional gender roles (in this case trans individuals).

The fifth and the last dimension- 'Human Value, represents the values and virtues that guide us to take into account the human element when we interact with other human beings. For example, respect, acceptance, consideration, appreciation, listening, openness, affection, empathy and love towards other human beings. The present study aimed to hypothesize that the degree to which a person believes in the principles of human value would further determine whether they humanize the existence of trans individuals or not (the theory of basic human values attempts to measure universal values that are recognized throughout all major cultures). People who value following dogmatic religious and societal principles over basic human values are more likely to view transgender people as less human, which leads to more prejudice and support for discriminatory public policies. This dimension consisted of a total of 5 items, presented in statement form, and aimed to assess the degree to which

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strong human values of kindness, equality and compassion may account for less negative attitudes, in this case trans individuals.

The Data for the study was collected by creating a google form, which was circulated across online platforms such as LinkedIn, Reddit, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. Informed consent was taken from all participants and voluntary participation was ensured. All ethical codes of conduct were duly followed and privacy of each respondent was maintained. Adequate information regarding the trans gender community and the eligibility criteria of the study (which included anyone who identified as a cisgender between the age of 18-55yrs and has Indian Citizenship) was provided in the form. Once the data was collected, the results were sent for expert validation and analysed using SPSS software. A reliability analysis was performed and Cronbach's Alpha was calculated to test the reliability of the scale.

The results indicated that the total reliability of the scale, consisting of 234 responses on a 28-item questionnaire pool, was observed to be high - (0.93) (refer Table-1). The dimension-wise reliability was also observed to be high. As can be seen in Table-3, the inter-dimension reliability is the highest for Socialization (0.95); followed by (Table -5) Social identity (0.92); then (Table-2) Gender roles and beliefs (0.88); then (Table-6) Human Value (0.86); and lastly (Table-4) Dogmatism (0.77).

Furthermore, the descriptive statistics reported an overall lower prejudice, with mean score obtained on each dimension being (refer Table-7): GRB (13 on a total score of 49); S1(8 on a total score of 35); D1 (9 on a total score of 42); SI (6 on a total score of 35); and lastly HV (5.8 on a total score of 35). It was also observed that most of the responses obtained were positively skewed on all dimensions (Table-7) which indicated lower levels of prejudice in the sample taken. Furthermore, most of the respondents were women (refer Figure-1) - accounting for 76.9% of the respondents and 23.1% were men. Around 85% (Figure-2,3) of the respondents were observed to be college going students between the age group of 18-25 yrs , pursuing undergraduate. Gender and Age Differences were also observed with women and young adults reporting less prejudiced responses than compared to adult males.

Various trends were observed in the data with people responding similarly and relatively lower on Dogmatism, Social Identity and Human Value dimensions indicating less resistant cognitive styles, broader ingroup and outgroup outlook and strong human values. However, the responses were reversed in case of Dimension-2 (Socialization) (due to the nature of the questions) indicating that more exposure to and familiarity with a gender-neutral environment, as in case of young adults, accounts for lesser trans prejudice. Further, the data was found to be relatively less skewed on the Gender roles and beliefs dimension indicating the persistence of essentialist gender beliefs in the sample population.

Learning outcomes

The present study followed a survey research design to measure the extent of prejudice exhibited by cis individuals against trans individuals in the Indian context. Surveys are an important tool to quickly gather large scale data on a wide variety of topics. Large samples of the population may be gathered with the use of surveys. They are also great for collecting demographic information on the sample's make-up (McIntyre, 1999, p.74). It allows the researchers to gather a large quantity of data relatively quickly and cost effectively. In addition, surveys can elicit information about attitudes that would otherwise be impossible

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to quantify using other research methods (McIntyre, 1999, p.75). Since the study aimed at investigating a particular the characteristic/variable from the sample population (which is tranprejudice in this case) this method served as an appropriate research tool to observe certain trends in the data, and ask specific questions about demographics, beliefs, opinions, gender, sex, religion, and experiences relevant for investigating the topic at hand.

A number of strengths are evident in this study that should be highlighted. First, this study contributes to the awareness of factors that affect prejudice and violence toward trans people which in turn can lead to more effective interventions to decrease trans prejudice and violence. Second, most previous studies of transprejudice have been conducted on Western samples, whereas this study used college students and adult working men and women between the ages of 18-55yrs, from India to examine trans prejudice.

Several limitations of the current study should also be noted. The first limitation is that most of the respondents of this study were college students from India, so the age range was limited to 18-25 years mostly. Also, the sample was predominately from upper-middle- and middle-class individuals which further restricted the intersectionality generalizability of the results. Third, transprejudice may also exist among gay men, lesbian women, bisexual people and other members of the LGBTQIA+ community and not just cis gendered individuals.

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Conflict of Interest

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