ADULTS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENDER:

A LIFESPAN Q METHODOLOGICAL STUDY

by

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Abstract

Recent qualitative research suggests that adults' understandings and views about gender are complex and multidimensional. Nevertheless, many quantitative gender measures employ unidimensional scales that rank participants along a single dimension, such as liberal/egalitarian to conservative/traditional. In order to explore complexities of gender understandings, this study explored adults' constructions of gender using Q methodology. A diverse sample of 180 urban Canadian adults from three age groups (20-39, 40-59, and 60 and over) completed the main phase of the study. Participants sorted a set of 61 statements in a specified distribution from "most agree" to "most disagree". The 61 statements focused on gender theories, gender in children, gender in adults, sexuality, transgender, and intersex. Principal components analysis with oblique rotation was used to identify five distinct perspectives on gender: Gender Diversity, Social Essentialism, Biological Progressive, Gender Minimizing, and Different But Equal. These perspectives were interpreted based on patterns of Q-sort responses and interviews with representative participants. The five perspectives combined divergent understandings of gender with varied responses to gender conformity and nonconformity. Almost one quarter of participants' Q-sorts combined two or more perspectives and approximately 10% of participants' Q-sorts reflected none of these perspectives. The complexity of participants' perspectives suggest that unidimensional inventories may fail to identify important differences in participants' understandings, assumptions and attitudes about gender-related issues. In addition, responses to gender nonconformity were important in differentiating perspectives. Therefore instruments that include a narrow range of gendered behaviour risk overlooking these distinctions in adults' gender constructions. Finally, the substantial overlap in policies advocated by the Biological Progressive and Gender Diversity perspectives suggests potential for coalition-building across perspectives to challenge gender-based oppression.

Keywords: Gender, Social Construction, Intersex, Transgender, Sexuality

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Introduction

Gender is one of the key constructs that structure social life (e.g., Butler, 2004; Kessler & McKenna, 1978). Since gender is linked to biology, it can appear to generate ostensibly natural categories such as male and female that necessitate particular social arrangements or practices (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). However, gender constructions and practices are situated in specific cultural and historical contexts. Social practices related to gender differ across cultures, as do beliefs, ideologies and understandings of gender. For example, cultural constructions of gender are not always limited to the binary categories of female and male. Some cultures recognize three or four gender categories (e.g., Mahalingam, 2003; Nanda, 1986; Schnarch, 1992). Moreover, whereas within some cultures, gender categories and sexual practices are viewed as distinct, within other cultures or subcultures, sexual practices are embedded in cultural gender constructions and may define individuals' ascribed gender categories (Cardoso, 2005). In addition to cross-cultural differences, constructions of gender change over time. For instance, shifting demands for labour and political organizing have accompanied changes to discourse and policies pertaining to women (particularly middle-class White women) working outside the home (Connelly & MacDonald, 1991).

Subjectivity is shaped by cultural and historical contexts. That is, individuals' ways of experiencing, conceptualizing and talking about aspects of social life, including gender, are shaped by the currently dominant constructions and discourses of their own culture, and particularly by implicit, taken for granted assumptions and beliefs

(Gergen, 1999; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Kitzinger, 1987). Social constructionism emphasizes the ways in which both patterns of social relations and discourses about social life shape individual subjectivity (Gergen, 1999; 2001). These cultural constructions affect individuals' expectations and interpretations of social experiences, the boundaries they perceive between conformity and transgression, and the criteria determining inclusion and exclusion in social categories and groups (Butler, 2004; Ho, 1995; Kitzinger, 1987; Udvardy & Cattell, 1992). For instance, even physiological gender- and age-related changes such as menopause have different manifestations and meanings that are related to cultural constructions of gender and of aging (Udvardy, 1992).

Despite the powerful impact of dominant discourses in shaping ways of thinking and talking, within a given cultural context at a particular point in time, multiple constructions, understandings and interpretations of the meanings of constructs such as gender often coexist (e.g., Hunter & Davis, 1994; Kitzinger, 1987, Snelling, 1999). Gendered social practices are currently challenged and contested internationally, including Canada (e.g., Franzway, 1999; Gurevich, 2001; Miller, 2004; Prentice, 2000; Wilkinson, 2004). Individuals' constructions of gender within a given cultural context depend on other social locations, including cultural background, race/ethnicity, immigration status, social class, sexual orientation, disability, and age/cohort (e.g., Hunter & Davis, 1994; Hyman et al., 2004; Kim, LaRoche, & Tomiuk, 2004).

Age is an important aspect of social location, and may be an important facet of identity and social group membership, in terms of both chronological age (e.g., young adulthood), and in terms of generation or cohort. The meanings, expectations and power

relations that are characteristic of particular ages depend on gender, just as the meanings, expectations and power relations associated with gender vary with age (Belsky, 1992; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lee, 1994; Miner-Rubino, Winter, & Stewart, 2004; Stewart & Ostrove, 1998). Further, cohort membership affects the dominant practices and discourses related to gender that individuals experience in various contexts, such as workplaces, education systems, and families during childhood, adolescence, and when parenting, with different degrees of gender differences in opportunities experienced by different cohorts (Helson, Stewart & Ostrove, 1995; Zuo, 2004).

In addition, both age and cohort intersect with other social categories, shaping gender constructions in multiple ways. Historical events and changing social structures affect individuals differently depending on dimensions of their social location as well as their age when social structures are in place. For instance, race and class moderated cohort effects on gender and employment in North America in the twentieth century, with the 'housewife' role more available to White middle-class women (e.g., Stewart & Ostrove, 1998). Working class women and women of colour were more likely to have paid employment, whether or not they were married (hooks, 1984; Polatnick, 1996; Rubin, 1994). In addition, specific historical events have different impacts depending on social location. For example, culturally–specific social policies such as residential schools have resulted in long term negative effects on individuals and communities, changes to family structures, and patterns of resilience specific to First Nations families (Fuller-Thomson, 2005). In particular, many First Nations grandparents, particularly grandmothers, are raising their grandchildren because of adjustment problems of their children, who experienced residential schools. Thus, the disproportionate burden of

unpaid work, including housework and childcare, that women often confront is extended

for grandmothers raising their grandchildren. In addition, First Nations grandparents

raising grandchildren raise more children, and spend more hours per week on unpaid

childcare than other grandparents raising their grandchildren, and are more likely to do so

in conditions of poverty and disability (Fuller-Thomson, 2005).

Historical changes, coupled with the cultural meanings associated with these ·

changes, may also affect how gender is understood and enacted. However, research on

the psychology of gender-related beliefs, attributes and understandings has paid little

attention to contextual factors, including age (Harris, 1994; McGee & Wells, 1982).

Research on gender-related traits, attitudes and beliefs has typically reported on

undergraduate students, contributing to a focus on young adulthood that is assumed to be

applicable to all adults (Twenge, 1997a).

One approach to adult development and gender that specifically addresses

age/cohort is theory and research on life tasks. The concept of the social clock refers to a

schedule of life events and the ages they are expected to occur; the theorized schedules

have differed for women and for men (e.g., Neugarten, 1964). An adaptation of this

approach viewed adult development in terms of normative life tasks, such as parenting,

rather than age (Gutmann, 1987). Theory and research on gender development in the

context of life tasks has suggested that gendered behaviour is not fixed but changes

across the adult lifespan. Gutmann argued that changes in gender-related attributes and

practices were necessary and inevitable. In particular, strictly gendered divisions of

labour, roles and psychological traits were theorized as necessary during parenting (the

parental imperative), followed by increasing similarity during older adulthood (post

parental imperative) (Gutmann, 1987; McGee & Wells, 1982; Sinnott & Shifren, 2001). Empirical research has been mixed on the extent to which gender polarity increases during parenting and decreases in later life (James, Lewkowicz, Libhaber, & Lachman, 1995).

Although life task approaches take into account the range of ages at which individuals make important life transitions (e.g., birth of first child), life task theories only apply to individuals who complete the specified life tasks, and in the most commonly observed order. They exclude single people, people in nonmonogamous relationships, people who do not participate in paid work, people in same-sex relationships, people who do not have children, etc. These exclusions exaggerate similarities among women and among men, and further construct gender as polarized by removing individuals leading less conventional (or less privileged) lives who would be less likely to support the identified patterns. The use of relatively homogeneous, White, middle-class, college-educated samples in supporting research contributes to the minimization of variability within genders. Finally, life task approaches do not explicitly examine how individuals subjectively make sense of gender.

A second approach to adult development and gender is to examine age and gender patterns in self-reported personality traits. Several studies have explored age differences in conventional measures of gender-related traits: the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974) or Extended Personal Attributes Questionnaire (EPAQ; Spence Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979). The BSRI, PAQ and EPAQ are self-report scales comprised of lists of personality traits that have been rated as differentially socially desirable in women or

men. Sinnott (1984) reported that older women and men (aged 60 years and older) were more alike than different, based on their self-reported BSRI scores, with no mean gender differences in either masculinity (BSRI-M) or femininity (BSRI-F) scales. In a ten-year longitudinal study, Hyde, Krajnik, and Skuldt-Niederberger (1991) found moderate stability in gender-role category (feminine, masculine, androgyny, or differentiated) based on a modified version of the BSRI. Patterns of change did not support the parental imperative theory of gender intensification in young to middle adulthood followed by greater androgyny in later adulthood. The highest proportion of women categorized as masculine was among the middle-aged participants, and the highest proportion of men categorized as feminine was among the youngest participants. Finally, Diehl, Owen, and Youngblade (2004) reported both age and gender differences in the attributes participants generated to describe themselves, in a community sample of 158 women and men from 20 to 88 years of age. Young and middle-aged adults described themselves using more agentic traits, which are associated with masculinity, than older adults, and men described themselves using more agentic traits than women. Middle-aged and older adults described communal traits as more central to their self-image than younger adults, as did women in comparison with men.

It is possible that cohort-related changes may have contributed to the patterns of traits reported over time. Twenge (1997b) conducted a meta analysis in order to evaluate cohort differences in college students' BSRI and PAQ scores. Across 63 samples of data collected between 1973 and 1995, Twenge reported an increase in young women's masculinity scores (BSRI-M and PAQ-M scores) and an increase in young men's BSRI

masculinity and femininity scores (BSRI-M and BSRI-F) over time. Cohort comparisons among older adults' PAQ or BSRI scores have not been reported.

In order to minimize the effects of cohort-related differences, Puglisi (1983) used a prospective-retrospective design in which young, middle-age and older adults completed the BSRI, rating themselves at ages 20, 45 and 70. Participants rated themselves in the past, present, or future, depending on their current age and the target age. In all three age groups, participants did not differ in their BSRI-F ratings according to target age. However, their BSRI-M scores were higher when the target age was 45 than either age 20 or age 70. McCreary (1990) used a similar methodology, but based upon specified life tasks (work, parenting and retirement). Elderly adults completed the PAQ with respect to their current attributes and recalling their attributes upon first entering the workforce and when their first child was six months old. Young adults completed the PAQ with respect to their current attributes and their predicted attributes during parenting and retirement. The older adults rated both the M scale and the F scale lowest at work entry. The young adults rated both the F scale and the M scale lowest at present and highest in parenthood. No gender by context interactions were found. Adams, Steward, Morrison and Farquhar (1991) also found that young adults' anticipated gender-related attributes varied by context rather than gender, except in the area of personal relationships, in which women's ratings of their expected attributes were higher on the femininity scale than were men's ratings. Although prospective/retrospective studies are somewhat difficult to interpret, these results suggest that, for both young and older adults, constructions of personality traits in the context of particular roles do not necessarily vary systematically by gender and age. Finally, Blanchard-Fields and Friedt (1988) found

evidence that androgyny was more related to life satisfaction among older adults than among young or middle aged adults. The relationship between gender-related traits and satisfaction depended on the context; higher scores on the BSRI-M scale predicted greater job satisfaction, and the strength of this relationship increased with age.

The BSRI and the PAQ were developed based on commonly held associations between personality traits and gender. However, gender role category on the PAQ and BSRI has not been consistently correlated with measures of gender-role ideologies or attitudes, and when such an association has been found, the association has been attributable to the BSRI items 'masculine' and 'feminine' (e.g., Ballard-Reisch and Elton, 1992; Spence, 1993). Thus, self-reports of gender-linked personality traits do not reliably predict other types of beliefs and attitudes about gender.

Further, although aspects of gender constructions, such as instrumental vs. expressive personality traits, may be culturally shared, the content of gender roles, that is, the specific behaviours considered appropriate for women and for men, are numerous and vary across time (Ballard-Reisch and Elton, 1992), race/ethnicity/cultures (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Harris, 1994; Hunter & Davis, 1992) and sexual orientations (Case, 1993; Faderman, 1992). Although individuals may agree that particular traits are associated with masculinity or femininity within their own culture at a particular point in time, these traits may not be the most important dimensions in their own subjective constructions of gender (Bem, 1993; Spence, 1993). The conflicting evidence on the relationship between age and measures of gender-linked attributes may be due to quantitative modeling of gender change, which does not allow for the possibility that the meanings of femininity and masculinity may change with age and time (Sedney, 1985). It is possible that

participants may think about gender in ways not predicted by the investigator, or that some participants may interpret scale items in different ways than scoring systems assume they do. For instance, as noted above, Ballard-Reisch and Elton (1992) found no consistent agreement that any of the BSRI items represented masculine or feminine attributes, except for the items 'masculine' and 'feminine'. The lack of consensus on the gender orientation of the personality traits may have reflected a history or cohort effect, as the research was conducted almost 20 years after the BSRI was developed. It is also possible that participants in older studies did not interpret items in the same way as the scale scoring assumed. Recent work on White middle-class (Fischer & Good, 1998; Thompson & Pleck, 1986), heterosexual (Herek, 1986), Black (Hunter & Davis, 1992), and White working-class masculinities (Fine, Weis, Addelston, & Marusza, 1997) and on femininity and masculinity (Hort, Fagot & Leinbach, 1990; Leaper, 1995) has demonstrated both commonalities and differences between individuals' constructions, and multidimensionality within individuals' constructions of femininity and masculinity, which trait measures do not address.

A third approach to examining adult development and constructions of gender has been to examine age/cohort differences in gender-related attitudes. For instance, in a study of college students and their mothers and grandmothers, Dambrot, Papp, and Whitmore (1984) compared participants' scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS), a unidimensional scale of gender-egalitarian attitudes (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Greater age was associated with more conservative attitudes, over and above the variance attributable to education. A similar pattern was found with a multi-generational sample of Mexican American women (Markides & Vernon, 1984). Older women's

ratings on a seven-item scale reflected more traditional attitudes than the ratings of younger or middle aged women. In contrast, no age differences in gender-related attitudes were found among a sample of 17- to 66-year-old Northern Australian women and men (Niles, 1994). In a study of heterosexual married couples, Keith and Schafer (1987) found evidence for more traditional attitudes about women's roles (measured with a three-item scale) among a sample of older couples who did not have children living at home than among a sample of the younger couples who had at least one child under 18 living in the home. All three studies used cross sectional designs, therefore cohort effects rather than age changes may have accounted for the more traditional attitudes expressed by the older participants.

Cohort changes reflecting increasingly egalitarian attitudes regarding gender, as measured by the AWS, have been reported among cohorts of college students from the 1970s to the 1990s (Spence and Hahn, 1997; Twenge, 1997a). A similar trend of increasingly egalitarian attitudes has also been reported using the General Social Survey, a representative multi-cohort national United States survey of social attitudes that includes items about gender roles (e.g., Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Ciabattari, 2001; Peltola, Milkie, & Presser, 2004).

Additional measures have attempted to take into account subtler aspects of gender-related attitudes (Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997). These scales are able to address aspects of gendered attitudes that are not evident in more traditional attitude scales, however, as unidimensional scales, they are only able to rate participants on a single continuum, and are only useful to the extent that these constructs correspond to participants' perspectives. In addition, a burgeoning of literature on masculinities has

developed including scales measuring attitudes towards men (Walker, Tokar, & Fischer, 2000). This was partly in response to the fact that gender attitudes scales such as the AWS focus on women's roles, leaving men's roles taken for granted, and attitudes toward men unexamined. Few analyses of age/cohort effects have been reported using these newer measures (Calasanti & King, 2005). However, a few studies have examined age/cohort differences on scales measuring gender role conflict, which address the extent to which men report feeling constrained by social gender roles (e.g., Mahalik, Locke, Theodore, Cournoyer, & Lloyd, 2001). A few studies have reported age/cohort differences in some aspects of gender role conflict in homogeneous samples of White middle-class middle-aged and college-aged men. Younger participants reported higher conflict in some areas and middle-aged participants reported higher conflict in other areas (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995). In a U.S. and Australia sample, psychological wellbeing moderated the relation between age/cohort and gender role stress (Mahalik et al., 2001).

A related body of research has examined attitudes toward social groups defined in terms of sexual orientation or gender identity. Few studies have examined perspectives on diverse sexual orientations or gender identities in relation to age or cohort. A number of studies have examined correlates of positive or negative attitudes toward gay men or lesbians (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Older age, male gender, and traditional gender-role ideologies have been associated with more negative views toward gay men and lesbians. Herek (2002) reported on a U.S national survey in which attitudes toward bisexual and homosexual men and women were assessed. Traditional gender roles were associated with negative attitudes toward lesbian, gay, and bisexual people. In addition, older respondents reported more negative attitudes toward bisexual women and men than

younger respondents. Few studies have directly assessed cohort changes in attitudes toward sexual minorities. Loftus (2001) reported that attitudes toward homosexual men and women became more negative through the 1990s, and then more positive subsequently. Canadian data suggests a steadier trend of increasingly more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities (Bibby, 2004), consistent with Canadian legislative changes that have become gradually more inclusive of lesbian and gay adults (Wilkinson, 2004).

Very few studies have addressed perspectives or attitudes toward transgender people in nontransgender samples. Leitenberg and Slavin (1983) reported on attitudes toward transsexualism and homosexuality in a United States university sample. Students expressed less moral condemnation of transsexualism than homosexuality, however, less support for protection from discrimination for transsexuals than homosexuals. In a more recent Swedish national study, Landén and Innala (2000) found only slight age/cohort differences in attitudes towards transgender individuals, with older participants somewhat less likely to agree with gender reassignment surgery or hormones being used. Finally, Kessler (1998) reported views of university students about surgical intervention of intersex infants. Participants' responses differed depending on whether they were taking the role of the parent or the intersex person. The sample in this study was limited to young university students; to my knowledge, perspectives of samples of older adults on intersex have not been reported.

Although attitude scales, such as the AWS, address gender-related beliefs more directly than trait measures, the unidimensional scoring places all items as indicators of liberal/egalitarian versus conservative/traditional values. Several studies suggest that

gender-related attitudes contain more complexity and ambivalence (e.g., Eagly, Diekman, Johannesen-Schmidt & Koenig, 2004; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Goodwin & Fiske, 2001; McCabe, 2005). In addition to the limitations in perspectives that can be reflected in unidimensional scales, the content of gender scale items has typically been quite narrow. Scale items have tended to range from gender conformity to some degree of androgyny. Most assume universal heterosexuality and heterosexual marriage as the basis of family life. Gender nonconformity has generally been neglected (Brownlie, in press). Life task approaches have also focused on the most common life pathways, and paid less attention to lives that are less visible.

Qualitative research methods have been used to document a wider range of gendered lives and gender expressions than is represented in most attitude scales. Several studies have focused on gender nonconformity (Carr, 1998; Devor, 1989; Eves, 2004; Hiestand & Levitt, 2005; Levitt, Gerrish, & Hiestand, 2003; Mathieson & Endicott, 1998). In addition, a few qualitative studies have addressed understandings of gender over time. Sedney (1985) used a qualitative approach to examine the gender constructions of women at three different ages: mid twenties, mid thirties and mid forties. Participants answered open-ended questions about their understandings of gender, femininity, masculinity, gender similarities and differences, and advantages and disadvantages accrued by men and by women. Some of participants' constructions of femininity and masculinity involved characteristics other than psychological traits, including physical characteristics, behaviour or role, and accepting gender as an inherent part of oneself. Women in their mid forties appeared to have more complex views of

gender than younger women, and reported their views on gender to have changed, becoming more flexible with age.

The sample size in this study was quite small (fifteen or fewer per group) and was limited to White, middle-class, presumably heterosexual women who were college students or graduates. Nevertheless, the results of this study are interesting, both in the subjective reports of greater gender flexibility among the women in their forties than younger women, and the diversity in participants' conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Although the open-ended questions avoided pre-defining gender-related characteristics, as is done in most gender inventories, the questions constructed gender as binary, and to some extent, essential (femininity versus masculinity, being a woman versus being a man). Interestingly, between one and three participants in each age group refused to respond to the terms 'feminine' and 'masculine'. Apparently, these participants' constructions of gender were not binary or were not based on gender differences.

Huyck (1996) investigated gender attitudes, beliefs and concepts among White, middle-class high-school students and parents selected because they were "geographically and maritally stable families" (Huyck, 1996, p. 102). Using both gender scales and qualitative interviews, participants reported on their understandings of masculinity and femininity, gender differences, and their own gender-related characteristics. Among this relatively homogeneous sample, participants' self-descriptions represented multiple gender 'styles' that were deemed gender congruent (e.g. 'macho', or 'nurturer'). In addition, participants reported androgynous and gender incongruent styles. Some participants defined themselves as outside of gender

stereotypes, and a smaller number viewed binary gender presentations as artificial or a façade.

Hammond and Mattis (2005) explored meanings of masculinity based on the written responses to open ended questions in a sample of African American men aged 17 to 79. The men in this study defined masculinity in diverse ways, however, responsibility and accountability were the most common themes. In addition, many participants defined manhood in terms of their relationships with others, particularly family and community. Hunter and David (1994) also reported relational elements as important to the constructions of masculinity in an urban community of African American men ranging in age from young to older adulthood.

Qualitative methodologies allow participants to express their points of view with much less constraint than quantitative scales. Participants may express ideas that the researcher may not have anticipated, and can explain and qualify their accounts. Qualitative methods provide rich contextualized data that illuminate the phenomena they study using participants' talk combined with researcher's analysis. Despite their strengths, qualitative methods have limitations. They are intensive, and as such generally involve small samples, which can limit the diversity of respondents. In addition, the data obtained may be limited to the topics participants are interested in and willing to discuss. Participants may avoid sensitive topics that make them uncomfortable. Finally, in the analysis phase, qualitative researchers focus on the patterns that make most sense to themselves, and may overlook combinations of ideas that are not initially clear or apparently connected.

One method that combines the strengths of qualitative and quantitative approaches is Q methodology. Q methodology has as its purpose the systematic study of subjectivity (Brown, 1980). It allows individuals to communicate their own points of view by sorting a series of statements according to the degree to which each statement represents their own perspectives on a particular topic. As with conventional attitude scales, participants assign values to each statement reflecting the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statement. However, the Q-sort procedure also requires participants to rank order the statements (albeit with many ties in the ranking) implicitly comparing each item to all the other items. The quasi-ranking procedure introduces the dimension of importance, in that participants distinguish among statements that may be consistent with their perspectives to a similar degree, identifying subsets of statements that are not only compatible with but also most central to their own views. Unlike conventional attitude scales, the scoring of Q-sort items is not determined in advance. Consequently, statements that appear to the investigator to represent opposing attitudes may be sorted relatively close together by some participants. Others may regard one item as very important and rate the other as neutral. In this way, the investigator leaves the initial interpretation of the items to the participants, allowing them to preserve their own frames of reference (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Q methodology has been used to elucidate multiple perspectives about several topics including women's views on pornography (Senn, 1993) and mathematics (Oswald & Harvey, 2003), among others.

A small number of Q methodological studies have examined questions related to constructions of gender. Breinlinger and Kelly (1994) conducted a Q methodological study on women's responses to gender status inequality. A sample of 50 women aged 22

to 69 (M =37), were recruited thorough college and library advertisements or by other participants. The participants had a range of occupations, however 94% identified as White, and sexual orientation was not reported. Participants sorted 51 statements based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Four perspectives on responses to gender inequality emerged, including two that were not represented in social identity theory. Breinlinger and Kelly also noted that some of the women's responses appeared fragmented and contradictory, and that perspectives to social phenomena may not always be fully developed or consistent.

Snelling (1999) examined women's perspectives on feminism in a sample of Canadian women ranging in age from 17 to 73, with a median age of 25. Approximately half of the women were students, 85% identified as White, and 85% identified as heterosexual. Participants sorted a set of 50 statements based on ten feminist theoretical approaches, including eight distinct feminist theoretical approaches, a post-feminist theoretical approach, and a conservative theoretical approach. A panel of feminist psychologists confirmed that the statements were representative of the corresponding theoretical approaches. Most of the statements focused on the central tenets of each theoretical approach, such as the causes of gender discrimination, rather than general attitudes toward feminism, feminists, or feminist organizations. Women's Q-sort responses reflected six discreet perspectives, including two distinct feminist perspectives, a post-feminist and a conservative perspective, and two additional perspectives.

Hunter and Davis (1992) asked a sample of African American men to rate attributes generated by other participants (Hunter and Davis, 1994) on subjective meanings of manhood. Participants' accounts of the most important attributes of

manhood included communal (responsibility, family, and kindness to others) as well as agentic (sense of self, goal-oriented, and provider) attributes. Although a Q-sort method was used, data were analyzed using cluster analysis, rather than using Q methodological analysis.

Two Q methodological studies examined perspectives related to sexual orientations. Kitzinger (1987) investigated multiple constructions of lesbianism in a · snowball sample of 41 lesbian women ranging in age from 17 to 58 (M =31). The participants had a range of occupations, however, most identified as White and middle class. Participants' constructions of lesbianism were diverse; seven perspectives were identified. This research elucidated the diversity of the meanings of lesbianism among a community sample of lesbians recruited using snowball sampling based on referrals from participants. Several of these perspectives did not correspond to the liberal assumptions underlying scales with items about attitudes toward lesbianism. Further, the diversity of perspectives highlighted the problems in unidimensional scales measuring positive or negative attitudes toward social groups, since there may not be consensus even among group members of what constitutes their group, or what appropriate or ideal attitudes toward their social group might be. For example, using unidimensional attitude scales can result in the situation where lesbian activists might be rated as anti-lesbian because they do not share the liberal assumptions underlying these scales (Kitzinger, 1999).

An earlier study by McKeown and Thomas (1988) investigated attitudes towards homosexual men and women among students and other members of a United States Christian college. Statements were constructed using combinations of three dimensions: direction (pro or con regarding gay rights); dimension (moral or civil); and issues

(consequences, institutional values, behaviour, social pluralism, and minority status). Although the set of statements was carefully collected, the "pro" gay rights statements contained considerable ambivalence. Three perspectives were identified, and very briefly discussed: a pro-tolerance perspective, focusing on human rights; a pro-discrimination approach focusing on homosexuality as immoral; and a third approach that was opposed to discrimination of other groups, but viewed homosexuals as ineligible for human rights protections.

Each of these Q methodological studies elucidated distinct perspectives related to different aspects of gender and sexual identity. Most were specifically focused on women's perspectives, and therefore did not include male participants; one included only male participants. Q methodological studies are not intended to provide accounts of all commonly held perspectives, or to reflect the perspectives of representative samples. Instead, the purpose of Q methodological studies is to identify and illuminate divergent viewpoints. Nevertheless, the perspectives of people underrepresented in these studies would be of interest.

In order to examine young adults' constructions of gendered behaviour, I conducted a Q methodological study with a university sample (Brownlie, in press). The study addressed issues of gender conformity and nonconformity in childhood and adulthood, sexuality, transgender and intersex and gender identity. Participants' constructions of gender conformity and nonconformity reflected four perspectives that were not unidimensional, as would be represented in gender attitude or trait scales. Instead, the perspectives were qualitatively different from each other, and appeared to reflect differences in participants' underlying beliefs about gender as well as gendered

behaviour. The Social Construction perspective represented a view of gender as socially constructed, based on power relationships, and requiring some degree of resistance. The Social Essentialism perspective reflected a view that even though gender-related expectations may be arbitrary, nevertheless they are essential in maintaining the social order as well as facilitating individual interactions. The Biological Essentialism perspective represented a view of gender and gendered behaviour as biologically determined, natural and residing within the individual, gender conformity as natural and positive, and gender nonconformity as deviant and negative. Finally, the Qualified Individualism perspective represented a view of gendered behaviour as personal choice, albeit with serious reservations about behaviour deemed transgressive.

Different forms of gender nonconformity, ambiguity and transgression were important in the four perspectives. Issues such as transgender, intersex and gendered performance tend not be included in trait or attitude gender measures, yet participants from various perspectives reported these were important in their perspectives on gendered behaviour. A few participants referred to representations of gender nonconformity in popular culture, thus the relevance of these aspects of gendered behaviour to North American gender constructions may be increasing.

One of the contextual factors that differentiated the four perspectives was age. Participants who defined the Social Construction perspective were on average older than participants who exemplified the other three perspectives. However, age varied with other contextual factors, including sexual identity. Older participants were more likely to identify themselves as lesbian, gay or bisexual, and were more likely to have been recruited to participate in the study through student groups focused on gender issues.

Younger participants were more likely to identify themselves as heterosexual, and to have been recruited through introductory psychology classes. This was an artefact of the selection methods, and thus it was not possible to isolate the role of age/cohort.

In the present study, I use Q methodology to explore constructions of gender across the adult life span using a cross section of adult age/cohort groups within an urban Canadian context. The research was conducted during a time of significant social change within Canada. In particular, debate and legislative change to broaden the definition of marriage to include same sex couples were debated and passed during the years the research was conducted. As a result, gender, sexuality, and family structure were foregrounded in Canadian politics, while constant media coverage brought these issues into broad public awareness (Wilkinson, 2004).

This study adds to the Q methodological literature on gender perspectives. First, in order to examine potential relationships or patterns between age/cohort and constructions of gender, and to include the perspectives of adults over the age of 30, participants were selected from three age groups: 20 to 40, 40 to 60, and over 60 years of age. Second, in order to increase the range of perspectives included in the study as much as possible, participants were selected from outside the University context, and I endeavoured to recruit as diverse a sample as possible in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, sexual identity/orientation, and social class, and parenting status, including non parents and parents of children across a wide range of ages, including adults. Finally, the study items include a broad range of gender issues including diverse sexualities, transgender and intersex, in order to more broadly address how gender was understood within urban Canada at the beginning of the twenty first century.

Method

Overview

The Q-sort used in the main phase of the study was constructed based in part on the Q-sort on constructions of gender conformity and nonconformity that I previously used with a university sample of young adults (Brownlie, in press). The Q-sort was revised in Pilot Studies 1, 2, and 3. Pilot Study 1 consisted of a mail-out version of the young adult Q-sort, in order to ascertain to what extent the Q-sort content, statements and method would be accessible to a community sample with a wide range of ages/cohorts. Pilot Study 2 consisted of an interview about gender issues, and a pilot of the amended Q-sort. Pilot Study 3 was a final check on the newly revised Q-sort statements and study procedures. A larger sample of participants completed the main study Q-sort. Based on their responses, a subset of participants representing distinct perspectives also participated in a follow-up. Follow-up participants completed the Q-sort for a second time, in order to allow test-retest correlations to be calculated. They also completed an interview in which they further elaborated their perspectives. All phases of the study were conducted in Toronto, Canada.

Pilot Study 1

The purpose of Pilot Study 1 was to test the Q-sort procedures and items used in the young adult study (YAS) with a community sample. Participants were recruited for Pilot Study 1 using a snowball sampling technique, in which each participant was asked

to suggest three others who could be contacted and invited to participate in the study. Each participant was asked to suggest individuals whose opinions might differ from their own, if possible. However, this sampling technique was unsuccessful beyond second-order referrals. Of the 18 individuals who agreed to complete the sort, only 13 returned the completed study, and several did not suggest additional potential participants. Few participants who were not acquainted with either myself or a mutual friend completed the study.

The 13 participants (7 women and 6 men) who completed Pilot Study 1 ranged in age from 20 to 68 (M = 46.38, SD = 16.87, median = 42). Ten of the 13 participants described their sexual orientation as heterosexual, 2 as lesbian or gay, and 1 as bisexual. All had completed at least some college or university, and 7 had completed some postgraduate education. Gender and sexual orientation of participants at each phase of the study is shown in Table 1. Ethnicity or cultural background of participants at each phase of the study is shown in Table 2.

The Q-sort used in Pilot Study 1 was a mail-out version of the Q-sort used in the YAS. The Q-sort consisted of 75 statements, and is described in more detail in Brownlie (1999). Participants were sent a set of statements and a diagram indicating the number of statements to be placed in each category. Detailed instructions were provided. I contacted potential participants by telephone. If they agreed to participate, I mailed the Q-sort with written instructions. Return postage was provided. Participants could contact me by telephone if they had questions or had difficulty completing the sort. Pilot 1 participants also completed a demographics questionnaire (see Appendix A). The instructions requested that participants complete the Q-sort before the demographics questionnaire.

All participants who completed the Q-sort filled in the forms correctly. However, a few reported difficulty completing the sort, especially given the large number of items (75). Some participants also identified particular items that were ambiguous or otherwise difficult to sort.

Table 1. Gender and Sexual Orientation by Study Phase

	Study Phase				
	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Main	Follow-up
Gender					
Female	7	4	4	88	5
Male	6	4	3	82	10
Transgender (FtM)[a]				3	
Transgender (MtF) or female, previously MtF		1		3	
Intersex			1	1	
Gender Neutral/ Epicene				3	1
Gay			1		
Sexual Orientation					
Bisexual	1		1	10	2
Heterosexual	10	7	6	137	11
Lesbian/Gay	2		1	20	2
Two Spirited				1	
Other		2	1	1	1
Not stated				11	

[a] This category includes 1 participant who endorsed FtM, M, F, transgender, and gender neutral.

Table 2. Ethnicity/Cultural Background by Study Phase

Ethnicity/Cultural Background	Phase				
	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Main	Follow-up
African; Black; Caribbean; Grenadian; Jamaican; Trinidadian; West Indian (Canadian)		1		21	
Anglo Saxon; British; Caucasian; Celtic; English; Irish; Irish Catholic; Scottish; WASP; White (Canadian)	5	4	2	51	4
Canadian	2	2	1	38	3
Chinese; Hong Kong Chinese (Canadian)		1	2	10	2
Dutch; French; German; Greek; Italian; middle European; North European; Portuguese; Scandinavian (Canadian)			1	12	1
Eastern European; Eurasian; Bosnian; Turkish; Yugoslavian (Canadian)	1			5	1
European Jewish; Jewish Scottish; Sephardic Jewish (White) (Canadian)	2		1	9	2
Filipino				1	
First Nations; Métis; Ojibwe; Native American; Native Canadian; Ojibwe German Native; Cree Russian		1		8	1
French Canadian/Quebecois				2	
Hungarian; Hungarian Jewish; Polish (Canadian) (White)	3			3	
Japanese Canadian				1	
Korean (Canadian)				3	
Latina/o; South American Guayacaipuro			1	5	
South Asian; Southeast Asian; Indian; Sri Lankan Sinhalese (Canadian)			1	5	2

| | Phase | | | | |
Ethnicity/Cultural Background	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Main	Follow-up
Other: African American/Cree; Canadian mix of many ethnicities; ethnically German and Slavic, culturally Latino; Portuguese/Guyanese)				4	
Unspecified				2	

Note. (Canadian) is shown in parentheses if it was included in some participants' descriptions. For Example, Chinese (Canadian) includes participants who listed their ethnicity/cultural background as Chinese and as Chinese Canadian.

Few problems with the Q-sort procedure were reported. However, as a result of the problems with recruitment, snowball sampling was not used in subsequent phases of the study. In addition, financial compensation, which was not provided for participation in Pilot Study 1, was provided for participation in the subsequent phases of the study.

Pilot Study 2

In Pilot Study 2, participants completed a pilot Q-sort and provided feedback about the Q-sort procedures and items. In addition, participants were interviewed about gender in order to generate additional statements for inclusion in the Q-sort. Participants were recruited through posters advertising the study. Recruitment of participants is discussed in more detail in the description of the Main Study methods. My goal was to include approximately equal numbers of participants from 3 age groups: 20 to 39, 40 to 59 and 60 and over. I attempted to include participants who were diverse in terms of gender identity, race/ethnicity/cultural background, and parenting status, and other demographic characteristics. Participants were paid $20 to complete Pilot Study 2, which took up to two hours.

Nine participants (4 men and 5 women, including one male to female (MtF) transgender woman) completed Pilot Study 2. Pilot Study 2 participants ranged in age from 32 to 60 (M = 45.22, SD = 9.51, median = 43). One participant had elementary education, one had some high school, and one had completed high school. Two had some college or university education, 2 had graduated from college or university and 2 had completed some post graduate education. The median income for this group of participants was between $20,000 and $40,000. Five of the 9 participants (3 women and 2 men) were parents, with between 1 and 4 children. All three of these parents were aged 40 or over, and their children ranged in age from 14 to 41. The ethnicity or cultural background of participants is shown in Table 2 (page 25).

I conducted a semi-structured interview about gender and gendered behaviour with Pilot Study 2 participants. Topics included childhood gendered behaviour, gendered parenting, adult gendered behaviour, intersex, transgender, sexuality, gender conformity and transgression, and partial gender modifications through chemicals and surgery. In addition, participants were asked to discuss gender issues that were important to them; the meaning and importance of gender in their lives; gender issues about which they agree and disagree with family members, friends, and others; and changes in cultural gender ideologies over time. The interview schedule is shown in Appendix B.

After the semi-structured interview participants completed the Pilot 2 Q-sort, which was a revised version of the Q-sort used in the YAS. The Pilot 2 Q-sort consisted of 65 statements. Of these, 55 were based on the YAS Q-sample (39 directly included and 16 adapted with changed wordings). An additional 10 trial statements were added that reflected ideas that were of theoretical interest, particularly statements concerning

gender and adult development, and body modification. The 65 Pilot 2 Q-sort statements are shown in Appendix C.

I adapted statements from the YAS for the Pilot 2 Q-sort according to the following criteria. First, I reworded or eliminated statements from the YAS Q-sample that were repetitive with other statements or that Pilot 1 participants found ambiguous or difficult to sort. Second, I identified statements that had relatively high variability in the YAS, and that significantly differentiated two or more of the perspectives in the YAS, for possible inclusion in the Pilot 2 Q-sort. Conversely, I excluded most statements that had little variability in participants' responses. However, I included three statements that had broad consensus among the YAS participants. These statements, which expressed individualistic perspectives, were included in this study in order to ascertain whether participants in more diverse community samples from multiple ages/cohorts might respond differently to these statements than young adult university students.

After completing the Pilot 2 Q-sort, Pilot 2 participants completed a second semi-structured interview in which they were asked to give feedback about the Q-sort and other aspects of the study. We discussed the clarity of statements, omissions and over-representation of theoretical approaches or content areas, the balance of statements with which participants agreed or disagreed, and other issues participants raised. The interview schedule is shown in Appendix D. Participants also completed a demographics questionnaire (see Appendix E).

Pilot Study 2 participants completed the semi-structured interview on gender (Appendix B) first, in order to give them a chance to express their views before engaging with the Q-sort items. They completed the Q-sort (Appendix C) second, followed by the

demographics questionnaire (Appendix E). They completed the pilot interview

(Appendix D) last, so that they could give feedback on all of the other parts of the study.

Pilot Study 3

The purpose of Pilot Study 3 was to provide a final check on the Q-sort

statements and the study procedures. Participants were recruited through posters

advertising the study. Recruitment of participants is discussed in more detail in the

description of the Main Study methods. As with Pilot Study 2, my goal was to include

approximately equal numbers of participants from 3 age groups: 20 to 39, 40 to 59 and 60

and over. I attempted to include participants who were diverse in terms of gender

identity, race/ethnicity/cultural background, parenting status, and other demographic

characteristics. Participants were paid $20 to complete the main study, which took up to

two hours.

The 9 Pilot Study 3 participants (4 women, 3 men, one intersex person who

reported being viewed by others as male, and 1 person who described his gender as

"gay", constituting a gender distinct from male) ranged in age from 33 to 69 (M = 48.1,

SD = 15.7, Median = 42.0). One participant had elementary education, 1 had completed

high school, 1 had some college or university education, 4 had graduated from college or

university, and 2 had completed some post graduate education. The median income for

this group of participants was between $20,000 and $40,000. Three of the 9 participants

(2 women and 1 man) were parents, with between 1 and 5 children. All 3 of these parents

were aged 60 or over, and their children were adults. The ethnicity or cultural background

of participants is shown in Table 2 (page 25).

Participants completed the Pilot 3 Q-sort, which consisted of 61statements. Of these, 17 were adapted from statements made during an interview about gender with Pilot 2 participants, 9 statements were included from the YAS, 25 statements were adapted from the YAS, 2 were adapted from items used in a Q-sample by Kitzinger (1987), and 8 were items of theoretical interest that I added to the Pilot 2 Q-sample. Based on responses to the Pilot Study 2 Q-sort and feedback on specific statements, I adjusted the Q-sample to edit or remove individual statements that participants found difficult to understand, and to create as balanced a Q-sample as possible. The Pilot 3 Q-sample is shown in Appendix F.

After completing the Q-sort, participants completed a semi-structured interview in which they were asked to discuss their Q-sort responses in more detail and to give feedback about the study. First, I asked participants to briefly discuss their choices of statements in the extreme (+4 and –4) columns, their impressions of the Q-sort, and their thoughts about the statements they found difficult to sort. The first 12 questions served as a pilot for the brief post Q-sort interview used in the main study. The final 3 questions invited participants' feedback about other aspects of the study besides the Q-sort. The interview schedule is shown in Appendix G. Participants also completed a demographics questionnaire (see Appendix H).

In order to provide effective feedback for the main study materials and procedures, the Pilot Study 3 participants completed the instruments in the same order as they were completed in the main study. They completed the Q-sort (Appendix F) first, followed by the demographics questionnaire (Appendix H). They completed the pilot

interview last, so that they could give feedback on all of the other parts of the study (Appendix G).

Main Study

Participants

Participants were recruited using community advertising (posters, community newspaper, email list and website announcements) and through community organizations. Posters advertised the study in public places, including community centres and shopping malls, and at social agencies, including government employment agencies, senior service agencies, and services serving specific ethnocultural communities and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) communities. Information about the study was also distributed on community health and social policy email lists, and these emails were forwarded in turn to other organizations. I was not consulted about some of these postings, therefore the study may have been advertised on additional lists as well. Announcements about the study also appeared on community websites and in a community newspaper. Posters advertising the study explicitly invited ethnically diverse individuals to participate. In addition, a subset of posters specifically invited participants with particular demographic characteristics, including specific age groups, parents, and members of LGBT communities. Finally, the study was advertised in a number of ethnospecific, cultural, and LGBT community bulletin boards, websites, and a community newspaper.

In addition, four community organizations publicized the study to their members and provided space for volunteers to complete the study. Two were seniors' centres, one was a parent school association, and one was a supportive housing organization. The

methods used to promote the study and recruit participants are shown in Appendix I. Participants were paid $10 to complete the main study, which took up to one hour.

One hundred eighty participants completed the main study. The main study participants ranged in age from 20 to 84 (M = 46.7, SD = 17.6, median = 42), with 75 young, 55 middle aged and 50 older adults. The youngest (20 to 39) age group consisted of 38 women, including 2 transgender MtF women; 35 men, including 3 female to male (FtM) transgender men; and 2 participants who identified as gender neutral and/or epicene. The middle (40 to 59) age group consisted of 26 women, 27 men, 1 intersex participant, and 1 participant who identified as gender neutral. The oldest (60 years or older) age group consisted of 27 women, including 1 formerly transgender MtF woman, and 23 men. The median income for each age group was between $20,000 and $40,000. The ethnicity or cultural background of the main study participants for the three age groups is shown in Table 3. Sexual orientation, level of education and parenting status is shown in Table 4.

Materials

Q-sort. The Q-sample, or collection of Q-sort statements, was composed of statements selected and adapted from the young adult study (YAS) on gender conformity and nonconformity (Brownlie, in press), and additional statements derived from Pilot Studies 1, 2, and 3. In order to create a balanced Q-sample with broad coverage of ideas related to gender, the composition of the Q-sample was based on a matrix of theoretical approaches and content areas. The theoretical approaches were Essentialism, Individualism, Androgyny, Social Construction and Other Approaches. The content areas were Childhood, Adulthood, Sexuality, Transgender, Intersex, and Gender Theories.

Table 3. Main Study Ethnicity/Cultural Background Age Group

Ethnicity/Cultural Background	Within Age group N (%)			Total N (%)
	20 – 39 (N=75)	40 – 59 (N=55)	60 + (N=50)	Total (N=180)
African; Black; Caribbean; Grenadian; Jamaican; Trinidadian; West Indian (Canadian)	16 (21.3%)	2 (3.6%)	3 (6.0%)	21 (11.7%)
Anglo Saxon; British; Caucasian; Celtic; English; Irish; Irish Catholic; Scottish; WASP; White (Canadian)	7 (9.3%)	18 (34.5%)	24 (48.0%)	51 (28.0%)
Canadian	12 (16.0%)	14 (25.5%)	14 (31.3%)	38 (28.0%)
Chinese; Hong Kong Chinese (Canadian)	8 (10.7%)	1 (1.8%)	1 (2.0%)	10 (5.6%)
Dutch; French; German; Greek; Italian; middle European; North European; Portuguese; Scandinavian (Canadian)	5 (6.7%)	5 (9.1%)	2 (4.0%)	12 (6.7%)
Eastern European; Eurasian; Bosnian; Turkish; Yugoslavian (Canadian)	3 (4.0%)	2 (3.6%)		5 (2.8%)
European Jewish; Jewish Scottish; Sephardic Jewish (White) (Canadian)	1 (1.3%)	4 (7.3%)	4 (8.9%)	9 (5.0%)
Filipino	1 (1.3%)			1 (0.6%)
First Nations; Métis; Ojibwe; Native American; Native Canadian; Ojibwe German Native; Cree Russian	5 (6.7%)	3 (5.5%)		8 (4.4%)
French Canadian/Quebecois	2 (2.7%)			2 (1.1%)
Hungarian; Hungarian Jewish; Polish (Canadian) (White)	2 (2.7%)	1 (1.8%)		3 (1.7%)
Japanese Canadian		1 (1.8%)		1 (0.6%)

	Within Age group N (%)			Total N (%)
Ethnicity/Cultural Background	20 – 39 (N=75)	40 – 59 (N=55)	60 + (N=50)	Total (N=180)
Korean (Canadian)	3 (4.0%)			3 (1.7%)
Latina/o; South American Guayacaipuro	4 (5.3%)	1 (1.8%)		5 (2.8%)
South Asian; Southeast Asian; Indian; Sri Lankan Sinhalese (Canadian)	3 (4.0%)	2 (3.6%)		5 (2.8%)
Other: African American/Cree; Canadian mix of many ethnicities; ethnically German and Slavic, culturally Latino; Portuguese/Guyanese)	3 (4.0%)	1 (1.8%)		4 (2.2%)
Unspecified			2 (4.0%)	2 (1.1%)

Table 4. Main Study Sexual Orientation, Education, and Parenting Status by Age Group

	Percent within age group		
	20 – 39 (N = 75)	40 – 59 (N = 55)	60 + (N = 50)
Sexual Orientation			
Bisexual	8.0	3.6	4.0
Heterosexual	68.0	78.2	86.0
Lesbian/Gay	13.3	12.7	6.0
Two Spirited	2.7		
Other	6.7	3.6	4.0
Not stated	1.3	1.8	
Education			
Elementary or some high school	14.7	5.6	16.0
High school graduate	8.0	5.6	24.0
Some college/university	20.0	33.3	36.0
College/University graduate	32.0	35.2	12.0
Post graduate	25.3	20.4	12.0
Parenting			
Percent with children	25.3	67.3	84.0
Median number of children (parents only)	2	2	2
Median age of youngest, oldest child	4, 8	12, 16	40, 46

Each Q-sort statement applied a theoretical perspective to a content area. Since the other

three theoretical approaches were in various ways critical of culturally imposed gender

conformity, the Essentialism approach was over-represented in order to provide a balance

of items for participants with a variety of views. A total of 61 statements comprised the

final Q-sample. The matrix of theoretical approaches and content areas is shown in

Figure 1.

	Essentialism	Individualism	Androgyny	Social Construction	Other	Total
Childhood	5	4	3	1	2	15
Adulthood	5	2	1	3	3	14
Sexuality	4	2	2	1	2	11
Transgender	2	2	1	1	1	7
Intersex	4	1	0	0	1	6
Gender Theories	1	0	0	3	4	8
Total	21	11	7	9	13	61

Figure 1. Structure of the Q Sample: Number of Statements
by Theoretical Perspectives and Content Areas

The statements were selected and edited in order to be as comprehensible to

participants as possible. This process was aided by the pilot phases of the study. Because

some of the topics covered were likely to be unfamiliar to some participants, both the

content of the items and the wording of the items were selected in order to be as

accessible as possible. For instance, statements on transgender focused mainly on transsexuals, rather than on transgender individuals who would not identify as transsexual. Transgender other than sex change was not covered because it is less often represented in popular culture than transsexualism, and thus was likely to be unfamiliar to participants.

Since the statements were meant to reflect distinct theoretical perspectives, the language used in the Q-sort statements would ideally reflect the statement's theoretical perspective. For instance, statements representing the Essentialism theoretical perspective would preferably use the term sex to refer to distinctions between men and women, since these would be assumed to represent biological differences that exist independent of culture. Conversely, statements representing the Social Construction perspective would preferably use the term gender to refer to distinction between men and women, as these would be assumed to represent social categories that exist in the context of cultural meanings and understandings. However, to avoid confusing participants, consistent language was used. The term 'sex' was used in all items to refer to gender categories, as this terminology is more generally understood, and thus was likely to be comprehensible to all participants.

The final Q-sample was very similar to the Pilot Study 3 Q-sample, with only minor changes made to statements based on feedback from the first four Pilot 3 participants. The final Q-sample, with the origin of each statement indicated, is shown in Appendix J. The final Q-sample organized by content area and theoretical perspective is shown in Appendix K.

Brief Post Q-Sort Interview. After completing the Q-sort, participants in the main

study completed a semi-structured interview. This interview consisted of the first 12

questions of the Pilot 3 interview. Participants were asked to briefly discuss their choices

of statements in the extreme (+4 and –4) columns, their impressions of the Q-sort, and

their thoughts about the statements they found difficult to sort. These interviews were

tape-recorded and summarized or transcribed. This interview was conducted only if time

permitted after completion of the Q-sort. The interview schedule is shown in Appendix L.

Demographics Questionnaire. Participants completed a written questionnaire

asking about their demographic characteristics. For some questions, open-ended formats

were used so that participants could use the terms they preferred to describe themselves.

However, in order to reduce the demands on participants, some questions used multiple

responses, which are quicker and easier to complete than written responses. Space was

provided for comments if participants found the supplied categories insufficient or

wanted to add more information. The demographics questionnaire used for the main

study participants is shown in Appendix H.

Procedures

Participants sat at a table in front of a large poster board with the Q-sort template

drawn on it. The Q-sort template contained empty slots for 61 statements (65 statements

in Pilot Study 2), arranged in columns above a scale with integers ranging from –4 to +4

(see Figure 2). The Q-slots were arranged in a quasi-normal distribution, with fewer slots

available at the ends of the distribution and more slots available in the centre of the

distribution. Five slots were available for each of the scores {–4, -3, +3, +4}. Seven slots

were available for each of the scores {-2, +2}. Nine slots were available for each of the

scores {−1, 0, +1}. The number of slots for each integer from -4 to +4, in order from lowest to highest, was 5, 5, 7, 9, 9, 9, 7, 5, 5. The anchors 'Most Agree' and 'Most Disagree' appeared under the values +4 and -4.

| -4 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Strongly
Disagree

Strongly
Agree

Disagree

Neutral / Don't know

Agree
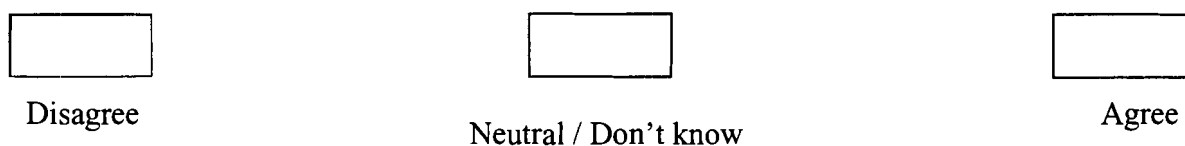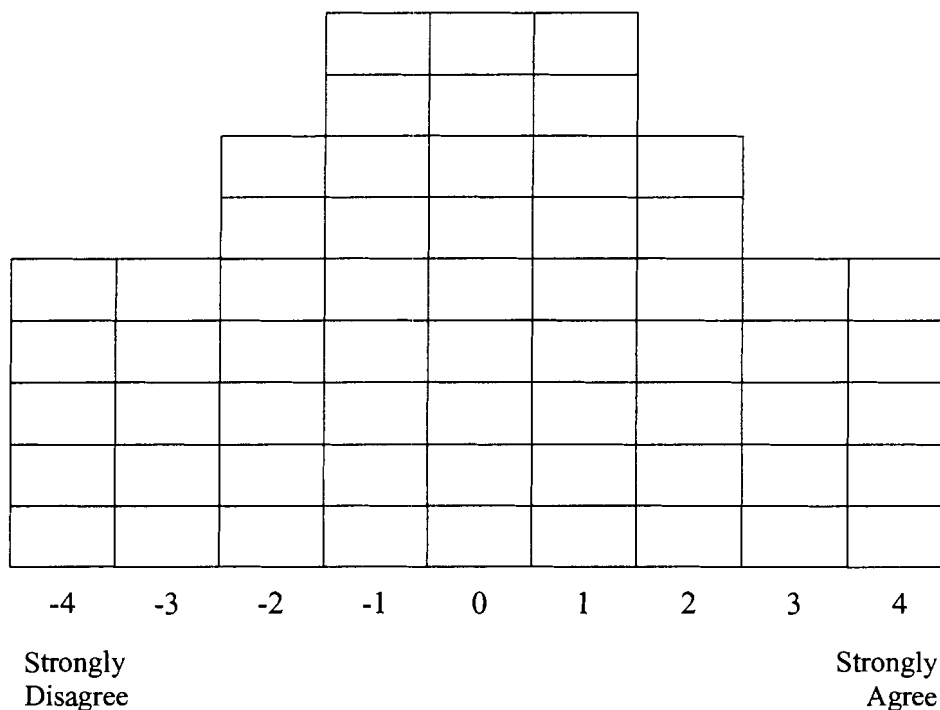
Figure 2. Distribution and sorting piles shown on the Q-sorting task board

Before commencing the Q-sort task, participants read or were read a list of definitions of terms used in the Q-sort statements that were possibly unfamiliar or unclear. The list of definitions is shown in Appendix M. Participants were given an opportunity to ask for further clarification of any of the terms, if necessary, and were

encouraged to ask for clarification of any of the Q-sort statements. A standard set of

instructions was read to the participants, and a printed copy of the instructions and the

definitions was distributed as well. The Q-sort instructions are shown in Appendix N.

Participants were instructed to accomplish the Q-sorts in two stages. First, they

made a preliminary sorting into five piles: Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neutral/Not sure,

Somewhat Disagree, and Disagree. Participants read each statement and placed it into one

of the initial sorting slots. No restrictions were made on the number of statements to be

sorted into each slot.

Once they sorted all the statements into the five preliminary categories,

participants placed the statements into the Q-sort template, arranging the statements into

columns conforming to the quasi-normal distribution according to the extent to which

each statement reflected their own points of view. The initial sort was intended solely as

an organizational aid. Participants were not constrained by the initial sort and could place

statements from each of the five sorting slots in any position in the distribution.

Statements within each column were considered equivalent; the order of statements

within each column was not differentiated in sorting or scoring. Participants could use

any method they wished to finally settle on the statement placements and could make

unlimited changes during the sorting process.

Consistent with most Q methodological studies, participants were requested to fit

their responses into the distribution described above. They were asked to distinguish

between statements so as to choose the five statements most representative of their views,

followed by the next five most representative, and so on, even if they might prefer to

place more or fewer statements in the columns. If participants were unable to complete

the sort in this manner, they were not compelled to do so, however, I strongly encouraged them to sort within the given distribution. Although the issue of "forced" distributions is controversial, it is used in Q methodological studies because it avoids response bias and conveys more information by requiring participants to compare statements and make distinctions among them (Block, 1956; Brown, 1980; Hess & Hink, 1959; McKeown & Thomas, 1988). No time limit was imposed on the Q-sorting task. Most participants completed the Q-sort in less than an hour.

Participants completed the Q-sort (Appendix J) first, because it was the central part of the study. They completed the demographics questionnaire (Appendix H) second, while I recorded their Q-sort responses. Finally, they completed the brief post Q-sort interview (Appendix L), if time permitted, in order to provide more detailed comments on salient statements and on their impressions of the Q-sort task.

A number of measures were implemented to insure confidentiality and privacy for study participants. These measures applied to the pilot and follow-up studies as well as the main study. Questionnaires, Q-sort coding sheets, and all written and electronic data and audiotapes were labelled with ID codes rather than names. The data were not stored with identifying information. Audiotapes of interviews were transcribed (identified only with ID codes) and after transcription were subsequently destroyed. Because a subset of participants in the main Q-sort study was contacted after the data had been analyzed, I retained contact information for main study participants. In addition, I retained addresses for participants in the pilot studies who wished to receive a summary of study results. The contact information was stored separately from any information that subjects provided, which was identified solely by ID number. A list linking ID numbers to participants name

was maintained so that the participants selected for the follow-up study based on their main study responses could be invited to participate. This list, and all contact and identifying information were kept confidential and secure.

Follow-Up

Participants in the follow-up study were selected from the main study participants, based on their Q-sort responses. Follow-up participants included 10 participants who represented one perspective only, 4 who represented a combination of perspectives, and 2 whose Q-sorts did not correspond to any perspective. The two participants with the highest component loadings were invited to participate in the follow-up study. An additional 4 participants, who had combinations of two significant component loadings, were interviewed. These participants were selected to represent the most common combinations of two salient loadings. They were selected based on their component loadings and where possible to increase the diversity of follow-up participants. Finally, 2 participants with only nonsalient component loadings were interviewed.

I recontacted participants using the contact information they had supplied when enrolling in the main study. Only 1 of the selected participants had moved and could not be located. All other participants selected for follow-up interviews were successfully re-contacted and all agreed to participate. Follow-up participants were paid $50 to participate in the follow-up study, which took two hours to complete. Participants completed the follow-up between 10.8 and 19.5 months after they participated in the main study.

Sixteen main study participants also completed the follow-up study. Five were women, and 11 were men, including one FtM transgender man who had previously

identified during the main study as gender neutral or epicene. At the time of the main study, the follow-up participants ranged in age from 26 to 78 (M = 46.9, SD = 16.4, median = 41.5). Three participants had not completed high school, 5 had completed some college or university, 4 had completed college or university, and 4 had post graduate education. Their median income was between $20,000 and $40,000. Ten of the follow-up participants were parents, with between 1 and 5 children (median = 1). The children ranged in age from 4 to 48.

In order to estimate the stability of the Q-sort over time, follow-up participants completed the same Q-sort as was used in the main study. After completing the Q-sort, participants completed a semi-structured validation interview. In addition, participants assessed my preliminary description of the perspective they represented as well as the descriptions of the other perspectives, and discussed the adequacy of the preliminary description as a characterization of their views. During the interview I discussed with participants the issues they felt were most important in their perspectives, and aspects of their perspectives that were not represented in the Q-sort. The interview schedule is shown in Appendix O.

Follow-up participants completed the Q-sort (Appendix D) first, in order to re-familiarize themselves with the study and to allow the reliability of the Q-sort to be assessed. Second, they read the descriptions I composed to describe each perspective (Appendix P). I wrote these descriptions based on the patterns of Q-sort placements that characterized each perspective, as well as some comments participants made to justify their views. Participants rated on a ten-point scale the extent to which each description corresponded to their own views. Finally, participants completed the follow-up interview

(Appendix O) to discuss their responses to my descriptions of the perspectives, the Q-sort, and issues related to gender.

Data Analysis

Analyses of Q-sort responses were based on Q methodology (Brown, 1980; McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Q-sort responses were analyzed using a matrix with : persons as variables (in columns), and Q-sort statements as the sample (in rows). The Q-sorts of the 6 participants who did not conform to the requested Q-sort distribution were re-scaled so that each participant's Q-sort would have the same variance.

A principal components analysis was conducted, factoring persons rather than statements. Principal components analysis is possible on the transposed Q-sort data set because the Q-sort statements are scored in the same units (subjective significance). The intercorrelations among Q-sorts identified components that I theorized to represent distinct perspectives on gender and gendered behaviour. An oblique rotation, which allows factors to be correlated, was used to increase the interpretability of the factors.

The choice of solutions (the number of meaningful components/perspectives) was based on the pattern of eigenvalues (sum of squared factor loadings), communalities (percent of variance in Q-sort responses accounted for by the components) for each participant, and, most importantly, the theoretical cohesion of the factors. Component loadings indicated the degree to which individuals' views were consistent with each perspective (Brown, 1980). Component scores (scores on each statement) were used to interpret each component within various solutions, in order to select the most interpretable set of components.

Interpretation of the perspectives was based primarily on the placement of Q-sort items. Based on the rotated component scores, I constructed arrays for each perspective, which consisted of listings of statements with their component scores, arranged in order from the highest to the lowest component scores. For each perspective, I examined the most extreme positively and negatively scored statements particularly, as well as the intermediate statements. I examined the arrays for themes and views that were salient for each perspective. For instance, I examined component scores for each perspective, grouped by the content area with which I had initially categorized the statements. Finally, I looked for statements that differentiated the perspectives.

In addition to the placement of Q-sort items, follow-up interviews with representative participants and participants' justification of items scored as most agree or most disagree were used to augment and validate my interpretations of the perspectives.

Finally, the demographic characteristics of participants who represented each perspective were examined in case strong patterns emerged that might inform interpretation of the perspectives.

Results

Principal Components Analysis

In order to identify distinct perspectives represented in participants' responses, I conducted a principal components analysis with direct quartimin rotation[1], which allows components to be correlated. The 180 Q-sort responses were treated as variables, and the 61 statements were treated as cases. I interpreted the components[2] as distinct perspectives about gender shared among subsets of participants.

Determining the Number of Components to Retain

The number of components to retain was determined based on scree plots, communalities, and the interpretability of the obtained components. In the context of Q methodology, scree plots show the proportion of variance in Q-sort responses accounted for by each additional component, and communalities represent the percent of variance in individual Q-sorts accounted for by a given number of extracted components. For each of the 180 Q-sorts, I examined the communalities with 1 through 15 components extracted. Table 5 shows the proportion of variance accounted for, and the number of participants whose communality had increased substantially ('jumped') with up to 15 components extracted. For each of these quantities, the table includes both the change that occurred with the extraction of a given component, and the cumulative value for a given number of extracted components. Based on the pattern of communalities and proportion of variance explained, I discarded solutions with eight or more components.

Table 5. Proportion of Variance and Jump in Communalities by Number of Components Extracted

Components extracted	Proportion of variance explained		N Participants having jump	
	Additional	Cumulative	Additional	Cumulative
1	.256	.256	84	84
2	.085	.341	35	119
3	.048	389	12	131
4	.035	.424	6	137
5	.031	.456	7	144
6	.029	.484	6	150
7	.026	.510	5	155
8	.024	.534	1	156
9	.022	.556	2	158
10	.020	.576	0	158
11	.020	.596	0	158
12	.018	.614	1	159
13	.018	.632	0	159
14	.018	.650	2	161
15	.017	.666	0	161

I then assessed the interpretability of rotated solutions with two, three, four, five, six, and seven components. Unlike conventional component analysis (R methodology), in which the interpretability of a component analysis solution is assessed by examining the variables with substantial loadings on each component, the interpretability of a component analysis solution in Q methodology cannot be assessed by an examination of component loadings. In Q methodology, component loadings refer to participants, rather

than variables. Therefore, in order to assess the interpretability of the components, the set of component scores for each statement must be assessed for each component within each solution. When six or more components were retained, the pattern of component scores changed substantively from solutions with five or fewer retained components. In addition, the patterns of opinions represented by the component scores from six-component and seven-component solutions were less interpretable and less consistent with participants' verbal comments than the patterns of component scores when fewer components were retained. Therefore, I rejected solutions with six or more components.

Next, I examined the communalities and component scores of solutions with three, four, and five retained components. The median communalities for three-, four-, and five-component solutions were .40, .44, and .46, respectively. These were low, suggesting that a solution with more rather than fewer components would be preferable, assuming the solution was interpretable.

The correlations between components from the rotated three- four-, and five-component solutions are shown in Table 6. Component 1 from each of the three-, four- and five-component solutions was highly correlated with its counterparts from the other solutions, suggesting that this perspective changed little when additional components were extracted. Component 3 also remained fairly stable, however, Component 3 from the five-component solution was also negatively correlated with Component 2 from the other solutions. Component 4 from the four-component and the five-component solutions were also highly correlated. Component 2 from the three-component solution had moderate positive correlations with Components 2, 4, and 5 in the five-component solution, and was negatively correlated with Component 3. Thus it appeared that

components 1, 3 and 4 remained relatively stable, and Component 2 from the three-component solution separated into multiple components in the five-component solution.

Table 6. Correlations Between Components: Three, Four and Five Component Solutions

	Four Component Solution				Five Component Solution				
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5
Three Component Solution									
1	.975	-.600	-.112	-.296	.922	-.698	.212	-.110	-.377
2	-.376	.746	.243	.644	-.293	.473	-.754	.467	.645
3	-.565	.054	.922	.565	-.607	.427	.709	-.127	-.052
Four Component Solution									
1					.977	-.619	.056	-.199	-.263
2					-.300	.753	-.516	-.197	.675
3					-.320	.156	.903	-.273	-.283
4					-.389	.030	.197	.964	.211

Note. The three-component solution was re-labelled to correspond to the five-component solution (Component 3 accounted for more variance than Component 2 in the three-component solution).

The four-component solution was re-labelled to correspond to the five-component solution (Component 3 accounted for more variance than Component 2 in the four component solution).

Correlations above .5 are underlined.

Examination of the perspectives (based on component scores) showed that the differences between Components 2, 4, and 5 were interpretable and substantive. For instance, one of these perspectives differed from the other two perspectives in responses to statements about transgender persons, and the responses to statements on this topic appeared to be consistent with each other. This again favoured retention of the five-component solution. The final decision on the number of components rested on the interpretability of the component solution. Solutions with three, four, and five components were interpretable; therefore I chose the five-component solution, as it identified additional perspectives.

Table 7 shows the sorted primary pattern matrix component loadings, with nonsalient loadings omitted. Loadings with absolute value greater than or equal to .35 were defined as salient. The loadings are sorted according to the pattern of salient loadings, with participants with salient positive loadings on one component only listed first, followed by participants with mixed components, and participants who did not have salient loadings on any component. The complete primary pattern matrix and structure matrix are shown in Appendix Q. Participants who participated in follow-up interviews or whose comments from the main study were quoted are listed by name rather than number. These names are codenames used to maintain participants' confidentiality.

Table 7. Sorted Salient Primary Pattern Matrix Component Loadings

Participant	Component 1	2	3	4	5	Participant	Component 1	2	3	4	5
Osay*	.88					31	.55				
Albert*	.82					32	.54				
3	.80					33	.53				
4	.76					34	.53				
Michelle	.76					35	.51				
6	.73					Julia	.51				
7	.72					37	.49				
Sabina	.68					38	.48				
9	.67					39	.47				
Barb	.67					40	.46				
11	.67					41	.46				
Angela	.66					42	.46				
13	.66					Ken	.44				
14	.65					44	.44				
Sylvia	.65					Joseph	.44				
16	.65					46	.43				
17	.64					47	.43				
18	.63					48	.43				
19	.63					49	.42				
20	.63					50	.40				
21	.63					51	.40				
Corrine	.63					52		.71			
23	.61					Cheung*		.64			
Ron	.61					Thomas		.62			
25	.60					Phil*		.52			
Natasha	.59					56		.51			
27	.58					Eddie		.51			
28	.58					Patrick		.50			
29	.57					59		.48			
30	.55					Amir		.41			

Table 7. Sorted Salient Primary Pattern Matrix Component Loadings (continued)

Participant	Component 1	2	3	4	5	Participant	Component 1	2	3	4	5
61		.40				91			.42		
62		.40				Will			.42		
Roberto		.39				93			.41		
64		.39				94			.39		
65		.38				95			.39		
Noah*			.87			96			.37		
Samantha*			.77			Dom*				.66	
68			.73			Tim*				.54	
69			.70			99				.51	
70			.65			Mike				.43	
71			.63			Peter				.43	
72			.63			102				.42	
Eric			.61			Fiona				.42	
Lorraine			.60			Dionne				.41	
75			.59			105				.41	
76			.59			106				.38	
Bruce			.57			107				.38	
78			.56			Janet				.35	
79			.55			Amita*					.68
Carmella			.54			Laurence*					.62
81			.54			Lester					.55
Stan			.53			112					.44
Audrey			.52			113					.41
84			.50			Christina					.40
85			.49			Wanda					.40
86			.47			Leah					.39
Heather			.46			117					.35
Dave			.44			118	.54	.38			
89			.44			119	.62		.37		
90			.43			120	.57		.37		

Table 7. Sorted Salient Primary Pattern Matrix Component Loadings (continued)

Participant	Component 1	2	3	4	5	Participant	Component 1	2	3	4	5
121	.56		.38			151	-.36		.55		
122	.55		.39			152		-.43	.49		
123	.54		.37			Monica*			.53		-.44
124	.54		.35			154			.50		-.38
Nancy*	.53		.45			155			.36		-.39
David*	.49		.49			156				.41	.53
127	.49		.39			157				.38	.42
128	.47		.46			158	-.50			.46	
129	.42		.46			159	-.37			.45	
130	.41		.40			160		.41		.40	-.40
131	.39		.51			161		.53		-.36	.39
132	.39		.36			162					
133	.38		.50			163					
134	.37		.42			164					
135	.36		.57			165					
136	.36		.45			166					
Randall*	.50			.51		Gloria*					
138	.41			.56		168					
139	.41			.42		169					
140	.36			.43		170					
141	.47				.41	Richard*					
142	.62	-.37				172					
143	.64	-.37				173					
144		.49	.37			174					
145		.42	.46			175					
146		.37	.55			176					
147	-.40	.45				177					
148	-.36	.41				178					
149	-.35	.42				179					
150			.41		.47	180					

Note. Participants marked with an asterisk participated in follow-up interviews. Other participants indicated by name were quoted from main study interviews.

Intercorrelation of the Components

The correlations between the five components are shown in Table 8. Components

1 and 3 were correlated .338. All other correlations were small (absolute value < .18).

Scatterplots of primary pattern matrix component loadings for pairs of components are

shown in Appendix R.

Table 8. Intercorrelations between Components

Component	2	3	4	5
1	-.090	.338	.141	-.025
2		.074	.137	.176
3			.161	.010
4				.121

Test-retest Correlations

Table 9 shows the correlations between first and second Q-sorts for the 16 follow-

up participants. The mean correlation was .587. The time between the first Q-sort and the

second Q-sort ranged from 10.8 to 19.5 months (M = 16.4, SD = 2.9, median = 18

months). The magnitude of the correlation between the first and second Q-sorts was not

correlated with the length of time between the two Q-sorts.

Component Scores

Component scores were computed using the standard (regression) method, in

which a weight matrix (a function of component loadings) is multiplied by the matrix of

raw Q-sort scores to produce the component scores (scores for each component on each

statement). The error variance of the component scores was a function of the weight

matrix and the item participant error variance (the error variance of each participant's score on each statement).3 The item participant error variance was defined as (1 − r) multiplied by the Q-sort variance, where r was the average of the within-person test-retest correlations for the 16 participants who completed the Q-sort twice, and the Q-sort variance (based on the specified Q-sort distribution) was 5.4 for all participants.4 The item participant error variance was assumed to be constant across participants and across items.

Table 9. Correlations between First and Second Q-sorts: Follow-up Participants

	Salient Components	Correlation of first and second Q-sorts
One Salient Component		
Osay	1	.759
Albert	1	.673
Cheung	2	.620
Phil	2	.383
Noah	3	.790
Samantha	3	.660
Tim	4	.343
Dom	4	.272
Amita	5	.759
Laurence	5	.352
Two Salient Components		
David	1 and 3	.892
Nancy	1 and 3	.836
Randall	1 and 4	.519
Monica	3 and 5 (negative)	.623
No Salient Components		
Gloria	None	.457
Richard	None	.457

Table 10 shows the estimated standard errors for each component and for the differences between components. Component scores for individual statements were considered significantly different from 0 if the absolute value of the score exceeded the standard error (square root of the error variance) multiplied by 2.58 (α = .01). Pairs of component scores on a statement were considered significantly different if the difference between the component scores exceeded the standard error of the difference between the two components, multiplied by 2.58 (α = .01).

Table 10. Standard Errors of Component Scores

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
Component Score Standard Error	.465	.559	.513	.576	.592
Standard Error of Difference					
1		.558	.355	.636	.759
2			.649	.695	.632
3				.837	.744
4					.920

Validation Ratings

After completing the Q-sort, follow-up participants read my preliminary descriptions of the perspectives and rated each on a 9-point scale, where 9 represented "very similar to my views" and 1 represented " very different from my views". Follow-up participants' ratings are shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Ratings of the Perspective Descriptions: Follow-Up Participants

Participant	Salient Components	Perspective Description				
		1	2	3	4	5
Osay	1	8	1	7	2	2
Albert	1	8	2	3	3	5
Cheung	2	3	8	3	5	7
Phil	2	6	5	7	7	4
Noah	3	7	4	9	8	5
Samantha	3	5	3	8	3	3
Tim	4			(Not completed)		
Dom	4	7	8	8	8	9
Amita	5	1	9	1	1	9
Laurence	5	8	1	3	3	3
David	1 and 3	8	6	9	5	8
Nancy	1 and 3	9	3	7	5	5
Randall	1 and 4	8	6	9	5	8
Monica	3 and 5(-)	9	5	9	9	2
Gloria	None	8	8	7	8	8
Richard	None	9	8	9	9	6

Perspectives on Gender

Component scores (scores for each component on each statement) were used to

interpret the perspectives. Component scores on each statement for each perspective are

shown in Appendix S. Based on the pattern of component scores, and informed by

interviews with representative participants, I labelled the five perspectives Gender

Diversity (GD), Social Essentialism (SE), Biological Progressive (BP), Gender

Minimizing (GM), and Different But Equal (DE). Key statements for each perspective

are shown in tables grouped by content. Statements that appear in these tables are

indicated in the text by statement numbers within parentheses. Unless otherwise

indicated, all differences between the perspective described and the other perspectives on

statements listed in tables were significant (p < .01).

Perspective 1: Gender Diversity

The first perspective, which I labelled Gender Diversity, had 77 individuals with

salient positive primary pattern matrix loadings. Of these, 51 had salient loadings on

Gender Diversity only and 26 loaded on one additional perspective (see Table 7).

Placement of Q-sort statements. Based on their Q-sort responses, participants

who represented the Gender Diversity perspective viewed gender as socially constructed

rather than biologically determined. They understood gender in terms of power relations

that are particularly harmful to women. Gender Diversity perspective participants

opposed prescribed binary gender roles, especially with respect to parenting and children.

They were supportive of people with a variety of gender identities, sexual orientations,

and family structures, and were strongly opposed to cosmetic genital surgery for intersex

infants. The array of component scores for the Gender Diversity perspective is shown in Appendix T.

Participants who exemplified the Gender Diversity perspective viewed gender as socially constructed rather than biologically determined (see Table 12). Gender Diversity perspective participants agreed that social forces largely account for the development of gender differences (13). They disagreed that gender and sexual orientation are genetic (50, 26), and they perceived sexual orientation as fluid and changeable, rather than fixed (8).

Table 12. Perspective 1 Key Statements: Determinants of Gender and Sexual Orientation

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	**+2.4**	-0.6	-1.7	+2.3[a]	-0.0
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	**-2.0**	-1.8[a]	+2.1	+2.8	+0.5
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	**-3.1**	-3.5[a]	+4.4	-1.3	-0.5
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	**-3.1**	-1.6	+2.3	-2.4[a]	+1.5

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Gender Diversity perspective (p < .01).

Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective argued that gender is hierarchical (see Table 13). They agreed that Canadian women are at a disadvantage in comparison with Canadian men (31), and they viewed gender norms as particularly damaging to women (60, 56).

Table 13. Perspective 1 Key Statements: Gender Hierarchy and Power

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	+2.5	-0.4	+1.5	-4.1	-2.0
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	+2.3	+0.0	+0.4	+0.9[a]	+1.6[a]
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	+2.2	+0.0	+2.4[a]	-2.9	-0.3

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Gender Diversity perspective (p < .01).

One of the hallmarks of the Gender Diversity perspective was a consistent resistance of prescribed binary gender roles (see Table 14). Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective rejected stereotyped components of masculinity and femininity (9, 10). They also opposed compulsory heterosexuality (24), and the need for differential employment based on gender (53).

Table 14. Perspective 1 Key Statements: Rejection of Binary Gender Roles

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	**-1.7**	+4.0	+1.3	+1.9	+2.1
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	**-2.6**	+2.6	-1.3	+1.5	-0.1
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	**-2.7**	+2.3	-1.6	+3.6	+0.2
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	**-4.1**	+0.5	-5.3[b]	-2.1	+1.2

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[b] BP < **GD** < SE, GM, DE (p < .01).

The Gender Diversity perspective participants' resistance of binary, essential gender roles was especially evident in their responses to statements on children and how children should be parented (see Table 15). Participants who exemplified the Gender Diversity perspective did not agree that parents should socialize their children to adopt differential gender roles, either in childhood or in adolescence (44, 17). Instead, they suggested that children be encouraged to ignore gender stereotypes and to explore a range of gender-related activities (43, 15). Given that they rejected the necessity of gender socialization, it is not surprising that these participants did not agree that children need to be raised in two-parent, two-gender homes (2).

Table 15. Perspective 1 Key Statements: Gender Socialization

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	**+4.1**	-0.8	+3.2[a]	+2.7[a]	+1.4
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	**+3.7**	-1.9	+2.7	+0.3	-0.2
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	**-1.8**	+4.0	+0.1	+3.2	+5.1
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	**-2.8**	+1.0	-1.1	+2.9	+3.7
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	**-3.0**	+3.2	-0.6	+1.6	+2.5

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Gender Diversity perspective (p < .01).

Consistent with their resistance of binary gender roles, participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective responded positively to gender nonconformity in girls, and were more positive toward gender nonconformity in boys than were most other participants (40, 39; see Table 16). They rejected the idea that parents should prefer gender conformity in their children (38).

Table 16. Perspective 1 Key Statements: Gender Nonconformity

| | Perspective | | | | |
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	+2.6	+0.4	+3.9[b]	+1.1[a]	-0.4
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	+1.7	-4.0	+0.9[a]	-2.9	-2.8
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	-2.7	+1.0	-0.8	+0.2	-0.5

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Gender Diversity perspective (p < .01).
[b] BP > **GD** > SE, DE (p < .01).

One of the issues that differentiated the Gender Diversity perspective most sharply from the other perspectives was intersex (see Table 17). Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective argued that intersex infants should not undergo cosmetic genital surgery as infants, but should have a choice about what, if any, medical intervention should occur once they are old enough to decide (1, 11, 59).

Table 17. Perspective 1 Key Statements: Intersex

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	**+4.1**	+1.5	+0.0	+1.0	-2.3
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	**-3.0**	-0.3	-0.1	+3.0	+2.7
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	**-3.7**	-2.0	-0.6	-0.1	+2.0

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.

Interviews. During the follow-up, I interviewed Osay, a First Nations thirty- to forty-year-old parent of two children. Osay identified as epicene or gender neutral during the main Q-sort phase of the study. By the follow-up interview, Osay identified as transgender (FtM) and was undergoing gender transition. I use the pronoun *he* to refer to Osay, consistent with his current identity. I also interviewed Albert, who described himself as an Asian Canadian gay man in his twenties with no children. Other participants who represented this perspective (i.e., had salient loadings on Gender Diversity only) also commented on individual statements they most agreed with or most disagreed with after completing the main study Q-sort.

Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective emphasized individual freedom and respect for persons with a wide range of sexualities, gender

identities and gender expressions. Osay discussed his general politics, which were consistent with this view.

> Like I said my politics are always going to be queer and that means inclusive of all people. That's what I think about queer politics, is really coming from an anti-oppressive framework. You know, and understanding that we all have challenges that we have to work on, and you just keep re-evaluating what those challenges are, and try to be as mindful as you can. Recognize that we're all different individuals and we need to learn how to respect one another, and those differences.

Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective expected and supported diversity in gendered behaviours. Corrine, who described herself as an English heterosexual woman in her forties without children, noted the wide range in girls' behaviour.

> Well, just, like I'm saying, there's no such thing as 'all girls'. So of course there's going to be a spectrum in the way that girls behave. And some of them are going to behave in ways that people identify as being boyish. And, uh, people should, girls and adults, should be able to act as much as possible, in whatever comes naturally to them. That's the - that's pretty important, I think. (Corrine explaining her agreement with Statement 40: *It's fine for girls to act like boys or be 'tomboys'.*)

Expectation and support for diversity also applied to sexual orientation. Gender Diversity perspective participants questioned whether sexual orientation was a moral issue, and challenged a moral system that would deem homosexuality morally wrong. Their defence of homosexuality was not based on an assumption that sexual orientation was predetermined. In fact, Albert likened sexual orientation to preferences in music or food. "Ah, just like some people like Japanese food, some people don't even want to try Japanese food!"

Osay disputed the idea that homosexual relationships are morally wrong.

> Well, they're just not. They've always been and they always will be, and
> there's nothing morally wrong with homosexuality. In fact, we need
> homosexuality. The world is, um, over-populated, and the world cannot
> sustain as many children as we have. Not that homosexuals don't have
> children, because of course they do, many of them do, but many of them
> don't, too, so, it's a good thing. [Laughs] (Osay on Statement 24:
> *Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.*)

Sylvia, who described herself as a lesbian British and German Canadian woman in her

forties with no children, described the negative effect that moral judgments on her sexual

orientation had had on her life.

> That's something that personally affected me—and I've been very judged
> in my life because of my personal choices. So I feel very strongly about
> that. Yeah, I've felt judged because of the choices that I've made. Uh, and
> that partly had to do with religious upbringing and my parental, my family
> situation. Um, that was mostly it actually. I had to leave home quite early
> and... So it's just something that I personally feel very strongly about. And
> I don't think there is a moral basis for making those kinds of judgements
> on people. (Sylvia on Statement 24: *Homosexual (gay or lesbian)*
> *relationships are morally wrong.*)

The issue of intersex was particularly important to the Gender Diversity

perspective. Albert argued that intersex needs to be understood in the context of diversity

in all aspects of human bodies.

> What I'm trying to say is, he or she needs to know that everyone is
> different. We all have our good and bad side... not bad side... [*EB: We're*
> *all different...*] Yeah, some people are taller, some people are shorter...
> and after all no matter if you're tall or short, it doesn't make you a better
> person. So I think, after all, that it is the point that has to get through. You

know that, the person growing up, what they really want is to be a better
person, no matter if you are tall, short... race-wise or size-wise.

Joseph, who described himself as a Greek-Canadian heterosexual man in his fifties with one child, disagreed with clitoral reduction surgery for intersex infants "because you create traumatized people or adults." Barb, who described herself as a queer British woman in her thirties with no children, also argued against this kind of surgery, noting the power of medical authorities to physically impose narrow definitions of gender.

> If she was born with that, she should again be able to decide, like when she's older, or when she's conscious of that decision because I'm sure she's fine with it until, like, if she wants to when she's older. The medical team has a little too much power in deciding on what everyone looks like and what everyone needs to conform. If they would allow people to grow the way they want to, or that way they naturally were going to, we probably wouldn't have such narrow boxes of what gender is, and expand everybody's knowledge. (Barb explaining her disagreement with Statement 1: *A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.*)

Although they supported freedom for individuals, participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective focused on social forces in their accounts of gender. For instance, Albert explained how gender is socially defined and transmitted through messages that parents absorb and pass on to their children.

> I guess it's society that determines what a boy is, or what a girl is. You know, when we grow up. I mean, I can't imagine, well I guess, I will never be a parent. But if I was, I can't imagine I can tell my kids that "you should be doing this" or "you shouldn't be doing this". Which is—the thinking or the social pressure on me that's saying, "Oh, what if my kid is a girl acting like a boy"? I guess the thing is that it reflects badly on the

parents and - so I guess to some extent I, I kind of feel that it's not only the society that shapes the gender, but also the parents. (Albert explaining his agreement with Statement 13: *The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.*)

In addition, Gender Diversity perspective participants tended to focus on social contexts even when they advocated for individual freedoms. For instance, Statement 37, *It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex* evoked individualistic responses in most participants, who stressed the importance of pursuing one's own desires, ignoring external pressures. Although some Gender Diversity perspective participants responded similarly, others also incorporated a social analysis. Angela, who described herself as a Latina heterosexual woman in her thirties without children, focused on the desire people have to fit in with social expectations based on social categorization.

> So I think that it is, it is important to, to believe in what you want and do it, mm-hmm? And because I think that, ah, all of us society wants to put some, those expectations on many people, uh, and many people really want to—want to follow that in order to fit, fit in the society. Just to fit in, to feel, mmm, that it's okay, that I'm doing okay, you know? Because the society says that, says that. So I think, I think it is really important to follow what you really want. It doesn't matter if you are umm, man or woman or, or any of if the society says that you are this, this and that have to... because you are this and that. So I think it is, I think that ah, that is what we need, we have to do. (Angela explaining her agreement with Statement 37: *It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.*)

In addition, Ron, who described himself as a Jewish, Scottish, German, English heterosexual man in his forties with one child, noted that gender-related expectations are always situated within particular cultural contexts, and always intersect with other constructs besides gender.

> I don't know - I believe that because that's what I do, so of course! [Laughs] I believe that you should not let your... sex - shit, there's so many expectations that we have to live with that affect us, even if we're not aware of them. So, um, and then there was those expectation based on my sex. How do I separate them? Some of them might be, um, depending on the person having the expectation, if their culture assigns sex roles to certain kinds of behaviour, uh, they would have their expectations of me, but if my culture doesn't assign gender roles to that behaviour, then, you know, it gets very murky. But, you know, I think it is important to follow your own interests, and not let your behaviour be affected by expectations, period. Based on your sex as one of the expectations. (Ron on Statement 37: *It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.*)

Albert also discussed how culture affects how gender is experienced and communicated.

> Personally I've been born into a culture which has a more vigorous structure, you know? "If you're a boy you should do this. You should be a doctor or a lawyer. You can't be a teacher, because you are a boy." And the fact that when I was picking up my career at one time, I was thinking of going to teacher's college. And my dad's response? "Why teacher's college?" You know, it's just like, that's what I want to do. I'm supposed to be what I want to. I just want to enjoy something, that I like, and at that time my mom was really supportive, you know "That is what he wants to do, what is wrong with that?" and obviously I can tell that this society is how society moulds my... but he didn't express it this way.. so, yeah.

Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective viewed gender as problematic. They perceived gender relations as hierarchical, and noted gender-related power imbalances in several domains. For instance, Natasha, who described herself as a Hungarian German bisexual women in her twenties, explained how power differences are central to gender roles.

> Yes, well, I would see them as power differences. Like gender differences, ·
> in this case, I interpreted as roles, like sex roles that are out there, put
> upon, externally, not what they're born with. So, the, the sex roles, the
> biggest difference that I see between them, besides just being like...
> different, like, okay women can cook and men can like, repair cars or
> something like that, is it's more powerful to be a man. (Natasha explaining
> her agreement with Statement 21: *Gender differences are above all else*
> *power differences.*)

Natasha also argued that gender roles and expectations affect both women and men, but women tend to be more seriously affected.

> I think that it's most, most affecting women. I think that males are
> definitely affected by it. Like, um, they have a lot of pressure to be
> exactly, uh, like in a really masculine way. That can really, uh, I don't
> know, just affect their life in a lot of different ways - cause them not to be
> able to do things they would otherwise enjoy, not to be able to express
> emotions and things like that. If they're really concerned about it, it could
> be a really big problem for them and they could be really unhappy. But for
> women it's a bigger deal. And I think that's just because, part of the roles is
> that the woman is subservient to the male, so whenever somebody's going
> to get short-changed a little bit more, it's probably going to be the woman.
> (Natasha on Statement 60: *Women are more oppressed by social*
> *expectations than men are.*)

Gender Diversity perspective participants noted gender hierarchy and oppression in several domains. For instance, Julia, who described herself as a Latina heterosexual woman in her forties with one child, described advantages in employment that she perceived men had over women.

> When I came to Canada and I was looking for a job, the salary for women was one thing and the salary for men was higher. And, um, it doesn't matter if I get in to higher education, his salary always be higher than mine. So, that's what I see, that there's a difference. That's why your knowledge, your education... when I was working at the bank, I worked at a bank, I remember- if you were a man, you would go places. Especially at the bank, I would move to the side, and a little bit higher... but if you're really successful in a corporation, I will get to the glass ceiling and then I will not be able to access. That's why we don't have so many powerful, successful females. How can I say it? Anything that has to do with economy, money, it's all men. You don't see women there. (Julia explaining her agreement with Statement 31: *In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.*)

Barb described the impact of differential experiences of personal safety and their impacts on their lives of women and men. .

> Because they [men] don't have all these burdens that they have to worry about all the time. We constantly have to be aware of our surroundings whereas they can just walk down the street and not have to worry about anything except what their goal was, so they get to use all their energy on one thing where we have to, um, put it everywhere. (Barb explaining her agreement with Statement 31: *In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.*).

Similarly, Sabina, a Southeast Asian bisexual woman in her twenties without children, linked gender ideologies to violence against women. "Assumptions about men as

assertive, women as passive will often lead to date rape. The statistic of the government of Canada, 1 in 4 women sexually assaulted as a young person; usually it's someone you know." (Sabina in response to Statement 56: *The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women*).

Julia discussed the experience of having a mammogram as an indication of the ways that women's needs are less taken into account by men. She also located power imbalances in heterosexual relationships.

> Oh yeah, that's for sure. Yeah, men wants to keep us, to keep us ah, under. Just when I wanted to have my breasts, my breasts for the cancer... the pain that I went through to have my, you know my breasts, the position the way they squish it and all of that [Laughs] I don't think they do that, to the testicle when they have them test, you know. You know? I believe that guys are... it's nice and comfortable to have a wife to keep the house and to keep the house clean and to be gorgeous for their friends and - I don't know - if I had a wife maybe I'd be successful. (Julia explaining her agreement with Statement 21: *Gender differences are above all else power differences.*)

Julia also described social pressures to fulfil traditional roles as part of women's oppression.

> We have to be mothers [Laughs] yeah. "How come you never have kids?" You know, we have this... this ah, social pressures. I have this friend who is a lovely woman, a giver, and whenever she goes back to, back home- she's from Chile, the old ladies will have to give her heartache about why she didn't have kids. That's in Chile, and here it's not as hard but it's still, given. And I found out, when I was, you know, when I was in my thirties something about "What are you waiting for? Are you waiting to be a millionaire so you can have your kids?" (Julia on Statement 60: *Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.*)

In response to gender hierarchy and discrimination, which they viewed as problematic, participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective advocated resistance, both personally and politically. For instance, Angela viewed gender hierarchy as longstanding and requiring long-term struggle.

> I think it, it is an, ah, an issue that it, it has been really for a long time. It's not just at this time. So, I think that we need more, time, to be more equal with men. I think that it's a matter of time, and also a matter of working on it. And there, and now is, like people is working on that. Like, doing um, research and also people individually and women individually, they are doing their own jobs in order to reach this equality, you know? But, uhh, I think that it is a matter of centuries that women are more oppressed by society than men. (Angela on Statement 60: *Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.*)

Ken, who described himself as a Korean-Canadian gay man in his twenties, discussed his work within his career in helping to resist social norms with respect to career choices.

> I come from, I'm a physicist and right now I'm working in a research group dedicated to promoting science to women and minorities. Problem is, few women/minorities are participating. One reason is women avoid fields they think society doesn't want them to do. People think they're expected to go into something or not because they're either female or male. (Ken on Statement 37: *It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.*)

Finally, Michelle, who described herself as a Black African Canadian bisexual woman in her twenties without children, argued that it is important that children be made aware of and resist gender stereotypes, rather than simply pursuing their own interests.

> This is one that I think- I mean, I'm not a parent, I've never raised any kids, but..., I guess ignore is kind of a strong word because - I don't want my children to ignore the fact that gender stereotypes exist, but I want

them to know that they exist and then ignore them, so. [Laughs] (Michelle on Statement 43: *Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests*.)

Validation. Both Osay and Albert selected my description of the Gender Diversity perspective as most representative of their views. Albert found the description of the Gender Diversity perspective "very close, whereas the others, not a bit". The Q-sorts for both of these participants were fairly consistent; correlations between first and second Q-sorts were above .6 (see Table 9).

Demographics. Of the 51 participants who loaded on Gender Diversity only, 36 were nontransgender women (25 heterosexual, 4 bisexual, 3 lesbian and 4 with other sexual orientations); 11 were nontransgender men (7 heterosexual, 1 bisexual, 3 gay), 2 were transgender (FtM) men and 1 was gender neutral (and later FtM); these last 3 participants listed their sexual orientation as outside of standard categories. The 51 participants ranged in age from 20 to 70 (median = 37, M =39, SD = 13).

Twelve identified as White, Irish or Scottish; 9 as Canadian; 7 as Asian, Chinese, Japanese or Korean; 6 as African, Black, Caribbean, Grenadian or Jamaican; 4 as First Nations, Ojibwe or Métis, 4 as Western European, German, Italian or Greek; 2 as Latina, 2 as Jewish and 1 each as Eastern European, Eurasian, Portuguese/Guyanese and Southeast Asian. Thirty-five (69%) grew up in Canada, 6 had lived in Canada for twenty or more years, 3 for ten to fifteen years, 2 for five to ten years, and 4 for fewer than five years. Twenty-seven (53%) were parents. Four (8%) had elementary or some high school education, 4 (8%) had completed high school, 14 (27%) had some postsecondary education, 17 (33%) had completed college or university, and 12 (24%) had post graduate

education. Nineteen (37%) defined themselves as having a religion. Thirty-eight (75%) described themselves as feminist.

Perspective 2: Social Essentialism

The second perspective, which I labelled Social Essentialism, had 23 individuals with salient positive component loadings. Of these, 14 loaded positively on Social Essentialism only, 7 also had salient loadings on one other perspective, and the remaining 2 had salient loadings on three perspectives (see Table 7).

Placement of Q-sort statements. Participants who represented the Social Essentialism perspective emphasized substantial and enduring gender differences, which they argued are positive and important to maintain. The Social Essentialism perspective participants viewed gender as primarily social rather than biological. According to this perspective, gender norms are passed down culturally and are maintained socially through socialization and interpersonal pressure. The Social Essentialism participants regarded binary gender socialization as important, and supported traditional family structures. They responded negatively to gender nonconformity and to the blurring of gender differences. They viewed gender conformity as particularly important for men and boys. The array of component scores for the Social Essentialism perspective is shown in Appendix U.

Participants who represented the Social Essentialism perspective emphasized gender differences (see Table 18). They viewed gender differences as important and enduring (58, 32), and substantial enough to justify and necessitate gender-specific patterns of employment (53). Social Essentialism participants did not support androgyny

as an ideal, not did they value diminishing gender roles within heterosexual relationships

(35, 30).

Table 18. Perspective 2 Key Statements: Gender Differences

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	+0.0	**+4.8**	+3.6[a]	+1.0	+2.0
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	-1.7	**+4.0**	+1.3	+1.9	+2.1
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	+1.8	**-2.5**	-2.1[a]	+2.3	-0.3
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	+1.5	**-3.0**	+0.6	+0.5	+2.7
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	+1.1	**-3.3**	-2.4[a]	-1.1	+3.0

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Social Essentialism perspective (p < .01).

Participants who represented the Social Essentialism perspective understood

gender as a social phenomenon (see Table 19). Social Essentialism perspective

participants perceived gender differences from childhood (18), including brain

differences (42). However, they did not agree that gender differences or sexual

orientation are primarily genetic (50, 26). Instead, they viewed gender as culturally based

and socially maintained. Social Essentialism participants viewed gender conformity as a

social responsibility, and gender nonconformity as individualism pursued at the expense

of the social good (23). They rejected an account of gender based on hierarchy and power (21).

Table 19. Perspective 2 Key Statements: Determinants of Gender and Sexual Orientation

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	+0.0	+3.8	+4.2[a]	-0.3	+2.2[a]
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	+0.2	+2.2	-0.5	-0.2	+0.3
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	-2.1	+1.5	-0.4	-1.4	-1.1
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	-2.0[a]	-1.8	+2.1	+2.8	+0.5
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-3.1[a]	-3.5	+4.4	-1.3	-0.5
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	+0.8	-4.3	-2.6	-1.2	+0.5

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Social Essentialism perspective ($p < .01$).

Consistent with the view that gender is primarily social rather than biological, participants representing the Social Essentialism perspective emphasized gender socialization (see Table 20). They argued that boys and girls should be raised differently (14), and that children should be taught to conform to gender roles (44). They did not agree that children should be exposed to activities that do not conform to gender norms (15, 6, 43). In addition, consistent with their emphasis on socialization of binary gender

roles, they strongly agreed that children should be raised in heterosexual two-parent

families (2).

Table 20. Perspective 2 Key Statements: Gender Socialization

			Perspective		
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	-1.8	**+4.0**	+0.1	+3.2[a]	+5.1[a]
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	-3.0	**+3.2**	-0.6	+1.6[a]	+2.5[a]
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	+4.1	**-0.8**	+3.2	+2.7	+1.4
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	+2.5	**-1.5**	+2.1	+0.2[a]	+2.9
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	+3.7	**-1.9**	+2.7	+0.3	-0.2
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	+1.9	**-4.2**	-1.6	-0.5	+3.9

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Social Essentialism perspective (p < .01).

Participants who represented the Social Essentialism perspective responded

negatively to gender nonconformity (see Table 21). They opposed "drag", and "sissy"-

like behaviour in boys (16, 39). Although they did not agree that feminine behaviour in

boys would likely result in adult homosexuality (19), they did not reject this statement as

much as most of the perspectives. Consistent with their assertion that gender

nonconformity has a negative effect on others, they admitted to being uncomfortable

when unable to determine a person's gender (29). Finally, they were opposed to body

modification, including both cosmetic surgery and gender reassignment surgery (3, 36).

Table 21. Perspective 2 Key Statements: Gender Nonconformity

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	+1.3	**+3.9**	-0.1	-1.5	+3.3[a]
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	-2.2	**+2.4**	+0.1	-1.0	-1.1
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-3.3	**-0.4**	-2.4	-1.9[a]	-2.2
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	+1.1	**-2.9**	+0.7	-1.8[a]	-2.8[a]
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	+1.7	**-4.0**	+0.9	-2.9[a]	-2.8[a]
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-0.9	**-4.6**	+0.7	+4.8	-3.7[a]

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive;
GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Social Essentialism perspective (p < .01).

The Social Essentialism perspective participants placed particular emphasis on gender conformity in men (see Table 22). Social Essentialism participants attributed negative consequences for gender nonconformity in men, both physically (having a small penis) and behaviourally (5, 41). For this perspective, gender was defined in terms of heterosexuality. Masculinity was defined as heterosexual masculinity (10), and femininity was defined in terms of male heterosexual attraction (9).

Table 22. Perspective 2 Key Statements: Men and Gender

	Perspective				
	GD	**SE**	BP	GM	DE
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	+1.1	**+3.0**	+1.7[a]	+0.2	-1.3
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	-2.6	**+2.6**	-1.3	+1.5[a]	-0.1
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	-2.7	**+2.3**	-1.6	+3.6[a]	+0.2
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	+0.0	**+2.0**	+0.6[a]	-2.1	-4.1

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Social Essentialism perspective (p < .01).

Interviews. During the follow-up, I interviewed Cheung, who described himself as a Chinese heterosexual man in his twenties with no children. I also interviewed Phil, who described himself as an Irish heterosexual man in his fifties with one adult son. Other participants who represented this perspective (i.e., had salient loadings on Social Essentialism only) also commented on individual statements they most agreed with or most disagreed with after completing the main study Q-sort.

Participants who represented the Social Essentialism perspective defined gender in terms of difference. Their accounts of gender also presumed heterosexuality. For instance, Thomas, who described himself as a Chinese heterosexual man in his thirties without children, stated, "Men are basically men and women are women. So, you're created born that way, um, men attract to women and women attract to the men. (Thomas explaining his agreement with Statement 42: *Men's brains work differently than women's brains.*)

Phil agreed that heterosexuality and sexual relationships with women were central to his view of himself as a man.

> For me, you know, I guess being able to sexually please a woman, or
> being able to be with a woman - that does play a big role in how I see
> myself as a man, it definitely does. Uh, my ability to have children, you
> know, my ability to reproduce, my ability to be able to relate to a woman
> in a, you know, in a - certain manner too - how a man treats a woman or
> what have you. (Phil explaining his agreement with Statement 10: *An
> important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women*).

For the Social Essentialism perspective, gender differences are inevitable and unchanging. Phil emphasized that any disruption of these differences would be radical and unnatural.

> That natural law, that fundamental difference between women and men,
> that's not going to change- at least not through any natural method, you
> know what I mean? As far as I can see anyways, unless something really-
> some really radically different form of evolution were to happen over the
> next little while, you know what I mean? (Phil, explaining his agreement
> with Statement 58: *Women will always be fundamentally different from
> men.*)

Social Essentialism perspective participants assumed considerable biological and physiological gender differences. For instance, Roberto, who described himself as an ethnically German and Slavic, culturally Latino heterosexual man in his thirties without children, listed differences in physical strength and ability as central to his perception of gender differences.

> Women are very different. For instance, figure out women lifting up 50kg pipes... It would be very painful for your elbow, for your bones, for your shoulder - I think so. Eh, I mean, well from the very first beginning they act different, they sing different and they are not in some kinds of sports because the physical structure of their bones are not up to those sports. That's why I disagree. (Roberto explaining his disagreement with Statement 40: *It's fine for girls to act like boys or be tomboys.*)

Although they included biological gender differences within their accounts of gender, the Social Essentialism perspective participants viewed distinct gender roles as natural, even if socially supported, promoted, or constrained. They supported continuing gender arrangements and practices which they saw as enduring, and they labelled themselves "traditional" or "old school", or spoke of beliefs they have held for a long time. For instance, Cheung directly linked physiological evolution with societal evolution.

> So I think why men and women looks different, women can, uh, be pregnant and have babies; the man cannot. That's something that evolved – human beings evolved to adapt to the environment. We might have the same thing in society evolution. So, I don't know if it's one hundred percent correct, but there should be something correct in there - should be a man and a woman play different roles in the society. Some roles should be maintained.

Amir, an African Canadian heterosexual man in his forties with four children, also highlighted the importance of social arrangements based on distinct gender roles. He viewed heterosexual two-parent families as important for children's gender socialization. In addition, he defended these arrangements as longstanding traditions, supported by religion.

> I believe children should be raised by the mother and father. That way they will learn from them. And, even, I'm a religious person too. We believe a woman should be married before she has children, and the children should be raised by a mother and father. That way, it's been like this for generations. People try to change it; it doesn't work. (Amir explaining his agreement with Statement 2: *A child should be raised by a mother and a father.*)

Finally, Phil emphasized gender differences as an inevitable part of social interaction.

> Okay, and again, that may be a traditional upbringing a lot of decades ago, that said that women are different. And, my mother mentioned something to me, and then, it probably meant nothing to her at the time - I was about ten I think. [She said that] in any conversation, in any encounter between a male and female, there is a difference between that and another male. Even if it's your own family. There's always some sort of inherent difference if you're talking to a female as opposed to a male. And I've been thinking of that ever since. Forty years, I guess, and I think there is some truth to it...something that you can't put - I can't put my finger on anyway. If it's female, it's female; it has to be that way, right? If it's male, it's male. (Phil, main study, explaining his agreement with Statement 58: *Women will always be fundamentally different from men.*)

The Social Essentialism perspective participants used the concept of "natural gender" to argue against cosmetic surgery and sex reassignment surgery. For instance, Thomas stated,

Um, I agree with that, with that because I believe that's the way that we were naturally—that's the way nature is and, uh, that's the way that, um, you were born. So that's the natural reason why you should accept your body the way it is (Thomas explaining his agreement with Statement 36: *It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.*).

Similarly, Eddie, who described himself as a Latin American heterosexual man in his twenties, defined the "true self" in terms of the gender assigned at birth. Thus, transgender represented a distortion of one's "true" gender. For this participant, being oneself, for a transgender person, would constitute conformity with their assigned gender. Interestingly, he used the same argument that is often used to justify sex reassignment for transgender people - that denying oneself the surgery will result in ongoing distress and unhappiness - to argue against sex reassignment surgery. For this participant, the gender assigned at birth and one's gendered body parts constitute one's true self.

I'd have to say so, personally. Um, you know, like I'm not really too fond of the idea of people changing genders. Personally I'm not, you know? That doesn't mean I feel people should be persecuted for it or discriminated against for it, but I don't think it's right. Yeah, I don't think it's right to me, like I consider that a form of mutilation and a form of desecration in some kind of way, you know what I mean? But you know, regardless of my opinion about that, yeah. I think it's always better to accept who you are than to want to be somebody else, you know what I mean? It's just like I think as long as people want to be something *other than what they are* they're going to live in a state of permanent and total dissatisfaction and frustration with themselves, right? (italics added) (Eddie explaining his agreement with Statement 36: *It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.*)

In addition to supporting gender conformity, Social Essentialism perspective participants responded negatively to gender nonconformity. Just as they understood gender conformity as natural, they constructed gender nonconformity as "confused", or "unnatural". They viewed gender conformity as particularly important for boys. For instance, Patrick, who described himself as a Native Canadian heterosexual man in his twenties, was opposed to gender nonconformity in his son. "I don't want him to play with girl toys. I don't see what important experiences he's missing out on, personally." Roberto argued that gay men should "pass" as heterosexual. "If he's gay, he can be gay appearing like straight man. It should not be a travesty." As well, during the follow-up Phil gave an account of how social pressures were underlying his concerns about his son's gendered behaviour.

> Okay, I think I would, I mean I do have a son, who is heterosexual. I must confess that when he was growing up I was wondering about his... being a little too effeminate, uh, which wasn't – I didn't like the idea. That was, he's now 36, so that was 30 years ago. Quite frankly, I don't think I'd like it if he turned out to be homosexual, because of the problems he would have with society, and the problems I would have with society, justifying. It's much easier, uh, to do things in the traditional manner. That's probably my only, uh, my only hang-up with it. It's funny, he happened to go to [name of university], and he chose a job as manager of a car wash, and I find myself justifying that, because he's not using his full potential. So maybe it's just the, uh, a parental thing that you want your, your child to be the stereotype of what you – what society is dictating, it's suggestion that they should be... the loftiest of goals, I think. And, maybe that's what I was concerned about when I thought he might have some feminine characteristics as well. It fits in with the - with the respect of society.

Validation. During the follow-up interview, Cheung selected my description of

the Social Essentialism perspective as most representative of his views (see Table 11).

His first and second Q-sorts were correlated .683 (see Table 9), and he stated that he did

not believe his views had changed between the main study and the follow-up. In contrast,

Phil found Perspectives 1 and 4 (Gender Diversity and Gender Minimizing) most similar

to his current views. He responded somewhat negatively to the description of the Social

Essentialism perspective.

> I'd be somewhat on the middle in this one because it would just be easier
> if everyone went along with society's definitions and stereotypes. But it's
> not that – not that being the case. Uh, for example, the, um, "someone
> should really think it over [before having] gay or lesbian relationships"
> well, I don't think that's - a question of whether you want to or not.
> You're inclined that way or you're not inclined that way. [*EB: All right.*]
> So in this case, I'd have to be very neutral. [*EB: Okay, was there anything
> you liked about this one?*] Um, not really. Just the fact that it's too, too cut
> and dried... Not much I liked about it. Although some of it is true, it's - I
> guess it does feel that way.

Based on his Q-sort responses, Phil's perspectives on gender appeared to have

changed to some extent; his second Q-sort correlated only .383 with his first Q-sort. Phil

believed his views had changed; and he attributed the change to his involvement in a self

help group. He contrasted his previous racist and anti-gay attitudes with his current

approach.

> [I'm] maybe just a little more tolerant. And I think just the fact, being
> involved with [self help group]. I've had to meet more people, and um, it
> goes along with just your whole thinking. At one point I was the
> traditional redneck. You know, I didn't like Blacks, or Jews, or Pakis, or
> homosexuals or anybody that wasn't exactly like me... So when I first met

> you I was very recently, uh, a nondrinker. And then a couple of years passed[5] and I think I've just become more, more tolerant of things in general, including homosexuals.

The issue of tolerance of difference, especially of nonheterosexual sexual orientations, was important to Phil throughout the interview.

> And I wonder if people accept [homosexuals] because I find in fact a lot of them do, actually accept them, genuinely, and probably others do because it's the um, it's dictated by society that they should. Which isn't, because I, - just observing other people, I find there's a lot more tolerance than there was. A lot of people accept homosexuals not because.... they're told they should, but because they really do.

Demographics. Of the 14 participants who loaded on Social Essentialism only, 12 were heterosexual men and 2 were heterosexual women. None identified as transgender or previously transgender. The 14 Social Essentialism participants ranged in age from 25 to 81 (median = 34, M =45, SD = 19).

Three identified as African or Jamaican; 3 as Asian or Chinese Canadian; 3 as White, Irish or Scottish; two as Native Canadian Ojibwe; 2 as Latino; and 1 as Canadian. Eight (57%) grew up in Canada, 3 (21%) had lived in Canada for twenty or more years, 1 (7%) for five to ten years, and 2 (14%) for fewer than five years. Four (29%) were parents. Two (14%) had some high school education, 2 (14%) had completed high school, 4 (29%) had some postsecondary education, 5 (36%) had completed college or university, and 1 (7%) had post graduate education. Six (43%) defined themselves as having a religion. Four (29%) described themselves as feminist.

Perspective 3: Biological Progressive

The third perspective, which I labelled Biological Progressive, had 58 individuals

with salient positive primary pattern matrix loadings. Of these, 31 had salient loadings on

Biological Progressive only and 27 loaded on one additional perspective (see Table 7).

Placement of Q-sort statements. Participants who exemplified the Biological

Progressive perspective viewed gender as primarily biological. They perceived

substantial, biologically based gender differences, including brain differences. Further,

they viewed gender and sexual orientation as genetically determined and fixed.

Biological Progressive perspective participants perceived gender inequalities in Canadian

society; however, they viewed these inequalities as the result of primary biological

gender differences. These participants did not advocate inculcating gendered behaviour;

rather, they believed gender differences in behaviour emerge naturally in most cases.

They were likely to view gender nonconformity, including nonheterosexual sexual

orientation, as biologically determined, and they were supportive of sexual minorities and

transgender people. The array of component scores for the Biological Progressive

perspective is shown in Appendix V.

The Biological Progressive perspective participants emphasized biologically

based gender differences (see Table 23). They perceived substantial and enduring gender

differences, including brain differences (58, 32, 42). They viewed gender differences

positively (35), and viewed binary gender as necessary in current society (51).

Table 23. Perspective 3 Key Statements: Gender Differences

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	**BP**	GM	DE
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	+0.0	+3.8[a]	**+4.2**	-0.3	+2.2
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	+0.0	+4.8[a]	**+3.6**	+1.0	+2.0[a]
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	+1.4	+2.6[a]	**+2.7**	-2.4	+0.8
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	+1.8	-2.5[a]	**-2.1**	+2.3	-0.3[a]
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	+1.1	-3.3[a]	**-2.4**	-1.1[a]	+3.0

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Biological Progressive perspective (p < .01).

The Biological Progressive perspective participants favoured genetic explanations for gender and gendered behaviour (See Table 24). They viewed gender differences as genetically determined (26) and they also viewed sexual orientation as a fixed, innate characteristic (50, 8).

Table 24. Perspective 3 Key Statements: Determinants of Gender and Sexual Orientation

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	**BP**	GM	DE
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-3.1	-3.5	**+4.4**	-1.3	-0.5
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	-3.1	-1.6	**+2.3**	-2.4	+1.5[a]
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	-2.0	-1.8	**+2.1**	+2.8[a]	+0.5[a]

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Biological Progressive perspective (p < .01).

Not surprisingly, participants who exemplified the Biological Progressive

perspective rejected nonbiological explanations for gender and sexual orientation (see

Table 25). They found socialization (27), socially constructed power hierarchies (21) and

personal choice (49) to be inadequate accounts for gender and gender differences. They

did not deny that gender hierarchy existed within Canada (31), but rather that gender

differences were *based on* power and hierarchy.

Table 25. Perspective 3 Key Statements: Social Determinants of Gender

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	**BP**	GM	DE
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	+2.2[a]	+0.0	**+2.4**	-2.9	-0.3
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	+0.8	-4.3[b]	**-2.5**	-1.2[a]	+0.5
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	+0.2	+2.0	**-2.6**	-1.4[a]	+0.4
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	+3.2	+2.3	**-6.0**	+4.4	+0.5

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Biological Progressive perspective (p < .01).
[b] SE < **BP** < GD, DE (p < .01).

Even though participants who exemplified the Biological Progressive perspective

perceived gender in terms of difference, they were not particularly interested in

promoting gender differences (see Table 26). Thus, the Biological Progressive

perspective participants advocated that all children be exposed to a wide range of

activities regardless of gender (43, 15). They were especially supportive of gender

nonconformity in girls (40).

Table 26. Perspective 3 Key Statements: Gender Socialization

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	**BP**	GM	DE
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	+2.6	+0.4	**+3.9**	+1.1	-0.4
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	+4.1[a]	-0.8	**+3.2**	+2.7[a]	+1.4[a]
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	+3.7[b]	-1.9	**+2.7**	+0.3	-0.2

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Biological Progressive perspective (p < .01).
[b] GD > **BP** > SE, GM, DE.

Just as Biological Progressive perspective participants did not agree with forcing children to conform to gender roles, they similarly opposed limitations on adults who did not conform to (heterosexual) gender norms (see Table 27). In particular, the Biological Progressive perspective participants were supportive of self-determination for transgender people (54, 47), and strongly denied that homosexuality was immoral, or that individuals should reconsider nonnormative sexual or gender identities for the sake of their families or others in society (24, 45).

Table 27. Perspective 3 Key Statements: Transgender and Sexuality

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	**BP**	GM	DE
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	+2.1	-0.4	**+3.2**	+4.3[a]	-2.2
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	-2.3[a]	+1.1	**-3.0**	-3.5[a]	+0.8
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-2.2	+0.9	**-4.3**	-2.1	-0.2
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-4.1	+0.5	**-5.3**	-2.1	+1.2

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a] Not significantly different from the Biological Progressive perspective (p < .01).

Despite their support for gay, lesbian and transgender people, participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective were not in agreement on the question of whether children need a heterosexual two-parent family (2; see Table 28).

Table 28. Perspective 3 Key Statements: Family Structure

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	**BP**	GM	DE
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	-1.8	+4.0	**+0.1**	+3.2	+5.1

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
GD < **BP** < SE, GM, DE (p < .01).

Interviews. In the follow-up, I interviewed Noah, who described himself as a Jewish Canadian heterosexual man in his forties, and a father of two young children. I also interviewed Samantha, who described herself as a heterosexual woman of Eastern European cultural background in her thirties, and a mother of two young children. Other participants who represented this perspective (i.e., had salient loadings on Biological Progressive only) also commented on individual statements they most agreed with or most disagreed with after completing the main study Q-sort.

Participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective represented gender differences as substantial and primarily biological. They accounted for differences in personality, behaviour, communication styles, etc. between particular men and women as the results of biological gender differences. For instance, Audrey, who described herself as an English Canadian heterosexual women in her seventies with three adult children, offered differences in attention and interests between herself and her husband as evidence of brain differences that render women and men "totally different".

> Oh, absolutely. [Laughs] You don't get to be 77 years old without
> realizing that they're totally different. But, since I believe its part of the
> charm that they are different - I mean, I could give you lots of silly little
> examples of how I think they work differently, but... [EB: Actually, do
> you have any examples?] Well, I just, I think women are so caught up in
> the sort of minutiae of living; they like sort of little things, they like
> comfort things... They like all these things, which just, wash over a man,
> they don't seem to, you know. I remember once buying a new chair and
> my husband sat in it for a week before he realized it was different from
> the, you know... and whenever I wanted to buy something a little bit
> extravagant, my husband used to say, "Is that something new?" and I used
> to say, "No, had it for ages." And, I mean, he was so happy from there

> [Laughs] and yet...a woman, would... pick it up right away. Oh, there's so
> many things in that category. (Audrey, explaining her agreement with
> Statement 42: *Men's brains work differently than women's brains.*)

Similarly, Heather, who described herself as an English/Irish heterosexual woman in her

forties with one child, described her growing perception of gender differences, which she

attributed to differences in DNA.

> I mean, I grew up thinking that, um, a woman could do anything a guy
> could do. A boy could do- a girl could do anything a boy could do - and
> even better. Like I had confidence, and, you know, I had brothers, and I
> felt like I could do anything a guy could do. But I realized growing up it's
> not that way. And, and the more- and then having a boy, four sons, you
> know, having a child, you realize, there is something definitely different
> about these - this [pause] gender. And, the more I learned the more I
> realized, I think it is in their brains. I think it's genetic. We have something
> in our DNA that is different, than men, and nothing will ever change that.
> You know, yeah. That's what I think. Nothing will ever change it. So it
> makes them difficult. It'll always, and maybe we have that other little
> thing that makes it difficult for us to totally understand them. And they
> have something in them that is, like, you know, jokingly it's like
> something that's lacking. [Laughs] But, I think it's definitely in the DNA,
> and that there's something that, just, and that's why they are men and boys
> and that's why we are women. (Heather explaining her agreement with
> Statement 42: *Men's brains work differently than women's brains.*)

Stan, who described himself as an Irish/Scottish heterosexual man in his fifties without

children, described differences he noticed in communication with women versus men as

differences in "wiring".

> 'Cause when I'm with a guy I can, I know how to talk to him, you know?
> But with a woman I have to go...change, jyuuut... [Laughs] get down here
> in third gear. "I get it now. Oh yeah, yeah, there's a different way." See, I

can tell just by looking at a guy what - where he's at. But [with women] you have to negotiate. Women's brains are different. They're wired up different. Unless, uh, you know, unless you live with, I mean that's a different - that's what, you have to live with 'em. I don't know - I'm not a doctor. (Stan explaining his agreement with Statement 42: *Men's brains work differently than women's brains.)*

Other participants attributed gender differences to biological experiences specific to women. For instance, Carmella, who described herself as a European Jewish Canadian heterosexual woman in her sixties, explained her agreement with Statement 58: *Women will always be fundamentally different from men.* "I think that, uh, there are experiences - women's experiences are so different: getting your period, getting pregnant, giving birth, they're just so different, that, they'll always be different." Stan also included women's childbearing in his account of pervasive gender differences.

Well, they are because they can have babies. And, they're different - they think different. I mean they don't think, but they require different, they have different issues and they have different needs, you know... Relationships are fairly important to them, and, uh, they're different.... They're from Venus or something. (Stan explaining his agreement with Statement 58: *Women will always be fundamentally different from men.*)

For Biological Progressive perspective participants, gender differences are best understood in the realm of science. Biological Progressive perspective participants referred to scientists, researchers and doctors as experts who would best understand gender differences. They argued that answers could be found in research, and that those answers would include DNA, brain structures, and genetics. For instance, Carmella explained her agreement with Statement 42: *Men's brains work differently than women's brains*, "I think that that's, so far anyway, what research, what physiological research tells

us is that men's brain work differently, they're structured differently and they work

differently."

Consistent with their view that gender differences are genetically determined,

participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective downplayed

environmental determinants of gendered behaviour. For instance, Audrey argued that

upbringing will not change children's gender-related behaviour.

> I disagree with this because I don't think upbringing is going to - it's going
> to influence you of course a great deal. But I think if you, if you dress a
> tough little boy up in a girl's frilly frock, he is not going to change that
> much, he's still going to be a little tough, you know. (Audrey explaining
> her agreement with Statement 27: *How masculine and how feminine you
> are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.*)

Bruce, who described himself as a Canadian heterosexual man in his twenties without

children, also argued that children's environment has little impact on gender.

> I just lean toward gender being determined a bit more by genetics. I think
> that, um, a certain child is probably going to have a particular, I guess,
> interest or bias towards one gender or the other despite the kind of toys
> and exposure growing up (explaining her/his agreement with Statement
> 18: *Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as
> boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.*)

Biological Progressive perspective participants also viewed sexual orientation as

genetically determined, and hence as fixed and unchangeable. For instance, Eric, who

described himself as a German-Scottish gay man in his thirties without children,

discussed the failed attempts of gay men who tried to become heterosexual, during a time

of greater anti-gay oppression, as evidence for the inalterability of sexual orientation.

Sexual orientation doesn't change. And I know that from all those guys in
the past before gay liberation - they would try and try and try to be straight
and have kids and all that and it just wouldn't work. They'd eventually end
up divorced. You are what you are. When I went into puberty and by the
time I was finished I knew I was gay - it's never going to change. And if I
had gone straight, I would have been that way totally. The ones who are
still confused about it in their twenties and thirties can't face who they are
- that's my take on it. (Eric, explaining his agreement with Statement 8: *An
adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.*)

Lorraine, who described herself as an Anglo Saxon heterosexual woman in her sixties
with two children, also argued that environmental factors have little impact on sexual
orientation, which she linked to masculinity and femininity.

I don't agree with that because if a person is brought up to think they're
the most masculine little boy or the most feminine little girl, I think some
things are genetic, and they might choose because of their upbringing to
be a lovely feminine girl or a perfect wife. And it's just not in them to do
it. They may want something - it might be their choice to be the perfect
wife but their genetic make up won't allow that. (Lorraine explaining her
disagreement with Statement 49: *Sexual orientation is a matter of
personal choice.*)

Samantha also downplayed the effects of the environment on sexual orientation.

Given the examples of the people I know, and the examples in their
families and when they realized they were - they were not heterosexual
and all that kind of stuff, I'd have a hard time believing it was society that
was influencing the decision, because I don't honestly think an eight-year-
old boy has a tremendous amount of environmental pressure on him to be
gay.

Dave, who described himself as an East European Jewish man in his sixties, associated
the view that sexual orientation can change with the rhetoric of anti-gay religious

conservatives (i.e., Jerry Falwell) who argue that gay men and lesbians can and should change their sexual orientation.

> Well, I assume, I mean, I'm not a medical person, I don't have a medical background. But certainly as an adult, whatever your sexual orientation is, as a child whatever your sexual orientation's going to be, it's not going to change. Jerry Falwell, or anybody else, regardless of what they say. (Dave explaining his agreement with Statement 8: *An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.*)

Participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective argued that pre-existing differences make it impossible to treat boys and girls the same. Will, who described himself as a Canadian heterosexual man in his thirties without children, argued that girls' and boys' differences would shape their environments by eliciting different responses.

> I don't think it's entirely possible… and I don't think that young boys and girls will necessarily put themselves into identical situations which would allow a parent to raise them the same way. I think that there's definitely a naturally – I mean, typically natural way – that a boy is going to raise up, uh, is gonna grow up a typically different way that a girl is going to grow up. So I think they'll have different experiences, and being a parent – which I'm not – um, you need to react and, um, nurture them in different ways. (Will explaining his disagreement with Statement 14: *Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.*)

Nevertheless, the Biological Progressive perspective participants agreed that adults should not impose gender restrictions on children. This was not in order to protect children from gender socialization. Since they considered gendered behaviour to be mostly innate, they expected differences between girls and boys to emerge without adult intervention in most children. In fact, a few parents noted that their own children's gender

conformity surprised them, and that they had expected their children to have less gendered play styles and preferences. For instance, Noah described how his children's play interests were more gender conforming than he had expected, despite the children's exposure to a wide range of toys.

> Well, I mean, I have a boy and a girl, and my daughter grew up with, you know, everybody was bringing her toys, we were giving her toys, and uh, but the cars and the trucks that she had, she tended not to play with, which is interesting. She was extremely, sort of, uh, stereotypical in what she played with. Barbie dolls, and all this kind of stuff. And then when my son was born three and a half years later we expected him to just naturally play with her stuff, feminine stuff, girl stuff for a while, until he got old enough. But he never did. He never got into her stuff. He naturally grabbed the toys, the trucks and the balls that she wasn't playing with, and went right to those. So, uh, as much as we were trying to treat them basically the same, they naturally, sort of fell into their own stereotypical ways. Which kind of surprised us. Because I didn't think it was going to be that prominent... My little boy who's five is always running around the house with a dagger, or a sword, or a gun. My daughter never goes near those things. And they're around the house. And, the story of him not playing with her toys, well, now she's not playing with his toys. The real, like, guy stuff. She doesn't pick them up, which surprises me. Would think she would pick them up. I mean, there might be the odd exception, but it happens really rarely. Really really rarely. So, I've been surprised by it. Because I kind of thought it would be more grey. But the two of them - absolutely, you know?

Biological Progressive participants gave two rationales for exposing their children to a wide range of activities regardless of gender stereotypes. First, they pointed to the information children could gain from exposure to activities not usually associated with their gender. Noah stated,

You know, you raise them, you give them choices, you provide a lot of variety in their life, whether it's, like boys' toys or girls' toys, that sort of thing - whatever. You expose them to a lot. Let them see... um, like, I meant more what I would call normal things for children at that specific age, but that they, um, you know, and, yeah, the gender stereotypes - forget it. You know? Because, like my son had a kitchen, and he liked to bake a cake. And, I think you do have to expose them to all things because that boy's gotta grow up and cook on his own, you know, we're not the people our parents were. And, uh, you want them to be independent, healthy, well rounded. And when they grow up, whatever they do gender, you know, sexual-wise, they have to, and whatever they feel they have to feel comfortable. And, that they, they are their interests, and their, you know, um, their choices. And their lifestyle, and they need to be comfortable with it, with whatever it is for them.

Second, they believed that a small number of children have strong gender nonconforming interests. Since they viewed these interests as innate and not amenable to significant change, they suggested that it is best to support these children and not block them from expressing their own interests and personalities. Noah stated:

Now, [my daughter] is in ballet, and there are some boys in ballet. So there are, and if [my son] said "I want to do ballet", I would encourage that – nothing wrong with that. Again, if he's gay, he's gay. Putting him into ballet doesn't mean we're turning him gay. I don't agree with that. He is what he is. So.

In addition, Samantha described her surprise by her family's reaction to her six-year-old son holding hands with his best (male) friend, which she was not concerned about.

And when they were just starting out, my husband says "Oh well, that's you know, cute. They're little kids." But as they got closer to the age of six, he and my parents were like "You should tell him he can't do that any more, cause he's getting to be older and kids might make fun of him." And

I just thought that, you know, he's a little kid and he'll have to figure that out. And if somebody says something he'll probably mention it and leave it at that. And he just stopped doing it mostly because he's not a very touchy-feely person, whereas the other child I think is more needier of physical contact. But ah, it really kind of surprised me how quickly a lot of people jumped on it as something that wasn't appropriate for, you know, a boy who was now six.

For the Biological Progressive perspective, nontraditional families were considered to be better than problematic traditional nuclear families, but the ideal was nevertheless the two-parent heterosexual family. Noah explained his views on family structure and raising children.

Well, one thing that was making me think, is this whole idea of male and – a mother and a father. I agree that a mother and father is best if you have a good mother and father. Right? If you have a crappy father, uh, an abusive father, a father who is not around, or vice versa with the mother, I don't think that's an advantage to have a mother and a father. So, in the best-case scenario, I would think that having a male figure and a female figure in the house as good parents would be ideal. But do I think that having a, a, a, same sex parent - we know same sex parents, both male and female, and we don't judge them as being good or bad parents. To us [my wife and I], they're just parents of these kids. And we've seen, we've seen where, uh, uh, we don't actually think that the kids are going to be in trouble in the long run because they have two fathers or two mothers. It comes out to – but, ideally, I think it's best to have both in the house.

Finally, although participants viewed gender differences as rooted in biology, they nevertheless perceived societal gender discrimination. The examples they gave were focused on discrimination at the workplace. Samantha described difficulties specific to women who have children.

Um, I when I was pregnant and I finally told my employer, they

miraculously managed to move my job to another city. And I was the third

woman who upon getting pregnant that had happened to. And when I went

back for an interview, when something else opened up a couple years later

I happened to be pregnant again. And they somehow found out. And the

interview, instead of being over coffee was at a bar, so of course I wasn't

ordering any booze. And going to Human Rights, and spending a whole

lot of money, and never getting a job in the field again after that... And it

was just because it was an industry that's mostly men, and they just don't

think that women are willing to put in the kind of hours and effort and all

the rest of it, especially after they have kids. Before they have kids they're

fine, but once they have kids they pretty much assume that you're... and

most of the men I worked with, their wives were at home.

Heather also noted gender discrimination in the workplace, which she thought would

disappear as gender stereotypes lessen over time.

Um, I think they do. It's a shame [laugh] but they do, it seems to. Of

course, in the business world. And um, you know, it's because we still

come from the old boys' world. But as society changes, that will change.

And as women become more - just as women start showing what they're

really made of, then the male population will realize 'Hey, this woman can

do this, just like I did or just like I can do', and they will see you for your

skills, and not for um, you know, 'oh, she's a woman' - you know, that

kind of thing - the stereotype - it will go away. (Heather explaining her

agreement with Statement 31: *In Canadian society, men have an*

advantage over women.)

Validation. Both Noah and Samantha selected my description of the Biological

Progressive perspective as most representative of their views (see Table 11). The Q-sorts

for both of these participants were consistent; correlations between first and second Q-sorts were above .6 (see Table 9).

Demographics. Of the 31 participants who loaded on the Biological Progressive perspective only, 15 were heterosexual women, 11 were heterosexual men, and 5 were gay men. None identified as transgender or previously transgender. The 31 Biological Progressive perspective participants ranged in age from 22 to 82 (median = 52, M =55, SD = 16). Twelve identified as White or British; 10 as Canadian; 4 as Jewish; 3 as Western European, and 1 as Eastern European, and 1 did not specify her ethnic or cultural background. Twenty-four grew up in Canada, and the other 7 had lived in Canada for thirty or more years. Twenty (65%) were parents. Two (6%) had some high school education, 5 (16%) had completed high school, 8 (26%) had some postsecondary education, 9 (29%) had completed college or university, and 7 (23%) had post graduate education. Seventeen (55%) defined themselves as having a religion. Twenty (65%) described themselves as feminist.

Perspective 4: Gender Minimizing

The fourth perspective, which I labelled Gender Minimizing, had 21 individuals with salient positive primary pattern matrix loadings. Of these, 12 loaded on Gender Minimizing only, 8 loaded on one additional perspective, and 1 loaded on two additional perspectives (see Table 7).

Placement of Q-sort statements. Participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective viewed gender as unproblematic. They consistently rejected statements that framed gender as a social problem. In particular, they denied that current

gender relations in Canada are harmful to women. The Gender Minimizing perspective participants were mostly untroubled by gender nonconformity, including nonheterosexual sexualities. They were particularly supportive of the rights of transgender individuals to self-determination with respect to their gender. They viewed sex reassignment surgery as similar to any other kind of surgery. Despite the lack of importance they placed on gender, the Gender Minimizing perspective participants were in favour of some aspects of traditional family structure and traditional gender roles, especially for boys. They also supported medical intervention for intersex infants, although they did not view unusual genital size as a problem. The array of component scores for the Gender Minimizing perspective is shown in Appendix W.

Participants who represented the Gender Minimizing participants denied that gender is a social problem (see Table 29). They rejected statements that presented gender in terms of inequality (31, 48, 56), and they denied that the effects of gender intersect with race/ethnicity (25). Finally, they disagreed that binary gender is necessary in current society (51).

Table 29. Perspective 4 Key Statements: Gender and Society

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	**GM**	DE
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	+1.4	+2.6	+2.7	**-2.4**	+0.8
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	+2.2	+0.0	+2.4	**-2.9**	-0.3
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	+0.3	-1.8	-1.7[a]	**-3.8**	+3.2
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	+2.5	-0.4	+1.5	**-4.1**	-2.0[a]
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	+0.6	+0.4	-0.9	**-4.2**	-2.6[a]

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Gender Minimizing perspective (p < .01).

Participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective consistently supported the rights of transgender individuals to determine their own gender (see Table 30). The Gender Minimizing perspective participants strongly agreed that transgender individuals should be able to determine their own gender (54), and argued that transgender represents self-expression rather than gender confusion (20, 47). Consistent with the view that gender is not particularly important, the Gender Minimizing perspective participants did not perceive sex reassignment surgery as special or distinct from other types of medical interventions. Instead they agreed that sex reassignment surgery is a "medical procedure like any other" (3).

Table 30. Perspective 4 Key Statements: Transgender

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	**GM**	DE
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-0.9	-4.6	+0.7	**+4.8**	-3.7
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	+2.1	-0.4	+3.2[a]	**+4.3**	-2.2
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	+1.7	+0.5	+1.9[a]	**+3.7**	-3.2
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	-2.3[a]	+1.1	-3.0[a]	**-3.5**	+0.8

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Gender Minimizing perspective (p < .01).

Participants who exemplified the Gender Minimizing perspective also rejected statements that condemned homosexuality (45, 24; see Table 31). They strongly agreed that sexual orientation is "a matter of personal choice" (49). They viewed sexual orientation as potentially fluid (8), and not primarily determined by genetics (50).

Table 31. Perspective 4 Key Statements: Sexual Orientation

			Perspective		
	GD	SE	BP	**GM**	DE
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	+3.2[a]	+2.3	-6.0	**+4.4**	+0.5
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-3.1	-3.5[a]	+4.4	**-1.3**	-0.5[a]
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-4.1[b]	+0.5	-5.3[b]	**-2.1**	+1.2
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-2.2[a]	+0.9	-4.3[c]	**-2.1**	-0.2[a]
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	-3.1[a]	-1.6[a]	+2.3	**-2.4**	+1.5

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Gender Minimizing perspective (p < .01).
[b]BP < GD < **GM** < SE, DE (p < .01).
[c]BP < **GM**, GD, DE; **GM** < SE

Among the Gender Minimizing perspective participants, views about how gender develops were mixed (see Table 32). They perceived gender, but not sexual orientation (50, see Table 31), as primarily genetic (26; see Table 32). However, they also agreed that social structures and messages are primarily responsible for the development of gender differences (13).

Table 32. Perspective 4 Key Statements: Determinants of Gender

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	**GM**	DE
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	-2.0	-1.8	+2.1[a]	**+2.8**	+0.5[a]
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	+2.4[a]	-0.6	-1.7	**+2.3**	-0.0[a]

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Gender Minimizing perspective (p < .01).

Although the Gender Minimizing perspective participants argued that gender is not an important social problem, they did not argue that gender is completely without value or best abandoned (see Table 33). Participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective were in favour of binary gender, in terms of family structure (2) and roles for women (9). Similarly, although they disagreed that unusually sized genitals would be a problem (5, 4) they argued that infants need to have their gender defined by medical personnel if any questions arise (59).

Table 33. Perspective 4 Key Statements: Binary Gender

			Perspective		
	GD	SE	BP	**GM**	DE
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	-2.7	+2.3[a]	-1.6	**+3.6**	+0.2
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	-1.8	+4.0[a]	+0.1	**+3.2**	+5.1[a]
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	-3.0	-0.3	-0.1	**+3.0**	+2.7[a]
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.4[a]	-0.6[a]	-1.1[a]	**-1.9**	-1.5[a]
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	+0.0	+2.0	+0.6	**-2.1**	-4.1[b]

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Gender Minimizing perspective (p < .01).
[b]DE < **GM** < GD, SE, BP

Finally, the Gender Minimizing perspective participants were also varied in their views about gender roles in children (see Table 34). On one hand, participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective agreed that parents should support their children in ignoring gender stereotypes (43). However, they also agreed with the need for gender conformity by adolescence (17), and they responded negatively toward gender nonconformity in boys (39).

Table 34. Perspective 4 Key Statements: Gender Socialization

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	-2.8	+1.0	-1.1	**+2.9**	+3.7[a]
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	+4.1[a]	-0.8	+3.2[a]	**+2.7**	+1.4[a]
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	+1.7	-4.0[a]	+0.9	**-2.9**	-2.8[a]

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Gender Minimizing perspective (p < .01).

Interviews. During the follow-up, I interviewed Tim, who described himself as a

British Canadian heterosexual man in his fifties with two adolescent children. I also

interviewed Dom, who described himself as a Sri Lankan heterosexual man in his fifties

with no children. Other participants who represented this perspective (i.e., had salient

loadings on Gender Minimizing only) also commented on individual statements they

most agreed with or most disagreed with after completing the main study Q-sort.

Participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective viewed gender

as relatively unimportant in most contexts. They did not view gender norms as important

to follow in most situations. Instead they argued that individuals could and should break

these norms according to their own preferences or comfort. In addition, they did not

perceive breaking gender norms as particularly difficult, or as having implications

beyond individual choice. For instance, Mike, who described himself as an Irish

heterosexual man in his sixties with three children, explained his disagreement with

Statement 45: *People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as*

gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual. "I don't agree with that. If you want to... if you

want to do it, do it. To hell with what everybody thinks, you know? As long as you're not

breaking the law." Similarly, Peter, who described himself as a Black heterosexual man

in his thirties without children, argued that individuals can and should ignore gendered

expectations from other people. "You shouldn't let people's opinion bother you. You

should do what makes you comfortable. Don't worry about what somebody else says or

gonna think of you – your friends, you know? You go by your own instincts." (Peter in

response to Statement 43: *Parents should encourage children to ignore gender*

stereotypes and just follow their own interests.)

Peter framed responses to gendered expectations as individual, and suggested that

breaking gender norms would not likely be uncomfortable. In response to the same

statement, Dionne, who described herself as a West Indies African heterosexual woman

in her fifties with four children, argued that "family support" was all that children needed

if they wanted to behave in ways contrary to gender stereotypes. Fiona, who described

herself as a Scottish heterosexual woman in her fifties, also argued that "they should let

children express themselves and be who they want to be. It's not like the olden days."

This latter idea, that gender used to be a much more significant issue than is

currently the case, was mentioned by other participants who represented the Gender

Minimizing perspective. A few participants used the example of the legalization of same

sex marriage as evidence for the decreased importance of gender in Canadian society. For

instance, Peter expected increased acceptance for transgender individuals in the future

based on changes to how same sex relationships are perceived.

> Society won't, like, label because of sex change, or what? [*EB: You can
> see that happening?*] I can see that happening in a couple of years. 'Cause
> right now, they already, it's okay now for gays to get married, so, you
> know, before you couldn't do that. Now you could. So I could see, I could
> see all that breaking away soon. (Peter explaining his agreement with
> Statement 32: *In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter
> much at all.*)

Dom, who defined this perspective, argued that gender does not matter in

Canadian society, and "should not be an issue." However, he qualified this to include

what he called "typical Canadian society", i.e., "that native English speaking society,

people who have been, uh, the second generation of Canadians, or even the first

generation, who had migrated here about thirty to forty years ago." Dom explained his

view that newer Canadians maintain traditions of gender hierarchies that are no longer in

place in "typical Canadian society".

> Yes, it [the description of the Gender Minimizing perspective, Appendix
> P] says "although several years ago men may have had advantage over
> women within the Canadian society, that certainly is not the case now." In
> fact, Canada is becoming very fast a, you know, multiethnic and
> multicultural. I think again that situation is changing because when people
> come here, recently migrated people, they come with their own cultural
> background. There are lots of people coming from African countries as
> well as from Asian countries. Now, they come with their strengths and
> weaknesses, their own cultural habits and beliefs. So, as a result I think,
> uh, still you know there's a certain amount of man dominating society
> within that group, within these groups.

Tim argued that gender discrimination still occurs to some extent. However, his suggestion that women should be "reasonable" and not demand full equality at the workplace because of possible economic consequences, suggests that he did not perceive discrimination to be a serious issue.

> There are some bad examples of major corporations, like Wal-Mart, that are in big trouble as we all know, that have had to straighten this out in a big way, and I think they can work it out because they're not dealing with uh, an aggressive, um, I don't even think it's much of a union that they've got— the retail union is not a very powerful union. Uh, but women are gonna give them a good compromise, that they don't destroy the company. Because you don't wanna kill the golden goose. It's not gonna do the majority the most good. You know? And women have a tendency to look at things from a more, reasonable perspective, which I appreciate.

Consistent with their argument that gender is not particularly important, participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective supported self-determination for transgender people, framed in individualistic terms. Janet, who described herself as a Filipino heterosexual woman in her twenties with one child, framed this as an individual choice to do "whatever they want".

> I do agree with this a lot because it's their own body. They can do whatever they wanted, right? So I think that it's the matter of choice among the person who wants to have a hormonal change or sex change, 'cause this surgery – this surgical procedure – are not going to be cheap - it's expensive. So it's a matter of – if they really wanted to do it then go for it, if it's their personal choice....

Dom also argued that transgender should not be seen as a problem. He likened sex change to a career decision.

I think if somebody wants to change his gender, that that person's wish should be allowed. Why should the society worry about it? And the way that person was born was something beyond that person's control. That's the way the person was born. So we should respect that person's gender, whether that person is female, male or transsexual. And if that person wants to change it, that is his or her own personal decision. [*EB: Okay.*] Just like the way that, that person decided – okay I'm going to do engineering, no I will do medicine. It's like the way that they decide.

Other participants who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective argued that "no one has the right" to say what another person's gender identity or sexual orientation should be.

Although Gender Minimizing perspective participants argued that it is not important that people conform to gendered expectations, they were not entirely opposed to norms based on binary gender. Rather than advocating resistance to gender, they suggested that people ignore gender norms that interfere with their personal desires and goals. However, they agreed with some aspects of traditional gender roles. For instance, Mike argued that being attractive to men is an important aspect of femininity.

No matter how clever, or how sharp a lady is, and there's lots of them out there—if she's not attractive to or attractive... yeah, attractive to men, to men. And, she's therefore not going to receive any complementary discussions or, ah, greetings throughout the day, you know. You come to work and if you look real nice, you tell her she looks nice. But if a guy ignores her, what the hell, you know, she's - poor girl! (Mike explaining his agreement with Statement 9: *An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.*)

Similarly, Gender Minimizing perspective participants did view gender assignment as important early on in an infant's life. Thus, for intersex infants, they

advocated intervention to allow the infant to fit within binary definitions of gender, in order to avoid practical problems. For instance, Mike referred to the bureaucratic requirements of registering an infant's gender. "Well, ah, I'm sure first of all they'd have to, to register the baby's birth. Is it a boy or a girl? You know, there's no in between. And, ah, that's why it's important. To my mind it is." (Mike, explaining his agreement with Statement 59: *When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.*) In responses to the same statement, Paul, who described himself as a Guayacaipuro tribe South American Indian heterosexual man in his twenties with one child, argued that determining an infant's gender must be done early in order to avoid "trouble".

> Yes, um, this is important, when a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's very important to find out which sex the baby really is, for the, for the baby's own sake, and also for the parents. And, for, um, to save a lot of trouble.

Validation. During the follow-up interview, Dom did not select the Gender Minimizing perspective as most representative of his views (see Table 11). He gave Perspective 5 (Different But Equal) the highest rating, followed by three other perspectives including Gender Minimizing. Dom's responses to the Q-sort were not consistent; the correlation between the first and second Q-sort was .272, although he did not believe his views had changed between the main study and the follow-up. Dom particularly took issue with the assertion that gender was not currently a social problem. As discussed above, he believed that this assertion did not apply to all in Canada, and especially not to new Canadians.

Due to time constraints, Tim did not rate my descriptions of the five perspectives.

Like Dom, Tim had a low correlation between his first and second Q-sorts (r = .343).

However, a multiple regression on the five component scores generated regression

weights for the five perspectives of {.20, -.01, .12, .50, and .28}, respectively. These

regression weights suggest that Tim's second Q-sort would have generated salient pattern

matrix loadings on Perspective 4, had it been included at the first phase of the study.

However, this must be interpreted with caution since Tim's first Q-sort was used to

generate the component scores.

Demographics. Of the 12 participants who loaded on Gender Minimizing only, 7

were heterosexual men and 5 were heterosexual women. None identified as transgender

or previously transgender. The 12 Gender Minimizing participants ranged in age from 28

to 77 (median = 50, M =49, SD = 18).

Four identified as White or British; 2 as Black or West Indian African, and 1 each

as South American Amerindian Guayacaipuro, South Asian, Sri Lankan, Filipino, Polish,

and Canadian. Eight grew up in Canada, 1 had lived in Canada for twenty or more years,

1 for five to ten years, and 2 for fewer than five years. Nine (75%) were parents. Four

(33%) had some high school education, 2 (17%) had completed high school, 2 (17%) had

some postsecondary education, 3 (25%) had completed college or university, and 1 (8%)

had post graduate education. Nine (75%) defined themselves as having a religion. Five

(42%) described themselves as feminist.

Perspective 5: Different But Equal

The fifth perspective, which I labelled Different But Equal, had 14 individuals with salient positive primary pattern matrix loadings. Of these, 9 loaded on Different But Equal only, and 5 loaded positively on one additional perspective (see Table 7).

Placement of Q-sort statements. Based on their Q-sort responses, participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective emphasized equal valuing of two distinct genders. They advocated gender equality in how boys and girls are raised and equality within heterosexual relationships. Although they agreed that ideally individuals should have a balance of masculine and feminine traits, they were nevertheless in favour of differentiated binary gender roles. In addition, they rejected nontraditional family structures and gender nonconformity, especially transgender. Finally, they argued that intersex infants need to have their gender medically managed and assigned as early as possible. The array of component scores for the Different But Equal perspective is shown in Appendix X.

Participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective emphasized gender equality (see Table 35). More than any other perspective, these participants agreed that a balance of masculine and feminine qualities is ideal for both children and adults (55, 35). They advocated equality in upbringing of girls and boys (14), and exposure to a range of gender-related toys for both girls and boys (6). They also agreed that heterosexual relationships should ideally be free of gender roles (30), although they did not see this as currently possible (48).

Table 35. Perspective 5 Key Statements: Gender Equality

		Perspective			
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	+2.0	-2.0	-0.1	-1.6	+4.0
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	+1.9	-4.2	-1.6	-0.5	+3.9
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	+0.3	-1.8	-1.7	-3.8	+3.2
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	+1.1[a]	-3.3	-2.4	-1.1	+3.0
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	+2.5[a]	-1.5	+2.1[a]	+0.2	+2.9
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	+1.5[a]	-3.0	+0.6[a]	+0.5	+2.7

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Different But Equal perspective (p < .01).

Although aspects of gender equality were important to this perspective, participants who advocated the Different But Equal perspective were also in favour of traditional gender roles (see Table 36). In particular, these participants agreed that heterosexual two-parent families are ideal (2). They also agreed that adolescents need to accept and adopt distinct gender roles (17).

Table 36. Perspective 5 Key Statements: Binary Gender

		Perspective			
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	-1.8	+4.0[a]	+0.1	+3.2[a]	+5.1
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	-2.8	+1.0	-1.1	+2.9[a]	+3.7

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Different But Equal perspective (p < .01).

Conversely, the Different But Equal perspective participants rejected gender nonconformity, including nonheterosexual sexual orientations (see Table 37). Their negative response to gender nonconformity included both children and adults (39, 16). These participants strongly rejected an individualistic view of sexual orientation (12) and were more in agreement than most perspectives that homosexuality is morally wrong (24).

Table 37. Perspective 5 Key Statements: Gender Nonconformity

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-4.1	+0.5[a]	-5.3	-2.1	**+1.2**
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	+1.1	-2.9[a]	+0.7	-1.8[a]	**-2.8**
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	+1.7	-4.0[a]	+0.9	-2.9[a]	**-2.8**
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	+1.5	-0.6	-1.8	+0.6	**-5.6**

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Different But Equal perspective (p < .01).

Participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective were particularly opposed to gender reassignment for transgender people (see Table 38). More than any others, these participants disagreed that transgender individuals should determine and manage their own gender (54). Different But Equal perspective participants also rejected constructions of transgender as a medical condition, as authentic self-expression, or as a response to having been "born in the wrong body" (20, 3, 57). In addition, they rejected cosmetic surgery generally, even if it was not necessarily related to transgender (36).

Table 38. Perspective 5 Key Statements: Transgender

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	+1.3	+3.9[a]	-0.1	-1.5	**+3.3**
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	+2.1	-0.4	+3.2	+4.3	**-2.2**
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	+1.7	+0.5	+1.9	+3.7	**-3.2**
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-0.9	-4.6[a]	+0.7	+4.8	**-3.7**
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	-1.3	-2.1	+2.0	+0.7	**-4.2**

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Different But Equal perspective (p < .01).

Another issue that was important to the Different But Equal perspective was intersex (see Table 39). Although they did not ascribe particular difficulties due to small penis size (5), or large clitoris size, participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective were opposed to postponing medical intervention for intersex infants until adulthood to allow them to decide whether they wish to have genital surgery (11). Instead, they supported early medical intervention (59). Unlike most perspectives, the Different But Equal perspective participants were in favour of clitoral reduction surgery for intersex girls whose genitals are deemed too large (1).

Table 39. Perspective 5 Key Statements: Intersex

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	-3.0	-0.3	-0.1	+3.0[a]	**+2.7**
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	+4.1	+1.5	+0.0	+1.0	**-2.3**
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	+0.0	+2.0	+0.6	-2.1[a]	**-4.1**
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	-3.7	-2.0	-0.6[a]	-0.1[a]	**+2.0**

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]Not significantly different from the Different But Equal perspective (p < .01).

Interviews. During the follow-up, I interviewed Amita, who described herself as an IndoCanadian heterosexual woman in her thirties with one young son. I also met with Laurence, who described himself as an Irish Canadian heterosexual man in his seventies with four adult children. Laurence had a serious chronic illness, which made participation more difficult. At the follow-up he completed a second Q-sort, but no interview. Other participants who represented this perspective (i.e., had salient loadings on Different But Equal only) also commented on individual statements they most agreed with or most disagreed with after completing the main study Q-sort.

Participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective argued in favour of equal treatment of boys and girls. They acknowledged that this does not always occur

and that girls and women can be placed at a disadvantage. For instance, during the main study, Amita argued that within families, girls should be valued as much as boys.

> Here I feel like you know, they should be treated equally in the sense that, there are some family who feel that the boys are going to carry their name forward, hereditary-wise, and they give more importance to the boys, and they kind of, a little bit, you know, ignore the girls a little bit. So I feel, I'd want them to treat them both equally. (Amita explaining agreement with Statement 33: *Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.*)

She also challenged discrimination against women in employment.

> I would fight for my equality. Like, you know, I would, if some job were given to a man instead of me, I would think, why, what is lacking in me? You know. I won't look at it as, like you know, because I'm a woman, they should not give me the job. They should give me the job.

Leah, who described herself as a Bosnian heterosexual woman in her forties with one child, also advocated treating boys and girls in the same way, ignoring gender norms and stereotypes. She argued that gender is less important than one's character or personal characteristics.

> Yes, I think… parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes because I have daughter and I have son and I don't make differences. Ah, I just make differences, ah generally speaking about men and women - only what kind of person you are. Honesty and ah, be who you are [Laughs] (Leah explaining her agreement with Statement 43: *Parent should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.*)

Other participants were critical of negative gender stereotypes and assumptions, and attitudes of male superiority. These participants argued in favour of equality within heterosexual relationships, however, they did not see this as a current possibility. For

instance, Leah advocated for equal contribution of both spouses within a heterosexual

marriage, however, this was not her experience.

> It's best to be equal because ah, I don't see difference. I'm actually more
> for women than men because they, [men] they think they are superior
> which is wrong and I - I raised my son like that. I always tell him, ah, if
> you would make marriage you're supposed to be supportive. Don't think
> like your father - he doesn't have to do anything in home. (Leah,
> explaining her agreement with Statement 55: *The healthiest children have
> an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.*)

Although participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective spoke

in favour of equality between men and women and between girls and boys, they

nevertheless expected distinct gender roles to emerge. For instance, Isabella, who

described herself as a British heterosexual woman in her forties with four children,

described gender socialization positively.

> Well, fathers love to teach their sons how to fish and mow the lawn. And
> mothers love to teach their daughters how to sew and make beds, so I
> think that's where that one falls into. I think parents should take
> responsibility for their actions. (Isabella, explaining agreement with
> Statement 44: *Parents should take responsibility for teaching children the
> differences between how boys should behave and how girls should
> behave.*)

Amita emphasized the importance of two-parent heterosexual families to provide

gender-specific role models for children.

> For me, what my upbringing was, like you know, of a good – of a family.
> Having a mother and father, and, uh, you know, taking care of the
> children. And that is my kind of family. I make a point that, you know,
> you can't, I mean, what if you have only two females raising a kid, what is

the child going to get? From where the child is going to get the role model of a father figure?

Participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective were opposed to what they constructed as deviance with respect to gender. For instance, they were opposed to sex reassignment surgery for transsexual people requesting it. Christina, who described herself as a Canadian heterosexual woman in her thirties with two children, was opposed to sex changes. She stated, "the way you are born is the way you should stay, I believe. You shouldn't have to change your sex" to explain her disagreement with Statement 54: *The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.* Amita explained transgender and also nonheterosexual sexual orientation as "totally abnormal" and the pathological results of faulty upbringing.

> Um, yeah, because, all idea about gay and lesbian or transsexuals or whatever it is, I feel like you know, they're – I think the children who have never had a proper, um, role model in their lives – they're probably totally confused. This is what I feel. And if they had a proper - uh, upbringing, I don't think they will be in that uh, you know, they won't become – they won't be doing that.

Amita argued that social changes toward acceptance of certain marginalized groups are detrimental to society.

> Everybody's going to accept it as a right thing, and it's not going to make it right, that is what I feel. Um, because it's like your computer being infested with a virus, and uh, if you don't identify it as a virus, it's going to corrupt all your computer. And then you are just going to sit and say that, okay, it's okay for my computer to be attacked. Like, and that computer is going to infest other computers. The whole, all those computers are going to be, you know? And you are not taking any

precaution you are not taking any corrective action. And, uh, what's going to happen? You see? [*EB: mmm hmm.*] So this is how I feel. When you see some illness or anything, you have to think of a treatment for it, a solution for it, but instead of accepting as it's the normal way of life.

Different But Equal perspective participants viewed gender play and drag negatively. For instance, Wanda, who described herself as an English heterosexual woman in her sixties with two children, argued that "playing with your gender is not fun". They were also opposed to cosmetic surgery, even when it was not connected with transgender or gender. Wanda stated,

> Well, I think we're all different... we were all given different bodies and, I think once you accept it, then you know, you have more self esteem. You know, rather than, rather than change everything because, that could be difficult. That's who you are; you're better off (Wanda explaining her agreement with Statement 36: *It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.*)

Similarly, Isabella argued against cosmetic surgery, based on religious beliefs.

> Because I'm Christian and I grew up with Christian values, and it's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery. Um, change is a good thing, but, I think, cosmetic, uh, it kind of speaks for itself. It does. I don't mind makeup. I don't mind wearing nice clothes. I don't mind going out and having a good time but what the doctors, and what they're expected to do with victims, or people who are different kind of victims, I guess. I wouldn't want to choose it. I'd rather, you know, just stick with what I've got. Kind of a safe attitude. (Isabella, explaining her agreement with Statement 36: *It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.*)

Despite their opposition to cosmetic surgery, participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective supported surgery for intersex infants designed to change the appearance of the genitals. Amita explained,

> The parents... they have to decide what is best for the child. Yeah, I think I totally disagree with that. I mean, you wait for them to grow up to be men, and then, you know, throughout their, uh, childhood period they are picked upon, they are laughed upon, and that's not right. That is cruelty.

Other participants who represented this perspective agreed that parents should make this decision on behalf of intersex children, since these children are not old enough to do so at the time the decision is made. Their emphasis was on the greater insight they attributed to the parents, which overrode concerns that their child might have made other choices or should be given an opportunity to decide. For instance, Lester, who described himself as a Chinese heterosexual man in his thirties with no children, argued that "the decide is by the parent, not by the daughter - how can they decide?", to explain his disagreement with Statement 11: *Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.* Amita also argued for parental authority in important decisions, and greater parental influence in children's lives.

> You see, it's foolishness to expect a child knows what he wants. No. I don't believe that. They don't have the experience of adults. Like we have gone through a lot of things. We have got so much experience and we know what is best for them. You know, they cannot make that difference. I mean if they are allowed to make - learn from their own mistakes, I mean, you can let them run and drown themselves in the river, and then okay, they will learn from then their mistakes, and they'll be dead. Right? So I think your experience as an adult should contribute toward shaping their life.

Validation. Amita selected my description of the Different But Equal perspective, as well as the Social Essentialism perspective, as most representative of her views (see Table 11). Amita's first and second Q-sorts were highly correlated (r = .769, see Table 9). Based on my descriptions, Amita viewed the two perspectives as quite similar, with a slightly different emphasis. She discussed the issue of intersex in particular in comparing the two perspectives.

> Okay probably – and they must, uh, you know, try to sort it – you know,
> get it corrected, at, uh, you know, at a young age. So it is the parents' role.
> You know, their responsibility. So here [Social Essentialism perspective],
> it goes a little bit further to say that one – that the society has a social
> responsibility, right, within the society, so it, you know, this [Different But
> Equal perspective] is only going a little bit extension you know, from the
> family of the mother and father, um and the, like you know, probably the
> doctor, and here [Social Essentialism perspective] it is going more toward
> the society. So I agreed with both of them, actually.

Laurence selected my description of the Gender Diversity perspective as most similar to his own views; however, his second Q-sort was not correlated with the Gender Diversity perspective. His ratings of the other perspectives, including Different But Equal, were quite low. Laurence's first and second Q-sorts were correlated .352.

Demographics. Of the 9 participants who loaded on Different But Equal only, 7 were heterosexual women and 2 were heterosexual men. None identified as transgender or previously transgender. The 9 Different But Equal perspective participants ranged in age from 31 to 78 (median = 49, M =55, SD = 19).

Five identified as British, English, Irish/Scottish or Anglo Saxon; and 1 each identified as Chinese, South Asian, Eurasian, and Canadian. Three (33%) grew up in

Canada, 3 (33%) had lived in Canada for forty or more years, 2 (22%) for five to ten

years, and 1 (11%) for fewer than five years. Eight (89%) were parents. One (11%) had

some high school education, 2 (22%) had completed high school, 4 (44%) had some

postsecondary education, 1 (11%) had completed college or university, and 1 (11%) had

post graduate education. Five (56%) defined themselves as having a religion. Two (22%)

described themselves as feminist.

Consensus Statements

I defined consensus statements as either statements in which no two perspectives

were significantly different, or statements with scores significantly different from 0, in

the same direction, for each perspective. Consensus statements may reflect common

assumptions or views. Alternatively, consensus statements may reflect problems with

wordings that inadvertently demanded or precluded agreement. Consensus statements

among the five perspectives appeared to be a general endorsement of individual freedom

of choice, and rejection of stereotypes about sexual orientation and overt gender

discrimination (see Table 40). Despite the differences in their views, each perspective

appeared to endorse individual freedom over socially prescribed gender roles to some

extent (37) and to reject differential treatment of children based on gender (33), and

stereotypes regarding sexual orientation (28). The similar scores across perspectives on

these statements may have reflected shared values across perspectives (particularly with

respect to individualism and accompanying emphasis on freedom of choice). They may

also reflect the perceived social unacceptability of overt sexism or stereotyping. The

other two statements (4 and 22) were not salient to participants representing any of the

five perspectives.

Table 40. Consensus Statements

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex[a]	+4.3	+1.7	+4.1	+3.5	+2.5
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.[b]	-4.4	-2.3	-3.3	-2.3	-2.6
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.[c]	-1.6	-1.7	-2.3	-3.6	-1.8
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.4	-0.6	-1.1	-1.9	-1.5
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	+0.2	-0.6	-0.5	-0.2	-0.2

Note. GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.
[a]SE < GD, BP, GM
[b]GD < SE, BP, GM
[c]GM < GD, SE

Mixed Perspectives

Forty-four participants had salient loadings on two or more perspectives. Of these, 30 loaded positively on two perspectives, 12 loaded positively on one perspective and negatively on another, and 2 loaded positively on two perspectives and negatively on another. The Q-sorts with combinations of two positive loadings combined elements of two perspectives. The Q-sorts with one positive and one negative loading were consistent with one perspective and in opposition to another perspective (i.e., Q-sorts arranged with similar statements grouped together, but in the opposite direction as the negatively loaded perspective).

The most common combination of perspectives was positive loadings on both Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive (N = 18). During the follow-up, I interviewed two participants with this combination of perspectives. I interviewed David, who described himself as a visually impaired White gay man is his twenties with no children. I also interviewed Nancy, who described herself as a Jewish heterosexual woman in her fifties with one adult daughter. Two other combinations of perspectives were relatively common: positive loadings on both Gender Diversity and Gender Minimizing (N = 4) and positive loadings on Biological Progressive and negative loadings on Different But Equal (N = 3). I interviewed Randall, who described himself as a Polish and Native Canadian heterosexual man in his thirties with no children, and who loaded positively on Gender Diversity and Gender Minimizing. I also interviewed Monica, who described herself as an Irish/Austrian, second-generation Canadian bisexual woman in her sixties with one adult daughter, and who loaded positively on Biological Progressive and negatively on Different But Equal.

Interviews. The combination of Biological Progressive and Gender Diversity often included biological theories explaining gender and sexual orientation, and support for a wide range of gender-related behaviours and identities. For instance, Nancy could not accept the de-emphasis on biology that characterized the Gender Diversity perspective. She stated that she was certain that gender must be determined by biology to some extent, but also that not enough is known about the extent of biological gender differences.

> Well, I kept wishing that there was one, that there was a statement that
> stated very clearly you know, what I expressed to you before, about, the

fact that both genetics and society play important roles, you know, and then I would have been able agree with it wholeheartedly. Instead of, I just felt like I was waffling all over the place.... You know, it's like, I feel, I'm not emotionally invested in that. You know, it's something I would be prepared to learn, in fact, that one or the other, that, you know that it was proven scientifically that one or the other was more important. Like, I wouldn't be upset about it, you know what I mean? [EB: Okay, yeah.] But I just feel like, there isn't enough known, so that any opinion I have, any strong opinion I have one or the other, one way or the other, isn't based on anything rational.

When asked what effects she would expect if there was strong scientific evidence for biological gender differences in brain functioning, she suggested that such evidence could lead to decreased or increased discrimination.

I think that would have a practical effect in making it easier for people who aren't completely straight because expectation would have to change. Although I think it would happen very slowly. Well, sometimes those arguments are used to justify discrimination, because we have these different brains, or whatever. But it wouldn't be that kind of difference [Laughs] You know, I do think, I have read, you know, I think from fairly reliable sources that there are brain differences between men and women, but I don't think better or worse has anything to do with difference.

Nancy was supportive of gender nonconformity, arguing that society needs to get "more flexible". She viewed a variety of family structures as equally valuable. Like Nancy, David's responses combined the social analysis that characterized the Gender Diversity perspective with the assumption of a priori biological gender differences that characterized the Biological Progressive perspective.

So, first of all men and women are biologically different, that's sort of obvious. But then just the idea that the differences are just reflected in

that, and that society doesn't create the differences is wrong. I think society does, you know, takes those biological differences and makes, you know, makes something out of it. I mean that's why there are differences. That's why men and women are treated differently. There's a big social construction thing going on.

In terms of sexual orientation, David also attributed a role to genetics, but a role as well to individual choice. He emphasized how people are treated as more important than explaining how sexual orientation is determined.

I mean, sexual orientation is sort of for somebody to determine, it probably has some genetic component, it probably has some choice component especially when it comes to bisexuality. I don't know, it's obviously for people to determine and to be treated with respect. The same way you would treat anybody else, regardless of sexual orientation. That shouldn't come into it. So, I don't know, I'm not sure exactly what else to say about sexual orientation. [EB: *You're mentioning choice coming into it with bisexuality, do you mean just choice of partners?*] Possibly, choice of partners– choice to live as a bisexual person, as opposed to... I mean, some bisexual people choose to just live one way or the other. There may be some choice involved there, up to a point. Yeah, up to a point. I don't know. I mean the whole genetic thing is really hard to say, I don't know what to say about that... I just don't think, whether there's a choice or a genetic component I really think is irrelevant. I guess, ultimately, one way or another it doesn't matter ... like to me, it's an irrelevant debate.

Randall combined aspects of Gender Diversity and Gender Minimizing perspectives. He argued that gender is currently a social problem, but that it is improving.

[Gender is] pretty important I'd say. There's a lot of, ah, emphasis, put on it for roles. Job roles and stuff. But I think it's getting better. I think it's

changing. People are starting to be more open and, I guess, not as boxed up with their feelings and stuff.

His views on gender conformity in children also combined aspects of the two perspectives. Randall was not opposed to gender roles, and therefore would communicate these roles to children if they were not conforming. However, he argued that he would not enforce gender roles, but would let the child decide. Like the Gender Minimizing perspective participants, part of his rationale was that gender roles are not particularly important.

> I think they should be able to make their own choices when they're older. I think you've gotta give them some, some guidance, but when they reach a certain age they should, let them make their own choices. Become adults. [*EB: Do you think that at a certain age kids are too young to know that there are expectations for boys and girls?*] Yeah, I mean, I wouldn't try to enforce anything on say, a five- year-old because he's doing something that I don't think is proper for him to be doing. I'll tell him, you know, "That's not a proper thing to do but if you want to do that, it's okay, you can do that." As long as you're not hurting anybody or breaking a law, right? Cause it's his freedom of choice. He's gotta be able to grow up himself, that's how he learns.

Monica had a strongly biological view of gender, focusing particularly on hormones.

> I think uh women being dealt the card of uh, menstruation, and all of those hormonal differences that you go through every month, that certainly has a, degree of um, it plays on our emotions. And, but however... when I was growing up, and it was made fun of, we women getting' bitchy or whatever around our period, nobody talked about testosterone, we didn't know about testosterone, and making guys get angrier or more angry than they should.... I think um, I think gender differences come out right from the beginning. If you watch little infants developing into little people, uh,

most little girls are very very feminine, go through a really really super feminine stage. And the little boys are gravitated towards trucks or guns. No matter whether the parents go "I'm not going to let my kids play with them" – once they start getting the association with other children, very quickly you see... in general and... course gender differences are going to come up in male female relationships. We are, like, physiologically and, and hormonally different, but um, I'm starting to think, as a post menopausal woman, and um, I'm more of an observer, not so ruled by my own hormones anymore, that, um, men have the ups and downs too, it just isn't recognized, probably more so now, or it's laughed about, you know, testosterone-fuelled, take a look at like after some of these sports events and if the team wins, and like [growls] guys, like they've had a couple of beers, they look like maniacs these, like, young men, screaming on the television, but then you get young women going nuts over, rock stars too, so, different but the same.

Her views differed sharply from the Different But Equal in various respects. For example, she opposed surgical intervention for intersex infants.

I think probably you should be getting if you um, if you are a hermaphrodite, or have odd genitals or whatever, I definitely think, uh, psychological therapy for that child throughout, that's what, from birth, what that child should be exposed to, and not in a way that would be trying to steer the child to one gender or the other, but to uh, just to support that child until, you know, puberty is basically over, although I don't think 18 is maybe the exact age, but, until they're able to definitely say, and I think probably about 15 or 16, somebody would be going, um, "I'm either a boy or a girl". So, um, I think psychological support is what should be given to those individuals.

In addition, Monica challenged traditional gender roles. She recounted numerous instances of challenging limitations to women's opportunities throughout her life.

> Oh God, I cannot tell you the amount of fighting I have done for the rights
> of women in the workplace. I helped, um, get CUPE local 1, the Toronto
> Hydro workers, the inside workers, um, I went to work for the Toronto
> Hydro in 1961. And at that time, if you were female, if you were going to
> get married, you had to write a letter asking permission of the general
> manager of Toronto hydro, to be maintained on the staff as a married
> female. Males did not have to write a letter such as that... so they used
> that as a way to get rid of people that they didn't like. But if you were
> accepted by the general manager to be maintained on as a married woman,
> we got 10 days sick time but it was automatically taken away as a married
> woman because everybody knows that married women only take their sick
> days to clean the house.... And I definitely, from day one I didn't see it as
> being very right. And there was a union got in there, and that's turned out
> to be CUPE local 1, the Canadian Union of Public Employees. And I was
> involved back then.

Also unlike the Different But Equal Perspective participants, Monica was very positive toward a wide range of family structures.

> That goes back to my remarks about the most important things for children
> are love and consistency.... I think men can be loving wonderful parents
> and certainly in our society now there's um, certain, um, companies and
> government agencies I believe give its maternity leave to men and women
> and I think that's great, you know. Um, and, uh, I also, um, again, go back
> to um, have gay and lesbian friends who adopted children, who have
> created children with the turkey baster.

Validation. David selected my descriptions of Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive perspectives as most representative of his views. However, he also rated Different But Equal as highly as Gender Diversity. Nancy selected my description of the Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive perspectives as most representative of her

views. The Q-sorts for both of these participants were quite consistent; correlations between first and second Q-sorts were above .8 (see Table 9). Randall did not select my descriptions of the Gender Diversity and Gender Minimizing as most representative of his views. He gave Gender Minimizing the lowest rating of the five perspectives, and gave Biological Progressive the highest rating. The correlation between his first and second Q-sorts was moderate (r = .519). Monica rated my description of the Different But Equal perspective very low, which was consistent with her negative loading on that perspective. She rated my description of the Biological Progressive perspective as very representative of her views, but she also rated Gender Diversity and Gender Minimizing equally high. The correlation between Monica's first and second Q-sorts was above .6.

Demographics. Of the 18 participants with salient loadings on both Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive, 6 were nontransgender women (4 heterosexual, 1 bisexual, and 1 lesbian); 9 were nontransgender men (5 heterosexual and 4 gay), 1 was a heterosexual transgender (MtF) women, and 2 were gender neutral (1 two-spirited and one with sexual orientation outside of standard categories). The 18 participants ranged in age from 20 to 69 (median = 42.5, M =45, SD = 15).

Six identified as Canadian; 5 as White, Irish, WASP, or Scottish Canadian; and 1 each as Cree Russian, Jewish, Native American, Polish Canadian, and Turkish Canadian. Sixteen (89%) grew up in Canada and 2 had lived in Canada for twenty or more years. Eight (44%) were parents. One (6%) had some high school education, 6 (33%) had some postsecondary education, 4 (22%) had completed college or university, and 7 (39%) had post graduate education. Eight (44%) defined themselves as having a religion. Seventeen (94%) described themselves as feminist.

Other combinations of perspectives were each represented by very few participants; therefore their demographics have not been summarized.

No Perspectives

Nineteen participants did not have salient loadings on any of the five perspectives (see Appendix Q). Some of these participants had loadings that were close to but less than .35. I attempted to interview participants with low loadings on all five perspectives.

Interviews. I interviewed Gloria, who described herself as a Canadian heterosexual woman in her fifties with no children. I also interviewed Richard, who described himself as a Canadian bisexual and heterosexual man in his seventies with three children. After reading my descriptions of the five perspectives, Gloria did not identify with one over the others, or appear to distinguish between them. When asked if there were perspectives that were closer to her views than others, she stated, "No, I agreed with everything. I think everything. Very similar to what I agree with, so -- overall it was more similar to my views than different to my views." Gloria's views did not always appear to be consistent. For instance, Gloria argued that transgender individuals should have quick and easy access to surgery. However, she also argued that the desire for surgery was sometimes misguided and best averted, and that gender nonconformity would turn an individual into "a circus show freak".

Richard said that the Gender Minimizing perspective, and the idea that gender is not a problem, was central to his views on gender. He emphasized how much gender arrangements have changed over his lifespan.

> Society, the way it is now in the last... since I've been a kid, society has
> changed drastically in the way we accept people who are obviously about

the different sexual preferences than we're used to. The workforce... we

never used to have women who even thought about being firemen or

policemen or... high scalers, or whatever. Every type of endeavour that

men used to consider a man domain has been taken over... not taken over

but, whatever the proper term would be. Women are into almost

everything. And, I don't watch the shows on TV... but the odd time I'll

turn them on, and I'm constantly amazed at some of the things the women

are doing. Even in the commercials when women are climbing up the

friggin' cliff and answering the telephone! [Laughs.] Things like that, ah,

so as I say, things have changed dramatically in the last eighty years I've

been around.

Validation. When asked to rate the descriptions of the perspectives by the extent

to which each perspective reflected their views, both Gloria and Richard gave similar

ratings to each of the perspectives. Gloria gave the same high rating (8 out of 9) to four of

the five perspectives, and gave a slightly lower rating (7) to the Biological Progressive

perspective. Richard gave the highest possible rating to three of the perspectives, a

slightly lower rating to the Social Essentialism perspective, and the lowest rating to the

Different But Equal perspective (see Table 11). Both Gloria and Richard had moderate (r

= .457) correlations between their first and second Q-sorts.

In addition to the interviews, I examined the Q-sorts of the 19 participants who

did not load on any perspective. Participants could theoretically combine statements in

any configuration. However, I examined the statements separately by content area for

each participant, to assess whether participants appeared consistent in their responses to

distinct content areas. For the most part, participants' perspectives did not appear

obviously inconsistent; however, there were few opportunities for obvious

inconsistencies. A few participants had unusual combinations of responses between

content areas, such as strong support for transgender self-determination, and equally strong condemnation of homosexuality.

   Demographics. Nine of the 19 participants who did not have salient loadings on any of the five perspectives were women (8 heterosexual and 1 bisexual) and 10 were men (8 heterosexual and 2 bisexual). These participants ranged in age from 20 to 84 (Median = 50, M =53, SD = 24). Eight were 70 years of age or older. This represents 30% of the 27 participants aged 70 and above. In contrast, 7% of the participants under 70 years of age did not have salient loadings on any of the perspectives. All of the participants aged 70 and above, including those who did not load on any of the perspectives, identified their ethnocultural background as British Canadian, European, WASP or Canadian. Of the remaining 11 participants who did not have salient loadings on any of the perspectives, 8 were young people (under age 40) with diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. Of these, 5 were women (4 African, Caribbean, or Trinidadian Canadian, and 1 Korean Canadian) and 3 were men (Asian, South Asian and African Canadian).

Demographics and the Five Gender Perspectives

   Correlations between primary pattern matrix component loadings and age, gender, sexual orientation, parent status, Canadian upbringing, education, and feminist identity are shown in Table 41. Gender was dummy (1,0) coded in three separate variables. Participants who identified as transgender, intersex, or gender neutral were coded as 1, and all others 0 for nonbinary gender. Similarly, women (men) who did not identify outside of binary gender categories were coded as 1 for non-TG women, (non-TG men). Education was based on a six-point scale from elementary to post graduate. Because of

low sample sizes of other sexual orientations, sexual orientation was coded as heterosexual versus nonheterosexual.

These correlations included all participants in the sample, regardless of loadings on the other perspectives. Loadings on the Gender Diversity perspective were positively correlated with nonbinary gender identity, identifying as a nontransgender woman, education, and feminist identity, and negatively correlated with identifying as a nontransgender man, age, and heterosexual identity. Loadings on the Social Essentialism perspective were positively correlated with identifying as a nontransgender man and heterosexual identity, and negatively correlated with nonbinary gender identity, and feminist identity. Loadings on the Biological Progressive perspective were positively correlated with age, education, and feminist identity. Loadings on the Gender Minimizing perspective were positively correlated with heterosexual identity, and negatively correlated with education. Loadings on the Different But Equal perspective were positively correlated with age, heterosexual identity, being a parent, and growing up outside Canada, and negatively correlated with nonbinary gender identity and feminist identity.

Table 41. Correlations between Demographics and Pattern Matrix Component Loadings (Whole Sample)

Demographic characteristics	Correlation with Perspectives				
	Gender Diversity	Social Essentialism	Biological Progressive	Gender Minimizing	Different But Equal
Gender					
Nonbinary	.215*	-.246*	.009	-.008	-.242*
Non-TG woman	.210*	-.090	-.029	-.116	.091
Non-TG man	-.314*	.209*	.025	.120	.025
Age	-.332*	-.012	.253*	.129	.238*
Heterosexual	-.377*	.280*	-.037	.255*	.293*
Parent	-.152	-.132	.171	.132	.203*
Grew up in Canada	.105	-.095	.166	-.066	-.232*
Education	.231*	-.119	.211*	-.252*	-.169
Feminist identity	.390*	-.390*	.285*	-.138	-.260*

Note. Nonbinary gender category includes individuals who identified as transgender, intersex, or gender neutral. Non-TG included women and men who did not identify as intersex, transgender, or gender neutral.

N = 180 except for sexual orientation and grew up in Canada (N = 178), and feminist identity (N = 168).

* p < .01

Discussion

The five perspectives documented in this study represent diverse accounts of understandings of gender and gendered behaviour in an urban sample of Canadian adults. These perspectives constitute only a subset; other perspectives have not been captured in this research. With different participants sorting, additional viewpoints would likely have emerged. In addition, additional or somewhat different views may have come to light with a different set of statements on the same topics. Since in Q methodology, the statements constitute the sample, theoretically a different set of statements should lead to similar perspectives. However, the characteristics of this set of statements afforded particular distinctions in views to be highlighted. Finally, an infinite number of solutions based on multiple rotations exist; these solutions would lead to somewhat altered results. Nevertheless, the perspectives shed some light on the ways that adults in Toronto were thinking about gender at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The perspectives are based on Q-sort responses that participants represented as their own views. In introducing the study, I informed participants that the study was designed to capture a wide range of perspectives about gender, and that I was looking for as many points of view as possible. In addition, the sorting method itself, with the numerous decisions that it requires, highlights to participants the subjectivity in views that are recorded. Nevertheless, it is possible that some participants may have sorted the statements in a way that deviated to some degree from their own current opinions. In particular, some participants may have wanted to conceal sexist or heterosexist views

(Campbell et al., 1997). However, participants sorted statements in a pattern that they represented as their own; these accounts are informative, even if some participants presented views that they saw as ideal, or that that they believed certain individuals, including myself, would see as ideal (Kitzinger, 1987).

The most frequently represented view was the Gender Diversity perspective. Participants who represented the Gender Diversity perspective supported an anti-oppression framework in responding to gender issues. They supported individual freedoms while at the same time acknowledging and opposing social discrimination. In addition, they valued diversity in gender expression, including support for gender nonconformity across the lifespan. These participants consistently advocated the right to self-determination for individuals with minority gender and sexual identities and behaviours. The Gender Diversity perspective is related to well-articulated political views, including feminism, anti-oppression, and gay, trans, and queer rights movements (e.g., Bem, 1995; Bornstein, 1998; Kimball, 2003; McLaughlin, 2005; Wilchins, 1997). These movements are visible in Toronto, and similar viewpoints are expressed in popular media such as Toronto's Now Magazine (e.g., Hollett, 2003) as well as by political organizations. In addition, discourses on the necessity of respecting diversity are common, for instance, in workplace human resources policies, (e.g., Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2003). The City of Toronto's newly adopted motto "Diversity Our Strength" is another example of how widespread diversity discourses are within the city.

Of course, political movements related to gender are themselves diverse. Not all people who identify as feminists, as transgender, or with nonheterosexual sexual orientations support common political agendas, or a social analysis of how gender is

caused and maintained. Multidimensionality in feminist perspectives has been documented (e.g., McCabe, 2005; Snelling, 1999) and a few studies have documented differences in the perspectives of sexual and gender minorities (Gottschalk, 2003; Kitzinger, 1987; Lannutti, 2005; Levitt et al., 2003). In the current study, although more than three quarters of participants who loaded substantially on the Gender Diversity perspective identified as feminists, not all people who identified as feminists had high loadings on the Gender Diversity perspective. Likewise, not all participants who identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender loaded on Gender Diversity.

The perspective most similar to the Gender Diversity perspective was the Biological Progressive perspective. These two perspectives were correlated .338. Like the Gender Diversity perspective, the Biological Progressive perspective incorporated support for a wide range of gendered identities and behaviour, although a subtle privileging of the heterosexual family was suggested. Despite the similarities in their gender policies, however, the Biological Progressive participants diverged from the Gender Diversity participants in their views on the origins of gender and the extent of gender differences. Participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective viewed biological gender differences, including brain differences, as substantial and as significant in accounting for gender differences in behaviour. In addition, they viewed gender differences as emerging early and independent of socialization

The Biological Progressive perspective combined two widely available discourses, feminism and popular accounts of scientific research on human sex differences (Moir & Jessel, 1989). Indeed, scientific accounts were important to these participants. Some Biological Progressive perspective participants complained that a

subset of statements (statements about biological gender differences) were objective questions of fact whereas others were subjective questions based on opinion. They did not view statements that could be addressed scientifically as having a degree of subjectivity in their interpretation. The Biological Progressive perspective participants appeared to hold a positivist attitude toward science; in their responses they discussed what was known and not yet known about the origins and extent of physiological gender differences, particularly brain difference, with the assumption that definitive answers will eventually emerge.

Although these participants perceived essential gender differences, they also advocated gender equality. Most (75%) of participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective identified as feminist. These participants agreed that societal discrimination exists but viewed biologically based gender differences as prior to social inequalities related to gender.

Further, like the Gender Diversity perspective participants, the Biological Progressive perspective participants argued for the importance of not imposing gender restrictions on children. However, the rationales they gave were somewhat different. For the Biological Progressive perspective, gendered behaviour is mostly innate. Therefore, gender differences between girls and boys will naturally emerge in most children. In fact, a few noted that their own children's gender conformity surprised them, and that they had expected their children to have less gendered play styles and preferences. Thus, for the Biological Progressive perspective, the reason to support flexibility in children's play choices was not in order to resist gender socialization, as was the case for the Gender Diversity perspective. Instead, for the Biological Progressive perspective, flexible play

choices provide broader experiences for the majority of children, and avoid oppressing the minority of children who have innate gender nonconforming tendencies.

Similarly, the Biological Progressive perspective participants expressed the strongest possible support for sexual minorities. However, their justifications for this support were often based on the view that sexual orientation is innate and therefore involuntary. The argument that nonheterosexual people "cannot help" their difference from the heterosexual norm leaves intact the heterosexual family as primary, natural, and ideal. At the same time it also subtlety reinforces the notion that nonheterosexual sexual orientations are inferior, since it suggests that nonheterosexual sexual orientation, if freely chosen, would not warrant protection from discrimination. Further, the Biological Progressive perspective was not the most common perspective among gender and sexual minority participants. Although 45% of the 40 sexual and/or gender minority participants had salient positive loadings on the Biological Progressive perspective, most also had salient positive loadings on Gender Diversity. Only 5 (13%) of these participants loaded positively on Biological Progressive only, and all 5 identified as gay men. The other sexual and/or gender minority participants loaded on Gender Diversity only (40%), Biological Progressive and Gender Diversity (23%), another combination of loadings (18%), or none of the perspectives (8%). Thus, although a biological explanation of sexual orientation and gender is sometimes invoked as integral to supporting sexual minorities, participants with sexual minority identities do not uniformly hold primarily biological perspectives.

A few studies have suggested that heterosexual people who view sexual orientation as genetic report more positive attitudes toward lesbians and (particularly) gay

men than individuals who view sexual orientation as within individual control (e.g., Herek, 1988; Hewitt & Moore, 2002). The perspectives on sexual minorities expressed by participants who represented the Biological Progressive perspective is consistent with that relationship. On the other hand, the Gender Diversity perspective, which was represented by most gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender participants in this study, incorporated strong support for gender and sexual minorities, without endorsing genetic explanations. This illustrates an important limitation of methodologies that rely on binary responses to complex questions such as the nature of gender and sexual orientation (Kitzinger, 1999). Survey items asking participants whether they think sexual orientation is determined by genetics versus individual choice do not include additional views, for instance that sexual orientation is socially constructed, rather than either individually chosen or genetically determined.

The Social Essentialism perspective represented a traditional, conservative view of gender and gendered behaviour. Social Essentialism perspective participants favoured traditional gender arrangements based on distinct gender roles. They viewed gender conformity as normative and positive, and gender nonconformity as marginal and negative. Although gender differences were very important to this perspective, biological bases for gender differences were not a central part of this view. Instead, these participants emphasized social systems, practices and traditions of distinct binary gender roles. Thus, although they may have occasionally invoked biological differences to support socially based gender systems, they did not view biological differences as necessary to legitimate social organization around gender difference.

Consistent with their downplaying of biological and particularly genetic differences related to gender, the Social Essentialism perspective participants supported active intervention to ensure that binary gender roles continue. First, they focused on gender conformity in children. They viewed gender socialization as a parental responsibility, and did not support children's activities that crossed traditional gender lines. Second, they opposed various forms of gender nonconformity, in adults as well as children. Finally, they rejected biological explanations for sexual orientation, instead arguing that sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice. Unlike most perspectives, they did not reject the idea that gender and sexual minority individuals should consider others' feelings in deciding whether to express these identities. Individualistic explanations of sexual orientation leave open the possibility of prevention of homosexuality or bisexuality, and/or intervention toward the goal of heterosexuality (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004), and have been used to deny equality rights for gay men and lesbians (Tygart, 2000; Wood & Bartkowski, 2004).

A conservative perspective on feminism was reported by Snelling (1999) in her sample of women, and traditional or conservative gender ideologies among women and men have also been documented (Ciabattari, 2001; Snelling, 1999; Zuo, 2004). Unidimensional measures of gender ideologies such as the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972) and the General Social Survey (Davis & Smith, 1987) generally represent a conservative perspective similar to the Social Essentialism perspective as one pole, such that individuals with extreme scores in one direction on such measures would represent a conservative view. These perspectives tend to have in common general support for separate spheres for women versus men, negative responses

to gender nonconformity, including nonheterosexual sexualities, and lack of support for women's political movements, and tend to be represented more by men than by women (Brewster & Padavic, 2000).

Men were more likely to endorse the Social Essentialism perspective than women, and men were a focus of attention for this perspective. This may be partly because men accrue more benefits from gender inequality than women (Kimball, 1995). Social Essentialism perspective participants emphasized how gender roles are particularly important for men, as men experience negative consequences as a result of gender transgressions. The concept of gender role stress reflects the negative results of gendered expectations that are perceived by men (Walker et al., 2000). Gender role stress is a response to traditional gender role attitudes. The experience of gender role stress or conflict is also correlated with traditional gender ideologies (Mintz & Mahalik, 1996), thus it is not surprising that men who supported traditional gender roles in this study were concerned about negative effects on men associated with meeting or not meeting gendered expectations. In contrast, these participants were less likely to endorse items that described the oppression of women based on binary gender roles. Minimizing women's oppression is also associated with traditional gender ideologies and negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (e.g., Campbell et al., 1997; Masser & Abrams, 1999).

The Different But Equal perspective was similar to the Social Essentialism perspective in that both included support for traditional gender roles and condemnation of gender nonconforming behaviour. Both perspectives strongly favoured two parent heterosexual families as the best environments to raise children. Neither perspective was

supportive of transgender people. Few participants who represented either perspective identified as feminists. However, the two perspectives had important differences.

First, the Different But Equal perspective participants valued gender similarities to some extent. They endorsed statements suggesting that both children and adults should ideally have a balance of masculine and feminine traits. Second, they supported gender equality, as long as equality did not imply gender transgression. For instance, participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective disagreed that boys should be given more freedom than girls; they also agreed that girls and boys should be raised exactly the same. At the same time, they disagreed with statements that suggested that feminine behaviour in boys should be permitted, even though this would constitute treating feminine behaviour in boys the same way as feminine behaviour in girls. Thus, participants who represented this perspective opposed overt discrimination of women and girls, but only if traditional gender roles and gender conformity were not explicitly challenged.

The valuing of gender similarities is similar to the concept of androgyny (Constantinople, 1973; Bem, 1974). On the other hand, the negative response to gender nonconformity from the Different But Equal perspective participants suggests that they would only support gender similarities and equality with respect to a narrow range of behaviours. It is possible that these participants situated gender similarities and equalities within a presumed structure of traditional gender roles.

In their opposition to gender discrimination, the Different But Equal perspective participants mostly cited economic forms of discrimination, such as unequal inheritance and employment discrimination. Despite their criticism of inequalities facing women, few

of the participants who represented this perspective identified themselves as feminists (22%). Although they opposed gender discrimination, they likely associated feminism or feminists with negative characteristics. Most of the Different But Equal perspective participants were women. These participants supported traditional gender arrangements, but with a somewhat more equal distribution of power. This perspective may reflect a gendered response to conservative politics, where traditional roles are valued, but some androcentric biases, which are less appealing to women, are rejected. Although participants who represented the Different But Equal perspective valued some degree of gender equality between men and women in traditional heterosexual roles, they viewed discrimination against individuals who were not heterosexual or who were transgender as acceptable. This may have been in part because gender minority and sexual minority individuals are interpreted as 'other', and in part because of the discourse that gender and sexual minorities groups interfere with the traditional family and violate other cherished values (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Mohipp & Morry, 2004; Sirin, McCreary, & Mahalik, 2004). Although men are more likely to hold conservative attitudes toward gender and gender arrangements, more conservative attitudes among women than men on specific issues related to sexuality and traditional morality (abortion and premarital sex) have been reported (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Eagly et al., 2004)

In addition, the Different But Equal perspective participants were most in favour of surgery for intersex infants. They emphasized the value of conformity, and the costs of not fitting in with peers. Many participants from other perspectives opposed cosmetic surgery for intersex infants because they believed that this type of surgery is cruel. In contrast, the Different But Equal perspective participants argued that it was cruel *not* to

surgically intervene to insure that intersex children would be considered normal and that questions about their gender would be settled early. Their response to intersex is similar to the view represented by college students who asked what they would do if they were the *parent* of an intersex child (Kessler, 1998). These students advocated surgical intervention. In contrast, another group of students who were asked what they would want to have happen if they were the *infant* with an intersex condition was much less likely to advocate surgical intervention. Thus, although the Different But Equal perspective participants were unusual in their response to intersex in this study, their responses reflected both what has been unquestioned medical practice until recently as well as how young adults have responded when asked to take the perspective of a parent with an intersex infant (Kessler, 1998).

Finally, the Gender Minimizing perspective represented a perspective on gender that viewed questions of gender as largely irrelevant. These participants viewed gender discrimination as not currently existing, and gender as no longer important, if it ever was. This is similar to the post feminism perspective described by Snelling (1999). However, it is not clear to what extent the Gender Minimizing participants were aware that gender discrimination had occurred; pervading this perspective was the sense that gender is not very important. The Gender Minimizing perspective corresponds somewhat to perspectives reported elsewhere as well as broader discourses that gender inequalities are no longer a problem (Morrison, Bourke, & Kelly, 2005). However, it is not clear how stable this view was. Both participants who represented this perspective and were interviewed had low correlations between their first and second Q-sorts. A lack of stability makes some sense for a perspective that constructs gender as unimportant. To

the extent that individuals view gender as unimportant, they may spend little time thinking about gender, and thus may be unlikely to have a well-established, stable theory about gender that will re-emerge in repeated Q-sorts.

However, the lack of stability in the Gender Minimizing perspective could mean a number of things. The Gender Minimizing perspective may not be valid. It might represent a chance convergence based on random or close to random responses. Alternatively, it is possible that a subset of participants responded based on their immediate reaction to the statements, and that they might have answered differently if they had thought about some of the statements for longer. It is also possible that because of the issue of same sex marriage being in the press between the main study and the follow up, gender issues may have become more salient; and consequently these participants may have shifted in their perceptions of the importance of gender. For instance, during the interview, Dom, who represented the Gender Minimizing perspective, disagreed that gender was unimportant. In particular, he argued that among cultural minorities, gender equality has not been reached. In addition, he discussed the origin of gender, same sex marriage and ideal family configurations thoughtfully and in considerable detail.

It is possible that the experience of completing the first Q-sort may have affected some follow-up participants' responses in completing the second Q-sort. There was some evidence that demand characteristics which were not as much in evidence at the first Q-sort may have operated at follow up, as follow-up participants would have known more about the study than first time participants. One follow-up participant, who represented the Different But Equal perspective and did not complete a verbal interview, endorsed the

Gender Diversity perspective as his preferred among the five perspective descriptions, although his Q-sort responses were not correlated with the Gender Diversity perspective. The Gender Diversity perspective may have appeared to represent the "right answer", at least for some participants. If there are currently "right answers" in urban Canada, it is likely that inclusion and respect for diversity would be candidates; especially as same sex marriage legislation has been passed federally despite substantial opposition. For instance, Amita, a new Canadian, acknowledged that acceptance of diverse sexual orientations is "how it is here", although she does not like that aspect of life in Canada. Another participant stated that the harsh responses to homosexuality in his country of birth are not permitted here. Canada is unusual globally in the official inclusion of people in same sex relationships. However, these values were represented in other perspectives in addition to the Gender Diversity perspective. For instance Phil, who represented the Social Essentialism perspective, thought his views had changed in that he had become "more tolerant". He rejected the Social Essentialism perspective as "too cut and dried", and favoured the Biological Progressive and Gender Minimizing perspectives instead.

The Gender Minimizing perspective appeared to be the least stable of the five perspectives. Nevertheless, there was less evidence of stability for the Social Essentialism and Different But Equal perspectives than the Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive perspectives. Each of the follow-up participants representing Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive had highly consistent Q-sorts in the main study and the follow up. The Social Essentialism and Different But Equal perspectives each had one person with Q-sorts that were highly consistent from main study to follow up, and one person with Q-sorts that changed considerably. The Gender Minimizing perspective

participants had only low to moderate correlations between the first and second Q-sorts. The inclusive politics endorsed by the Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive perspectives are widely endorsed and broadly communicated viewpoints, as are accounts of gender based on biological differences and, to a lesser extent, social construction. Certainly, more participants represented the Gender Diversity perspective than any other perspective, suggesting that this is a common view; however, the participants were not randomly sampled. Although conservative politics similar to the Social Essentialism and Different But Equal perspectives are also socially represented, this may not occur as frequently in Toronto media, especially with the particular combinations of views represented in each of these perspectives. However, it is difficult to generalize based on only two individuals for each perspective.

Several participants' Q-sorts combined two or three of these perspectives. By far the most common combination was Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive. Perhaps this is not surprising, given that the two perspectives were correlated, and that they shared similar ideas about policy but different understandings of how gender works. Other participants' Q-sorts had one substantial positive loading on one perspective and one negative loading on another. These Q-sorts were organized in terms of both perspectives, affirming one and rejecting another. For instance, one participant who loaded negatively on Gender Diversity (and positively on Social Essentialism) explained that she was very familiar with lesbian/gay organizations and for religious reasons was actively engaged in opposing them.

A substantial subset of participants (one in nine) had Q-sorts that did not reflect any of the perspectives. One possible explanation for the lack of correlation with other

participants' perspectives is random responding. Participants did appear to differ in how carefully they completed the Q-sort task, although almost all appeared to sort the statements with some thoughtfulness and care. I made a note of participants who did not appear to complete the task carefully, for example, did not compare the statements in each column, even after prompting. However, I did not eliminate these participants from the data since it is difficult to be certain to what extent people performed the sort with some care. For instance, decisiveness can look similar to careless sorting, and I avoided closely monitoring participants' sorting as it risked making them self conscious or uncomfortable. However, the two follow-up participants who did not represent any perspective had moderate correlations between their first and second Q-sorts, suggesting that these participants were not responding entirely randomly, even if some participants may not have completed the task diligently.

Each of the five perspectives was represented in all three age groups. Nevertheless, some age/cohort patterns were observable. Older (60 years and over) participants were less likely to have salient loadings on the Gender Diversity perspective than were younger participants. Among the 117 participants who loaded on one perspective only, participants in the 60 years and over age group were most likely to have substantial loadings on the Biological Progressive perspective (44%), compared to the middle age (26%) and youngest (13%) participants.

Cultural background did not determine gender perspectives. Members of various ethnocultural groups loaded on almost all of the perspectives. The Biological Progressive perspective had less diversity than the other perspectives; all participants who had substantial loadings only on the Biological Progressive perspective identified as

European, White, British and/or Jewish. However, each perspective was represented by some participants identifying as White, British or European. Further, although "ethnic minorities" and members of specific ethnic groups are often depicted as having uniformly conservative views on gender issues, results from the current study confirm the diversity of gender perspectives within members of various cultural groups (Go, 2004). Cultural norms, beliefs and expectations necessarily informed all participants' perspectives, which are forged from locally available discourses (Stephenson, 1978). However, subjectivities with respect to gender cannot be reduced to mutually exclusive categories. Intersections among identities, as well as diverse experiences contribute to differences among individuals' gender perspectives.

Women and men represented each perspective, although a somewhat higher proportion of men represented Social Essentialism, and a higher proportion of women represented Different But Equal. There was less diversity in perspectives among sexual and gender minorities. All participants who loaded on Social Essentialism, Gender Minimizing and Different But Equal identified as heterosexual, and were not transgender. This is not surprising. Both the Social Essentialism and Different But Equal perspectives endorsed statements that were negative toward or not supportive of rights for sexual and gender minorities. The Gender Minimizing perspective viewed gender as unimportant, which is likely not the subjective experience of most gender and sexual minorities, who must negotiate as outsiders, to varying degrees, within Canadian society.

The results of this study were somewhat similar to the results of the study with young adults (Brownlie, in press). The Gender Diversity perspective in the current study was generally similar to the Social Construction perspective in Brownlie. Both were

supportive of a range of gender expressions, including gender nonconformity, and of freedom of choice around gender for transgender and intersex individuals. One difference was the young adult Social Construction participants consistently and vehemently rejected essentialist statements about gender, such as "Men's brains work differently than women's brains". The Gender Diversity perspective participants in the current study were more likely to rate these statements as neutral or somewhat disagree. The Social Essentialism perspectives were also quite similar in Brownlie and in the present study. Participants representing the Social Essentialism perspective in each study argued that binary gender and traditional gender roles were useful in maintaining the social order, and that gender nonconformity could be disruptive. Both perspectives attended to gender in men, and highlighted negative effects of men's gender nonconformity. The Biological Progressive perspective in the present study and the Biological Essentialism perspective in Brownlie constructed gender primarily in terms of biological differences. However, unlike the Biological Progressive perspective participants in this study, the young adult Biological Essentialism perspective participants in Brownlie advocated traditional gender arrangements and gender conformity and responded very negatively to gender nonconformity; were unsupportive of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals; and advocated cosmetic surgery for intersex infants. In contrast, the Biological Progressive perspective participants in the present study advocated inclusion and self determination for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender individuals, and was mixed or undecided on the issue of intersex. Finally, the Qualified Individualism perspective in Brownlie was not evident in the current study.

Brownlie (in press) and the present study differed in terms of the age and context of the samples. In addition, data collection for Brownlie took place in 1997, whereas data collection in the main study (excluding Pilot 1) took place from 2002 to 2004. Although I did not foresee this at the beginning of the study, significant historical changes to the way gender operates in Canada occurred between the two studies, and over the course of the present study. Specifically, the introduction, lengthy debate, and then passing of same sex marriage legislation provided a backdrop for this research. One of the features of this change was that the debate around the social recognition of people in same sex relationships shifted. In the early 1990s, equal legal protection for same-sex partnerships was not available in any Canadian province. When same sex marriage was debated a decade later, the most visible opponents of the legislation conceded that all equal legal protections, benefits and responsibilities associated with marriage should be granted to same sex couples, except the labelling of their relationships as marriage (Vongdouangchanh, 2005).

The issue of same sex marriage played an important role in the study. The clearest consequence of this research was that once same sex marriage began to be covered regularly in the news media, participants generally had thought about issues of sexual orientation and societal inclusion or exclusion when they completed the study. Whereas during Pilot 1 (2000) and Pilot 2 (early 2003) several participants were not sure why this research was being conducted, by the time the main study occurred, participants often commented that they saw the study as important. The prominence of same sex marriage as a news item during the main study and follow up may also have affected the stability of the perspectives.

One way to assess the effects of participants' possibly shifting views on same sex marriage would be to note how they sorted relevant statements. Unfortunately, however, no statements on same sex marriage were included in the study. During Pilot Study 2, one participant mentioned in passing that she spent much of her free time trying to prevent same sex marriage from being legalized. At that time, I had not heard that same sex marriage was being seriously considered, much less that it would be legalized. I did not include an item on same sex marriage because I thought that it would not be something that most people would have considered. This narrow thinking on my part had significant costs, as same sex marriage became a contentious issue over the course of the study, and participants' views on this issue would have been informative.

Q methodology is a useful method to explore multiple perspectives. Q methodology identified views that would not have been reflected in pre-determined attitude scales. For instance, the Gender Minimizing perspective resembles post feminism attitudes (Snelling, 1999) and, to some extent, modern sexism (Campbell et al., 1997), in the argument that gender discrimination is a thing of the past. On the other hand, the strong support for self-determinism for transgender individuals would not necessarily be predicted as part of this view. Similarly, given the equality-based statements of the Different But Equal perspective, one might not expect the accompanying negative responses to gender nonconformity.

The attitudes approach, especially when it comes to marginalized communities, usually involves measuring tolerance/intolerance of these groups. This approach assumes a unitary understanding of what it means to be a member of one of these communities. In contrast, participants representing distinct perspectives appeared to understand sexual and

gender identities and community membership differently. For members of sexual

minority communities, identities may mean different things (Kitzinger, 1987); therefore it

is not surprising that this diversity of meanings might extend to other individuals as well.

A related problem with attitude scales is the presumed normality/neutrality of those

completing the scales (Kitzinger, 1987). Although disenfranchised groups are

occasionally asked about their attitudes toward majority group members (White &

Franzini, 1999), generally attitude scales serve to reinforce the notion that certain

individuals have an unquestioned status, and can determine the extent to which they

tolerate less enfranchised others. In contrast, in this study, I tried to avoid normalizing

particular groups. Instead, all participants responded to representations of both gender

conformity and nonconformity, and individuals with majority and minority sexual and

gender identities that I asked about in this study were recruited to participate.

Another advantage of Q methodology is that everyone responds to all the issues.

In contrast, qualitative methods, which are also very good at identifying diverse

perspectives, do not always involve each participant discussing each topic. Participants

may spend more time discussing topics that particularly interest them and may decline to

discuss topics they are uncomfortable with. In the present study, some participants were

unwilling to discuss certain topics but were nevertheless willing to sort statements that

represented these topics. In particular, intersex was a difficult topic for some participants,

especially those in the oldest age group, but for others as well. A few participants stated

that they were concerned about the subject matter of the study and felt they may be

embarrassed by it. However, the sorting task was much less threatening than they

expected. In part, this is because a well-balanced set of statements contains views that

participants agree with. This helped to put them at ease, because their views were among those represented, thus, they need not feel that their views were unspeakable or unusual. The use of Q methodology may undercut some demand characteristics, since a variety of perspectives are represented. With scales, the direction of items on the underlying construct of the scale may be evident to participants, and with it, the sense that there is a set of "right answers". It is still possible that some of this study's participants responded to what they thought I wanted to hear, but the Q-sorting task may have made demand characteristics less salient.

A third advantage of Q methodology is that participants' sorts determine the perspectives. In particular, unexpected perspectives can emerge, such as the Different But Equal perspective, and the researcher is forced to make sense of these perspectives and the clusters of ideas they represent. In qualitative research, unfamiliar combinations of views may not be linked or addressed, especially if they do not initially make sense to the researcher. Unexpected perspectives are even less likely to emerge in quantitative research, as scales only reflect views that have been determined in advance. Even if items and scales are examined using correlational approaches, these analyses typically examine the extent to which items or constructs are associated by all participants, not by particular subsets of participants.

Q methodology does have weaknesses. First, participants are only able to respond to the statements that appear in the Q sample. Thus, the limitations of the Q sample become limitations of the study. The statements are intended to function as a sample of the ideas in the concourse (cultural communication context) on the given subject matter

(Stephenson, 1978). Nevertheless the particular statements make a difference in how perspectives can be represented.

As with any predetermined scales, Q-sort statements cannot be changed mid-study as more information is added. In this study, multiple pilot studies were used to refine the set of items, before they were finalized in the main study. Nevertheless, there were statements, especially on same sex marriage, that I later wished I had included. In addition, Q methodological studies are limited in the number of statements they use, in particular because larger sets are very difficult for participants to sort (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Most quantitative scales also avoid using large numbers of items; however, this is less of a limitation when only one construct is being measured, as is the case in unidimensional scales.

Finally, some participants found the method frustrating. In particular, several participants found the forced distribution difficult, and believed that it may have misrepresented their views. This frustration has been reported before (Kitzinger, 1999). As Kitzinger (1999) pointed out, however, the constraints on participants' responses imposed by the forced distribution of Q methodology is similar to and no more drastic than the constraints imposed by analytic strategies in both qualitative and quantitative research. However, procedures such as coding of verbal responses in qualitative research and data reduction in quantitative research are not visible to participants. Several participants commented that the forced distribution "made [them] think", forcing them to consider their own views in more detail. This may have been particularly difficult for participants who do not ordinarily focus on gender and how gender works. On the other hand, the strongest complaints about the forced distribution came from participants who

loaded highly on Gender Diversity. For many of these participants, the practical effects of gender policies are salient, and several wished to strongly agree or strongly disagree with many of the items. On the other hand, these same participants had Q-sorts that were highly correlated with the component that explained the most variance. The participants who were interviewed from that perspective endorsed my description of the Gender Diversity perspective, and had highly correlated Q-sorts. Therefore it appears that the views of the participants most concerned about the forced distribution were expressed as closely as the views of any other participants in the study.

This study deviated from traditional Q methodological analysis in a few ways. First, the perspectives were allowed to be intercorrelated, whereas uncorrelated rotations are usually recommended (Brown, 1980). The advantage of allowing correlated components in the rotation procedure is that if the perspectives are uncorrelated, this will become evident as the rotated components will not be correlated. However, if the selected rotation produces correlated components, this solution would not be evident if the rotation procedure did not allow correlated components. In this study, the use of direct quartimin oblique rotation showed the extent to which two of the perspectives (Gender Diversity and Biological Progressive) were similar in many respects, despite the differences in their theories on the origin of gender and gender differences.

Second, factor scores were not calculated using the method that has been suggested for Q methodological studies. In most Q methodological studies, factor scores are calculated using a weighted average of the responses of participants who represented one perspective only (Brown, 1980). In contrast, in the present study, factor scores were calculated using the regression method that is used in principal components analyses. The

latter method takes into account all Q-sort responses in the calculation of component

scores, to the extent that each Q-sort loaded on a particular perspective. Thus, individuals

whose Q-sorts also reflected other perspectives were included in the calculation of

component scores, albeit weighted by their component loading on a given perspective.

The difference between the method used to calculate component scores in this study and

the method generally used in Q methodological studies was likely reduced by the larger

number of participants. Since each perspective was represented by several individuals,

the weighted average would be more similar to the average based on all participants than

would likely be the case in studies where only one or two participants represented certain

perspectives. Nevertheless, the component scores were calculated taking into account the

ratings of participants whose Q-sorts did not represent the perspective, and thus may not

provide as accurate a view of the opinions of participants who represented each

perspective. The method used in the current study makes sense to the extent that the

perspectives represent discourses present in the culture that different individuals may use

to different degrees. On the other hand, since the perspectives were distinct, the inclusion

of participants who did not load primarily on a given perspective in the calculation of its

component scores may have added noise to the representations of the perspectives.

A third way in which this study deviated from classic Q methodological studies is

in the large sample size. Q methodology is an intensive method, and as such is designed

to make sense of a small number of people's views, rather than to sample a large segment

of the population (Brown, 1980). This is an important aspect of the way Q methodology

is generally done. For instance, Q methodology software does not allow for more than

120 cases to be included in a study as a whole. In qualitative research, saturation refers to

the point at which no new information is added by additional responses (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Saturation was certainly in evidence to some extent in this study, as 51 people loaded significantly on Gender Diversity only; this view could have been well represented with many fewer participants. The same was likely true for the Social Essentialism and Biological Progressive perspectives. On the other hand, the fourth and fifth perspectives may not have been identified if fewer participants were sampled. In addition, it would be difficult to incorporate a sample that was inclusive of the cultural diversity in the city, especially in a multi-age multicultural study, without larger numbers of participants. Also, the research question was broad enough that there were not limited numbers of stakeholders, as is the case in some Q methodological studies (Brown, 1980), although transgender and nontransgender, intersex, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and heterosexual participants across the adult lifespan were recruited. All members of Canadian society are affected by the gender system, thus a broad sampling of individuals was appropriate for this research.

This study had several limitations. The participants were diverse in their demographic characteristics. Nearly equal numbers of women and men participated within each age group, and transgender individuals were included within all three age groups. Similarly, a wide range of ethnic/cultural groups was included. However, the cultural diversity was much greater in the younger age group than in the middle and oldest age groups. Comparison of the sample with 2001 census data for the city of Toronto adapted from Statistics Canada (2006) indicated that Chinese Canadian and South Asian Canadian participants were most underrepresented in the current sample compared to the Toronto population. Comparisons of Census data stratified by age group

with the current sample showed that these differences were most pronounced in the oldest age group.[6] Q methodology does not endeavour to use representative random sampling to select participants. Nevertheless, perspectives of people not sampled, such as older members of cultural minorities, are not represented if these viewpoints are distinct from the perspectives described here.

Comparisons of the present sample with 2001 census data for the city of Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2006) also show that the level of education was somewhat greater in the present sample in the middle age group. Of the 40-to 59-year-old participants in this study, 6% had less than high school graduation and 56% had a college, university or postgraduate degree. By contrast, 2001 census data show that 28% of 40- to 64-year-olds in the city of Toronto had less than high school graduation and 43% had a college, university or postgraduate degree or diploma. Among the youngest (20 to 39) age group, 15% of participants had less than high school graduation and 57% had a college, university, or postgraduate degree or diploma. This is similar to 2001 census data for 20- to 34-year-olds in the city of Toronto, in which 12% had less than high school graduation and 51% had a college, university of postgraduate degree or diploma. Census data on education attained were not available for adults over the age of 64.

Education appeared to be positively associated with the Gender Diversity and to some extent the Biological Progressive perspectives; therefore these perspectives may be overrepresented in the current sample. Education was also negatively associated with the Gender Minimizing perspective, which may therefore have been underrepresented in the current sample. However, the number of participants representing each perspective is not particularly important in Q methodology. More significant limitations are, first, that some

of the perspectives may have had fewer participants representing them than would have been the case with a representative community sample, and thus were not as fully represented as they might have been, and, second, that additional perspectives might have emerged with a more diverse sample.

The participants who participated in this study were also different from the general population by virtue of their agreeing to participate. Although I tried to make the process as easy as possible, participants had to be sufficiently motivated to participate, after seeing the poster, to phone and leave a message, agree on an appointment place and time, and show up to do the study. However, participants appeared to have different motivations for participating. Some participation said that they were generally curious about research, or wondered what the study was about, whereas others wanted to participate because they had a specific interest in gender issues. Other participants, especially seniors, talked about their desire to help, either by generally contributing to psychological research or by helping me as a student to complete my degree. Many participants mentioned the $10 payment as their prime motivation, and some alluded to a combination of motives. Thus, the participants were not differentiated by a particular set of circumstances, beyond a willingness to participate in a study with minor remuneration.

One difficulty in conducting a study with a diverse sample is selecting a set of statements that are appropriate for all participants. Participants differed in the extent to which they had thought about various gender issues. Statements about intersex and transgender were included because they constitute important aspects of gender. Nevertheless, many participants stated that they had not thought about these issues before participating in this study. In particular, the issue of surgical intervention on intersex

infants was new to many participants. Thus, for these participants, their responses to statements on intersex were first impressions. Further, the statements on transgender were limited to a focus on transsexuals, because of a possible lack of familiarity with other transgender issues among some participants. In addition, multicultural perspectives were not adequately sampled in the pilot phases. Although I attempted to collect an inclusive sample, I did not find a sufficiently diverse set of potential participants within the time constraints of the pilot studies.

I met with the participants and conducted all interviews and Q-sort sessions. This provided consistency in how the research was conducted. However, it is possible that my interactions with participants had an impact on the perspectives they reported. My goal in conducting the interviews was to facilitate participants' communication of their own perspectives within their own frames of reference. In particular, I was concerned that participants with very divergent views from my own would feel comfortable enough to express their views. Of course, my own views were more congruent with those of some participants' than others (more with the Gender Diversity perspective than the other four perspectives). Therefore to debate participants' views would have been a very different process depending on the person I was interviewing. In addition, some participants expressed anxiety about expressing views that they perceived as not socially acceptable.

My approach to the interviews was to encourage participants to describe and explain their views in as much detail as they felt comfortable providing. I didn't argue with participants, though I asked them for examples or clarifications. The time constraints of the post Q-sort interview were such that I simply recorded participants' statements about their key items, and rarely interjected or probed for more information. Before

beginning the study, I was concerned that I might have difficulty reacting equally positively to participants regardless of their perspectives. However, I rarely found this difficult. In my role as a researcher interested in multiple perspectives, I was pleased to hear different views, particularly when they did not reflect my own perspectives.

Despite its limitations, this study illustrates the multiplicity of adults' perspectives about gender. Participants representing disparate perspectives differed in their understandings about gender and in the gender arrangements and practices they supported or opposed. The origins of gender differences were most important to the Biological Progressive and Social Essentialism perspectives. The Biological perspective participants constructed gender in terms of biological differences. In addition, they interpreted evidence of biological gender differences as supporting primary essential difference as the originator of social gender practices. The Social Essentialism perspective constructed gender in terms of traditions, and socially sanctioned behaviours. They were not opposed to recognizing biological gender differences, but viewed these differences as less absolute. In addition, they saw a need for gender to be inculcated. Since gender nonconformity was possibly caused by insufficient gender socialization, they argued that it should be responded to or prevented through the socialization of gender conformity.

The five perspectives show the multiple ways that understandings about gender and preferred policies can align. First, different gender theories can support much the same policies. In particular, the Gender Diversity perspective and the Biological Progressive perspective understood gender as operating very differently. Nevertheless, they advocated almost the same policies. Arguments of biological gender differences have been used to justify prejudice and discrimination against women (Kimball, 1995,

2003). However, these arguments have also been used to argue against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Bohan, 1996).

Second, support for the same policies can be based on very different subjectivities, and thus may mean different things. For instance, three of the perspectives included support for transgender people's self-determination in terms of their own gender. However, each perspective included a different assumption of what transgender might mean. For the Gender Minimizing perspective, transgender was constructed as an illness that deserves treatment. For the Biological Progressive perspective, transgender was constructed as a genetically inherited difference that should not result in persecution. For the Gender Diversity perspective, transgender was constructed as a socially constructed identity that should be respected.

The diversity of gender perspectives is not surprising, given the diversity of views among feminists (Snelling, 1999), who would be presumed to be more similar in their views on gender than the general public. Nevertheless, these results underline the extent to which adults' subjectivities related to gender are diverse. Although liberal/conservative or traditional/non-traditional binaries are common sense notions with respect to social attitudes and attitudes regarding gender in particular, the perspectives in this study did not correspond to these dimensions. The Biological Progressive perspective combined intensely polarized perceptions of gender and gender differences with a vision of social policy in which those gender nonconforming individuals are not excluded. The Different But Equal perspective combined strong support for gender equality with a traditional vision of gender roles and conformity. The Gender Minimizing perspective ascribed relatively little importance to gender yet strongly supported transgender individuals, who

are currently among the most marginalized people in Canadian society. The number of participants who combined the perspectives, and who did not have salient loadings on any of these perspectives also suggest that gender is understood in complex and disparate ways. Further research that charts the multidimensionality of subjectivities related to gender would help to better understand psychologies of gender in adulthood.

The results did not support a progression from gender intensification during parenthood to lessening of gender roles during older adulthood (Gutmann, 1987; Sinnott, 1984). In fact, parenting was related to loadings on the Different But Equal perspective, but did not appear to differentiate among the other perspectives. Indeed, no single arc in gendered perspectives across ages was in evidence, except that the Gender Diversity perspective resonated with relatively few participants in the oldest age group. The sample of this study was diverse, thus the cultural backgrounds of the participants were more heterogeneous than in many studies of gender perspectives across adulthood. Nevertheless, cultural background did not correspond to particular perspectives (except Biological Progressive), and participants who grew up in Canada represented each of the perspectives.

Further, both women and men held diverse perspectives about gender, including conservative, progressive, and minimizing views. In addition, although the conservative perspectives more typical of women (Different But Equal) differed from the conservative perspective more typical of men (Social Essentialism) probably taking into account the different contexts and situations that women and men are most likely to face, each of the five perspectives were endorsed by women and by men. Differences in gender perspectives among women and among men appeared greater than differences between

them. The greater differences among women's perspectives and among men's perspectives, rather than between genders, is consistent with other studies. For instance Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) argued that (heterosexual) families may be a more meaningful unit of analysis of gender perspectives than individuals within families. Within heterosexual families, these researchers reported more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles in families where women work outside the home than among families where women did not work outside the home. Bolzendahl and Myers suggested that this is because both spouses are affected by economic advantages or disadvantages stemming from policies related to women's work. However, the a priori gender beliefs of both partners may have resulted in women working or not working outside the home, and cognitive consistency may also increase the extent to which partners support policies congruent with their life decisions. In fact, the perspectives of sexual and gender minorities were much more distinct from those of heterosexual nontransgender participants than were those of women in comparison with men.

The results of this study underline the limitations of studying perspectives related to gender using unidimensional scales. These perspectives would not have emerged with standard attitude scales. Participants who represented the Gender Diversity, Biological Progressive, and Different But Equal perspectives might answer equivalently on gender inventories purporting to measure egalitarian views with respect to gender. Substantial distinctions among these perspectives would be missed. In addition, the responses of participants who do not share the underlying assumptions informing scales can be grossly misinterpreted (Kitzinger, 1999). In addition, these results underlie the need to define gender more broadly than largely gender conforming heterosexual families. For

participants in the current study, gender nonconformity was an important aspect of perspectives on gender. The assumption that gender attitudes can be adequately assessed by asking about heterosexual marriage only, treats traditional family structures as universal. The resulting restricted range of items obscures substantial differences among people who appear to agree on more traditional questions. These limitations in gender inventories also construct a theoretical, normalized gender that is separate from gender/sexual minorities, and by so doing contributes to both the marginalization of gender minorities and the perpetuation of compulsory binary gender.

Finally, these results show that gender-related social policies are not based on a single set of universally shared understandings or goals, even among those who label themselves feminists or who advocate a notion of "fairness" with respect to gender. Conversely, adversaries with respect to gender issues who appear to be in direct opposition may have substantially different understandings of gender and thus may be arguing on very different terms. For instance, the perceptions of biological differences that have been used to deny women's participation (or competence) in privileged realms (Kimball, 2003) may not be relevant to the theories of many individuals in favour of maintaining gender hierarchies. Similarly, allies with respect to some issues may significantly disagree with respect to others (Butler, 2004). Both theory and research on adult gender development, and interventions toward a more inclusive and just society, must take into account diverse subjectivities of gender.

End Notes

[1] Direct quartimin rotation is one of multiple oblimin (oblique) rotations, which differ according to the value of the parameter delta. In quartimin rotation, delta = 0.

[2] I use the term *component* because the components were obtained from a principal components analysis. Although the term 'factor' is often used to describe results of principal component analyses, the term more specifically refers to factors obtained from common factor analysis, an inferential technique in which errors in variables are assumed and estimated. Principal components analysis is a descriptive technique that partitions all of the variance in a set of variables into components.

[3] Let L = the number of components (h,k)

Let M = the number of statements (j)

Let N = the number of participants (i)

Let F be the N (participants) x L (components) matrix of primary pattern matrix component loadings.

Let Y be the N (participants) x M (statements) matrix of raw Q-sort scores.

Let W be the N (participants) x L (components) matrix of weights used to generate component scores.

$$W = F(F'F)^{-1}$$

Let C be the L (components) x L (components) matrix where

$C = W'W$

Let Z be the L (components) x M (statements) matrix of component scores.

$Z = W'Y$

v_{ij} was defined as the participant item error variance (error variance of y_{ij}).

v_{ij} was ssumed to be independent and constant across participants and items ($v_{ij} = v$ for all ij).

The error variance of item j on component k was defined as $v * c_{kk}$, where c_{kk} is the kth diagonal element of C.

The error variance for each statement j on component h was defined as

Error variance of $z_{hj} = v * c_{hh}$

[4]The error variance of an individual Q-sort score on a statement was estimated using the test re-test correlation, scaled to correspond to the Q-sort scores. The estimated error variance (v) for a participant (i) on a statement (j) was defined as

$$v_{ij} = 5.4 * (1 - r)$$

where 5.4 is the variance of each person's Q-sort (based on the specified distribution), and r represents the estimated test-retest correlation, which was calculated by taking the average of the test-retest correlations of the 16 follow-up participants. Follow-up participants included 10 individuals with substantial loadings on one perspective only, four individuals with high loadings on two perspectives, and two individuals who did not have salient loadings on any perspective. The estimated standard errors are the square roots of the estimated error variances.

[5] The participant was referring here to the interval between the main study and the follow-up interview, which was one year and two months. This was the only context in which I knew this participant.

[6] These comparisons were based on Statistics Canada tables available without charge in the public domain. Tables stratified by age listed visible minority categories rather than ethnicities. Visible minority categories are less specific than ethnicity categories, and First Nations/ Aboriginal, European, British Isles, American and Canadian ethnicities are combined into one "all others" category. In addition, the tables break down age groups somewhat differently than in the current study. Finally, these tables are based on the Toronto Census Division, which is somewhat larger than the city of Toronto. Few Statistics Canada tables in the public domain showing other demographic information are also subdivided by age.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Demographics Questionnaire: Pilot 1

Please fill in the following information. The information will be used to describe the participants as a group, and will not be used to identify any individual. Add comments if you wish to any question. If the categories given do not reflect your experiences, please add an additional category that would be appropriate for you.

1. What is your age? _____   2. Your sex?

3. What is your cultural background, ethnicity or race?

4. How would you describe your social class?
(e.g., working class, middle class, upper middle class)

5. If you feel comfortable answering, what is your sexual orientation or sexual identity?

Bisexual: _____   Heterosexual _____   Lesbian/Gay _____   Other

Comments:

6.   What is the first language you learned to speak?

7. How many years of education have you complete?
(Please check one and fill in grade or years, if applicable)

    Some elementary .... _____ .... Grade completed?
    Completed Elementary .... _____ ....
    Some high school .... _____ .... Grade completed?
    Completed high school .... _____ ....
    Some college/university .... _____ .... Years completed?
    Completed college/university .... _____ ....
    Post graduate   .... _____ .... Years completed?

Appendix B.
Preliminary Semi-Structured Interview on Gender Issues: Pilot 2

As you know, this study is about gender and current gender issues.

1. How important do you think gender is in today's society?

> In what ways is gender important?

> [For examples given:]

> Who do you think [this aspect of gender] is most important to?

> Can you imagine [this aspect of gender] being different? What difference would that make?

> Do you think [this aspect of gender] has changed over time? How?

2. What aspects of gender are most important to you or affect you most in your life?

> [For each mentioned:]

> Why is [that aspect of gender] important to you?

> How would you explain [this aspect of gender?] Why do you think it occurs?

> When in your life has [this aspect of gender] been particularly important? Why?

> How has its importance changed over time?

3. Can you describe a situation in which gender has provided an advantage for you?

4. Can you describe an example of a situation in which gender has been a problem or limitation for you?

5. Are there issues that you tend to agree with most of your family and friends about with respect to gender? Why do you think you all agree?

6. Are there issues that you disagree with your family or friends about with respect to gender? How do you disagree?

> How important is this issue for you and [family member/friend]

7. Are there ways that you feel your views about gender are different from others in Canadian society? How?

8. What are some of the ways that Canadians differ from each other in their views about gender?

9. Do you think that Canadian society is changing with respect to gender?

   In what ways?

   [Depending on response:] What do you think hasn't changed? OR Is there anything that may have changed in the past, or may change in the future?

   What, if anything, do you think needs to change?

10. How have your own beliefs about gender changed over time?

    In what ways?

    Has this change affected what you do or how you interact with people? How?

11. How important is gender in raising children?

12. Should girls and boys be raised differently? In what ways? Why?

13. How do you think mothers differ from fathers as parents?

14. What about kids who are different from other kids in terms of gender – like very feminine boys or very masculine girls? What do you think you would do if your child was different from other kids in terms of gender?

15. Do you think women and men are more the same or more different?

16. What do you think causes differences in people's gendered behaviour – like acting more masculine or more feminine?

17. What would you think about adults who were nonconforming in terms of gender?

18. What do you think about adults who feel that their gender is different from how others see them, or who want to have sex changes?

19. Some babies are born with ambiguous genitals, so it's hard to tell if they are boys or girls. Other babies have physical sex characteristics including their chromosomes (or genes) that are a mix of male and female sex characteristics. If you had a child who was born with these characteristics, what do you think you would do? [Discuss surgery]

20. Can you imagine an individual in Canadian culture right now who didn't identify as male or as female?

    How would life be for that person?

    Do you think that person would change anything within Canadian culture?

21. How do you feel about cosmetic surgery for women, such as breast enlargements or face lifts?

    Why do you think women choose to have this kind of surgery?
    What do you think are its benefits?

    How do you think it might be harmful?

    [Women:] Would you ever consider such surgery for yourself? Why?

22. How do you feel about cosmetic surgery for men? Have you heard of penis enlargement surgery?

    Why do you think men choose to have this kind of surgery?

    What do you think are its benefits?

    How do you think it might be harmful?

    [Men:] Would you ever consider such surgery for yourself? Why?

23. (If not already discussed) What do you think the demand for these kinds of surgery says about gender?

24. What are your thoughts about hormone replacement therapy for menopausal women?

    What do you think are its benefits?

    How do you think it might be harmful?

    To what extent do you think that the demand for these drugs has to do with gendered expectations for women?

25. What are your thoughts about the drug Viagra, to increase sexual response?

    What do you think are its benefits?

    How do you think it might be harmful?

    To what extent do you think that the demand for these drugs has to do with gendered expectations for men?

26. Would you consider using one of these kinds of drugs yourself? Why?

27. What do you think explains differences in sexual orientation? Why do you think some people are bisexual, some are heterosexual and some are gay or lesbian?

28. How should Canadian society respond to differences in sexual orientation? Why?

29. Can you think of other aspects of gender that we haven't talked about?

Appendix C. Q-sort Statements: Pilot 2

Pilot 2 Statements Selected From the Young Adult Study

P6.   All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women.

P7.   An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.

P10.   Androgynous people can be very interesting and attractive.

P12.   Breaking rules for gendered behaviour is more punished in men than in women.

P15.   Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.

P21.   Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, comes mostly from the way one is treated by other people.

P22.   Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, comes mostly from the way one is raised as a child.

P24.   Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, comes mostly from biological realities, including the genitals.

P25.   Girls should be encouraged to pursue anything that interests them. With boys, it's important to be more careful - if they are too feminine they won't fit in with their peers.

P28.   Homosexual couples are similar to heterosexual couples - one person takes the masculine role and the other person takes the feminine role.

P31.   I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.

P32.   If my daughter were only interested in girls' games and activities, and not at all in boys' games and activities, I would worry that she might be missing important experiences.

P33.   If my son were only interested in boys' games and activities, and not at all in girls' games and activities, I would worry that he might be missing important experiences.

P34.   In an ideal heterosexual relationship, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.

P39.   It's great for women to be athletes, as long as they don't lose their femininity.

P40.   It's important for parents to teach children that they can ignore gender stereotypes and follow their own interests.

P41.   It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.

P44.   Men's brains work differently than women's brains.

P46.   Once a girl is old enough to understand the consequences, it is up to her to decide whether to risk behaving in a more masculine way than girls are expected to behave.

P51.   Society is not ready to deal with infants who are not identified as either female or male.

P52.   Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be.

P55. The categories heterosexual, bisexual and homosexual are a function of current political and social factors. They do not describe people very accurately.

P56. The decision to use hormones or have genital reconstructive surgery (sex change) should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.

P57. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.

P60. The requirements for bringing children up well are very different depending on whether the child is a boy or a girl.

P61. Transsexuals must have had some sort of trauma to be so confused about what sex they really are.

P63. Transsexuals should only have sex change operations if they will have heterosexual relationships after the change.

P64. Transsexuals were born into the wrong body.

P65. Violence among adolescents is always a cause for concern, but it's especially worrisome when girls are violent.

P66. What is most important is that children grow up to be whoever they want to be, whether this conforms to socially expected roles or not.

P67. Whatever changes in the culture, women will always be fundamentally different from men.

P68. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals so you can't tell if the baby is a girl or a boy, it's important for the medical team to figure out what sex the baby really is.

P70. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.

P73. Once a boy is old enough to understand the consequences, it is up to him to decide whether to risk behaving in a more feminine way than boys are expected to behave.

P75. For transsexuals, having genital reconstruction surgery (sex change) is a way of expressing who they are.

Pilot 2 Statements Adapted from the Young Adult Study (YAS) with wording changes

P2. A very large clitoris would interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.

(YAS Wording: A large clitoris would interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.)

P3. It's best to have a balance of feminine and masculine characteristics.

(YAS Wording: A person needs to develop a wide range of skills, both feminine and masculine, in order to best meet the demands of a challenging world).

P4. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.

(YAS Wording: A very small penis will be humiliating for a boy/man.)

P5. All people have the potential to have close friendships with both women and men.

(YAS Wording: All people have the potential to have intimate relationships with both men and women.)

P8. A baby born with a tiny penis should be raised as a girl.

(*YAS Wording*: An infant born with a very small penis should receive a sex change operation because it's too hard growing up male with an abnormally small penis.)

P9. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery to reduce the clitoris in size to ensure that the parents view the child as a girl.

(*YAS Wording*: An infant born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery to reduce the clitoris in size to ensure that the parents view the child as a girl.)

P11. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.

(*YAS Wording*: Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with, not anything about your biology or personality.)

P13. Children have a certain amount of time to explore different roles, but once they are teenagers they need to develop a clear sense of themselves as young women or young men.

(*YAS Wording*: Children have a certain amount of time to explore different roles. Once they reach puberty they need to develop a clear sense of themselves as young women or young men.)

P14. It's best if children develop their feminine side and their masculine side equally.

(*YAS Wording*: Children need a wide variety of experiences so they can develop their feminine side and their masculine side.)

P16. 'Drag', dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.

(*YAS Wording*: 'Drag', adopting the dress or mannerisms of the other sex, is a fun way to see how sex roles are something we act out, rather than just do naturally.)

P20. Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, is a function of the ways society is organized.

(*YAS Wording*: Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, is a function of the ways the social world is organized.)

P30. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.

(*YAS Wordings*: I can tell if a man is straight (heterosexual) or not just by looking at him; I can tell if a woman is straight (heterosexual) or not just by looking at her.)

P35. Babies born with abnormal genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.

(*YAS Wording*: Infants born with abnormal genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.)

P38. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female.

(*YAS Wording*: It would be difficult to care for an infant if you could not tell if the infant was male or female.)

P42. Homophobia continues because lesbians dress and act like men and gay men act too much like women.

(*YAS Wording*: One of the main reasons homophobia persists is that lesbians dress and act like men and gay men act effeminately.)

P48. Homosexuality must be genetic, since people would not choose to be part of a stigmatized group.

(*YAS Wording*: People are born gay, because people would not choose to be a member of a stigmatized group.)

P49. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have.

(*YAS Wording*: People who have lived both as males and as females understand gender best.)

P58. People who want to have sex changes should be required to conform to the sex role stereotypes of their new gender in order to receive surgery.

(*YAS Wording*: People who want to have genital reconstruction surgery (sex changes) should not be required to conform to sex role stereotypes of their new gender in order to receive surgery.)

P59. The biggest differences between groups of people are the differences between men and women.

(*YAS Wording*: The most important characteristic distinguishing humans is sex.)

P69. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.

(*YAS Wording*: You can give girls all the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys - they will never be as active or adventurous as boys are.)

New Statements Added at Pilot 2

P76. An adult's sexual orientation tends to stay the same over time.

P77. Breast enlargement surgery, like wearing makeup or dieting, is a choice women make to enhance their femininity.

P78. Changes to sex roles over time are less important than the inborn biological differences between men and women.

P79. Hormone Replacement therapy can help a menopausal woman maintain her femininity and sexuality.

P81. In the future, gender will become less and less important.

P80. In old age, men are more able to explore their femininity and women are more able to explore their masculinity.

P82. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.

P83. Men use techniques to increase their penis size in order to feel more complete as men.

P84. It's best if men and women's roles become quite distinct when they become parents.

P85. Nowadays, women and men are more similar than they used to be.

Appendix D. Post Q-sort Pilot Interview: Pilot 2

One of the purposes of this study was to identify any difficulties with the Q-sort, and to find out ways to improve it or make it more complete. Do you have any general comments you would like to make about your impressions of the Q-sort or your experience completing it?

I have some specific questions about your impressions of the study, including the content of the items and the procedures you were asked to follow.

1. Was the list of definitions helpful?

2. What changes might your suggest to clarify them?

3. Were there other concepts or terms that should be defined?

4. Were any of the statements you sorted ambiguous or difficult to understand?

4a. (For each problem item:) Do you have any suggestions for making this item clearer?

5. Were there other ideas about gender that you feel were omitted and should have been added?

6. How easy or difficult was the initial sorting process (agree, disagree and neutral piles?)

7. How easy or difficult did you find it to place the Q-sort items in their final positions?

8. Did you find the requirements for the number of items in each column to be constraining?

9. Would you have sorted the items differently if you could have placed any number of items in any column?

10. What kinds of changes would you have made?

11. How confident do you feel that this sort represents your views on gender conformity and non-conformity?

12. Do you have any other comments to make about the Q-sort?

13. Do you have any feedback about the demographics questionnaire?

14. Do you have any other comments about the study?

Appendix E. Demographics Questionnaire: Pilot 2

Demographics Questionnaire

Please add comments if you wish. There is extra space for additional comments on page 2

1. What year were you born? _____

2. What is your gender or sex?

3. Please check the highest level of education you have completed.

Elementary	____
Some high school	____
Completed high school	____
Some college/university	____
Completed college/university	____
Post graduate	____

4. What is your current occupation? _____

    _____

5. What is your usual occupation, (if different from above)? _____

    _____

6. Please check the category that applies to your family income.

Below $20,000	_____
$20,000 - $40,000	_____
$40,000 - $60,000	_____
$60,000 - $80,000	_____
$80,000 - $100,000	_____
Above $100,000	_____

7. What is the first language you learned to speak? _____

8. How would you describe your cultural background, ethnicity or race? _____

_____

9. Do you have any children? Yes _____ No _____ If No, skip to Q10.

    9a. Please list the ages and the sex/gender of each child.

    9b. Please briefly describe your family's parenting arrangements. (E.g., parenting on your own, parenting with the child's other parent, sharing custody, etc.)

_____

_____

10. If you feel comfortable specifying, what is your sexual orientation or sexual identity?

Bisexual _____ Heterosexual _____ Lesbian/Gay _____ Other _____

_____

Additional Comments:

Appendix F. Q-sort Statements: Pilot 3

Pilot 3 Statements Retained From Pilot Study 2

P2. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.

P4. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.

P6. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women.

P7. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.

P11. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.

P15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.

P16. 'Drag', dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.

P30. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.

P31. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a man or a woman.

P34. In an ideal heterosexual relationship there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.

P35. Babies born with abnormal genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.

P38. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female.

P41. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.

P44. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.

P49. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have.

P52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be.

P57. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.

P67. Whatever changes in the culture, women will always be fundamentally different from men.

P69. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.

P70. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.

P82. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.

Pilot 3 Statements Adapted from Pilot Study 2 (with wording changes)

P3.   It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.

      (Pilot 2 wording: It's best to have a balance of feminine and masculine characteristics.)

P9.   A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.

      (Pilot 2 wording: A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery to reduce the clitoris in size to ensure that the parents view the child as a girl.)

P12. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.

      (Pilot 2 wording: Breaking rules for gendered behaviour is more punished in men than in women.)

P13. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.

      (Pilot 2 wording: Children have a certain amount of time to explore different roles, but once they are teenagers they need to develop a clear sense of themselves as young women or young men.

P14. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.

      (Pilot 2 wording: It's best if children develop their feminine side and their masculine side equally.)

P32. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.

      (Pilot 2 wordings:

      P32. If my daughter were only interested in girls' games and activities, and not at all in boys' games and activities, I would worry that she might be missing important experiences.

      P33. If my son were only interested in boys' games and activities, and not at all in girls' games and activities, I would worry that he might be missing important experiences.)

P35. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.

      (Pilot 2 wording: Babies born with abnormal genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.)

P40. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.

      (Pilot 2 wording: It's important for parents to teach children that they can ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.)

P51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.

      (Pilot 2 wording: Society is not ready to deal with infants who are not identified as either female or male.)

P56.　The decision to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.

(*Pilot 2 wording:* The decision to use hormones or have genital reconstructive surgery (sex change) should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.)

P60.　Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: The requirements for bringing children up well are very different depending on whether the child is a boy or a girl.)

P61.　People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.

(*Pilot 2 wording:* Transsexuals must have had some sort of trauma to be so confused about what sex they really are.)

P63.　Transsexuals should not have sex change operations if, after the sex change, they will have homosexual (same sex) relationships.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: Transsexuals should only have sex change operations if they will have heterosexual relationships after the change.)

P64.　Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: Transsexuals were born into the wrong body.)

P68.　When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals so you can't tell if the baby is a girl or a boy, it's important for the medical team to figure out what sex the baby really is.)

P75.　For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: For transsexuals, having genital reconstruction surgery (sex change) is a way of expressing who they are.)

P76.　An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: An adult's sexual orientation tends to stay the same over time.)

P81.　In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.

(*Pilot 2 wording*: In the future, gender will become less and less important.)

Pilot 3 Statements that were new (added at Pilot 3)

P86.　A child should be raised by a mother and a father.

P87.　A sex change is a medical procedure like any other; if it needs to be done, you do it.

P88.　An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.

P89.　Boys and girls are different mostly because they are shaped by social images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.

P90.　Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.

P91.　Gender differences are above all else power differences.

P92.   Gender gets less and less important as you get older.

P93.   Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.

P94.   Homosexual relationships are morally wrong.

P95.   How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.

P96.   How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.

P97.   How masculine or how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.

P98.   In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.

P99.   It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.

P100.   It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.

P101.   It's fine for boys to be "sissies" or to act like girls.

P102.   It's fine for girls to be "tomboys" or to act like boys.

P103.   Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.

P104.   People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, bisexual, or transsexual.

P105.   Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.

P106.   Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.

P107.   Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.

P108.   Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style.

P109.   Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.

Wording Changes Made During Pilot 3

General Wording Changes

P67.   Women will always be fundamentally different from men.

        (*Original Pilot 3 wording*: Whatever changes in the culture, women will always be fundamentally different from men.)

P89.   The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.

        (*Original Pilot 3 wording*: Boys and girls are different mostly because they are shaped by social images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.)

Clarification added

P34. In an ideal <u>heterosexual</u> (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.

   (*Original Pilot 3 Wording*) In an ideal heterosexual relationship, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.

Terms in items that appear in the list of definitions

Words that were defined on the definitions page were underlined.

Statements Dropped From Pilot 2 (Not Included in Pilot 3)

P5. All people have the potential to have close friendships with both women and men

P8. A baby born with a tiny penis should be raised as a girl.

P10. Androgynous people can be very interesting and attractive.

P20. Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, is a function of the ways society is organized.

P21. Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, comes mostly from the way one is treated by other people.

P22. Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, comes mostly from the way one is raised as a child.

P24. Gender identity, the sense of oneself as male or female, comes mostly from biological realities, including the genitals.

P25. Girls should be encouraged to pursue anything that interests them. With boys, it's important to be more careful - if they are too feminine they won't fit in with their peers.

P28. Homosexual couples are similar to heterosexual couples - one person takes the masculine role and the other person takes the feminine role.

P39. It's great for women to be athletes, as long as they don't lose their femininity.

P42. Homophobia continues because lesbians dress and act like men and gay men act too much like women.

P46. Once a girl is old enough to understand the consequences, it is up to her to decide whether to risk behaving in a more masculine way than girls are expected to behave.

P48. Homosexuality must be genetic, since people would not choose to be part of a stigmatized group.

P55. The categories heterosexual, bisexual and homosexual are a function of current political and social factors. They do not describe people very accurately.

P58. People who want to have sex changes should be required to conform to the sex role stereotypes of their new gender in order to receive surgery.

P59. The biggest differences between groups of people are the differences between men and women.

P60. The requirements for bringing children up well are very different depending on whether the child is a boy or a girl.

P65. Violence among adolescents is always a cause for concern, but it's especially worrisome when girls are violent.

P66. What is most important is that children grow up to be whoever they want to be, whether this conforms to socially expected roles or not.

P73. Once a boy is old enough to understand the consequences, it is up to him to decide whether to risk behaving in a more feminine way than boys are expected to behave.

P77. Breast enlargement surgery, like wearing makeup or dieting, is a choice women make to enhance their femininity.

P78. Changes to sex roles over time are less important than the inborn biological differences between men and women.

P79. Hormone Replacement therapy can help a menopausal woman maintain her femininity and sexuality.

P80. In old age, men are more able to explore their femininity and women are more able to explore their masculinity.

P83. Men use techniques to increase their penis size in order to feel more complete as men.

P84. It's best if men and women's roles become quite distinct when they become parents.

P85. Nowadays, women and men are more similar than they used to be.

Appendix G. Pilot Interview: Pilot 3

One of the purposes of this study was to identify any difficulties with the Q-sort, and to find out ways to improve it or make it more complete. Do you have any general comments you would like to make about your impressions of the Q-sort or your experience completing it?

I have some specific questions about your impressions of the study, including the content of the items and the procedures you were asked to follow.

1. Was the list of definitions helpful?

2. What changes might your suggest to clarify them?

3. Were there other concepts or terms that should be defined?

4. Were any of the statements you sorted ambiguous or difficult to understand?

4a. (For each problem item:) Do you have any suggestions for making this item clearer?

5. Were there other ideas about gender that you feel were omitted and should have been added?

6. How easy or difficult was the initial sorting process (agree, disagree and neutral piles?)

7. How easy or difficult did you find it to place the Q-sort items in their final positions?

8. Did you find the requirements for the number of items in each column to be constraining?

9. Would you have sorted the items differently if you could have placed any number of items in any column?

10. What kinds of changes would you have made?

11. How confident do you feel that this sort represents your views on gender conformity and non-conformity?

12. Do you have any other comments to make about the Q-sort?

13. Do you have any feedback about the short interview we did right after we finished the Q-sort?

14. Do you have any feedback about the demographics questionnaire?

15. Do you have any other comments about the study?

Appendix H. Demographics Questionnaire: Pilot Study 3 and Main Study

Please add comments, if you wish, to any question. There is extra space for additional comments on page 5.

1. What is your gender or sex? (Please check all that apply)

Female	_____
Male	_____
Intersex	_____
Transgendered	_____
MtF	_____
FtM	_____
Gender Neutral	_____

If none of these categories fits, please describe your gender or sex.

_____

_____

2. How old are you? _____

3. Please check the highest level of education you have completed.

Elementary	_____
Some high school	_____
Completed high school	_____
Some college/university	_____
Completed college/university	_____
Post graduate	_____

4. What is your current occupation? _____

_____

5. What was your pre-retirement occupation, or usual occupation, (if different from above)?

_____

_____

6. Please check the category that applies to your family income.

    Below $20,000   _____

    $20,000 - $40,000   _____

    $40,000 - $60,000   _____

    $60,000 - $80,000   _____

    $80,000 - $100,000   _____

    Above $100,000   _____

7. In what country were you born?   _____

8. In what country did you grow up?   _____

9. If you were born outside Canada, when did you move to Canada?

                                                  _____

10. What is the first language you learned to speak?   _____

11. In what country or countries were your parents (or the people who raised you) born?

12. How would you describe your cultural background, ethnicity or race (for example, Chinese Canadian, Cree, Irish, Latina/o, South Asian, Taiwanese, etc.)?

13. Are you a person with a disability?   Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how would you describe your disability?   _____

Comments: _____

14. Are you part of Deaf Culture or community?   Yes_____ No _____

Comments: _____

15. Do you have any children?   Yes _____   No_____ **IF NO, GO TO Q. 16**

15a.   Please list the ages and the sex/gender of each child.

15b.   Please briefly describe your family's parenting arrangements. (E.g., parenting on your own, parenting with the child's other parent, shared custody, etc.)

_____

_____

16. If you feel comfortable specifying, what is your sexual orientation or sexual identity?

Bisexual _____ Heterosexual _____ Lesbian/Gay _____ Other _____

Bisexual: Sexually and emotionally attracted to both women and men.

Heterosexual: Men attracted to women; women attracted to men.

Gay: Men attracted to men are gay.

Lesbian: Women attracted to women are lesbian.

Comments: _____

_____

17. Do you identify with, practice or participate in a religion? Yes _____   No _____

If yes, how would you describe your religion?   _____

_____

18. Do you consider yourself to be feminist or pro-feminist?   Yes _____   No _____

Comments:

19. Are there any other political movements or groups you belong to or identify with, that may relate to your views about gender?

Additional Comments

Appendix I. Study Promotion

Community Centres (CCs) and Community Recreation Centres (CRCs)

519 CC**	Frankland CC*	Regent Park North RC
Adam Beck CC	Jenner Jean-Marie CC	Regent Park South CRC
Annette CRC	Jimmy Simpson RC**	Rose Avenue CC
Balmy Beach CC	John Innis CRC	S.H. Armstrong CRC*
Beaches RC	Joseph J. Piccininni CRC	St. Lawrence CRC
Bedford Park CC	Leaside Memorial Gardens	Trace Manes Centennial CRC
Bob Abate CRC	Main Square CRC	Trinity CRC
Brown CC	Masaryk-Cowan CRC	Wallace Emerson CC
Eastview CC	Matty Eckler CRC **	
East York CC	Maurice Cody CC	

Ethnospecific, Cultural, and LGBT Organizations, Websites and Newspaper

519 CC trans community bulletin board	Native Men's Residence (Nameres)
Asian Canadian AIDS Prevention	Share Caribbean/South Asian newspaper and website
Dosti website (for South Asian men who have sex with men or want to)	South Asian AIDS Prevention
LGBTOUT Book club	Transexual Menace Toronto website
Native Canadian Centre of Toronto	Two-Spirited People of the First Nations

Organizations for Seniors

North Toronto Memorial CC Seniors*	SYME 50+ Centre
North York Seniors Centre	York West Seniors Centre
Senior Link	

Employment Centres

A.C.C.E.S. employment services	Miziwebiik Aboriginal Employment and Training Centre
HRDC Employment Centres	
Ralph Thornton Centre*	Parachute Employment Resource Centre

Health and Social Policy Organizations

East Toronto Community Health Centre	Regent Park Community Health Centre
Community Social Planning Council email list	Sherbourne Health Centre (poster and email list announcement)

Commercial

Coffee Time Donuts	No Frills supermarkets
Gerrard Square Mall**	Second Cup

Educational

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education	University of Toronto libraries

Note. ** Posted frequently (10 or more posters to that location)
* Posted repeatedly (5 to 9 posters at that location)

Appendix J. Final Q Sample and Sources of Statements

Statement	Source
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls. (P9)	Adapted from YAS
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father. (P86)	Interview
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it. (P87)	Interview
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity. (P2)	Adapted from YAS
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity. (P4)	Adapted from YAS
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences. (P32)	Adapted from YAS
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women. (P6)	YAS
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change. (P76)	Item added
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men. (P88)	Item added
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women. (P7)	YAS
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not. (P35)	Adapted from YAS
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with. (P11)	Adapted from YAS
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave. (P89)	Item added
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same. (P60)	Adapted from YAS
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them. (P15)	YAS
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender. (P16)	Adapted from YAS
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women. (P13)	Adapted from YAS
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls. (P69)	Adapted from YAS

Statement	Source
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay. (P90)	Interview
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are. (P75)	Adapted from YAS
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences. (P91)	Interview
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older. (P92)	Interview
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities. (P93)	Interview
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong. (P94)	Interview
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity. (P95)	Interview
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes. (P96)	Interview
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up. (P97)	Interview
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them. (P30)	Adapted from YAS
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man. (P31)	YAS
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs. (P34)	Adapted from YAS
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women. (P98)	Interview
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all. (P81)	Item added
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls. (P99)	Interview
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female. (P38)	Adapted from YAS
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine. (P3)	Adapted from YAS
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery. (P82)	Item added
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex. (P41)	YAS
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy. (P100)	Interview
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies". (P101)	Item added
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys". (P102)	Item added
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour. (P12)	Adapted from YAS

Statement	Source
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains. (P44)	YAS
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests. (P40)	Adapted from YAS
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave. (P103)	Interview
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual. (P104)	Interview
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have. (P49)	Adapted from YAS
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are. (P61)	Adapted from YAS
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man. (P105)	Adapted from Kitzinger, 1987
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice. (P70)	YAS
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic. (P106)	Interview
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female. (P51)	Adapted from YAS
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be. (P52)	YAS
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men. (P107)	Interview
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves. (P56)	Adapted from YAS
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities. (P14)	Adapted from YAS
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women. (P57)	YAS
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body. (P64)	Adapted from YAS
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men. (P67)	Adapted from YAS
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is. (P68)	Adapted from YAS
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are. (P109)	Adapted from Kitzinger, 1987
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style. (P108)	Item added

Appendix K. Final Q Sample by Content Area and Theoretical Approach

Childhood

Essentialism

2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.

17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.

18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.

19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.

44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.

Individualism

15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.

39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".

40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".

43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.

Androgyny

55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.

6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.

14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.

Social Construction

13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.

Other

33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.

38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.

Adulthood

Essentialism

29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.

42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.

53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.

58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.

9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.

Individualism

37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.

52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be.

Androgyny

35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.

Social Construction

16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.

56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.

60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.

Other approaches

36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.

41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.

61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style.

Sexuality

Essentialism

8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.

10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.

28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.

50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.

Individualism

49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.

12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.

Androgyny

7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women.

30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.

Social Construction

48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.

Other Approaches

24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.

45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.

Transgender

Essentialism

47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.

57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.

Individualism

20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.

54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.

Androgyny

46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have.

Social Construction

51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.

Other Approaches

3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.

Intersex

Essentialism

4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.

5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.

34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female.

59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.

Individualism

11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.

Other Approaches

1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.

Gender Theories

Essentialism

26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.

Social Construction

21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.

31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.

32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.

Other Approaches

23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.

25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.

27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.

22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.

Appendix L. Brief Post Q-sort Interview: Main Study

1. What were your general impressions of the Q-sort?

2. Tell me about the items in the +4 column... Why were these the items you agreed with most?

3. Tell me about the items in the -4 column. Why were these the items you disagreed with most?

4. Now I'd like to ask you about the items that you marked as difficult to sort. In general, what made items difficult to sort? (For each item) Why was this item difficult to sort?

5. Are there other thoughts you have about gender that were not reflected in the items?

6. How well do you think this Q-sort reflects your views on gender or gendered behaviour? In what ways might it misrepresent your perspectives?

7. If you had to draw a line between items you disagreed with and items you agreed with (in the middle of the distribution), where would that line be?

Appendix M. Definitions of Terms

Definitions

Transsexual: A person who desires to change his or her own sex is transsexual. Transsexual people may use hormones or undergo surgery to physically change their sex.

Sexual Orientation: Describes someone's sexual and emotional attraction - usually either bisexual, heterosexual, or homosexual (gay or lesbian).

Bisexual: Sexually and emotionally attracted to both women and men.

Heterosexual: Sexually and emotionally attracted to persons of the other sex (i.e., men attracted to women; women attracted to men). Straight is another term used to mean heterosexual.

Homosexual: Sexually and emotionally attracted to persons of the same sex. Lesbians are homosexual women. Gay men are homosexual men.

Gay: Men attracted to men are gay.

Lesbian: Women attracted to women are lesbian.

Intersex (Old term: Hermaphrodite): A person who has both male and female physical characteristics.

Ambiguous genitals: Genitals that doctors do not define as definitely female or definitely male. This could include an unusually small penis, or an unusually large clitoris, or genitals that combine components of typical male genitals and typical female genitals.

Penis: Erectile part of male genitals.

Clitoris: Erectile part of female genitals.

Appendix N. Q Sort Instructions

Q-sort Instructions

This study is about the ways people think about gender and gender issues. The task I am going to ask you to do is called a Q-sort. The Q-sort requires you to read a number of statements and sort them according to the extent to which they reflect your own point of view.

Before we begin, here is a list of definitions which may be helpful to you in completing the Q sort. I will read them aloud, and you can either listen, or follow along on the definition sheet. You may refer to the definitions while you complete the Q-sort.

Here is the pile of statements. The statements represent different views about gender. You are going to sort them into a distribution by filling in the slots shown on the large grid. There are 61 slots on the grid, and 61 cards, so you will put one card in each slot. The categories you can sort the statements into range from +4, for statements you agree with most, to -4, for statements you disagree with most. There are no right or wrong answers. What I am interested in is *your* point of view.

The statements are reflections of different people's viewpoints about gender. You may find that you do not relate to some statements at all. For instance, a statement may approach an issue in an entirely different way from how you would approach it. That's to be expected.

Here is the method I would like you to use to sort the statements:

1. Sort the statements into the five categories on the small sorting sheet. The five categories are AGREE (+ +), SOMEWHAT AGREE (+), NEUTRAL, which includes items you feel neutral about or items you are not sure about, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE (-) and DISAGREE (- -).

2. Do this first sort relatively quickly. Don't spend too much time on any one item. You will have an opportunity to make changes in your placement of the items in the next part of the sorting process.

3. Please let me know if there are any statements that you would like clarified.

4. Go to the agree (+ +) pile. Pick the five (5) statements that you agree with the most. These statements most reflect your point of view and are most important to you. Place them in the +4 column. Then pick the five (5) statements that you agree with the most, out of all the statements that are left. Place them in the +3 column. When the agree (+ +) pile is finished, move to the somewhat agree (+) pile.

5. Go to the disagree (- -) pile. Pick the five (5) statements that you disagree with the most. These statements are most opposed to your point of view and are most important to you. Place these in the –4 pile. Then pick the five (5) statements that you disagree with the most, out of all the statements that are left. Place these in the –3 pile. When the disagree (- -) pile is finished, move to the somewhat disagree (-) pile.

6. Continue to fill in the grid working in toward the center. Make sure that you agree with each item in a column more that the items in columns to the left. For instance, make sure that you agree with all the items in the +3 column more than you agree with all the items in the +2 or +1 or 0 columns, and the same for the disagree columns.

7. Don't worry about the order of statements within a particular column. All items in the same column get the same score.

8. Move the statements around so that each square has one statement and the sort corresponds to your views about the statements

9. If you find that there are any statements that you have difficulty deciding on a final placement, mark it with one of the coloured markers. When you're finished, you'll have an opportunity to tell me what made the item difficult to sort, and where else you considered sorting it.

10. Look over the way you have sorted the statements to make sure that you are satisfied with your sort. Make any changes you wish to make.

Instruction Hand Out Given to Participants

Q-sort Instructions

Sort the statements into five piles: Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neutral/ Not Sure, Somewhat Disagree, Disagree.

Choose the 5 statements you agree with most, and place them in the +4 column. Then pick the next 5 statements you agree with most (of the remaining statements).

Choose the 5 statements you disagree with most, and place them in the −4 column. Then pick the next 5 statements you disagree with most (of the remaining statements).

Fill in the remaining statements, working from the outside in. There is one slot for every statement in the large grid.

Let me know if you find any items ambiguous or unclear.

Don't worry about the order of items within any one column.

Make as many changes as you wish at any time.

When you are finished, check over the grid, to make sure you are satisfied with your sort.

Appendix O. Follow-Up Interview for Clarification of Perspectives

When you sort the items in a particular way, you provide some insight into your own point of view. When we put together the responses of all the participants there were certain common viewpoints that seemed to be represented. Here is a booklet with five descriptions of some different perspectives people expressed based on their Q-sorts during the first part of the study. They are arranged in random order. On the bottom of each page is a scale that asks you to rate how much the description corresponds to your own perspectives about gender. Please read each description and fill in the rating for each description.

Which perspective was most reflective of your view?

To what extent do you feel this description represents your views on gender?

In what ways does this description represent your views?

How does your point of view differ from the description I read?

Is there anything missing from the description that is important to your viewpoint?

      a.   Is there anything you might like to add this about gender in children?

      b.   Adults?

      c.   Sexuality?

      d.   Transgender / people who want to change their gender?

      e.   Intersex / people born with male and female physical characteristics

      f.   What causes gender, or gender differences?

What were your thoughts about the other perspectives?

Do you think your views about gender have changed since the first time we met for the first Q-sort study? In what ways?

How important do you think gender is in today's society? What issues are most important? What issues are unimportant?

I'm also interested in people's opinions about current social issues having to do with gender.

What are your views on Same Sex Marriage?

Affirmative Action

Single Sex schooling (trend to divide kids into separate classes for boys and girls for most academic subjects).

When I selected participants from this study, I tried to select as diverse a sample as possible. I interviewed people from age 20 to people in their 70s and 80s.

Do you think your age or your generation affects your views about gender?

What about your gender or sexual orientation?

Ethnicity, or cultural background?

Religion?

Having children?

Any other characteristics that might inform your views about gender?

How do your views on gender affect you in your own life?

In what ways do you think you conform to what's expected of you by others, based on your gender?

In what ways do you think you do NOT conform to what's expected of you, based on your gender?

Can you describe a situation in which gender has been a problem or limitation for you?

Can you describe a situation in which gender has provided an advantage for you?

Do you have any more comments you would like to make, either about your experience in the study or about your views on gender?

Appendix P. Preliminary Descriptions of the Perspectives

(Note: the perspectives were presented to participants in random order without labels)

Perspective 1: Gender Diversity

All people should have the freedom to express their gender in whatever way they choose. However, that can be difficult to achieve because of the way Canadian society reinforces gender, which has particularly negative consequences for women. Gender and sexual orientation are determined more by society than by biology; they are not fixed and can change over time.

It is not a good idea to try to get children to fit into gender expectations for their own sex. Children should be able to explore any activity that interests them, regardless of their sex. Even children who might be called names because they are different from others in their expressions of gender should be supported and not urged to conform to other people's expectations. Heterosexual (male/female) two-parent families are no better for children than other kinds of families - families with same-sex parents, single parents or other family groups are just as healthy environments for children.

For intersex babies, intrusive measures like surgery to change the appearance of the genitals are unnecessary and harmful. Surgery is only appropriate if the individuals ask for it themselves when they are old enough to decide. Adults who want to change their gender should be able to express their own gender however they like, and to decide what physical or other changes they want to make.

To what extent does this description **match your perspectives** about gender?
Please circle a number from 1 – 9 in the scale below, where 1 means **VERY DIFFERENT** your views about gender and 9 means **VERY SIMILAR** to your views about gender.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1 = Very
different from
my views

9 = Very
similar
to my views

Perspective 2: Social Essentialism

Different roles for men and women are important to maintain because they help to shape our society. These gender roles have long existed in all cultures and societies including our own. Men and women think differently, and they are drawn to different kinds of work and family roles. There are different aspects to gender roles, but usually being feminine has to do with being attractive to men, and being masculine includes being sexually involved or interested in women, among other things. Gender helps us know how to behave with each other – it's hard to know how to act with someone if you don't know their gender.

It's up to parents to bring up their children to understand how men are expected to behave and how women are expected to behave. Boys and girls should be brought up differently. Girls are learning to be women and boys are learning to be men, and they do this based on what they learn at home as well as in the broader society. Part of how they learn this is within the family, so it is important that children are brought up by a mother and a father, if possible.

There's more to life than individual rights – there are social responsibilities as well. It is important to take into account the views of others within your society. This is especially important for boys and men. If they are too feminine they won't fit in and will have a very difficult life. Anyone, male or female, should really think it over before deciding to have gay or lesbian relationships or to have a sex change.

To what extent does this description **match your perspectives** about gender?
Please circle a number from 1 – 9 in the scale below, where 1 means **VERY DIFFERENT** your views about gender and 9 means **VERY SIMILAR** to your views about gender.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

1 = Very
different from
my views

9 = Very
similar
to my views

Perspective 3: Biological Progressive

Men and women are fundamentally different because of their biology. Men's and women's brains work differently. Although society may reflect or encourage gender differences, society doesn't create them. Instead, these societal images happen *because* of the biological differences between men and women. Gender differences will come up in male/female relationships. That doesn't mean the relationship will be unequal or based on power imbalances. People are the way they are, and usually that means males being more masculine and females being more feminine.

You aren't going to raise girls exactly the same way you raise boys, because they're not the same. That doesn't mean that you give one sex more freedom than the other, but it does mean adjusting your parenting depending on the characteristics of the child, which are generally different depending on the child's gender. Even though most kids follow the usual pattern, it's okay if some kids don't. There's nothing at all wrong with girls who are tomboys – it's probably a good thing. Boys may run into a little more trouble if they are very feminine, but they should be allowed to be themselves. All children should be allowed to play with whatever toys they like.

Sexual orientation is genetic. People who are attracted to people of the same sex shouldn't be blamed or discriminated against– it's not a choice; it's something they were born with. And if someone wants to have a sex change, it should be up to the person. They know what they are doing or they wouldn't be asking to have the surgery.

To what extent does this description **match your perspectives** about gender?

To what extent does this description **match your perspectives** about gender?
Please circle a number from 1 – 9 in the scale below, where 1 means **VERY DIFFERENT** your views about gender and 9 means **VERY SIMILAR** to your views about gender.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

1 = Very
different from
my views

9 = Very
similar
to my views

Perspective 4: Gender Minimizing

Gender is not a problem, and it gets less important all the time. There's no reason why there should be discrimination or inequality between men and women. Although several years ago men may have had an advantage over women in Canadian society, that certainly is not the case now. It may be the case in other places in the world, but in Canada people can decide for themselves what to think and what they want to do.

Children should be able to pursue activities that interest them. Eventually they'll grow into being men or women and be comfortable with their gender. Boys shouldn't be allowed to be sissies, but that won't generally happen. It's good to have two parents (mother and father) raising children together.

People are responsible for the lives they lead. It's up to the individual whether they are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or straight. The same is true for people who are not happy with their gender. If their body doesn't match their psychological gender, this should be corrected. Without question, transsexual people should be supported in having whatever procedures they need to feel comfortable with themselves and lead productive lives. Doctors should also be consulted in the unusual case that a baby is born with gender that is not clearly male or female, to get that sorted out in the best way possible.

To what extent does this description **match your perspectives** about gender?
Please circle a number from 1 – 9 in the scale below, where 1 means **VERY DIFFERENT** your views about gender and 9 means **VERY SIMILAR** to your views about gender.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

1 = Very   9 = Very
different from   similar
my views   to my views

Perspective 5: Different But Equal

We all have masculine and feminine sides, despite the basic differences between men and women. We're all human beings, and it's good to express both sides of ourselves. Although it may not be possible to achieve true equality in male/female marital relationships, it's best if partners treat each other as equals.

In general, the best way to bring up children is in a family with a mother and a father. Other family arrangements aren't as good for the child. Of course, children need to know how they will be expected to behave as men or women, and to be comfortable with themselves as male or female. But children are children – in most ways, boys and girls should be raised exactly the same. They should enjoy the same freedoms, with equal opportunities to participate in sports and other activities – it doesn't make sense to have one set of rules for your sons and another for your daughters. It's good if they have a mix of masculine and feminine interests. It may *not* be a good idea to let girls act too much like boys, and it's certainly *not* a good idea to let boys act like girls. Children need to fit in with the community.

If a child is born with ambiguous genitals, doctors can help parents figure out what to do. It doesn't matter too much what a person's genital size is, but it's important to get the child's gender sorted out as quickly as possible. It's not a good idea for adults to change gender from male to female, or vice versa. There's no need to dress up as the other gender either – gender isn't something to be played with. Too much emphasis is put on the body sometimes. It's best to accept the body you were given, and focus on the person you are inside, rather than trying to fix certain body parts with cosmetic surgery.

To what extent does this description **match your perspectives** about gender?
Please circle a number from 1 – 9 in the scale below, where 1 means **VERY DIFFERENT** your views about gender and 9 means **VERY SIMILAR** to your views about gender.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1 = Very
different from
my views

9 = Very
similar
to my views

Appendix Q. Primary Pattern Matrix and Primary Structure Matrix

Primary Pattern Matrix Sorted by Significant Loadings

	Perspective				
Participant	1	2	3	4	5
Osay*	.875	-.060	-.059	-.048	.014
Albert*	.821	.144	-.200	.038	-.128
3	.799	-.172	.172	.000	.091
4	.761	-.208	.055	-.068	-.087
Michelle	.755	.023	.003	.271	.083
6	.728	.088	.057	-.021	.061
7	.716	.086	-.035	-.206	.071
Sabina	.682	-.275	.140	.024	.057
9	.668	.178	.159	-.115	.266
Barb	.667	-.132	.138	-.140	.104
11	.666	.227	.217	-.039	.067
Angela	.663	.191	.136	.089	-.328
13	.660	-.013	.039	-.188	-.185
14	.650	-.059	.146	.079	.289
Sylvia	.648	-.217	.108	-.105	.063
16	.648	-.154	.246	.235	-.062
17	.642	-.209	.147	-.135	-.151
18	.634	.044	.130	.229	.211
19	.633	.041	.139	-.240	.106
20	.631	.009	-.058	-.327	.097
21	.627	-.098	.203	.270	-.251
Corrine	.626	-.079	.198	.050	.195
23	.611	-.279	.125	-.161	.273
Ron	.607	.040	.346	-.078	.136
25	.602	.108	.100	-.235	.186
Natasha	.591	-.191	.127	-.038	-.029
27	.583	.103	.176	-.236	-.089
28	.581	.227	-.146	.316	-.273

	Perspective				
Participant	1	2	3	4	5
29	.572	.150	.083	-.044	-.293
30	.552	-.152	.229	.123	-.054
31	.549	-.145	.109	-.249	.034
32	.539	.179	-.113	-.057	.156
33	.534	-.146	.048	-.279	-.038
34	.533	-.031	.333	.089	-.010
35	.514	-.108	.287	.085	-.003
Julia	.513	-.308	.235	-.011	-.077
37	.486	.197	.092	-.317	-.117
38	.476	.014	.259	-.114	.109
39	.469	-.099	-.022	-.060	-.179
40	.464	.180	-.148	-.105	-.192
41	.458	-.261	.039	-.200	-.054
42	.456	-.239	.252	-.247	-.110
Ken	.441	.005	.267	.125	.180
44	.438	.000	.337	-.209	-.104
Joseph	.438	-.040	.049	-.293	-.273
46	.433	.224	.111	-.192	.032
47	.433	-.212	.181	-.122	-.165
48	.431	.030	.028	-.222	.074
49	.422	.271	.171	.250	-.068
50	.400	.235	.214	-.021	-.155
51	.397	.157	-.209	-.233	.338
52	-.046	.713	.092	.003	.023
Cheung*	-.039	.642	.053	.068	.097
Thomas	-.017	.623	-.231	.016	-.222
Phil*	-.159	.523	.221	-.250	.206
56	.253	.513	-.196	-.079	-.199
Eddie	.318	.512	.026	.273	-.190
Patrick	.027	.500	-.132	-.341	-.123
59	-.172	.485	-.008	-.127	-.238
Amir	-.122	.415	-.130	-.258	-.157

	Perspective				
Participant	1	2	3	4	5
61	-.028	.403	-.191	-.245	.160
62	.163	.395	.140	-.112	.072
Roberto	-.045	.394	-.033	-.286	-.040
64	-.190	.386	.128	-.036	-.145
65	-.127	.380	.152	-.150	-.055
Noah*	-.123	-.108	.869	-.047	.109
Samantha*	-.001	-.242	.768	-.012	-.023
68	.315	-.182	.726	.145	-.223
69	.100	-.078	.701	-.026	-.067
70	.243	-.140	.652	.024	.016
71	.181	-.037	.635	-.038	.268
72	.238	.103	.629	-.005	.190
Eric	.125	-.025	.609	.159	.020
Lorraine	-.017	.244	.602	-.004	.020
75	.039	.005	-.591	.201	.000
76	.166	-.289	.587	-.035	-.291
Bruce	.259	.187	.570	.027	.171
78	.316	-.179	.564	-.209	-.029
79	-.062	-.006	.551	.009	-.140
Carmella	.243	.154	.544	.218	.291
81	.337	-.197	.543	.109	.154
Stan	-.077	.144	.527	.074	-.142
Audrey	-.223	.135	.517	-.328	.035
84	.126	.249	.502	.047	.148
85	.165	-.131	.494	-.219	-.088
86	-.142	.097	.468	-.320	-.116
Heather	.068	.239	.464	-.121	-.010
Dave	.213	-.040	.440	-.141	-.069
89	.110	.015	.435	.058	-.053
90	-.042	.119	.433	.069	-.142

	Perspective				
Participant	1	2	3	4	5
91	.213	.329	.416	.034	-.216
Will	-.253	.316	.416	.021	-.019
93	.119	.014	.411	.183	-.026
94	.124	.209	.391	.035	.142
95	-.251	-.045	.387	.197	.217
96	.289	.024	.369	.328	.025
Dom*	.067	.149	-.081	.657	.039
Tim*	-.006	-.163	.100	.540	.127
99	.200	-.010	.121	.505	-.280
Mike	.091	.158	-.023	.433	-.048
Peter	.181	-.204	-.228	.426	.321
102	-.276	.023	-.109	.423	.110
Fiona	.212	-.178	.080	.421	.099
Dionne	.317	.175	.058	.414	-.024
105	-.029	.134	.057	.408	.068
106	-.228	.222	.211	.384	.166
107	.263	.118	.109	.378	.083
Janet	.199	.188	-.043	.351	.109
Amita*	-.004	.029	-.202	-.062	.679
Laurence*	.006	-.040	.173	-.148	.622
Lester	-.093	-.010	-.082	.187	.549
112	.128	-.192	.236	.237	.435
113	.345	.058	.272	.063	.407
Christina	.209	-.063	-.025	.250	.403
Wanda	-.123	.299	.283	-.057	.401
Leah	.302	-.020	.301	-.050	.391
117	.123	.316	.053	.184	.353
118	.538	.382	.246	-.243	-.202
119	.620	-.049	.367	.087	-.207
120	.569	-.189	.370	-.024	.084

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
121	.565	-.030	.382	-.096	-.089
122	.545	-.122	.390	-.078	.082
123	.536	.108	.367	-.324	-.043
124	.542	-.178	.354	.169	.201
Nancy*	.525	-.120	.453	.063	-.186
David*	.491	-.066	.486	-.034	-.242
127	.490	.211	.386	-.081	.136
128	.473	-.040	.457	.074	-.010
129	.415	.068	.461	-.065	-.214
130	.411	-.126	.402	.250	-.194
131	.394	.168	.507	.002	-.055
132	.394	-.344	.363	.214	-.024
133	.376	-.042	.501	-.108	.134
134	.373	-.099	.424	.065	-.176
135	.359	-.180	.568	-.020	-.220
136	.356	-.308	.447	.215	-.147
Randall*	.503	-.107	-.024	.505	-.041
138	.410	-.084	-.064	.563	.082
139	.407	-.126	.216	.421	.077
140	.355	.118	-.162	.433	-.075
141	.472	-.088	.323	.029	.408
142	.621	-.374	-.039	.030	-.094
143	.639	-.372	-.067	.086	.073
144	.010	.488	.365	-.060	.084
145	.067	.418	.456	.100	-.011
146	.142	.374	.551	-.065	.097
147	-.397	.449	-.034	-.087	.319
148	-.364	.405	-.025	-.153	.188
149	-.350	.420	.295	.116	.070
150	.061	.119	.406	.182	.471

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
151	-.355	.177	.545	.144	.343
152	.234	-.431	.487	.028	-.081
Monica*	.148	-.124	.534	.203	-.438
154	.327	-.242	.500	.146	-.380
155	.338	-.343	.360	.278	-.387
156	-.164	.094	.082	.412	.534
157	.176	-.072	.128	.381	.421
158	-.496	.221	.142	.460	.001
159	-.369	-.007	.209	.451	-.020
160	.061	.413	.083	.395	-.396
161	.009	.527	-.128	-.364	.386
162	.301	.337	.159	.218	.053
163	-.260	.198	-.008	.237	-.065
164	.253	.267	.308	.013	.157
165	.252	.195	-.162	.098	.225
166	.209	.160	-.121	.321	.181
Gloria*	.204	.204	.124	.240	.004
168	.153	.068	-.149	.086	.308
169	.146	.169	.290	.302	-.114
170	.092	.293	-.175	.000	.219
Richard*	.088	-.026	.182	.204	-.111
172	.036	.136	.249	.066	.277
173	.035	.229	.250	.035	.234
174	.032	.268	.173	.000	-.082
175	.006	-.187	-.032	.329	.284
176	-.088	.097	.083	-.049	.315
177	-.091	.291	.018	.206	.281
178	-.112	.248	.091	.321	-.019
179	-.149	.280	.006	.290	.275
180	-.219	.137	.222	.103	.184

Note. Participants marked with an asterisk participated in follow-up interviews. Other participants indicated by name were quoted from main study interviews.

Primary Structure Matrix Sorted by Significant Loadings

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
Osay*	.868	-.139	.240	.152	-.042
Albert*	.732	.073	.084	.081	.126
3	.875	-.247	.429	.106	-.140
4	.806	-.248	.309	.166	.040
Michelle	.718	-.096	.215	-.170	-.131
6	.744	.019	.312	.138	-.060
7	.727	.035	.246	.305	-.049
Sabina	.752	-.340	.345	.051	-.124
9	.729	.098	.414	.227	-.236
Barb	.748	-.181	.376	.226	-.126
11	.726	.177	.465	.191	-.037
Angela	.671	.187	.363	.093	.335
13	.696	-.012	.293	.308	.189
14	.701	-.168	.345	-.006	-.323
Sylvia	.720	-.264	.327	.177	-.103
16	.710	-.215	.416	-.118	-.008
17	.726	-.211	.371	.239	.115
18	.647	-.072	.309	-.137	-.245
19	.713	.008	.394	.345	-.084
20	.659	-.025	.207	.396	-.073
21	.660	-.132	.367	-.132	.187
Corrine	.698	-.162	.393	.036	-.229
23	.708	-.351	.334	.196	-.317
Ron	.735	-.003	.565	.209	-.131
25	.664	.061	.348	.329	-.153
Natasha	.656	-.224	.319	.120	-.013
27	.664	.112	.420	.371	.123
28	.460	.169	.019	-.194	.258
29	.586	.162	.298	.195	.311
30	.624	-.192	.385	-.023	.000

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
31	.635	-.158	.324	.321	-.042
32	.497	.102	.090	.121	-.133
33	.602	-.146	.263	.347	.033
34	.635	-.064	.496	.037	-.016
35	.608	-.144	.438	.020	-.036
Julia	.619	-.322	.388	.088	.014
37	.541	.224	.323	.442	.178
38	.581	-.013	.438	.211	-.102
39	.475	-.103	.141	.131	.156
40	.408	.175	.041	.194	.223
41	.522	-.262	.207	.242	.021
42	.595	-.209	.430	.333	.088
Ken	.518	-.064	.394	-.041	-.203
44	.579	.032	.519	.337	.122
Joseph	.493	.012	.244	.391	.290
46	.479	.214	.305	.298	.020
47	.526	-.192	.333	.203	.133
48	.471	.010	.211	.283	-.052
49	.418	.224	.294	-.117	.076
50	.450	.245	.372	.163	.191
51	.354	.078	-.029	.236	-.294
52	-.079	.720	.128	.100	.105
Cheung*	-.086	.623	.076	.011	.009
Thomas	-.159	.644	-.191	.056	.328
Phil*	-.091	.552	.244	.310	-.077
56	.147	.522	-.058	.177	.291
Eddie	.238	.482	.129	-.131	.239
Patrick	-.018	.556	-.029	.407	.250
59	-.206	.559	-.007	.196	.343
Amir	-.171	.479	-.097	.296	.263

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
61	-.091	.397	-.133	.246	-.060
62	.192	.393	.242	.203	.009
Roberto	-.052	.442	.028	.333	.145
64	-.180	.443	.100	.100	.223
65	-.090	.433	.162	.215	.145
Noah*	.190	-.045	.826	.142	-.110
Samantha*	.281	-.179	.752	.105	-.011
68	.550	-.137	.798	.018	.173
69	.346	-.019	.734	.151	.061
70	.473	-.120	.719	.094	-.043
71	.411	-.048	.696	.129	-.268
72	.447	.095	.715	.131	-.171
Eric	.311	-.016	.623	-.049	-.041
Lorraine	.166	.287	.615	.130	.030
75	.269	.058	.636	.292	-.056
76	.387	-.205	.630	.148	.246
Bruce	.435	.172	.666	.107	-.142
78	.551	-.132	.692	.324	.021
79	.120	.064	.529	.087	.145
Carmella	.389	.091	.599	-.110	-.291
81	.527	-.229	.623	-.020	-.205
Stan	.074	.205	.501	.037	.166
Audrey	-.013	.232	.505	.394	.040
84	.271	.242	.554	.068	-.108
85	.372	-.064	.576	.315	.093
86	.050	.209	.481	.403	.181
Heather	.220	.286	.524	.239	.070
Dave	.384	.005	.532	.244	.078
89	.247	.039	.465	.036	.050
90	.080	.170	.418	.028	.160

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
91	.334	.307	.516	.150	-.155
Will	-.138	.369	.357	.094	.050
93	.283	.054	.481	.265	.000
94	.238	.257	.456	.162	.184
95	-.094	.071	.333	.244	.243
96	.457	.074	.521	.435	.065
Dom*	.118	.234	.059	.678	.142
Tim*	.116	-.058	.174	.549	.165
99	.321	.001	.267	.518	-.224
Mike	.132	.199	.089	.458	.030
Peter	.175	-.123	-.110	.426	.330
102	-.257	.117	-.131	.383	.171
Fiona	.312	-.116	.207	.451	.114
Dionne	.380	.203	.244	.489	.049
105	.034	.209	.124	.440	.142
106	-.126	.340	.214	.436	.260
107	.341	.169	.268	.459	.144
Janet	.215	.234	.096	.411	.179
Amita*	-.101	.125	-.204	-.009	.675
Laurence*	.032	.061	.155	-.049	.599
Lester	-.108	.114	-.079	.225	.571
112	.247	-.077	.307	.320	.429
113	.431	.128	.408	.213	.419
Christina	.231	.022	.086	.316	.416
Wanda	-.072	.394	.259	.061	.453
Leah	.388	.037	.397	.085	.376
117	.129	.396	.151	.296	.429
118	.558	.283	.415	-.099	-.176
119	.766	-.102	.585	.202	-.217
120	.706	-.201	.546	.100	.037

Participant	Perspective				
	1	2	3	4	5
121	.685	-.081	.554	.031	-.116
122	.675	-.138	.554	.055	.041
123	.606	.035	.504	-.179	-.073
124	.696	-.142	.553	.302	.180
Nancy*	.702	-.158	.630	.171	-.208
David*	.663	-.122	.639	.075	-.266
127	.586	.208	.555	.095	.155
128	.642	-.040	.625	.208	-.016
129	.560	.018	.593	.051	-.216
130	.598	-.134	.569	.332	-.192
131	.552	.160	.653	.155	-.030
132	.579	-.328	.505	.278	-.065
133	.530	-.030	.609	.037	.109
134	.539	-.124	.552	.151	-.191
135	.570	-.212	.671	.071	-.258
136	.569	-.303	.578	.277	-.179
Randall*	.577	-.092	.219	.552	-.012
138	.473	-.034	.160	.609	.124
139	.549	-.075	.413	.505	.098
140	.353	.120	.035	.464	-.012
141	.583	-.031	.485	.185	.387
142	.648	-.445	.147	.048	-.172
143	.660	-.410	.136	.123	.001
144	.079	.521	.396	.078	.166
145	.197	.458	.526	.239	.078
146	.283	.410	.617	.106	.157
147	-.469	.527	-.145	-.048	.397
148	-.435	.448	-.141	-.131	.250
149	-.273	.501	.227	.180	.170
150	.201	.252	.469	.329	.517

Participant	Perspective 1	2	3	4	5
151	-.174	.329	.465	.247	.406
152	.443	-.426	.538	.071	-.154
Monica*	.380	-.148	.603	.240	-.433
154	.548	-.281	.612	.194	-.409
155	.539	-.376	.490	.290	-.418
156	-.100	.265	.106	.480	.606
157	.269	.048	.248	.468	.451
158	-.403	.339	.065	.444	.110
159	-.233	.100	.157	.429	.045
160	.117	.398	.193	.426	-.276
161	-.143	.535	-.141	-.264	.433
162	.354	.361	.321	.339	.133
163	-.246	.242	-.044	.218	.005
164	.331	.297	.417	.154	.203
165	.188	.214	-.044	.162	.264
166	.194	.208	.015	.375	.241
Gloria*	.261	.228	.247	.317	.065
168	.101	.109	-.076	.130	.325
169	.275	.199	.400	.379	-.048
170	.001	.311	-.120	.052	.267
Richard*	.184	-.012	.242	.229	-.091
172	.111	.209	.285	.164	.311
173	.098	.290	.287	.140	.281
174	.068	.264	.203	.059	-.034
175	.052	-.095	.013	.333	.291
176	-.084	.161	.056	.004	.330
177	-.089	.379	.045	.270	.360
178	-.057	.305	.124	.351	.067
179	-.138	.382	.026	.341	.363
180	-.146	.219	.177	.149	.229

Note. Participants marked with an asterisk participated in follow-up interviews. Other participants indicated by name were quoted from main study interviews.

Appendix R. Scatterplots of Primary Pattern Matrix Component Loadings

	Chart Data Labels		
0	No significant loadings	3	Significant on Component 3 only
1	Significant on Component 1 only	4	Significant on Component 4 only
2	Significant on Component 2 only	5	Significant on Component 5 only

Chart showing two scatter plots. The top plot has x-axis "Primary Pattern Matrix Loading - Component 1" and y-axis "Primary Pattern Matrix Loading - Component 4". The bottom plot has x-axis "Primary Pattern Matrix Loading - Component 1" and y-axis "Primary Pattern Matrix Loading - Component 5".

Chart Data Labels	
0 No significant loadings	3 Significant on Component 3 only
1 Significant on Component 1 only	4 Significant on Component 4 only
2 Significant on Component 2 only	5 Significant on Component 5 only

Chart Data Labels

0	No significant loadings	3	Significant on Component 3 only
1	Significant on Component 1 only	4	Significant on Component 4 only
2	Significant on Component 2 only	5	Significant on Component 5 only

Chart Data Labels

0	No significant loadings	3	Significant on Component 3 only
1	Significant on Component 1 only	4	Significant on Component 4 only
2	Significant on Component 2 only	5	Significant on Component 5 only

Chart Data Labels

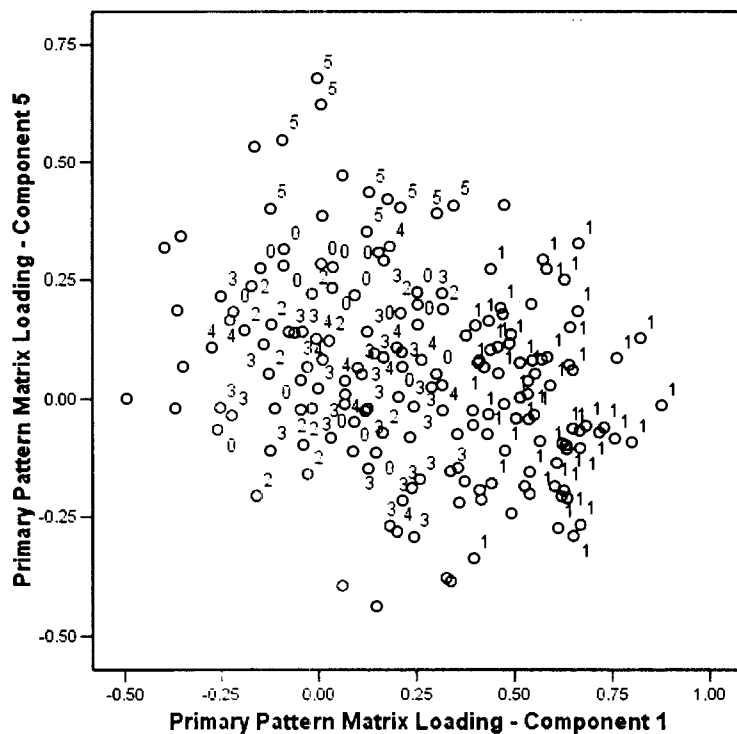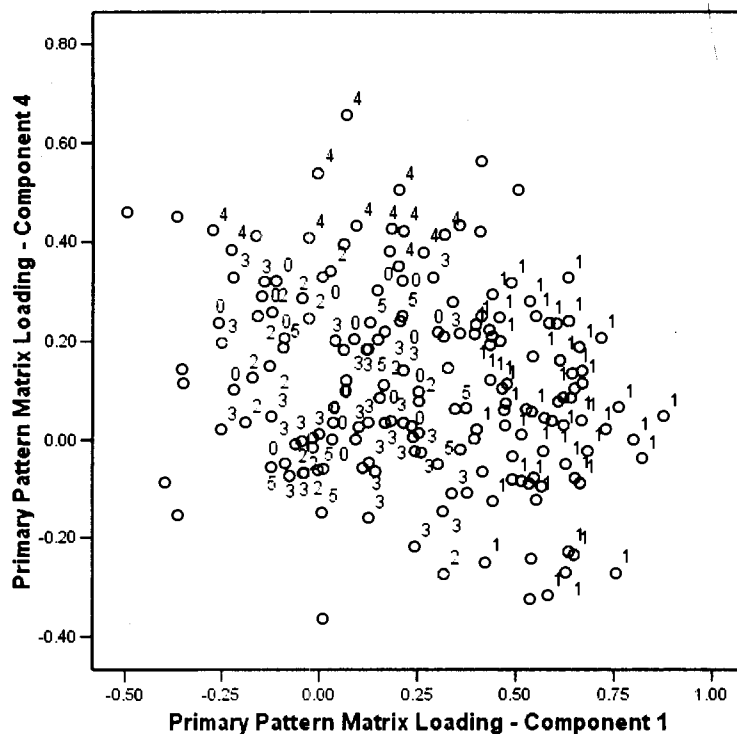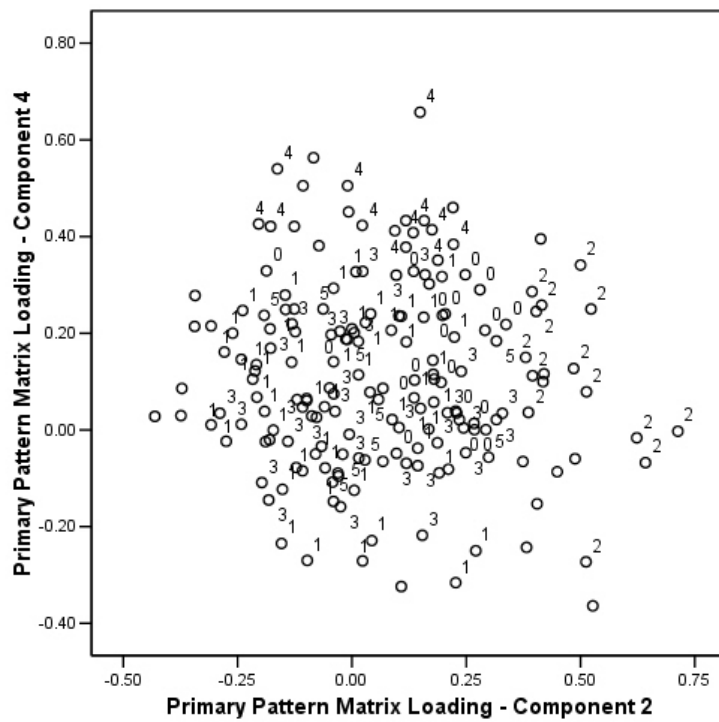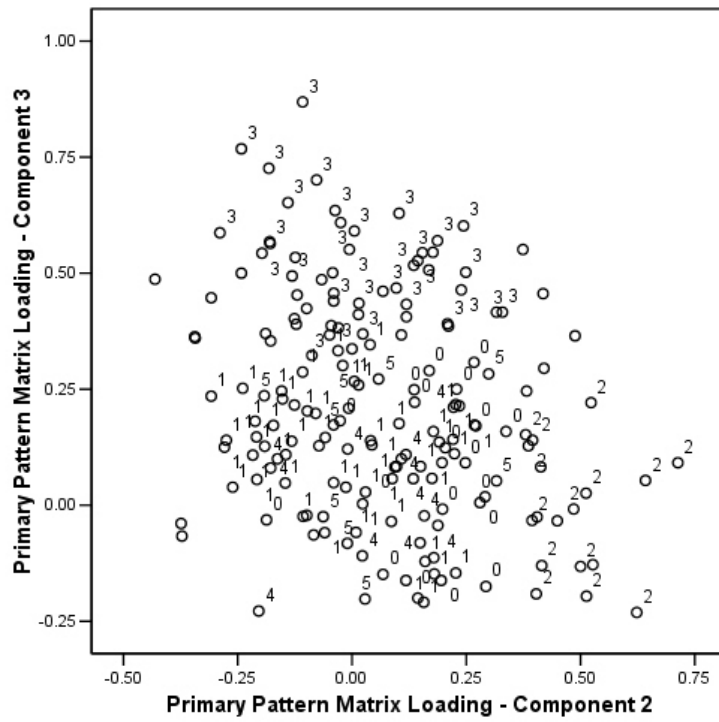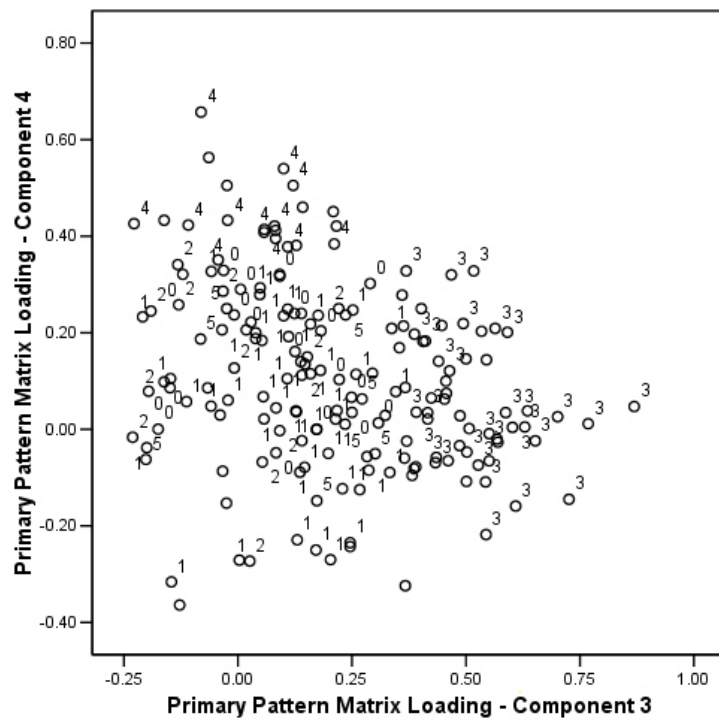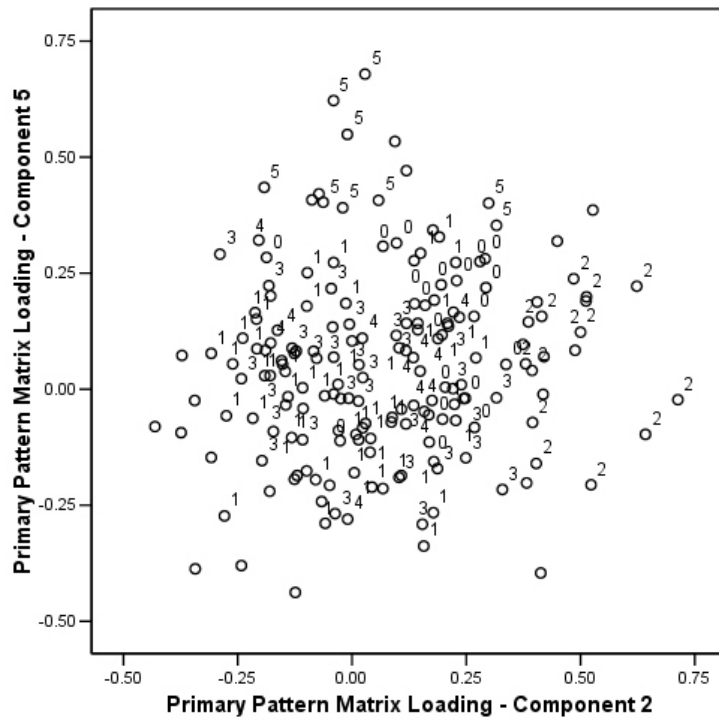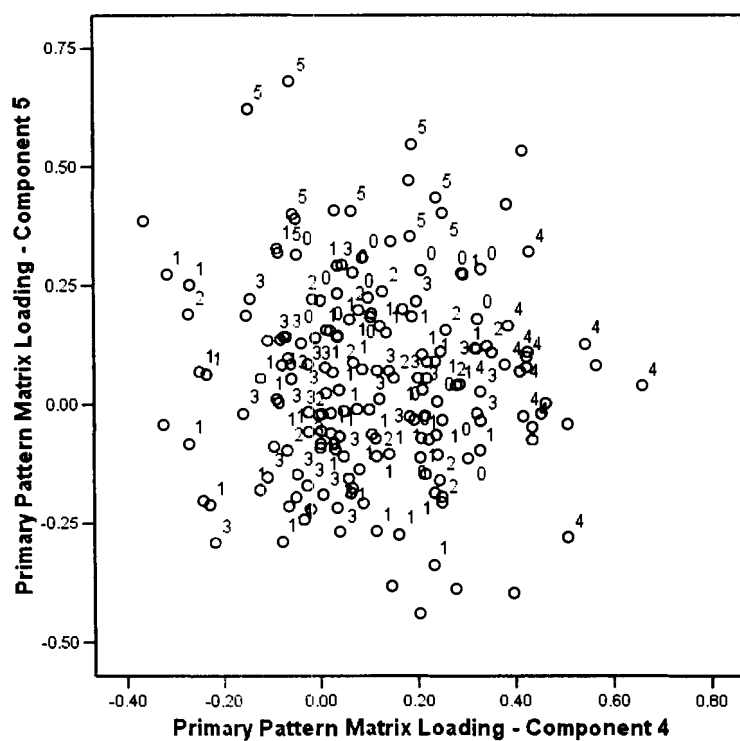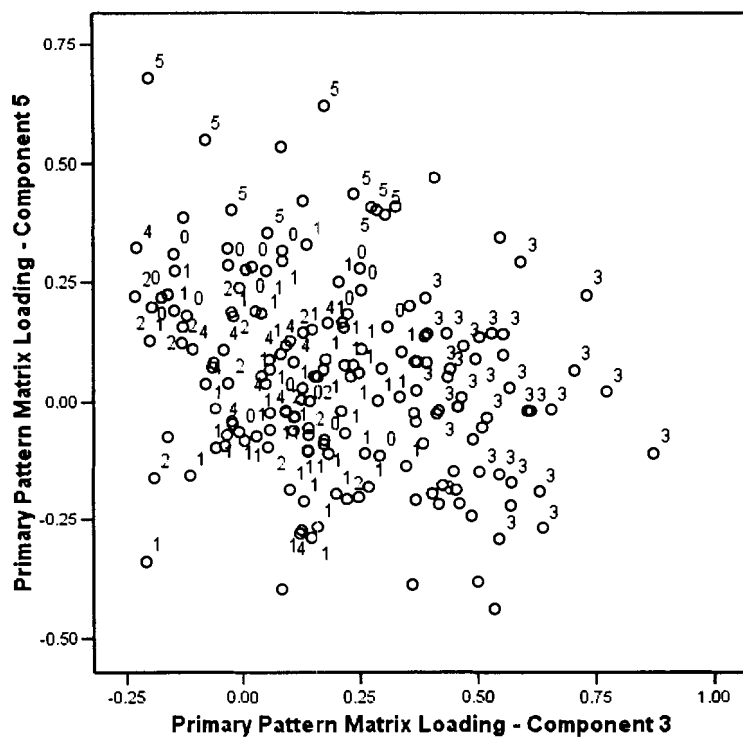|			
0	No significant loadings	3	Significant on Component 3 only
1	Significant on Component 1 only	4	Significant on Component 4 only
2	Significant on Component 2 only	5	Significant on Component 5 only

Appendix S. Component Scores by Perspective

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	-3.7	-2.0	-0.6	-0.1	2.0
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	-1.8	4.0	0.1	3.2	5.1
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-0.9	-4.6	0.7	4.8	-3.7
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.4	-0.6	-1.1	-1.9	-1.5
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	0.0	2.0	0.6	-2.1	-4.1
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	2.5	-1.5	2.1	0.2	2.9
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women	1.5	-1.9	-0.8	1.1	-1.6
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	-3.1	-1.6	2.3	-2.4	1.5
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	-2.7	2.3	-1.6	3.6	0.2
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	-2.6	2.6	-1.3	1.5	-0.1
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	4.1	1.5	0.0	1.0	-2.3
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	1.5	-0.6	-1.8	0.6	-5.6
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	2.4	-0.6	-1.7	2.3	0.0
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	1.9	-4.2	-1.6	-0.5	3.9
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	3.7	-1.9	2.7	0.3	-0.2
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	1.1	-2.9	0.7	-1.8	-2.8
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	-2.8	1.0	-1.1	2.9	3.7
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	-2.1	1.5	-0.4	-1.4	-1.1
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-3.3	-0.4	-2.4	-1.9	-2.2

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	1.7	0.5	1.9	3.7	-3.2
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	0.8	-4.3	-2.6	-1.2	0.5
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	0.2	-0.6	-0.5	-0.2	-0.2
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	0.2	2.2	-0.5	-0.2	0.3
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-4.1	0.5	-5.3	-2.1	1.2
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	0.6	0.4	-0.9	-4.2	-2.6
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	-2.0	-1.8	2.1	2.8	0.5
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	0.2	2.0	-2.6	-1.4	0.4
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.	-1.6	-1.7	-2.3	-3.6	-1.8
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	-2.2	2.4	0.1	-1.0	-1.1
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	1.5	-3.0	0.6	0.5	2.7
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	2.2	0.0	2.4	-2.9	-0.3
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	1.8	-2.5	-2.1	2.3	-0.3
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.	-4.4	-2.3	-3.3	-2.3	-2.6
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female	-2.8	0.4	-2.9	0.6	-1.6
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	1.1	-3.3	-2.4	-1.1	3.0
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	1.3	3.9	-0.1	-1.5	3.3
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.	4.3	1.7	4.1	3.5	2.5
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	-2.7	1.0	-0.8	0.2	-0.5
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	1.7	-4.0	0.9	-2.9	-2.8
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	2.6	0.4	3.9	1.1	-0.4
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	1.1	3.0	1.7	0.2	-1.3
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	0.0	3.8	4.2	-0.3	2.2

	Perspective				
	GD	SE	BP	GM	DE
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	4.1	-0.8	3.2	2.7	1.4
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	-3.0	3.2	-0.6	1.6	2.5
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-2.2	0.9	-4.3	-2.1	-0.2
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have	1.4	0.2	0.9	2.1	-1.3
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	-2.3	1.1	-3.0	-3.5	0.8
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	0.3	-1.8	-1.7	-3.8	3.2
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	3.2	2.3	-6.0	4.4	0.5
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-3.1	-3.5	4.4	-1.3	-0.5
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	1.4	2.6	2.7	-2.4	0.8
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be	2.2	1.7	1.9	-1.7	-1.5
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	-1.7	4.0	1.3	1.9	2.1
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	2.1	-0.4	3.2	4.3	-2.2
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	2.0	-2.0	-0.1	-1.6	4.0
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	2.5	-0.4	1.5	-4.1	-2.0
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	-1.3	-2.1	2.0	0.7	-4.2
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	0.0	4.8	3.6	1.0	2.0
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	-3.0	-0.3	-0.1	3.0	2.7
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	2.3	0.0	0.4	0.9	1.6
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style	-0.6	0.1	-0.1	-1.6	-1.8

Note: GD = Gender Diversity; SE = Social Essentialism; BP = Biological Progressive; GM = Gender Minimizing; DE = Different But Equal.

Appendix T. Component Array: Gender Diversity Perspective

Statement	Component score
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.	4.3
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	4.1
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	' 4.1
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	3.7
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	3.2
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	2.6
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	2.5
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	2.5
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	2.4
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	2.3
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	2.2
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be.	2.2
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	2.1
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	2.0
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	1.9
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	1.8
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	1.7
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	1.7
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women	1.5
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	1.5
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	1.5
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have	1.4

Statement	Component score
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	1.4
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	1.3
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	1.1
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	1.1
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	1.1
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	0.8
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	0.6
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	0.3
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	0.2
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	0.2
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	0.2
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	0.0
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	0.0
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	0.0
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style	-0.6
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-0.9
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	-1.3
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.4
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.	-1.6
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	-1.7
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	-1.8
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	-2.0
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	-2.1
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	-2.2
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-2.2

Statement	Component score
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	-2.3
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	-2.6
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	-2.7
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	-2.7
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	-2.8
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female	-2.8
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	-3.0
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	-3.0
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	-3.1
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-3.1
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-3.3
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	-3.7
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-4.1
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.	-4.4

Appendix U. Component Array: Social Essentialism Perspective

Statement	Component score
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	4.8
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	4.0
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	4.0
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	3.9
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	3.8
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	3.2
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	3.0
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	2.6
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	2.6
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	2.4
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	2.3
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	2.3
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	2.2
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	2.0
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	2.0
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.	1.7
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be	1.7
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	1.5
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	1.5
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	1.1
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	1.0
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	1.0

Statement	Component score
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	0.9
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	0.5
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	0.5
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	0.4
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female	0.4
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	0.4
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have	0.2
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style	0.1
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	0.0
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	0.0
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	-0.3
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-0.4
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	-0.4
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	-0.4
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-0.6
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	-0.6
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	-0.6
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	-0.6
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	-0.8
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	-1.5
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	-1.6
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.	-1.7
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	-1.8
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	-1.8
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women	-1.9
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	-1.9

Statement	Component score
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	-2.0
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	-2.0
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	-2.1
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.	-2.3
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	-2.5
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	-2.9
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	-3.0
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	-3.3
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-3.5
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	-4.0
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	-4.2
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	-4.3
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-4.6

Appendix V. Component Array: Biological Progressive Perspective

Statement	Component score
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	4.4
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	4.2
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.	4.1
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	3.9
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	3.6
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	3.2
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	3.2
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	2.7
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	2.7
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	2.4
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	2.3
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	2.1
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	2.1
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	2.0
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	1.9
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be	1.9
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	1.7
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	1.5
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	1.3
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	0.9
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have	0.9
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	0.7

Statement	Component score
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	0.7
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	0.6
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	0.6
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	0.4
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	0.1
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	0.1
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	0.0
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	-0.1
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	-0.1
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	-0.1
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style	-0.1
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	-0.4
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	-0.5
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	-0.5
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	-0.6
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	-0.6
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women	-0.8
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	-0.8
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	-0.9
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.1
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	-1.1
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	-1.3
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	-1.6
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	-1.6
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	-1.7

Statement	Component score
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	-1.7
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	-1.8
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	-2.1
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.	-2.3
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-2.4
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	-2.4
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	-2.6
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	-2.6
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female	-2.9
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	-3.0
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.	-3.3
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-4.3
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-5.3
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	-6.0

Appendix W. Component Array: Gender Minimizing Perspective

Statement	Component score
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	4.8
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	4.4
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	4.3
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	3.7
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	3.6
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.	3.5
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	3.2
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	3.0
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	2.9
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	2.8
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	2.7
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	2.3
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	2.3
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have	2.1
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	1.9
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	1.6
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	1.5
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women	1.1
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	1.1
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	1.0
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	1.0
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	0.9

Statement	Component score
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	0.7
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	0.6
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female	0.6
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	0.5
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	· 0.3
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	0.2
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	0.2
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	0.2
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	-0.1
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	-0.2
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	-0.2
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	-0.3
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	-0.5
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	-1.0
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	-1.1
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	-1.2
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-1.3
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	-1.4
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	-1.4
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	-1.5
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	-1.6
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style	-1.6
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be	-1.7
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	-1.8

Statement	Component score
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.9
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-1.9
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	-2.1
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	-2.1
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-2.1
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.	-2.3
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	-2.4
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	-2.4
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	-2.9
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	-2.9
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	-3.5
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.	-3.6
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	-3.8
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	-4.1
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	-4.2

Appendix X. Component Array: Different But Equal Perspective

Statement	Component score
2. A child should be raised by a mother and a father.	5.1
55. The healthiest children have an equal mix of feminine and masculine qualities.	4.0
14. Boys and girls should be raised exactly the same.	3.9
17. Even if children experiment with gender, by the time they are teenagers they need to accept their roles as young men or young women.	3.7
36. It's better to accept the body you have than to change it with cosmetic surgery.	3.3
48. Right now, true equality is not possible in a relationship between a woman and a man.	3.2
35. It's best to be equally masculine and feminine.	3.0
6. All children need to play with both boys' toys and girls' toys or they will miss out on important experiences.	2.9
30. In an ideal heterosexual (male/female) relationships, there should be no gender roles, just two people who happen to have different sexual organs.	2.7
59. When a baby is born with ambiguous genitals, it's important for the medical team to figure out which sex the baby really is.	2.7
37. It's important to follow your own interests and not let your decisions be affected by expectations based on your sex.	2.5
44. Parents should take responsibility for teaching their children the differences between how girls should behave and how boys should behave.	2.5
42. Men's brains work differently than women's brains.	2.2
53. Some jobs are naturally more suitable for women, and other jobs are naturally more suitable for men.	2.1
1. A baby born with an enlarged clitoris that looks like a penis should have surgery reducing the clitoris in size to make her look like other girls.	2.0
58. Women will always be fundamentally different from men.	2.0
60. Women are more oppressed by social expectations than men are.	1.6
8. An adult's sexual orientation doesn't change.	1.5
43. Parents should encourage children to ignore gender stereotypes and just follow their own interests.	1.4
24. Homosexual (gay or lesbian) relationships are morally wrong.	1.2
47. People who want to have sex change surgery are confused about which sex they are.	0.8

Statement	Component score
51. Society is not ready to deal with people who do not identify as either male or female.	0.8
21. Gender differences are above all else power differences.	0.5
26. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by your genes.	0.5
49. Sexual orientation is a matter of personal choice.	0.5
27. How masculine and how feminine you are is mostly determined by how you were brought up.	0.4
23. Gender nonconformity is common in Canada because in Western cultures people place personal fulfillment over social responsibilities.	0.3
9. An important part of femininity is being attractive to men.	0.2
13. The main reason boys and girls are different is that they are shaped by societal images and messages about how boys and girls should behave.	0.0
10. An important part of masculinity is having sexual relationships with women.	-0.1
15. Children should be exposed to a wide variety of girls' and boys' dress-up clothes, toys and activities, and allowed to freely choose whatever appeals to them.	-0.2
22. Gender gets less and less important as you get older.	-0.2
45. People should consider how their family will feel before choosing to live as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.	-0.2
31. In Canadian society, men have an advantage over women.	-0.3
32. In the future, society will evolve so that gender won't matter much at all.	-0.3
40. It's fine for girls to act like boys or to be "tomboys".	-0.4
38. It's natural for parents to be disappointed if they have a very masculine girl or a very feminine boy.	-0.5
50. Sexual orientation is mostly genetic.	-0.5
18. Even if girls have the same toys and opportunities to play sports as boys, boys will still be more active and adventurous than girls.	-1.1
29. I feel uncomfortable when I can't tell if someone is a woman or a man.	-1.1
41. Men are more punished for feminine behaviour than women are for masculine behaviour.	-1.3
46. People who have lived both as males and as females have a special understanding of gender that others cannot have	-1.3
4. A very large clitoris will interfere with a girl/woman's sense of femininity.	-1.5
52. Some aspects of sex roles get in the way of being who you want to be	-1.5
7. All people have the potential to have sexual relationships with both men and women	-1.6

Statement	Component score
34. It would be difficult to care for a baby if you could not tell if the baby was male or female	-1.6
28. I can tell whether people are straight (heterosexual) or not by looking at them.	-1.8
61. Women can get away with masculine behaviour if they dress in a feminine style	-1.8
56. The insistence that women be feminine and men be masculine can be harmful and even dangerous to women.	-2.0
19. Feminine boys will probably grow up to be gay.	-2.2
54. The decision whether to use hormones or have a sex change operation should be based on what would make transsexual people feel most comfortable with themselves.	-2.2
11. Babies born with ambiguous genitals should be allowed to grow up and decide for themselves whether they want surgery or not.	-2.3
25. How gender affects you is always connected to your race/ethnicity.	-2.6
33. It makes sense to give boys more freedom than girls.	-2.6
16. Drag, dressing or acting like the other sex, is a fun way to play with gender.	-2.8
39. It's fine for boys to act like girls or to be "sissies".	-2.8
20. For transsexuals, having sex change surgery is a way of expressing who they are.	-3.2
3. A sex change is a medical procedure like any other - if it needs to be done, you do it.	-3.7
5. A very small penis will interfere with a boy/man's sense of masculinity.	-4.1
57. Transsexuals are people who were born into the wrong body.	-4.2
12. Bisexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality are just labels that refer to the people you happen to fall in love with.	-5.6