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# Experiences with Misgendering: Identity Misclassification of Transgender Spectrum Individuals

Kevin A. McLemore

Department of Psychology, University of California, Davis, CA, USA

Relatively little is known about identity misclassification from the perspective of low-status, stigmatized groups. However, there are compelling reasons to examine misclassification from this perspective. This article reports data from two online studies that explore the affective and psychological correlates associated with gender misclassification of transgender spectrum individuals, referred to as misgendering. Study 1 ( $N = 115$ ) demonstrates that misgendering is associated with more negative affect, less authenticity, lower appearance, but higher social self-esteem, less identity strength and coherence, but more identity importance and more transgender felt stigma. Study 2 ( $N = 134$ ) largely replicated these results, while also demonstrating that misgendering is associated with verification and enhancement striving, and self- and other evaluations.

**Keywords:** Identity misclassification; Verification; Stigma; Discrimination; Transgender.

Identity misclassification, or the experience of not having one's social identity correctly recognized by others, is psychologically disruptive. These experiences undermine belonging and coherence needs (Bosson, Weaver, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2012), disrupt the social identity process (Burke, 1991), and reflect a failure to have one's social identity accurately verified by others (*cf.* Swann, 1990). Most research has focused on the psychological impact of identity misclassification on members of high-status groups (e.g., Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005; Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006; Prewitt-Freilino & Bosson, 2008). Comparatively little is known about misclassification from the perspective of members of low-status, stigmatized groups (for an exception, see

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Correspondence should be addressed to: Kevin A. McLemore, Department of Psychology, University of California, One Shields Ave., Davis, CA 95616, USA. E-mail: [kamclemore@ucdavis.edu](mailto:kamclemore@ucdavis.edu)

Bosson et al., 2012). This article aims to fill knowledge gaps by reporting data from two online studies that explore misgendering, the misclassification of one's gender identity, from the perspective of transgender spectrum individuals. Before reporting these studies, past research and theory on identity misclassification, self and identity verification, and stigma are summarized.

### *Identity Misclassification*

Psychologists and sociologists have largely conceptualized identity misclassification as falsely accused deviancy (e.g., Blinde & Taub, 1992; Bosson et al., 2005, 2006; Prewitt-Freilino & Bosson, 2008), which occurs when members of high-status groups are misclassified as a member of a low-status group (Becker, 1963). When falsely accused deviancy concerns are heightened, members of high-status groups often experience negative affect (Bosson et al., 2005, 2006). Furthermore, these concerns motivate members of high-status groups to abstain from behaviors diagnostic of membership in a low-status group (e.g., Herek, 1986; Kimmel, 1997; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008) and minimize contact with members of low-status groups (Buck, Plant, Ratcliff, Zielaskowski, & Boerner, 2013).

By defining identity misclassification as falsely accused deviancy, however, an implicit assumption has developed that misclassification is primarily threatening because it undermines social status. Certainly, some instances of identity misclassification are aversive because one's social identity is not correctly recognized by others. In one study, for example, self-identified nerds and lesbian and gay men who visualized activities that disconfirmed their membership in these socially devalued groups reported experiencing coherence threat, or a threat to the coherence of their self-concept (Bosson et al., 2012). This research challenges the assumption that status loss is necessary to the psychological discomfort associated with identity misclassification.

### *Self and Identity Verification*

When misclassification occurs, some aspects of an individual's personal or social identity are not verified by others. Verification refers to the motivation to be understood by others and to receive evaluations consistent with one's own self-views (e.g., Swann, 1990). Confirming one's self-views helps to make the world predictable and controllable, satisfying a psychological need for coherence, providing knowledge about the self, and allowing social interactions to proceed in an authentic and smooth manner (e.g., Kernis & Goldman, 2006; Pelham & Swann, 1994; Swann & Brooks, 2012; Swann, Stein-Seroussi, & Giesler, 1992). When self-views are not verified by others, people experience negative affect and arousal (e.g., anxiety, depression) and a sense of inauthenticity in social relationships, often disengaging from non-verifying relationships (e.g., Burke & Stets, 1999; Stets & Burke, 2005; Swann, De La Ronde, & Hixon, 1994).

In addition to verifying self-identity, people also seek to verify their collective identity (e.g., Stets & Harrod, 2004; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Collective verification plays an important role in how people define themselves (Chen, Chen, & Shaw, 2004) and with whom they choose to interact (Gómez, Seyle, Huici, & Swann, 2009). Identity control theory (e.g., Burke, 1991; Stets & Harrod, 2004) suggests that people simply want others to see them as members of the groups they belong to. For instance, multi-racial individuals anticipate more positive interactions with people who accurately verify their multi-racial background (Remedios & Chasteen, 2013) and when others do misclassify their racial identity, the outcomes can be deleterious (e.g., Campbell & Troyer, 2007).

### *Stigma Contributes to Identity Misclassification*

Stigma contributes to the likelihood in which identity misclassification may be experienced by members of low-status groups. Stigma refers to an attribute that is devalued by society, rendering individuals who possess such attributes with less status and control (e.g., Goffman, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001; Major & O'Brien, 2005). This lack of control over one's life often extends to less control over one's social identity (e.g., Burke, 2006; Stets & Harrod, 2004). Members of stigmatized groups are less able to construct and maintain situations in which their social identity is verified by others. In addition, the concealability, or visibility, of a stigmatized identity influences the likelihood of misclassification. People with a concealable identity are more likely to be misclassified than those with a conspicuous identity. Lesbians and gay men, for example, are subject to the heterosexual assumption, which refers to the assumption that people are perceived to be heterosexual, unless there is some diagnostic information to suggest otherwise. As a result, lesbians and gay men are often misclassified as heterosexual by others. This tendency to misclassify extends to members of other stigmatized groups.

### *Transgender Stigma and Experiences with Misgendering*

Transgender spectrum individuals experience widespread stigma. They are often limited in their access to educational and employment opportunities, the quantity and quality of the health care they receive, and their overall acceptance in society (e.g., Brewster et al., 2012; Grant et al., 2011; Kenagy, 2005; Lawrence, 2007; Norton & Herek, 2013). This stigma derives in part because transgender spectrum individuals are perceived to challenge binary constructions of gender (e.g., Carrera, DePalma, & Lameiras, 2012; Norton & Herek, 2013) and many people respond negatively to those who deviate from normative gender role expectations (e.g., Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). These normative expectations, as well as the stigma attached to those who deviate from these norms, influence the likelihood and frequency in which transgender spectrum individuals are misgendered. Misgendering is one of the more subtle forms of enacted stigma that transgender spectrum individuals' experience as it has the potential to shape how they feel and how they evaluate themselves and their social identity. Examples of misgendering include using an incorrect gender pronoun (i.e., a pronoun "slip") to refer to someone, gendering an otherwise neutral name, or being denied access to one's preferred gendered space. Despite the potential impact of misgendering on transgender spectrum individuals, empirical research on misgendering is relatively non-existent.

### *Overview and Hypotheses*

Misgendering is one manifestation of identity misclassification that can be examined from the perspective of a relatively low-status group. Data from two online studies are presented to explore the affective and psychological correlates associated with misgendering. In these studies, two characteristics are examined: frequency and feeling stigmatized or devalued when misgendered. In Study 1, participants self-reported how frequently they are misgendered and how devalued these experiences make them feel. More frequent experiences with misgendering were hypothesized to be negatively associated with social identity, such as strength, importance and congruence, and state self-esteem. Feeling stigmatized based on these experiences was expected to be positively associated with negative affect and transgender felt stigma, but negatively associated with felt authenticity and state self-esteem. Study 2 is a replication and an extension of Study 1, introducing

measures of shame, verification and enhancement strivings, evaluations of the self as a transgender person, and evaluations of non-transgender individuals. More frequent experiences with misgendering were expected to be positively associated with verification striving, whereas feeling stigmatized when misgendered was expected to be positively associated with enhancement striving. Both misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered were expected to be negatively associated with self- and other evaluations.

## Study 1

### *Participants*

A total of 115 transgender spectrum individuals participated in Study 1. Participants' median age was 36 ( $M = 37.93$ ,  $SD = 14.18$ ). The majority identified as European-American (85.2%), but the sample also included 6.1% mixed race or ethnicity, 5.2% Latino-, Latina-, Latin@-American, 2.6% Asian-American, and 0.9% Middle Eastern participants. The largest proportion of participants labeled their gender identity as female (19.1%) and their sexual orientation as bisexual (25.2%). More information on gender and sexual orientation identity break-downs are presented in [Table 1](#). Most participants (88.7%) had disclosed their gender identity to at least one other person and had been out for an average of 10 years.

### *Procedure and Materials*

The researchers contacted facilitators at transgender spectrum peer groups at lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community groups and transgender advocacy organizations throughout the West Coast for permission to advertise the research to members of their community. We requested that these organizations advertise the research for three months.

**TABLE 1** Frequency and Percentage of Self-Reported Gender and Sexual Orientation Identity Labels (Studies 1 and 2)

Identity labels	Study 1		Study 2	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
<b>Gender</b>				
Transgender	10	8.7	10	7.5
Transgender man	14	12.2	15	11.2
Transgender woman	14	12.2	21	15.7
FtM	12	10.4	9	6.7
MtF	16	13.9	12	9.0
Female	22	19.1	24	17.9
Male	13	11.3	15	11.2
Genderqueer	10	8.7	23	17.2
Something else	4	3.5	5	3.7
<b>Sexual orientation</b>				
Heterosexual	25	21.7	20	14.9
Bisexual	29	25.2	32	23.9
Gay or lesbian	26	22.6	21	15.7
Queer	26	22.6	43	32.1
Homosexual	1	.9	3	2.2
Something else	8	7.0	15	11.2

Note: Study 1,  $N = 115$ ; Study 2,  $N = 134$ .

If no response from the facilitators was received for 1 month after our initial contact, we recontacted facilitators and key organizational contacts with our request. Of the 15 organizations contacted, four agreed to advertise the research on first contact, eight agreed on second contact, and two did not respond to either contact. One organization refused because they do not advertise academic research to community members because of the large number of requests they receive from researchers.

We sent the following research write-up to facilitators to post on their websites, send to their e-mail newsletter recipients, and advertise to their community members:

Tell us about your experiences with misgendering. Social psychologists are seeking transgender and genderqueer people over 18 years old for the Transgender Social Identity Survey. We are interested in your experiences with misgendering and how they have impacted you.

The survey was hosted by Psych Surveys, an online survey and data collection website provided to social science researchers for free. Psych Surveys allows the wording of questionnaire items to differ based on participants' responses to previous items. When appropriate, participants received and responded to items that matched their self-reported gender identity. Participants were not compensated.

*Demographics.* Following consent, participants first answered a question in which they confirmed that they identified as transgender or genderqueer. Participants who responded affirmatively then answered demographic items. Participants who did not respond affirmatively were informed that they were not eligible to participate in the study.

One question was used to assess gender identity (for a two-question method, see Tate, Ledbetter, & Youssef, 2013). Participants were asked to select the label that they use most often to describe their gender identity. Participants were provided with nine identity labels: transgender, transgender man, transgender woman, female to male (FtM), male to female (MtF), female, male, genderqueer, and something else, an option that prompted participants to write-in their preferred gender identity label. Participants then completed demographic items in which they reported their age, sexual orientation, age at first disclosure of gender identity, and their race or ethnicity.

*Misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized.* After completing demographic items, participants answered "How often do people 'misgender' you?" on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 5 = *Always*). Next, they responded to "I feel stigmatized (looked down upon) when I am misgendered" on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all*, 5 = *Very*). These questions were asked to get a sense of how frequently participants experience misgendering and how devalued they feel when they are misgendered. These two items did not correlate,  $r(113) = .06, p = .50$ .

Participants were then asked to think back to the most recent time when they were misgendered. With this experience in mind, participants completed self-report measures of affect, authenticity, and state self-esteem on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all*, 5 = *Strongly*). No other information about the experience participants were thinking about was recorded by the researchers. Numbers in parentheses are Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the current sample, followed by the range for the corrected item-total correlations for each scale.

*Negative affect.* Participants completed two negative affect subscales of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988): hostile (angry, hostile, irritable, scornful, disgusted) and guilty (guilty, ashamed, blameworthy, disgusted with myself, angry with myself, dissatisfied with myself). Anxiety was measured using the six-

item version of the State-trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI-6, Marteau & Bekker, 1992). Sample items of the STAI-6 include “I was worried” and “I felt calm” (reverse-scored). Because these three scales were strongly correlated ( $r_s > .60$ ), all items were combined to create a negative affect scale ( $\alpha = .93$ ,  $r_s = .45-.78$ ). Higher scores indicate more negative affect.

*Authenticity.* Participants reported how authentic they felt when misgendered using a four-item authenticity measure ( $\alpha = .82$ ,  $r_s = .47-.78$ ) developed by Kraus, Chen, and Keltner (2011). This measure assesses how people perceive their actions as reflecting their true self. A sample item includes “I felt artificial.” Higher scores indicate more felt authenticity.

*State self-esteem.* Participants completed two subscales of Heatherton and Polivy’s (1991) state self-esteem scale: appearance (six items,  $\alpha = .82$ ,  $r_s = .66-.87$ ) and social (seven items,  $\alpha = .92$ ,  $r_s = .36-.70$ ). These two scales measure context-dependent, short-term changes in self-esteem based on appearance and in social situations, respectively. Sample items include “I was pleased with my appearance” and “I felt self-conscious” (reverse-scored). Higher scores indicate that participants feel more favorable about their physical appearance and themselves in social situations after they were misgendered.

Participants then completed self-report measures of identity strength, importance and congruence, and transgender felt stigma. These measures were presented randomly to participants and, except where noted, measured on 7-point scales (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*).

*Identity strength, importance, and congruence.* To measure identity strength, participants responded to “How strongly do you identify with your gender identity?” on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all strongly*, 5 = *Very Strongly*). Higher scores on this measure reflect greater identity strength.

Identity importance was measured using the four-item ( $\alpha = .55$ ) private identity subscale of Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) Collective Self-Esteem (CSE) Scale. This scale was adapted to measure the importance of participants’ gender identity to their overall self-concept. A sample adapted item is “Being [gender identity label] is an important part of my self-image”. The item “My gender identity has very little to do with how I feel about myself” demonstrated low inter-total correlations with the other items ( $r = .13$ ), which suggested this item should be dropped from analyses. Dropping this item slightly improved the reliability of this scale ( $\alpha = .63$ ,  $r_s = .39-.50$ ). Higher scores indicate greater identity strength.

Identity congruence was measured using a 12-item scale developed for use with transgender individuals (Kozee, Tylka, & Bauerband, 2012). This measure assesses the extent to which participants feel their gender identity is integrated into their overall self-concept ( $\alpha = .88$ ,  $r_s = .41-.74$ ). A sample item includes “I am generally comfortable with how others perceive my gender identity when they look at me.” Higher scores indicate greater identity congruence.

*Felt stigma.* Participants completed an adapted version of Nagoshi et al.’s (2008) nine-item transphobia scale ( $\alpha = .88$ ,  $r_s = .41-.74$ ). This scale was developed to measure cisgender individuals’ attitudes toward transgender individuals. It was adapted for the current study, so participants reported how they think cisgender people perceive transgender people. A sample item includes “People are uncomfortable around others who don’t conform to traditional gender roles.” Higher scores indicate more felt stigma, or the anticipation of feeling stigmatized as a transgender person.

### Analytic Plan

A total of 144 individuals accessed the web address for the survey. Twenty-two individuals did not respond to the question assessing consent. Seven individuals did not provide any responses past the demographic items. This left usable responses from 115 participants. Primary analyses were conducted using hierarchical linear regressions.<sup>1</sup> Misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered were mean centered and entered into Step 1. Although no interactions were hypothesized between these two variables, an interaction term between misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered was entered into Step 2. None of the interaction terms was statistically significant. Consequently, the reported results are from simultaneous multiple regressions. The tolerance and variance inflation factors (VIFs) suggested that multicollinearity between the two predictor variables was not a problem (i.e., the tolerance was  $> .99$  and the VIF was  $< 1.01$ ).

## Results and Discussion

### Experiences with Misgendering

Percentages of participants reporting the frequency in which they experience misgendering and how stigmatized they feel based on these experiences are presented in Table 2. On average, participants reported experiencing misgendering sometimes ( $M = 2.85$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ). The highest proportion of participants reported experiencing misgendering often (30.4%). On average, participants reported feeling considerably stigmatized when misgendered ( $M = 3.59$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ). The highest proportion of participants reported feeling very stigmatized when they were misgendered (34.8%). A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare differences among three gender groups (transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer) in misgendering frequency and felt stigma (see Note 1). There were significant gender differences in misgendering frequency,  $F(1, 100) = 8.63$ ,  $p < .001$ . Tukey's post-hoc comparisons revealed that genderqueer individuals reported being misgendered significantly more frequently ( $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = .00$ ) than either transgender men ( $M = 2.64$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ),  $t(60) = 4.25$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 2.54$  or transgender women ( $M = 2.63$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ),  $t(47) = 4.01$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 2.69$ . Transgender men and transgender women did not differ significantly on misgendering frequency ( $p = .70$ ). There were, however, no significant gender differences on feeling stigmatized when misgendered ( $p = .82$ ). Zero-order correlations,

**TABLE 2** Percentage of Participants' Response to Predictor Variables (Studies 1 and 2)

Response labels	Study 1 (%)	Study 2 (%)
"How often do people 'misgender' you?"		
Never	10.4	6.7
Rarely	29.6	23.9
Sometimes	27.0	25.4
Often	30.4	32.8
Always	2.6	11.2
"I feel stigmatized (looked down upon) when I am misgendered."		
Not at all	7.0	11.9
Slightly	18.3	9.0
Considerably	18.3	20.1
Somewhat	21.7	26.1
Very	34.8	32.8

Note: Study 1,  $N = 115$ ; Study 2,  $N = 134$ .

TABLE 3 Interrelations Among Study 1 Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Misgendering frequency	—									
2. Misgendering felt stigma	.06	—								
3. Negative affect	-.03	.56***	—							
Self-esteem										
4. Appearance	-.27**	-.37***	-.48***	—						
5. Social	-.001	.54***	.81***	.54***	—					
Social identity										
6. Importance	.20*	.07	.12	-.03	-.14	—				
7. Strength	-.28**	-.04	-.03	.10	-.03	-.05	—			
8. Congruence	-.55***	-.16	-.21*	.56***	-.32**	.04	.16	—		
9. Felt authenticity	-.16	-.39***	-.55**	.48***	-.59***	.10	.15	.41***	—	
10. Felt stigma	.03	.33**	.35***	-.26***	.43**	.13	-.05	-.08	-.10	—
M (SD)	2.85 (1.05)	3.59 (1.32)	1.83 (.85)	4.08 (1.45)	2.84 (1.23)	5.25 (1.06)	4.17 (1.06)	4.63 (1.32)	3.19 (1.16)	5.45 (1.14)

Note:  $N_s = 108-115$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ .

**TABLE 4** Summary of Regression Analyses (Study 1)

Outcome variables	Predictor variables				$R^2$
	Misgendering frequency		Misgendering felt stigma		
	$\beta$	B SE	$\beta$	B SE	
Negative affect	-.07	.06	.58***	.05	.33***
Appearance state self-esteem	-.24**	.12	-.35**	.10	.20***
Social state self-esteem	-.04	.09	.56***	.07	.31***
Identity strength	-.28**	.09	-.03	.07	.08**
Identity importance	.20*	.08	.06	.07	.04*
Identity congruence	-.54***	.10	-.12	.08	.32***
Authenticity	-.15	.10	-.38***	.08	.17***
Transgender felt stigma	.02	.10	.33***	.08	.11**

Note:  $Ns = 108-115$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ .

means, and standard deviations for the other variables used in Study 1 are presented in Table 3.

Table 4 presents a summary of the regression analyses.

#### *How Is Misgendering Associated with Negative Affect?*

As expected, frequency of misgendering was not associated with negative affect, but feeling stigmatized when misgendered was strongly associated with negative affect. Participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when they are misgendered also reported feeling more negative affect than participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

#### *How Is Misgendering Associated with State Self-Esteem?*

As expected, frequency of misgendering showed a negative association with appearance state self-esteem, but was not associated with social state self-esteem. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering reported less favorable evaluations of their appearance than participants who reported less frequent experiences. Feeling stigmatized when misgendered was negatively associated with appearance state self-esteem, but contrary to expectation, positively associated with social state self-esteem. Participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when misgendered reported feeling less favorable about their appearance, but feeling more favorable about themselves in social situations compared to participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

#### *How Is Misgendering Associated with Social Identity?*

Contrary to expectation, frequency of misgendering demonstrated a positive association with identity importance, but as expected, a negative association with both identity strength and identity congruence. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering reported more identity importance, but less identity strength and congruence, than participants who reported less frequent experiences with misgendering. Feeling stigmatized when misgendered was not associated with identity strength, importance, or congruence.

### *How Is Misgendering Associated with Felt Authenticity?*

Although misgendering frequency was not significantly associated with felt authenticity, as expected, feeling stigmatized when misgendered was negatively associated with felt authenticity. Participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when misgendered reported feeling less authentic than participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

### *How Is Misgendering Associated with Transgender Felt Stigma?*

Contrary to expectation, frequency of misgendering was not associated with transgender-felt stigma. However, as expected, feeling stigmatized when misgendered was positively associated with transgender felt stigma. Participants who reported feeling stigmatized when misgendered perceived transgender individuals to be stigmatized more generally, relative to participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

### *Summary*

In Study 1, participants reported on average being misgendered sometimes, but when they were misgendered, they felt considerably stigmatized. In addition, Study 1 demonstrated that despite gender differences in the frequency of being misgendered, participants experience misgendering in a psychologically similar way. These findings suggest that identity misclassification is a negative experience for members of low-status groups because it makes them feel devalued, even if they may not experience misclassification frequently. The results also demonstrate that misgendering frequency was associated with more identity importance, but less identity strength and congruence, and less positive appearance state self-esteem. Feeling stigmatized when misgendered was associated with more hostility and anxiety, but marginally more guilt, less favorable appearance state self-esteem, but more favorable social state self-esteem, less felt authenticity, and more felt stigma.

Although Study 1 demonstrated that misgendering is a negative experience that is associated with how transgender spectrum individuals feel and evaluate themselves, it also left unanswered some important questions. In particular, questions related to how misgendering is associated with verification and enhancement strivings, evaluations of the self and evaluations of non-transgender individuals were not addressed. Study 2 sought to address those questions and replicate the results found in Study 1. Misgendering frequency was hypothesized to be positively associated with verification strivings, whereas feeling stigmatized based on misgendering was hypothesized to be positively associated with shame and enhancement strivings. Both misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered were expected to be negatively associated with evaluations of the self as a transgender and evaluations of non-transgender individuals.

## **Study 2**

### *Participants*

A total of 134 transgender spectrum individuals participated in Study 2. Participants' median age was 30 ( $M = 36.20$ ,  $SD = 14.27$ ) years. The majority of the participants identified as European-American (83.5%), but the sample also included 6.0% Latino, Latina-American, or Latin@-American, 5.3% mixed race or ethnicity, 3.8% Asian-American, .8% African-American, and .8% Native American Indian participants. The

highest proportion of participants labeled their gender identity as female (17.9%) and their sexual orientation as queer (32.8%). See Table 1 for additional information regarding the gender and sexual orientation identity break-down. Most participants (79.9%) had disclosed their gender identity to at least one other person and had been out for an average of 9.01 years.

### *Materials and Procedure*

The procedure for Study 2 was similar to the procedure used in Study 1, except that we contacted different transgender spectrum community groups and advocacy organizations throughout the West Coast. In our request, we asked that the organizations advertise the research for 3 months. If we did not receive a response from the facilitators within 2 weeks of the initial contact, we recontacted them with our request. Of the 16 organizations we contacted, six agreed on initial contact, eight agreed on second contact, two did not respond to either contact, and two refused. One organization refused because they had disbanded and the second organization refused because they do not advertise academic research to their community members. We sent a write-up and flyer containing a web address to the facilitators who agreed to advertise the research to forward to their community members. The research write-up used for Study 2 was identical to the one used in Study 1. The survey was again hosted by Psych Surveys. Self-report measures of shame, verification and enhancement striving, and evaluative thermometers were introduced in Study 2. Measures of misgendering frequency and felt stigma when misgendered, hostility, guilt, anxiety, felt authenticity, social state self-esteem, identity strength, and importance were the same measures used in Study 1 and only briefly discussed here. Measures of appearance state self-esteem and identity congruence were replaced with briefer measures in an attempt to minimize the cognitive burden on participants, who were again not compensated. As in Study 1, participants received and responded to questionnaire items that matched the label they reported using most often to describe their gender identity.

*Demographics.* As part of the consent process, individuals confirmed that they self-identified as transgender or genderqueer prior to completing the demographic items. Those who did not respond affirmatively to this question were informed that they were not eligible to participate in this study. Those who did confirm then completed the demographic items. Participants were asked to select the label that they use most often to describe their gender identity. They were provided with the same nine identity labels used in Study 1. Participants then completed demographic items related to age, sexual orientation, race or ethnicity, age at first disclosure of transgender identity, and the number of steps taken to transition gender identity (Kozee et al., 2012).

*Misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized.* Participants responded to the same two items measuring misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered as in Study 2. These two items did not significantly correlate,  $r(132) = .13, p = .12$ .

After participants responded to these items, they were asked to think about a recent time in which they were misgendered. With this experience in mind, participants responded to the following measures on 5-point scales (1 = *Not at all*, 5 = *Strongly*), except where noted. Again, no other information about this experience was recorded. Numbers in parentheses are Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for this sample, followed by the range for the corrected item-total correlations for each scale.

*Negative affect.* Participants completed measures of hostility, guilt, and anxiety. In addition, the shame subscale of the State Shame and Guilt Scale (SSGS; Marschall, Sanftner, & Tangney, 1994) was introduced to the current study. Sample items from the SSGS are “I felt humiliated” and “I felt powerless.” Because these four scales were moderately correlated ( $r_s > .43$ ), all items were combined into a single measure of negative affect ( $\alpha = .94$ ,  $r_s = .45-.80$ ). Higher scores on these measures indicate more negative affect.

*Authenticity.* Participants completed Kraus et al.’s (2011) measure of authenticity ( $\alpha = .62$ ,  $r_s = .29 = .52$ ).

*State self-esteem.* Participants completed Heatherton and Polivy’s (1991) social state self-esteem scale ( $\alpha = .88$ ,  $r_s = .64-.80$ ). In addition, participants completed the four-item Social Appearance Anxiety Scale (SAAS; Hart et al., 2008), which measures anxiety about being negatively evaluated by others because of one’s appearance ( $\alpha = .78$ ,  $r_s = .43-.70$ ). A sample item includes “I worried people judge the way I look negatively.” The SAAS is scored in a different direction than the appearance state self-esteem (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) measure used in Study 1. Higher scores indicate more anxiety associated with social appearance.

Participants then completed the following self-report measures, presented in random order. Except where noted, they indicated the extent to which they agree or disagree with each item on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*).

*Identity strength, importance, and congruence.* Identity strength was assessed using the same single item used in Study 1 and identity importance was measured again using the private identity subscale of Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) CSE ( $\alpha = .67$ ,  $r_s = .40-.52$ ). Identity congruence was measured using a single-item pictorial measure adapted from Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, and Huici (2009) (see also Swann, Jetten, Gómez, Whitehouse, & Bastian, 2012). Participants were shown a series of five pictures in which two circles—one small and one larger one—overlapped to varying degrees. The smaller circle was labeled to represent gender identity and the larger circle was labeled to represent overall social identity. Participants selected the picture that best represented the extent to which their gender identity was congruent with their social identity.

*Felt stigma.* Link, Cullen, Struening, Shrout, and Dohrenwend’s (1989) 12-item Devaluation-Discrimination Scale was used to evaluate felt stigma ( $\alpha = .87$ ,  $r_s = .48-.67$ ). This measure, originally developed for use with individuals with severe mental illness, was adapted for use with transgender spectrum individuals. For example, the item “Most people will pass over an application of a former mental patient in favor of another applicant” was modified to “Most people will pass over an application of a transgender person in favor of another applicant.” Higher scores indicate more felt stigma.

*Verification and self-enhancement.* Participants’ verification ( $\alpha = .94$ , two items) and self-enhancement ( $\alpha = .84$ , four items,  $r_s = .62-.75$ ) striving following experiences with misgendering were measured using items adapted from Wiesenfeld, Swann, Brockner, and Bartel (2007). A sample item that assess identity verification striving is “I want others to see me as a [gender identity label] person” and a sample item that assesses enhancement striving is “I want others to have a positive attitude toward me.” Higher scores reflect more verification and self-enhancement striving, respectively.

TABLE 5 Interrelations Among Study 2 Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Misgendering frequency	–													
2. Misgendering felt stigma	.13	–												
3. Negative affect	.17	.51***	–											
Self-esteem	.31***	.23***	.30**	.34***	.24**	.36***	–							
4. Appearance	.13	.35***	.76***	.70***	.53***	.81***	.71***	–						
5. Social identity	.07	.15	.24**	.22**	.31***	.24**	.39***	.27**	–					
6. Importance	.21*	.06	.10	–.02	.04	.04	.10	–.03	.19*	–				
7. Strength	–.13	.06	–.01	–.15	.08	.02	–.17*	–.06	.19*	.12	–			
8. Congruence	–.22*	.27**	–.64**	–.67***	–.42***	–.68***	–.41***	–.71***	–.19*	.05	.16	–		
9. Felt authenticity	.26**	.36***	.38*	.28**	.36***	–.36***	.28**	.30**	–.28**	.32***	–.04	–.28***	–	
10. Felt stigma	.21*	.05	.14	.11	.21***	.09	.08	.10	.01	.20*	.19*	.01	.05	–
11. Verification	–.13	.18*	.04	–.01	.04	.06	.16	.16	–.09	.10	.19*	–.09	.04	.24**
12. Enhancement	–.09	–.03	–.03	–.07	–.02	.001	–.27**	–.03	.09	–.08	.11	.09	–.12	.09
13. ET—self	–.23**	–.24**	–.38***	–.19*	–.35***	–.30***	–.12	–.22**	.21*	–.35***	–.02	.21*	–.41***	–.15
14. ET—others	3.18	3.59	2.74	4.85	2.97	5.56	4.14	3.87	2.87	5.26	6.74	6.74	77.94	77.94
M (SD)	(1.12)	(1.35)	(.87)	(1.50)	(1.14)	(1.28)	(1.08)	(1.04)	(.91)	(1.10)	(1.87)	(.56)	(24.21)	(22.50)

Notes:  $N_s = 129-134$ , ET, evaluative thermometer. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ .

*Evaluative thermometers.* Participants completed two feeling thermometers in which they indicated their level of warmth and favorability toward themselves as a gender minority and toward non-transgender people. These feeling thermometers were measured using a 101-point scale labeled in 10-degree increments, ranging from 0 (*cold and unfavorable*) to 100 (*warm and favorable*). Higher scores on the feeling thermometers indicate more feelings of warmth and favorability.

### Analytic Plan

A total of 156 individuals accessed the web address for Study 2. Fourteen individuals did not respond to the question assessing consent. Eight individuals did not provide responses past the demographic questions. This left usable responses from 134 participants. Hierarchical linear regressions were again used to conduct the primary analyses.<sup>2</sup> Frequency of misgendering and feeling stigmatized when misgendered were mean centered and entered in Step 1. An interaction term between these two variables was entered into Step 2. Based on the results from Study 1, no interactions were anticipated and only one of the interaction terms for the exploratory analyses was statistically significant. The results that are presented are from simultaneous multiple regressions. Table 5 presents the correlations, means, and standard deviations used in Study 2. Table 6 presents a summary of the regression analyses. Inspection of the tolerance and VIF estimates suggested that multicollinearity between the two predictors was not a problem (i.e., the tolerance was  $> .97$  and the VIF was  $< 1.03$ ).

## Results

### Experiences with Misgendering

On average, participants reported being misgendered moderately often ( $M = 3.18$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) and the highest proportion of participants reported experiencing misgendering often (32.8%). On average, participants reported feeling moderately stigmatized when

**TABLE 6** Summary of Regression Analyses (Study 2)

Outcome variables	Predictor variables				$R^2$
	Misgendering frequency		Misgendering felt stigma		
	$\beta$	B SE	$\beta$	B SE	
Confirmatory analyses					
Negative affect	.08	.06	.49***	.05	.26***
Appearance state self-esteem	.28**	.11	.19*	.09	.12***
Social state self-esteem	.09	.09	.34***	.07	.13***
Identity strength	.19*	.10	.12	.08	.06*
Identity importance	.07	.08	.05	.07	.01
Identity congruence	-.14	.08	.08	.07	.02
Authenticity	-.19*	.07	-.25**	.06	.11**
Felt stigma	.22**	.08	.33***	.07	.18***
Exploratory analyses					
Verification	.21*	.15	.02	.12	.05*
Self-enhancement	-.16	.04	.20*	.04	.06*
ET—self	-.08	1.93	-.01	1.60	.01
ET—others	-.20*	1.71	-.21*	1.42	.10***

Notes:  $N_s = 129-134$ , ET = evaluative thermometer. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ .

misgendered ( $M = 3.59$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ). The highest proportion of participants reported feeling very stigmatized when they were misgendered (32.8%). Participants who had completed fewer steps in transitioning their gender identity experienced misgendering more frequently,  $r(132) = -.31$ ,  $p < .001$ , but they did not report feeling more stigmatized when misgendered ( $p = .26$ ). A one-way ANOVA was again conducted to compare gender differences between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals in misgendering frequency and felt stigma. Replicating Study 1, there were significant gender differences in misgendering frequency,  $F(1, 118) = 9.73$ ,  $p < .001$ , but there were no significant differences on feeling stigmatized when misgendered ( $p = .21$ ). Tukey's post-hoc comparisons revealed that genderqueer individuals reported experiencing misgendering significantly more frequently ( $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) than either transgender men ( $M = 2.82$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ),  $t(60) = 4.05$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.15$  or transgender women ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ),  $t(78) = 3.99$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .99$ . Transgender men and transgender women did not differ significantly on misgendering frequency ( $p = .40$ ). These results suggest that misgendering, but not feeling stigmatized when misgendered, may be more common among individuals ambiguous in their gender presentation, but that transgender spectrum individuals experience misgendering in a psychologically similar way. Percentages for misgendering and feeling stigmatized when misgendered are presented in [Table 2](#).

### *Confirmatory Analyses*

*How is misgendering associated with negative affect?* As expected based on Study 1, frequency of misgendering was not associated with negative affect, but feeling stigmatized when misgendered was strongly associated with negative affect. Participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when they are misgendered also reported feeling more negative affect than participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

*How is misgendering associated with state self-esteem?* As expected based on Study 1, misgendering frequency was positively associated with appearance anxiety, but not social state self-esteem. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering also reported more anxiety about being negatively evaluated by others compared to participants who reported less frequent experiences. Feeling stigmatized when misgendered was positively associated with both social appearance anxiety, and social state self-esteem. Participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when misgendered reported feeling more anxious about their appearance, but more positive about themselves in social situations compared to participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

*How is misgendering associated with social identity?* As expected based on Study 1, misgendering frequency demonstrated a positive association with identity importance, but contrary to expectation, no significant association with identity strength or congruence. Feeling stigmatized when misgendered was not associated with identity strength, importance, or congruence. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering reported more identity importance relative to participants who reported less frequent experiences with misgendering, but feeling stigmatized when misgendered was not associated with social identity.

*How is misgendering associated with felt authenticity?* As was hypothesized, but not found in Study 1, both misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered

were expected to be negatively associated with felt authenticity. Misgendering frequency was negatively associated with felt authenticity. In addition, feeling stigmatized when misgendered was negatively associated with felt authenticity. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering and reported feeling more stigmatized when misgendered also reported feeling less authentic than participants who reported feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

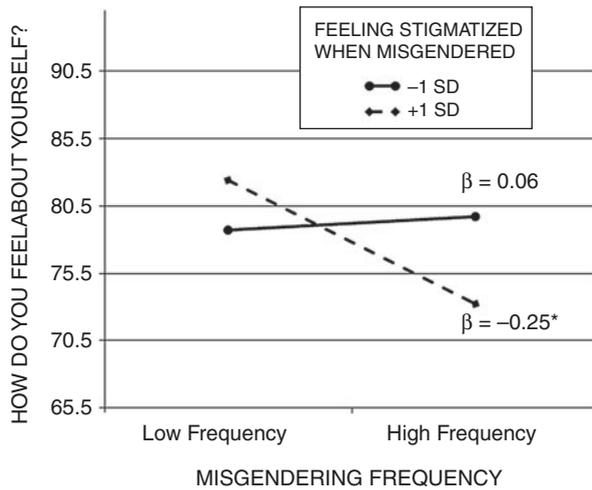
*How is misgendering associated with felt stigma?* As was hypothesized, but not found, in Study 1, both misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered were expected to be positively associated with transgender felt stigma. Misgendering frequency was positively associated with transgender felt stigma. In addition, feeling stigmatized when misgendered was positively associated with transgender felt stigma. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering and feeling more stigmatized when misgendered reported feeling more stigmatized as a transgender person than participants who reported less frequent experiences and feeling less stigmatized when misgendered.

#### *Exploratory Analyses*

*How is misgendering associated with verification and enhancement strivings?* As expected, frequency of misgendering was positively associated with verification strivings, but not significantly associated with enhancement strivings. In addition, feeling stigmatized when misgendered was positively associated with enhancement strivings, but not significantly associated with verification strivings. Participants who reported more frequent experiences with misgendering reported greater striving for identity verification, whereas participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when misgendered reported striving for self-enhancement.

*How is misgendering related to self-evaluations?* Contrary to expectation, neither misgendering frequency nor feeling stigmatized when misgendered was associated with evaluations of the self as a transgender person. However, there was a significant interaction between misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered on self-evaluations,  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $t(2, 129) = -2.72$ ,  $\beta(\text{SE}) = -.18$  (1.31),  $p = .05$ . The interaction was plotted according to Cohen and Cohen (1983) and the simple slopes were estimated using the guidelines suggested by Aiken and West (1991). Simple slopes were estimated at high (+1 SD) and low (-1 SD) feelings of stigmatization when misgendered ( $M = 3.59$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ). See Figure 1 for a display of the interaction. There was a significant relation between misgendering frequency and self-evaluations when misgendered at high levels of felt stigma,  $\beta(\text{SE}) = -.25$  (2.65),  $p = .04$ , but not at low levels of felt stigma,  $p = .58$ . Participants who reported feeling very stigmatized when misgendered reported less favorable self-evaluations to the extent that they experienced misgendering more frequently, but this was not the case for participants who reported feeling not at all stigmatized when misgendered.

*How is misgendering associated with evaluations of non-transgender individuals?* Experiences with misgendering were expected to be associated with evaluations of non-transgender individuals. Frequency of misgendering was negatively associated with attitudes toward non-transgender individuals. Feeling stigmatized when misgendered was negatively associated with attitudes toward non-transgender. Participants who reported more



**FIGURE 1** Interaction between misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered on self-evaluations.

frequent experiences with misgendering and felt more stigmatized when misgendered reported less positive attitudes toward non-transgender individuals.

### Summary

The results of Study 2 largely replicated the results of Study 1. On average, participants reported being misgendered moderately often, and genderqueer participants reported being misgendered more often than either transgender men or transgender women, who did not differ in misgendering frequency. Participants also reported feeling moderately stigmatized when they were misgendered, but there were no differences in felt stigma among the three different gender groups. The results confirm that misgendering is associated with negative affect, state self-esteem, social identity, felt authenticity, and transgender felt stigma. More importantly, Study 2 contributed additional knowledge to our understanding of misgendering. Replicating the pattern found in Study 1, feeling stigmatized when misgendered, but not being misgendered more frequently, was associated with more feelings of shame. Experiences with misgendering were found to be positively associated with verification strivings, whereas feelings stigmatized when misgendered were found to be positively associated with enhancement strivings. These results suggest that more frequent experiences with misgendering shape a person's desire for identity-consistent appraisals, whereas feeling stigmatized when misgendered is associated with a person's desire to be seen in a more favorable manner. In addition, both misgendering frequency and feeling stigmatized when misgendered were found to be associated with evaluations of non-transgender individuals and uniquely interact to produce evaluations of the self.

## General Discussion

Across two studies, the affective and psychological correlates associated with misgendering were examined in two samples of transgender spectrum individuals. As one manifestation of identity misclassification, misgendering was expected to be associated with how transgender spectrum individuals feel, how they evaluate themselves

and their social identity. Support for these hypotheses was found. The discussion turns now to the implications this research has for future research on identity misclassification and how experiences with misgendering may contribute to minority stress for transgender spectrum individuals.

### *Implications for Identity Misclassification*

The current research is distinct from past research (e.g., Bosson et al., 2005, 2006, 2012; Buck et al., 2013) because it focused on identity misclassification from the perspective of a stigmatized group. Importantly, this research demonstrates that identity misclassification is generally a negative experience for members of members of stigmatized groups—in this case, transgender spectrum individuals. Because of the correlational nature of these data, however, these studies may reveal a particular profile of individuals who are sensitive to being misgendered, as evidenced by the strong correlation between negative affect and social state self-esteem. Such individuals may be especially sensitive to misgendering because they generally feel good about themselves in social situations, so being misgendered is associated with negative affect. These studies suggest that the psychological discomfort associated with misclassification can occur in situations in which a person is not recognized as a member of a valued ingroup, even if that group is socially devalued.

In both studies, feeling stigmatized (or devalued) when misgendered was associated with more outcome variables than misgendering frequency. Despite finding differences between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals in frequency, there were no reliable differences in feeling stigmatized or devalued when misgendered or in the outcome variables. Past research (e.g., Factor & Rothblum, 2008; Kuper, Nussbaum, & Mustanski, 2012) has found important differences between these gender groups in their hormone use, pronoun use, and visual presentation. These differences play a role in the frequency in which transgender spectrum individuals are misgendered, but they may play less of a role in the psychological experience of misgendering. These patterns suggest that regardless of the frequency in which individuals experience misclassification, the appraisal of this experience more strongly influence affect, self-evaluations, and self-esteem. As a result, how these experiences are appraised potentially influence a person's ability to cope or compensate with their experiences with misclassification.

Examining how certain characteristics shape the affective and psychological appraisals of misgendering is an important avenue for future empirical research. First, the intentionality of misclassification may influence the appraisals made about being misgendered. For example, an intentional misclassification of a transgender spectrum individual could be more psychologically disruptive than an accidental misclassification. Second, taking into consideration the amount of time passed since an individual most recently experienced misgendering likely affects its salience and, therefore, the affective and psychological appraisals made about this experience. No data were collected about the timing in which the misgendering occurred, but this information could lead to meaningful information about the lingering effects of misgendering. Consistent with the current studies, it would be important to consider the kind of misgendering an individual experiences, such as a pronoun “slip” or misclassification in a gender-segregated area, and how these experiences affect the psychological experience of identity misclassification, more generally.

Furthermore, there were a handful of unexpected results that provide additional avenues for future research on identity misclassification. The first unexpected finding involves the relation between misgendering frequency and identity importance.

Participants who reported more experiences with misgendering also reported greater identity importance. This relation may reflect the possibility that individuals who consider their social identity to be more important may also be more schematic for social situations in which misclassification is possible. The second unexpected finding was the relation between feeling stigmatized when misgendered and social state self-esteem. Participants who reported feeling more stigmatized when misgendered also reported more positive social self-esteem. In light of the adverse outcomes associated with identity misclassification (e.g., negative affect), the positive association between feeling stigmatized when misgendered and social state self-esteem is surprising. However, this association may point to a potential source of resiliency. Members of stigmatized groups who report feeling more devalued when misclassified may also be able to cope or compensate more effectively with these experiences. Alternatively, members of stigmatized groups with high self-esteem may simply be better at detecting enactments of stigma than individuals with low self-esteem. Exploring the underlying nature of these associations is important to examine in future research.

Exploring identity misclassification from the perspective of a stigmatized group has implications for boundary conditions of previous research. Past efforts have shown that disclaimers alleviate the psychological discomfort associated with identity misclassification (Bosson et al., 2005, 2006; Bosson, Weaver, Caswell, & Burnaford, 2012; Prewitt-Freilino, Bosson, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2012). While this strategy may be effective for members of high-status groups (e.g., heterosexual men), its effectiveness for individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity remains an empirical question. Disclosing a concealed stigmatized identity requires careful consideration of the audience and the situation (e.g., Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Pachankis, 2007). In an ambiguous or potentially hostile situation, disclosure may put an individual with a concealable identity in harm's way. It is worth noting, however, that disclosing a concealed identity to correct misclassification may provide a potentially novel test of verification and enhancement striving, or more specifically, the cognitive–affective crossfire (e.g., Swann, Griffin, Predmore, & Gaines, 1987). As Study 2 suggests, disclosing a concealed identity following misclassification may be motivated by verification, rather than self-enhancement, especially when enacted stigma may be possible following disclosure. This consideration is an important avenue for future empirical research on identity misclassification of individuals with a concealable stigmatized identity.

### *Misgendering as Minority Stress*

The studies reported in this article raise the possibility that misgendering is a manifestation of minority stress (Meyer, 1995, 2003). Minority stress refers to the excess stress that members of stigmatized groups experience because of the prejudice and discrimination they experience. This stress can be due to external, objective events (such as prejudice and discrimination), expectations of these events, or the internalization of negative societal attitudes (self-stigma). Recent work on minority stress among transgender spectrum individuals has shown that experiences with gendered spaces, such as restrooms, can produce significant distress (Cavanagh, 2010; Herman, 2013). Being denied access to, or experiencing verbal harassment or physical assault in gendered spaces plays a disruptive role in education and employment, as well as an individual's general participation in public life. The present studies suggest that misgendering may also disrupt transgender spectrum individuals' full participation in society because of its impact on factors that contribute to their mental health (e.g., anxiety, felt authenticity). In light of the Institutes of Medicine (2011) report on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and

transgender (LGBT) health, a closer inspection of misgendering as a manifestation of minority stress is warranted.

### *Concluding Comments*

In conclusion, the current studies demonstrate that experiences with misgendering are associated with how transgender spectrum individuals feel and how they evaluate themselves and their social identity. These studies make a number of novel contributions, including examining identity misclassification from the perspective of members of a stigmatized group. The results of these studies have implications for how identity misclassification is associated with the mental health and self-stigmatization of members of stigmatized groups, which may not be the case for the misclassification of members of high-status groups. Moreover, these studies provide a number of potential avenues for future empirical research, including how characteristics associated with identity misclassification influence the affective and psychological appraisals the experience and how misgendering contributes to the minority stress of transgender spectrum individuals.

### **Notes**

1. Past research and theory (e.g., Factor & Rothblum, 2008; Kuper et al., 2012; Worthen, 2013) have found notable differences between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals in their hormone use, pronoun use, comfort with gendered bathroom use, and visual presentation. These differences have implications for misgendering. Before conducting the primary analyses, exploratory analyses were conducted by examining differences between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals. The group *transgender men* was created by collapsing across participants who used transgender men, FtM, and male as the identity label they use most often to describe their gender. The group *transgender women* was created by collapsing across participants who used transgender women, MtF, and female as the identity label they use most often to describe their gender. The *genderqueer group* was created by selecting individuals who used this identity label. One-way ANOVAs were then conducted to compare for differences between these three gender groups in the outcome variables. The only reliable effect to emerge between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals is the frequency in which these three groups experience misgendering (all other  $ps > .10$ ). These analyses were followed up by conducting regressions with genderqueer individuals as the reference group to compare transgender women and transgender men. Misgendering frequency, feeling stigmatized when misgendered, and gender were entered in Step 1, misgendering frequency  $\times$  gender and feeling stigmatized when misgendered  $\times$  gender interaction terms were entered in Step 2, and a misgendering frequency  $\times$  feeling stigmatized when misgendered  $\times$  gender interaction term was entered in Step 3. There were no significant misgendering frequency  $\times$  gender interaction ( $ps > .08$ ), feeling stigmatized when misgendered  $\times$  gender interaction ( $ps > .16$ ), or misgendering frequency  $\times$  felt stigma  $\times$  gender interaction ( $ps > .35$ ). Because no reliable differences were found between these gender groups on any of the outcome variables, the results reported here are aggregated across the three gender groups.
2. As in Study 1, exploratory analyses were again conducted by examining differences between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals. Three gender groups were created using the same procedures described in note 1. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare for differences between these three gender groups. As in Study 1, the only reliable effect to emerge between transgender men, transgender women, and genderqueer individuals was misgendering frequency (all other  $ps > .13$ ). These analyses

were again followed up by conducting regressions with genderqueer individuals as the reference group to compare transgender women and transgender men. Misgendering frequency, feeling stigmatized when misgendered, and gender were entered in Step 1, misgendering frequency  $\times$  gender and feeling stigmatized when misgendered  $\times$  gender interaction terms were entered in Step 2, and a misgendering frequency  $\times$  feeling stigmatized when misgendered  $\times$  gender interaction term was entered in Step 3. There were no significant misgendering frequency  $\times$  gender interaction ( $ps > .08$ ), feeling stigmatized when misgendered  $\times$  gender interaction ( $ps > .12$ ), or misgendering frequency  $\times$  felt stigma  $\times$  gender interaction ( $ps > .10$ ) on any of the outcome variables. The primary analyses were again conducted using data aggregated across all participants.

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