Attitudes towards gay and bisexual men

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Abstract

Background: In recent years, various societies have recognised the presence of Sexual and Gender Minorities (SGM). There, however, remain negative attitudes towards these communities, which can have a detrimental effect on the lives of SGM. While a breadth of research has focused on SGM in society, scarce literature has been conducted in institutions such as the Criminal Justice System (CJS).

Objective: This thesis aimed to explore attitudes towards gay and bisexual men.

Design & Method: The objective was met with a scoping review (Chapter Two), a survey (Chapter Four), and a critical review of the main measurement used in the survey (Chapter Three) prior to its inclusion. The survey addressed two different objectives and was reflected across two chapters in this thesis (Chapter Four).

Results: Chapter Two identified that SGM experience several forms of discrimination in the CJS. Chapter three found that the Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Men (ATLG) scale demonstrated adherence to test-retest reliability, internal consistency, and reasonably good validity and, therefore, broadly suitable for the survey. Chapter four found no significant differences between participants' demographics (age, location, rural/urban, CJS employment) and participants' attitudes as measured by the Attitudes Towards Gay Men (ATG) subscale and Attitudes Regarding Bisexual Male (ARBS-M) scale. In addition, there was no significant correlation between the ability to mentalise and attitudes towards gay and bisexual men.

Conclusion: This thesis has offered an opportunity to explore, review and evaluate attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The limitations and implications for research and practice are discussed further.

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Glossary of terminologies

Name	Description
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARBS-M	Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale- Male version (ARBS-M)
ATG	Attitudes Towards Gay men subscale
ATLG	Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay men scale
BIDR-16	The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIDR-16), Impression Management subscale
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
MBT	Mentalisation Based Therapy
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
RFQ	Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ)
RFQC	Reflective Functioning Questionnaire Certainty subscale
RFQU	Reflective Functioning Questionnaire Uncertainty subscale
SGM	Sexual and Gender Minorities
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
WSW	Women who have Sex with Women

Chapter One: Introduction

The gender and sexuality debate remains at the forefront of political and social discussion across the world (Ong et al., 2022). World leaders, however, show differences in how this is implemented in their countries, either promoting or restricting sexual and gender diversity among their citizens (Ong et al., 2022). These differences can be observed in the following examples. Yoweri Museveni, the Ugandan president in 2023 introduced the anti-homosexuality bill (Haider, 2023). The anti-homosexuality bill has wide-reaching implications for those residing in Uganda and refers to the criminalisation of same-sex relationships. This also includes the denial of sexual and gender minorities (SGM) from renting properties and accessing gender-affirming health care (Haider, 2023). Furthermore, citizens of Uganda are encouraged to report any knowledge of same-sex relationships (Haider, 2023). Those who fail to report this knowledge could be given a six-month custodial sentence, whilst those found guilty of engaging in same-sex relationships could receive a life sentence or death penalty (Haider, 2023). In contrast in 2023, the same year, Spain passed legislation permitting its citizens to self-identify their gender identity without requiring medical evidence (González-Cabrera, 2023).

To understand these differences, we must first explore and understand the conceptualisation of human sexuality, sexual orientation and the gender and sex debate.

Human sexuality

Sexuality refers to how an individual expresses themselves during sexual acts (Lehmiller, 2023). Historically discussions pertaining to sex have emphasised a penis-in-vagina narrative, excluding any other forms of sexual activity (Lehmiller, 2023). This perspective aligns with an evolutionary theorist's view that sex is the

means to create offspring (Lehmiller, 2023). This, however, is not supported by Meston and Buss (2007) who conducted a study focused on why participants (n=237) have sex. Their findings highlighted that most participants reported wanting to experience physical pleasure and express love towards someone else (Meston & Buss, 2007). In addition, fewer participants reported engaging in sexual activity to reproduce (Meston & Buss, 2007). These findings suggest that sex is not solely underpinned by biological needs but is also associated with psychological factors.

Psychological factors can also have a significant impact on how an individual expresses their sexual desires (Bandura, 1977; Le & Hancer, 2021). Social learning theory is a perspective that offers an opportunity to explore these psychological variables. This theory argues that an individual's behaviour is obtained through observing others (Bandura, 1977; Le & Hancer, 2021). If a behaviour is observed to have positive outcomes an individual will engage with this, whilst avoiding behaviours that have a negative consequence (Hogben & Byrne, 1998). This approach, however, has been criticised for its overemphasis on observed behaviour and failure to recognise the interplay between psychological and biological variables such as hormones (Lehmiller, 2023). In addition, the observed behaviours occur within a social setting, and therefore, focusing solely on a psychological variable fails to acknowledge the influence of an individual's cultural background (Lehmiller, 2023).

Cultural factors link to the overemphasised penis-in-vagina narrative, as they label certain sexual acts as acceptable whilst others as sinful (Lehmiller, 2023). Examples of this would be post-marriage sexual intercourse between male and female as acceptable, whilst a negative perception that same-sex intercourse is sinful (Lehmiller, 2023). In recent years, however, cultural shifts in these attitudes amongst certain countries have allowed for a broader definition of sex, which also

includes sexting and phone sex (Lehmiller,2023). If we revisit the earlier example in this chapter of Uganda. Uganda is a highly religious country and in 2024 it was reported that four-fifths of the country's religious ideologies aligned with Christianity (Watsemba, 2022; Kiwanuka & Lyons, 2024). Christianity has historically opposed same-sex relationships (Hunt, 2016). Uganda's approach towards sex and same-sex intercourse is likely to deviate from Lehmiller's (2023) broader definition of sex, emphasising greater importance of its religious perspective and punitive approach to SGM. The evidence presented so far therefore highlights that to best understand the development of sexuality is not through a singular perspective but rather an inclusion of the biological, psychological and social factors that influence this (Lehmiller, 2023).

The bio-psycho-social model is an appropriate framework to best understand these factors (Lehmiller, 2023; Rahman et al., 2023). This model suggests that all three factors have a significant impact on how an individual's sexuality is formed (Rahman et al., 2023). It acknowledges the interaction between the physical body, the individual's interpretation of this and how they sexually relate to their peers (Rahman et al., 2023). This is then rooted in the individual's cultural background (Rahman et al., 2023). Rahman et al. (2023) suggest that culture is an important consideration as society will implement social standards that will impact how an individual expresses their sexuality. These standards, sociologists label as social norms are a set of rules that govern collective thoughts and behaviours in a society (Neville et al., 2021). Returning to the differences in the examples discussed at the start of this chapter, Uganda's social norms provide a cultural context that prohibits SGM, whereas Spain promotes greater inclusivity.

Sexual orientation

The previous section of this chapter has provided a clear foundation of sexuality; however, we must now focus on the labelling process that humans apply to this. A concept that can support in this understanding is sexual orientation (Lehmiller, 2023). Lehmiller (2023) defines this as “a unique pattern of sexual and romantic desires, behaviours, and identity that each person expresses (Lehmiller, 2023, p.124). Historically, this concept has been considered to comprise three categorisations: heterosexuality, bisexuality and homosexuality (Hall et al., 2021). The former offers a label to an individual who shows romantic or sexual interest towards a person of the opposite sex (Rahman et al., 2023). Across westernised cultures, these individuals are also commonly referred to as straight (Rahaman et al., 2023). The second category, Bisexuality refers to an individual who is attracted to a person from either their own sex or the opposite sex (Knight & Wilson, 2016). The final category, homosexuality describes an individual who shows romantic or sexual interest towards a person of the same sex (Spytska, 2023). The term homosexuality, however, is negatively associated with the medical model in which societies considered this to be a mental illness, seeking interventions to correct an individual’s homosexuality (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Instead, in modern societies, gay and lesbian are now the preferred terms when discussing males (gay) or females (lesbians) who are attracted to their respective same-sex partners (Knight & Wilson, 2016). These categorisations, however, have been criticised as excluding individuals whose sexual practice does not align with their sexual orientation. For example, Men who have Sex with Men (MSM) and Women who have Sex with Women (WSW) (Pachauri et al., 2022; Young & Meyer, 2005). These categories refer to a man or woman who identifies as heterosexual but who has sexual activity with a person of

their own sex. These three categories therefore are outdated and do not reflect the complex fluidity of sexual orientation (Lehmiller, 2023).

A continuum approach to sexual orientation instead provides an opportunity to accommodate individuals and greater labels for people to identify with, including asexuality and pansexuality (Lehmiller, 2023). Asexuality best describes an individual who has an absence of sexual attraction toward others (Lehmiller, 2023). Pansexuality in contrast refers to a person who is attracted to all sexes regardless of their gender identity (Hayfield & Křížová, 2021). The inclusion of pansexuality into this continuum brings an opportunity to further discuss what is meant by gender identity. The following section of this chapter aims to provide clarification on the distinction between sex and gender.

Sex and gender

In the last decade, the sex and gender debate has been rife worldwide, with individuals arguing whether sex and gender are the same or are two separate concepts (DuBois & Shattuck-Heidorn, 2021; Lehmiller, 2023). DuBois and Shattuck-Heidorn (2021) suggest that this has been observed through social commentary on testosterone in female sports and gendered bathroom debates. The perspective which argues sex and gender are the same predominantly focuses on the reproductive organs; penis and vagina, categorising those with a penis as male and those with a vagina as female (Lehmiller, 2023). Lehmiller (2023) argues that this is a narrow perspective and does not account for individual differences nor recognise those who do not align with the male and female binary. Based on this, the thesis will focus on sex and gender as two distinct concepts.

Sex is defined as a “function of three separate components: our chromosomes, gonads and hormones levels. These factors work together to

differentiate the bodies and brains of each sex" (Lehmiller, 2023, p.100). Sex chromosomes are included in our genes, with XX chromosome categorising someone as male and XY as female (Lehmiller, 2023). Gonads describe the glands that are assigned to each sex, testes for males and ovaries for females (Lehmiller, 2023). The final factor, hormones refer to chemicals released from the ovaries (oestrogens) and testes (androgens) (Lehmiller, 2023). Amongst westernised societies, a common misconception is that sex is categorised into two groups: male and female (Mercer-Mapstone et al., 2021). Mercer-Mapstone et al (2021) argue that there is sex variation, with individuals having both biological male and female traits. Individuals who meet this criterion are referred to as intersex (Mercer-Mapstone et al., 2021).

In contrast, gender identity is considered "an individual's own psychological perception or experience of being male, female, neither both, or somewhere in between" (Lehmiller, 2023, p.99). Where both sex and gender align, researchers define this as cisgender (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Where sex and gender differ, an individual may then be considered gender-diverse (Speechley et al., 2024). Early literature would have categorised these individuals as transexuals, however, Speechley et al (2024) argue that this term overemphasises medical transition. This process supports gender affirmation through surgical and hormone treatment. However, many gender-diverse people do not choose this approach to express their gender identity (Speechley et al., 2024). Instead, alternative terminology including transgender, non-binary and queer have developed over time to accurately reflect the lives of gender diverse people (Speechley et al., 2024). Transgender refers to an individual whose biological marker indicates that their sex is either male or female but that their gender identity is of the opposite sex (Lehmiller, 2023). Those whose

biological sex marker is male but whose gender identity is female would be considered as a transwoman, whilst a person with female sex markers, who's gender identity is male would be considered as a transman (Lehmiller, 2023). Non-binary refers to an identity that does not exclusively align to one gender, but rather one that fluctuates between multiple gender expressions, therefore disrupting the traditional gender binary (Richards & Barker, 2015). Queer, historically has been used as a derogatory term, however, in recent years has been reclaimed by marginalised sexual and gender communities (Stonewall, 2023). The self-identification of Queer also includes individuals who do not identify as heterosexual and/or gender non-conforming. The broad range of gender identity terminology supports and recognises the diverse personal experiences that gender-diverse people have and assists in accurately labelling this (Oakley, 2016).

Previously in this chapter, we have discussed the increasing political and social changes that have negatively impacted SGM lives. Haider (2023) reported that in 2023, Tennessee, United States (US) authorised legislation that restricted gender-affirming care for transgender children. Furthermore, in recent months, the US president-elect, Donald Trump is suspected in 2025 to ban the recruitment and medically discharge all serving transgender people from the American military (Woodward & O'Connell, 2024). These recent global examples highlight the continued negative actions and perspectives that societies hold towards SGM which significantly impact on their lives. The following section of this chapter will focus on defining and understanding the development of prejudice and discrimination that these communities experience and the factors that influence this.

Prejudice, heterosexism and heteronormativity

Prejudice is considered an opinion that is based on an oversimplified and inaccurate generalisation of a specific social group (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Through this opinion, a negative stereotype is assigned to the social group (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). In the context of SGM, these communities might experience sexual prejudice (Herek, 2000). Herek (2000) refers to this specific form of prejudice as opinions that originate from the perceived or actual sexual orientation of an individual. Additional terms associated with sexual prejudice are homophobia and biphobia (Lehmiller, 2023). The former refers to sexual prejudice towards either a lesbian or gay man that is underpinned by an irrational fear of an individual from either community (Ventriglio et al., 2021). Researchers, however, have criticised the term as it is frequently used in modern society to refer to all negative opinions regardless of whether they based on fear (Plummer, 2016; Lehmiller, 2023). Instead, Lehmiller (2023) argues that an alternative term best describes this phenomenon, referring to this as anti-gay prejudice. This alternative term more accurately reflects the variations in reasons for negative attitudes towards lesbian and gay communities. Biphobia researchers have identified differs from homophobia as it is underpinned by two factors: sexual orientation instability and sexual irresponsibility (Brewster & Moradi, 2010). The former refers to the perception that bisexuality is a transitional phase shifting from heterosexual to homosexual, whilst the latter implies that bisexual people will be promiscuous in their relationship. Whilst this does highlight differences between homophobia and biphobia, Lehmiller (2023) argues that the inclusion of ‘phobia’ in these terms continues to imply that the opinion originates from a position of fear. Lehmiller (2023) suggests that monosexism

accurately reflects variations in emotions underpinning prejudice that assumes that attraction is exclusive to one sex (heterosexual or homosexual).

Both anti-gay and monosexism are byproducts of a wider societal concept: heterosexism. Heterosexism refers to the social dominance and emphasis of the heterosexual relationship at the detriment of other sexual orientations (Smith & Shin, 2014). This concept positions heterosexual people in control of society's social norms (Smith & Shin, 2014). To understand heterosexism further we must explore the social structures that are embedded into a society (Rahman et al., 2023). These social structures include interpersonal relationships and institutions such as criminal justice system and religion (Rahman et al., 2023). These structures will promote ideologies that align with the society's social norms and values. For example, marriage has historically been solely recognised as the partnership of a man and woman (Mos, 2020). Whilst countries such as the Netherlands have challenged this perception, legalising same-sex marriage in 2001, other European countries maintain that marriage is exclusive to heterosexual relationships (Mos, 2020). This heterosexist perspective is achieved by overemphasising the heterosexual relationship and binary genders (male and female) through society's social norms (Corlett et al., 2023; Garelick et al., 2017). Corlett et al., (2023) argues that heterosexism is achieved through a secondary concept: Heteronormativity. This concept overemphasises the heterosexual relationship and gender binaries, embedding this belief into the society's social norms and values. The heteronormative social norms related to the example of marriage, creates an assumption that a wedding ring confirms an individual is married to someone of the opposite sex unless challenged (Lehmiller, 2023).

One theory that provides further insight into heteronormative culture and SGM is conflict theory. This sociological theory originates from Karl Marx, who predominantly focused on the conflict between the social classes (Rahman et al., 2023). In the context of SGM, however, this theory also offers an opportunity to understand the struggle that these communities can encounter. Conflict theory focuses on the social competition amongst groups for a limited set of resources (Rahman et al., 2023). The example of marriage continues to be relevant as this offers social status and in certain countries financial benefits (Rahman et al., 2023). The US endorses healthcare insurance for a married couple, however, there are still some US states that have not legalised same-sex marriage (Elliott, 2024). SGM activists have campaigned that marriage is a fundamental right afforded to everyone regardless of sexual orientation (Rahman et al., 2023). This example of marriage in the context of conflict theory, therefore, highlights an ongoing heteronormative social norm that continues to prevent SGM from having access to their fundamental human rights (Rahman et al., 2023). The conceptualisation of each global society and the emphasis that it places on promoting heterosexist ideologies through a heteronormative culture will vary, and therefore, the impact that this will have on SGM individuals will be different. A society which overemphasises heteronormativity will perceive an SGM lifestyle as abnormal, and which deviates from its social norms; this will increase the risk of SGM discrimination.

Whilst societal constructs provide insight into the development of prejudice, individual factors should also be considered. Research has suggested that age and gender are important factors that underpin perceptions towards SGM. Firstly, older participants seem to hold greater prejudice towards lesbian and gay men (Herek, 1988). In relation to gender, Bettinsoli et al. (2020) found that men held greater

prejudice towards gay men and lesbians when compared to female counterparts. The reasons behind this prejudice were underpinned by beliefs that these two groups violated gender norms. This provides further evidence of the interaction between heteronormativity and its interpretation at an individual and interpersonal level. Furthermore, Bettinsoli et al. (2020), found that men held greater prejudice towards gay men when compared to lesbians. These findings, therefore, highlight attitudinal differences towards communities under SGM.

An additional factor to consider is the environment in which the individual is located. For example, the different administrations in the UK legalised same-sex marriage at different times: England and Wales in 2013, Scotland in 2014, Northern Ireland in 2020 (Bartholomew, 2019). Previous literature in the UK has suggested greater tolerance of SGM expression in urban spaces in contrast to rural regions (McGlynn, 2018). These findings, therefore, indicate that the country of residence or regional area can influence the perceptions towards SGM.

Individual psychological variables may also provide insight into the generation or mitigation of prejudice. A psychological concept that could support this exploration is mentalisation. Mentalisation is defined as “the ability to understand actions by both other people and oneself in terms of thoughts, feelings, wishes and desires” (Bateman & Fonagy, 2016, p.3). Mentalisation does have similarities with other theories such as Theory of Mind and Mindfulness. Theory of Mind proposes that everyday behaviour can be predicted through recognising human differences in their own thoughts, feelings and desires and of others (Apperly, 2012), whereas Mindfulness focuses on the interaction between one’s own internal state and the external surrounding (American Psychological Association, 2018) with the aim to reduce stress and automatic destructive habits. Whilst mentalising is like these

theories, it differs by encouraging individuals to actively reflect on the interactions between their own mental states and the mental states of others. Jain and Fonagy's (2020) research focused on applying mentalisation in psychotherapy. This included intervention that encouraged participants to explore their sense of self from various levels in social interactions. Following this, they suggested that when a participant experienced difficulties mentalising, and taking a rigid perspective towards others, they could develop extreme thinking patterns and apply negative stereotypes to specific groups. This research could therefore indicate links between mentalising and the generation of prejudicial attitudes. The evidence presented in this section highlights the development of prejudice at a societal and individual level. These negative opinions can therefore lead to hostile behaviours. The next section of this chapter will introduce discrimination.

Discrimination

Discrimination and prejudice are commonly used interchangeably; however, researchers argue that they are distinct concepts (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Whilst prejudice focuses on a generalised opinion, discrimination focuses on actions and behaviours (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Demirtas-Madran (2020) defines discrimination as an "action or behaviour that is directed toward members of certain groups and is used to refer to a person or persons behaving differently (most commonly, unfairly, and humiliatingly) toward others based solely on their members of a specific social group" (Demirtas-Madran, 2020, p. 3). This can occur through verbal threats, physical aggression, exclusion of an individual or group and denying access to something. The outcome will negatively impact the person or group that the discrimination is directed at, and this could be experienced through feeling isolated, harassed or rejected (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Nadal et al. (2016) also

argue that microaggressions should be included when describing discrimination. They define microaggressions as “behaviours and statements, often unconscious or unintentional, that communicate hostile or derogatory messages, particularly to members of targeted social groups” (Nadal et al., 2016, p.1). Smith and Griffiths (2022) highlight this through the example of a man’s disappointment when he is informed that a female, he likes is gay and remarks that it is a shame. The inclusion of shame infers that the woman’s sexual orientation is wrong or that there is it’s a loss to heterosexuality. This further promotes previous concepts discussed such as heterosexism and heteronormativity. Marchi et al (2024) conducted a systematic review of the impact of microaggression on SGM. They reported that SGM had greater levels of depression, substance misuse and suicide attempts when compared to their cisgender heterosexual counterparts. This thesis will incorporate Demirtas-Madran (2020) and Nadal et al. (2016) concepts to inform its working definition of discrimination. This definition is described as an action or behaviour aimed towards a person or group directly linked to their protected characteristic. This can include direct behaviour or microaggressions that are designed to treat the person or group unfairly or communicate a hostile message.

Discrimination could occur between individuals; however, it can also be present in a country’s legalisation. For example, if we return to the earlier discussion on the Ugandan anti-homosexuality bill, this law actively promotes negative action towards a minority group based on their sexual orientation. This would therefore be considered as discriminative legislation. In contrast, the United Kingdom (UK), introduced the Equality Act in 2010 which is still actively used within this country (Fell & Dyban, 2017). This act replaced and simplified previous legislation, protecting the human rights of minority groups in employment and within society (Fell & Dyban,

2017). Whilst the definition of discrimination has been explored, and how this can apply to legislation, the reasons for why these negative actions or behaviours occurred can be further explained through academic literature (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Demirtas-Madran (2020) suggests, however, that this is dependent on whether researchers have taken an intrapersonal, interpersonal or intergroup approach to discrimination.

The first perspective, Intrapersonal focuses on discrimination at an individual level and how they view the social world. Evolutionary theory argues that the hunter-gatherer perspective underpins discrimination (Levy & Hughes, 2009). The purpose of discrimination under this perspective is to actively avoid the potential threat posed to an individual's opportunity to reproduce and continue their genetic lineage (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Two examples where this theory is applicable are highlighted in the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) pandemic in the 1980s and the Coronavirus (COVID-19) in 2020. Individuals in both examples avoided contact with those they suspected were carriers of the diseases. Both illnesses were incorrectly aligned to specific minority groups, gay men and AIDS and the Chinese community when referring to COVID-19. Critiques of intrapersonal perspectives such as evolutionary theory, argue that discrimination does not always occur in situations where disease and illness are present (Demirtas-Madran, 2020).

An interpersonal approach to discrimination discusses how individuals interpret meaning in their interactions with peers (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). The social dominance theory takes an interpersonal approach and suggests that societal structures endorse a hierarchy that positions one group in power at the expense of minority groups (Sidanius et al., 2004). This theory argues that those in power can promote and govern their agendas and ideologies through society's social norms.

This control creates inequalities within society (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). Whilst this theory highlights the creation of hierarchies and inequalities, it does not provide a rich insight into the interplay of group members' thoughts, feelings and behaviours. The intergroup approach rectifies this issue by explicitly focusing on this.

One theory that is underpinned by an intergroup perspective is the integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). This theory argues that fear and threat result in prejudice and discrimination (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). There are four categories of threats that result in discrimination: realistic group threat, symbolic group threat, realistic individual threat and symbolic individual threat (Demirtas-Madran, 2020). The former refers to a physical or perceived threat posed by a marginalised group towards the majority group. The symbolic group threat refers to an ideology or culture promoted by the marginalised group that threatens the social positioning of the majority group. In a meta-analysis, Mackey and Rios (2023) found that SGM prevalence in the US increased religious symbolic group threat amongst their participants which resulted in greater anti-gay prejudice. In this example, the increase of SGM threatened the religious standing in the US therefore posing as a symbolic threat to the countries' Christian ideology. Realistic individual threat refers to the direct physical or perceived threat posed to an individual of a social group. The final form of threat, symbolic individual threat describes the act which threatens an individual membership in their social group. Including realistic and symbolic threats offers a greater opportunity to understand the different reasons that could result in SGM prejudice and discrimination. This can also offer a theoretical approach when interpretating the results found in this thesis.

Minority Stress theory and the importance for safety

The concepts already discussed have highlighted that SGM have adverse negative experiences from discrimination (Marchi et al., 2024). Minority stress theory provides further insight into how this discrimination can impact SGM (Meyer, 2003). This theory argues that social and psychological factors underpin excess stress on SGM based on either their sexual orientation or gender identity (Frost & Meyer, 2023). Frost and Meyer suggest that minority stress differs from general stress experienced by those not marginalised. They propose that minority stress is created by prejudice. For example, the loss of employment can be experienced by several communities. However, when this is a direct result of prejudice towards an individual based on their sexual or gender identity, this becomes minority stress. An alternative example could also be the denial of gender-affirming care, which has previously been discussed in this chapter in the context of Uganda and Tennessee. To further understand the complexities of minority stress theory, Meyer (2003) introduces two categories of stress. The first he describes as distal stress is created through societal institutions or legalisation. An example of this would be the stress created in Uganda amongst SMG following the passing of the anti-homosexuality bill. The second form he describes is proximal stress (Meyer, 2003). This occurs when an SGM internalises the stigma, becoming critical of themselves and ultimately rejecting their SGM identity (Frost & Meyer, 2023). The introduction of minority stress theory highlights that whilst SGM might experience general stress due to their sexual or gender identity, they must also navigate additional stressors.

This additional stress is highlighted further in literature focused on homelessness amongst SGM (DeChants et al., 2022). DeChants et al (2022) reported that SGM youth homelessness was a direct result of family rejection

following their disclosure of either their sexual or gender identity. This family rejection originated from heterosexist attitudes. Furthermore, Salerno et al. (2023) found that SGM youths concealed their sexual identity during the COVID-19 pandemic to avoid family rejection. This provides further evidence of the additional stressors that SGM experience when compared to their heterosexual, cisgender peers.

To combat discrimination, SGM have historically been referred to under the umbrella term LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender) but over the last decade, this has been revised to LGBTQ+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender & Queer +) to reflect the various other sexual and gender identities (Knight & Wilson, 2016; Margetson, 2023). This has created community amongst these marginalised groups and emphasised the importance of SGM-friendly spaces (Margetson, 2023). Historically the origins of SGM-friendly spaces in the UK are thought to have occurred through the introduction of Molly houses (Margetson, 2023). These venues facilitated discreet opportunities for gay men to meet and spaces to reject gender norms (Margetson, 2023). These venues evolved in gay bars, however, continued to be frequently raided by the authorities. The oppression in these venues, however, has also resulted in events that have empowered SGM individuals. Nadal (2020) argues that this is represented in the Stonewall uprising in New York, in 1969. Police raided the Stonewall Inn, and whilst arresting individuals, several people were able to flee and inform their friends and family. After years of oppression, SGM individuals descended on the venue in an act of resistance and defiance towards the authorities. This uprising occurred over several days and was referred to as the first documented uprising for SGM rights in America (Nadal, 2020).

SGM-friendly venues, however, have declined in recent years (Margetson, 2023). Margetson (2023) argues that in London, UK a larger number of SGM venues

have closed between 2006 to 2017 when compared to heterosexual spaces. Margetson (2023) suggests that the developments in technology have resulted in this decline as it has offered greater opportunities for SGM to interact through online forums. Lucero (2017) reported that Facebook had become a platform which SGM youths frequently interacted with to discuss their sexual and gender identities as well as build connections with others. In addition, Margetson (2023) argued that London had the largest global subscription to the gay dating app: Grindr. Whilst online forums facilitate opportunities to increase connections, they also pose a risk to SGM. Margetson (2023) suggests that this risk is presented through individuals misrepresenting themselves. An example of this is highlighted in the case of Stephen Port, later described as the Grindr killer. Port was found guilty of drugging and killing four males between 2014 to 2015 in the UK (Davies, 2021). Whilst designed to provide sanctuary, the physical SGM venues have historically been raided and the online forums have been prone to predatory behaviour by those seeking to abuse SGM individuals. To understand this further, the following sections of this chapter will explore the distinction between crime and deviancy, the complex relationship between SGM and CJS and the experiences of SGM in CJS.

Crime and deviancy

Throughout the previous sections of this chapter, research has highlighted it a complex dynamic between societal rules and SGM rights. In countries such as the UK, same-sex relationships have been legalised, whilst other countries such as Uganda and Russia maintain a culture which criminalises this (Haider, 2023). It is therefore important to distinguish the difference between crime and deviance.

There are several definitions of what constitutes a crime, for example, lawyers may regard crime as an action (Lamond, 2007). Under this definition, the current

criminal behaviour in the UK is distinguished into ten categories which include: burglary, criminal damage, drugs, fraud and forgery, other notifiable offences, robbery, sexual offences, theft and handling, violence against the person and additional crime types (Metropolitan Police, 2024).

In contrast, Lamond (2007) suggests that an alternative definition could be considered from a criminology perspective. This perspective would take a broader approach, arguing that crime and criminal proceedings mark out distinct social behaviours which are dishonourable to that society's norms. To address these behaviours, the national agencies are mobilised (Lamond, 2007). When discussing national agencies these are considered under a country's criminal justice system (CJS). Criminal justice refers to the societal construct designed to address that society's crime (Davies et al., 2005). The CJS vary and are dependent on the legalisation in their specific country. For example, in the United Kingdom (UK) CJS consists of three distinct procedures; Scotland, Northern Ireland, England and Wales (Davies et al., 2005). These three regional structures are governed by the Justice Directorate of Scotland, the Department of Justice in Northern Ireland and the Home Office of England and Wales. The function of these departments is to assess and respond to the need to tackle crime (Davies et al., 2005). The UK's CJS consists of four sub-systems: law enforcement, courts, penal system, and crime prevention.

The definition of crime, however, does not sufficiently account for societal attitudes that continue to endorse discrimination towards SGM in countries where same-sex relationships and gender identity are legalised (Clinard & Meier, 2011). An alternative approach to address this issue is to explore SGM issues from the perspective of deviancy (Clinard & Meier, 2011). A normative sociologist would describe deviancy as an action violating society's social norms (Clinard & Meier,

2011). A negative consequence is activated following the violation to ensure conformity from the society's citizens. Deviancy offers an opportunity to discuss sexual minorities as it highlights that same-sex attraction is not inherently deviant but instead a direct result of a social process. This social process implements a social norm that prohibits same-sex relationships whilst endorsing a heterosexual lifestyle. Deviancy, therefore, links to previous points discussed in this chapter surrounding heteronormativity as a non-heterosexual lifestyle deviates from societal expectations. This is further observed in the UK following the decriminalisation of same-sex relationships in 1967 through the Sexual Offence Act. This legalisation was underpinned by a Christian heteronormative attitude which considered gay men should be pitied, as their lifestyle prevents them from having a wife and children (Bedell, 2007; Knight & Wilson, 2016). This argument supports previous concepts discussed in this chapter surrounding structural power, conflict theory and the emphasis on marriage. The evidence in this section also demonstrates that societal opinion in the UK after the 1967 act shifted from gay men being criminals to individuals who were deviant. Whether SGM identities remain criminalised in specific countries or are considered deviant, the negative association will have an impact on how SGM communities interact with CJS agencies.

Relationship between Criminal Justice agencies and SGM

Throughout this chapter, the interplay between SGM issues and criminalisation has been highlighted. In the UK, the Sexual offence act in 1967 decriminalised same-sex relationships amongst men (Knight & Wilson, 2016). The law enforcement agencies, however, continued to carry out searches after this date on SGM-friendly venues (Knight & Wilson, 2016). In addition, between 1967 to 2003, research highlighted that approximately 30,000 gay men were arrested and

convicted for offences (Bedell, 2007). Bedell (2007) argues that had the person's partner been female, the arrest would not have gone to trial, and no conviction would have been made. This provides further evidence to highlight the UK's societal approach to SGM shifted from a criminalised model towards a deviancy approach. This also indicates that SGM individuals have historically been victimised by the authorities who are meant to protect them (Drummond, 1976). Drummond (1976) identified in the 1960s to 1970s, the UK police service held prejudicial attitudes and low-level empathy towards marginalised groups, including SGM. These attitudes research argues continue to be perpetuated through key professional figures in the senior office of the police (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Knight and Wilson (2016) argue that James Anderton, chief constable of the Greater Manchester Police between 1975 to 1991 promoted anti-gay rhetoric in the police service. During his time as chief constable, James Anderton is reported to have aligned the AIDS pandemic to gay men, communicating a message to others in the police that this community had brought the virus on themselves due to their lifestyle (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This, therefore, highlights that historically, the police service has promoted a prejudicial and discriminative culture that perceives SGM identities as deviant. This also minimised the potential victimisation that these communities experienced and increased mistrust towards the CJS amongst SGM.

In 2021, an inquest implied that the handling of the metropolitan police had contributed to the death of three victims in the Stephen Port case (Davies,2023). The inquest heard that the police conduct towards friends and families of victims was informed by anti-gay prejudice, which had delayed the capture of the killer. This anti-gay prejudice resulted in the police showing less curiosity, with relatives of the victims implying that had the victims been cis-gendered straight women, the police

would have created a case with the correct level of concern (Davies, 2021). Furthermore, the case highlighted police failings and maintaining a false narrative of three of the victims' backgrounds that the killer himself had circulated through social media (Davies, 2023). Whilst the inquest did not conclude officially that anti-gay prejudice was present in this case, the facts presented do suggest the possibility of a heteronormative culture perpetuated by an institution designed to protect members of the public. In addition, these failings highlight the mistrust held amongst the public towards criminal justice agencies on matters of SGM.

Whilst law enforcement agencies have historically and currently held prejudicial attitudes, literature also highlights that SGM individuals are victimised based on their sexual and or gender identity (Dick, 2008). Dick (2008) reported that approximately 3.6 million SGM individuals experienced frequent anxiety about the possibility of being a victim of a hate crime. Allen (2021) suggests that a hate crime is a criminal act that is carried out based on prejudice towards the victim's identity. In the UK, hate crimes are considered when prejudice is related to the victim's race, disability, sexual orientation, transgender or religious status (Allen, 2021). In the context of SGM hate crimes, rates of reporting remain low (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Knight and Wilson (2016) suggest that this is linked to SGM holding mistrust towards the police service. Whilst social and political changes have occurred in the UK, this has happened relatively recently with many SGM individuals still alive who in their younger years would have been criminalised and therefore persecuted by law enforcement (Knight & Wilson, 2016). In addition, low reporting could also be associated with differences between the victim's sexual practice and sexual orientation (Williams & Robinson, 2004). Williams and Robinson (2004) stress this through the example of MSM or WSW as the act of reporting the hate crime

inadvertently declares this in the public domain. The final reason for the low levels of reporting SGM hate crimes discussed in this chapter is the intersectionality of victims. Intersectionality originates from research conducted in the 1990s which found that black women in America had to choose between discrimination based on their race or gender in the workplace (Crenshaw, 1991). This indicates that discrimination is not exclusive to one protected characteristic but rather an interplay of various characteristics that create the individual's identity (Bešić, 2020). In the context of SGM hate crimes, Knight and Wilson (2016) suggest that ethnic minorities have lower levels of reporting when compared to Caucasian peers as they may also experience discrimination based on their race as well as their sexual or gender identity. When victims have reported experiencing an SGM hate crime, research has highlighted that they have experienced greater difficulties in their social lives and an impact on their mental health following the assault when compared to other hate crimes (Flores et al., 2022). Flores et al (2022) argue that it is imperative that SGM are offered appropriate support by the authorities following the disclosure of their assault. This, however, can become challenging due to the ongoing mistrust and complexities of intersectionality that creates barriers to reporting these offences.

SGM in the criminal justice system

Whilst there is a good understanding of the relationship between CJS and SGM, limited research has been conducted to gain insight into the experience of SGM within the CJS and how these groups enter as service users of these agencies. To date, scarce research has been conducted to evaluate these SGM issues in institutional settings such as the CJS (Knight & Wilson, 2016). The historic criminalisation of same-sex relationships and persecution of SGM people is a factor that has been found to contribute to the limited research on SGM issues in the CJS

(Knight & Wilson, 2016). Knight and Wilson (2016) found that SGM people were often more reluctant to reveal their sexual orientation to avoid stigma, prejudice, and discrimination.

In addition, the topic has not been a priority compared to research into groups with other protected characteristics, such as gender or ethnicity (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This may in part be because SGM difference is not always visible when compared to other characteristics such as ethnicity and sex (Brower, 2004). This factor could link to conflict theory. From a conflict theorist perspective, funding for CJS research could be considered a limited resource, and therefore, researchers compete to be able to carry out their studies. Social events can also influence how research into these characteristics is prioritised. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 highlighted the racial injustices that black people experience in society (Umamaheswar, 2020). This movement was reported across the media, and attention was paid to CJS. These social movements could influence ethics committees and the prioritisation of research areas.

Another factor that perpetuates the invisibility of SGM is a lack of data in the CJS (Knight & Wilson, 2016) since, unlike with other protected characteristics, not all CJS services are required to collate data on gender identity or sexual orientation. This, therefore, maintains the lack of knowledge of the experiences that SGM encounter in these institutional services. This invisibility is further enhanced by professionals refusing to discuss non-heterosexual issues mistaking sexual orientation for sexual behaviour. For example, services will argue that it is not appropriate to discuss a client or colleague's sexual orientation in the workplace. Knight and Wilson (2016) argue that underneath statements such as these, what the professional is referring to is the client or colleagues' sexual behaviour. This

misidentification, however, promotes working cultures which alienate opportunities for discussions on alternative sexual orientation.

The research that has been completed on SGM as CJS service users has indicated a potential developmental pathway into these institutions (Snapp et al., 2015). Snapp et al. (2015) found that treatment in schools for SGM adolescents can increase the risk of a school to prison trajectory. These authors found that anti-gay bullying from peers could result in the SGM adolescent retaliating with aggression or truancy. In addition, Scourfield et al (2008), argued that educational failures in addressing anti-gay bullying increased the risk of SGM adolescents carrying weapons and retaliating with violence resulting in expulsion.

As well as the trajectory into the CJS, another factor to explore is the experience of SGM individuals in the CJS. Researchers have shown that anti-gay statements in court cases in the United States (US) have increased the risk of gay defendants receiving harsher prison sentences or even the death penalty (Goldstein, 2001; Shortnacy, 2004). For example, in the case of Calvin Burdines, court professionals promoted ideologies that a prison sentence would be too lenient for a gay defendant, encouraging jurors to convict for a death sentence (Shortnacy, 2004). Therefore, SGM defendants could well be more apprehensive to disclose their sexual orientation or gender identity at court proceedings for fear of receiving harsher sentencing or experiencing discrimination in the prison setting (Knight & Wilson, 2016).

Due to these factors, SGM issues in CJS remain under-represented in research, which makes the system poorly equipped to meet SGM needs. Furthermore, the existing literature on SGM highlights the influence of societal attitudes and their negative impact on the SGM community. Given the extent of harm

that can be caused by prejudice and discrimination, it is important to study the current attitudes held amongst a country's general population and its CJS settings.

Intersectionality

Throughout the previous sections of this chapter, a common theme arises intersectionality amongst SGM communities. This intersectionality has been observed throughout SGM history (Knight & Wilson, 2016). In the UK, historic legalisation such as the Sexual Offence Act of 1967 did not focus on lesbianism but instead referred to same-sex relationships amongst gay men (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This was because lesbian relationships were not criminalised in the UK. Whilst gay men encountered criminalisation, lesbians would have encountered gender-conforming challenges and would have been arrested for fraud when dressed in male-gendered clothing (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This, therefore, indicates that gay men would have experienced discrimination based on their sexual orientation, whilst lesbians would have encountered sexist discrimination. Intersectionality is also observed in the UK's gay movement of the 1980s and 1990s, which predominantly focused on the discrimination experienced by Caucasian gay men and lesbians (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This, therefore, was not representative of the whole SGM community as it did not recognise the interplay of racism and sexual or gender identity discrimination experienced by SGM individuals from Asian or black heritage (Knight & Wilson, 2016).

While the LGBTQ+ acronym has provided sanctuary, recent developments have highlighted a battle for dominance within the communities that use this acronym. This can be observed in the case of the LGB alliance (Clarke, 2024). This stance argues that lesbian, gay and bisexual people's rights are threatened by the social shifts in the gender and sex debate, pushing for separation from gender

identity communities under the acronym. Another consideration that impacts the experience of SGM individuals is the heterogeneity of communities under the SGM term. The current attitudes and beliefs place individuals as either heterosexual or homosexual and may, therefore, further marginalise those whose sexual orientation falls outside this binary construct. For instance, bisexual people have been found to experience double discrimination from both the heterosexual and gay communities (Helms & Waters, 2016). In addition, gay men reported higher levels of discrimination than did lesbians (Feinstein et al., 2012). This, therefore, highlights key differences amongst groups that need to be explored further. In addition, critiques of the LGBTQ+ acronym argue that it implements a hierarchy of visibility for specific communities whilst promoting the invisibility of others under the “+” symbol. Researchers, therefore, argue that SGM is more appropriate. It is therefore important when exploring SGM that differences in the types of discrimination and how discrimination is experienced are present. Also, researchers should focus on specific communities to avoid generalising research findings to other communities.

Thesis statement

Before outlining this thesis's overview and its aims, the researcher has included the statement below. This statement refers to a change to the original conceptualisation of the thesis's empirical study (Chapter four).

Following the scoping review outlined in chapter two, the empirical study in chapter four was designed to explore the attitudes towards gay and bisexual men held amongst incarcerated male prisoners in the UK. The rationale to focus on attitudes towards gay and bisexual men was to ascertain the level of prejudice these two groups experience in this setting by their peers. To avoid results being generalised across various SGM communities, this empirical study explored the attitudes independently using two distinct psychometrics: Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Scale (ATLG), Attitudes Towards Gay Men (ATG) subscale (Herek, 1988) and Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M) (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999). The researcher started the ethics process in 2020 applying for the University of Nottingham, Her Majesty Prison and Probation (HMPPS), National Health Service (NHS) and Health Research Authority (HRA) approval. The COVID-19 pandemic, however, significantly impacted this ethics proposal, with additional amendments and restrictions required. This resulted in ethical approval being granted in August 2022, however, due to time constraints of the forensic psychology doctorate it was not viable to conduct this study. The researcher had previously gained ethical approval for a separate study focused on male attitudes amongst the general population towards gay and bisexual men. This used an identical methodology to the prison study and was successful in recruiting a percentage of participants who worked or

had worked in the CJS. This change to the empirical study allowed the researcher to explore the wider context of male attitudes in the UK.

Overview of thesis

The existing literature indicates global differences in the approach that countries have taken towards SGM. Furthermore, prejudicial attitudes and discrimination can be experienced differently amongst the communities under the SGM acronym. Research has also indicated variation in knowledge when comparing different settings, with far less literature in the CJS compared to the general population.

Aims and Rationale

Based on these grounds, this thesis aimed to expand the existing literature and explore current attitudes in the UK toward the SGM communities. This aim was achieved initially through conducting a scoping review to ascertain the level of discrimination experienced by SGM service users in the CJS. The thesis then reviewed one of the attitudinal psychometrics before conducting a survey on attitudes toward gay and bisexual men. These aims were examined through the following research objectives:

- To explore SGM service users experience in the Criminal Justice System (CJS)
- To evaluate and assess the Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Men (ATLG) scale by exploring its psychometric properties.
- To explore factors associated with attitudes towards gay and bisexual men amongst men in the United Kingdom.
- To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexual men in the UK.

Chapter Summary

Chapter One provides an overview on current literature, key definitions of sexuality, sexual orientation and the distinction between sex and gender. In addition, it offers insight into the development of prejudice and discrimination and how this can create additional stress amongst SGM. The chapter also introduces the complex relationship between CJS and SGM.

Chapter Two provides a scoping review which examines the existing understanding on the level of discrimination experienced by SGM service users in the CJS. The review provides an overview of existing literature in this area and identifies areas for future research.

Chapter Three critically evaluate the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay men (ATLG) scale (Herek, 1988). This has become a widely used psychometric test for attitudinal research focused on gaining a greater understanding of perceptions towards lesbians and gay men. Through understanding the social and political backdrop of the 1980s and lack of readily available measures this chapter highlights the relevance and clinical need for the development of the ATLG. The chapter, therefore, analyses the ATLG's administration, application in research and psychometric properties. Through this approach, the chapter's purpose is to ascertain whether the ATLG scale remains a good measure to assess attitudes held towards both communities.

Chapter Four presents' data from an online survey of adult male UK residents and focuses on specific demographic variables and whether a correlation is present with attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The demographic variables consisted of regional location, type of location (rural & urban) age and CJS occupation of the

participant. In addition, the chapter also presents whether there is evidence of a link between mentalisation and attitude scores.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the thesis, key findings from each chapter, limitations, practical and theoretical implications and direction for future research.

Chapter Two: What is the discrimination that Sexual and Gender Minorities (SGM) service users experience in the Criminal Justice System (CJS)?

Abstract

Objective: The literature discussed in Chapter One highlighted a lack of exploration into the experiences of SGM in CJS. The objective of this scoping review therefore was to explore the discrimination that these communities experienced in forensic settings.

Introduction: Several systematic and scoping reviews have been carried out on the experiences of SGM individuals in various societies, however, limited reviews have been conducted on SGM service users in the Criminal Justice System (CJS). This group remains under-investigated and has been referred to as a hidden population within the CJS. The rationale for this scoping review is to explore what is known about the discrimination that SGM service users experience in these settings.

Inclusion criteria: The review focuses on SGM individuals convicted of an offence and who have resided in a forensic setting (prison) or had contact with a forensic service (including court, police, and probation). Those without a criminal conviction were not included. Studies published from 2010 to 2024, and in English, were included. Studies of various designs were eligible, including cross-sectional, longitudinal, qualitative, mixed methods, and case studies, were eligible.

Methods: Relevant databases (PsycINFO, MEDLINE, and EMBASE) were searched. The data was tabulated, and a narrative summary included explaining each study's main findings was included.

Results: The review identified 15471 citations were identified from the initial search. The researcher removed 5134 duplicates, and 10300 irrelevant citations were removed after title or abstract screening. On reviewing full-text articles, 26 articles were removed as they did not meet the inclusion criteria. The remaining 11 articles were included in the scoping review. Key findings from the analysis highlighted common forms of discrimination that SGM service users experienced in CJS agencies. These were verbal, physical, sexual, barriers to healthcare and gender-specific provision, and lack of safety.

Conclusions: SGM service users experience frequent and multiple forms of discrimination. The findings, limitations and implications for practice are discussed further.

Introduction

This chapter delves into the existing literature on sexual and gender minorities (SGM) and their experience internationally in the criminal justice system (CJS). As discussed in Chapter One, SGM in the CJS is a neglected area of research. The lack of research has practical implications as the understanding of the experiences of SGM with offending histories and discrimination these communities encounter is unknown. As discussed in chapter one, this thesis defines discrimination as an action or behaviour aimed towards a person or group directly linked to their protected characteristic. This definition included direct behaviour or microaggressions that were designed to mistreat the person or group unfairly or communicate a hostile message. For this scoping review, the researcher will focus on this definition of discrimination.

CJS refers to a variety of legal institutions which implement law and order in society (Waldron et al., 2009). The CJS includes courts, law enforcement (police), prison and probation services. Some CJS agencies work closely with mental healthcare settings, specifically psychiatric hospitals. These settings house various patients, including individuals with an offending history. The decision to transfer to a psychiatric hospital can be determined at court following sentencing or whilst detained in prison. This provision, however, is classified under the mental healthcare system rather than CJS (Weithmann et al., 2019). This setting is, therefore, not included in this scoping review.

Knight and Wilson (2016) argue that while there has been an increase in protected characteristic research focused on ethnicity in the CJS, scarce literature has been conducted on SGM. They suggest this promotes the concept that SGM are

hidden populations in this setting. This, therefore, indicates a necessity to understand the existing literature on these communities, which can then inform the direction of future research.

Drake et al. (2012) argue that globally, countries can vary in their implementation of CJS, which is influenced by the perceptions and definitions agreed by its population. For instance, in many Western countries, same-sex relationships are legalised; however, they may still have discriminative practices in interpersonal situations. In other countries, same-sex relationships remain illegal. In recent years, what is recognised amongst most Westernised countries is that CJS environments such as prisons can be traumatic for those entering this setting (Kelman et al., 2024). In addition, these settings include individuals who have already been traumatised (Auty et al., 2023). British prisons have implemented the trauma-informed initiative (Petrillo, 2021). This initiative recognises that individuals entering custody have complex trauma. Petrillo (2021) refers to complex trauma as the repetitive abuse perpetrated against the victim over a period. A family member could perpetrate this, or intimate partners and the victim is unable to physically or emotionally escape this abuse (Petrillo, 2021). Knight and Borders (2020) suggest that trauma informed services are those that recognise that its service users could be trauma survivors. The trauma informed model is underpinned by five core components: safety, trust, choice, collaboration and empowerment (Knight & Borders, 2020). These components reflect the opposite of what the service users would have experienced during the trauma and allow the individual to heal from their adverse background (Knight & Borders, 2020). Whilst this initiative is a recent development, the research in chapter one highlights that SGM individuals experience trauma during their

lifespan (Allen, 2021; Meyer, 2003). It, however, remains unclear whether SGM individuals experience further trauma and discrimination in CJS.

Multiple terms used when referring to individuals who have committed offending behaviour, such as offender, prisoner, incarcerated individual, and person involved with the CJS. For ease, the researcher has chosen to use service users when referring to individuals with offending backgrounds. This term implies that the individual is receives a service from the various institutions underpinning CJS (police, courts, prison, and probation).

Aims & objectives

The current literature on SGM indicates a breadth of knowledge on the experiences of SGM individuals in societies. In addition, reviews have been conducted to explore levels of discrimination in healthcare settings; limited understanding has been gleaned in alternative settings such as the CJS. Due to the limited evidence, the researcher chose a scoping review as it was considered appropriate to provide an overview of the existing research field on this topic. The researcher carried out a preliminary search of MEDLINE, the Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, PROSPERO and JBI Evidence. The search concluded that no systematic or scoping reviews on this topic were currently in progress. This review aims to assess the literature on discrimination that SGM service users experience in the CJS. The findings of this could support further exploration through future systematic reviews.

Inclusion criteria

Inclusion and exclusion criteria are reported in Table 2.1 (p.48). The sample population that this scoping review explored were individuals who had been

convicted of an offence. The population included all genders (male, female, intersex, and transgender and those self-identified as gender non-conforming (queer & non-binary) and individuals whose sexual orientation was non-heterosexual (lesbian, gay, bisexual, asexual, men who have sex with men (MSM), women who have sex with women (WSW), and those questioning their sexual orientation). All individuals eligible had contact with the CJS settings (probation hostels, probation services, prisons, courts & police). Whilst offending populations are also located in secure forensic psychiatric hospitals, this scoping review chose to exclude papers focused on these settings. The rationale for excluding these settings was that they were classified within the healthcare system rather than the CJS.

The phenomenon of interest for this scoping review was the experience of discrimination among the sample population. The researcher reviewed this phenomenon through cohort, cross-sectional, case-control, longitudinal, prospective, retrospective, qualitative and mixed-method study designs. Through evaluating outcome measures from questionnaires and psychometrics, this review aimed to identify themes, observations, opinions, and experiences on the level of SGM discrimination. All research reviewed were taken from published material and only included if they were in English.

Studies published between 2010 and 2024 were eligible for inclusion in this scoping review. The rationale for this time limit was that it coincided with the Equality Act 2010 in the United Kingdom (UK). This legislation protects marginalised groups from discrimination in their workplace and society. The researchers wanted to ascertain the professional practices and CJS cultures across the last 14 years.

Table 2.1: Scoping review inclusion and exclusion criterion

	Inclusion	Exclusion
Sample	• Individuals who have been convicted of an offence. This includes all genders (male, female, intersex, and transgender), and those who identify as gender non-conforming (Queer & Non-binary). • Individuals with non-heterosexual sexual orientation including Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Asexual, men who have sex with men, women who have sex with women, those questioning their sexual orientation) • Individuals who are living, lived or had contact with CJS as a service user (this includes, probation hostels, probation services, prisons and courts and police). • All countries • All ages	• Non-Criminal Justice Settings • Professionals working in CJS. • Forensic psychiatric hospitals non-offender populations.
Phenomenon of Interest	• Experience of discrimination	
Design	• Cohort, Cross-sectional, Case-Control, Longitudinal, Prospective, Retrospective • Qualitative • Mixed methods	
Evaluation	• Themes, observations, opinions, experiences or outcome measures from questionnaires and psychometrics	• No outcomes assessed

Research Type	• Published articles. • Peer-review articles • Doctoral level thesis	• Text and opinion papers • Systematic reviews • Scoping reviews • Narratives reviews, editorials, letters, biographies. • Below doctoral level theses • Grey literature
Language and date range	• Papers written in English. • Papers published between 2010 – 2024	• Papers written in non-English • Papers published before 2010

Methods

This scoping review followed the JBI scoping review framework (Peters et al., 2020) and produced a protocol before commencing the review. The protocol can be accessed through the following hyperlink: https://osf.io/wxgt8.

Search strategy

The researcher developed the search strategy to reflect the three key concepts the scoping review aimed to evaluate: sexual orientation, discrimination and the criminal justice system. Terms such as “sexual and gender minority”, “homosexuality”, and “men who have sex with men” were used to reflect and capture relevant literature on sexual orientation. In addition, “social discrimination”, “microaggression”, and “prejudice” were utilised to analyse the second key concept of discrimination. For the final key concept, the Criminal Justice System, the search strategy used terms such as “prison”, “secure unit”, and “juvenile”. A librarian at the University of Nottingham advised on the final search strategy. A full syntax of search terms is included in the appendices (refer to Appendix A).

Data sources and study selection

This main search was carried out on 21st June 2024, using the following three electronic databases:

- Ovid: MEDLINE (R)
- Ovid: Embase
- Ovid: PsycINFO

The researcher incorporated time constraints on the literature utilised for the scoping review. Articles published between 2010 – 2024 were included in this review. The United Kingdom (UK) implemented the Equality Act in 2010.The decision to restrict articles from 2010 was to explore the level of discrimination

experienced by SGM service users in CJS agencies following the implementation of this legislation. Limitations on this time limit, however, are discussed further in the discussion section of this chapter. All references were managed using EndNote X9 3.3, and the researcher removed duplicates. The SPIDER tool (Sample, Phenomenon of Interest, Design, Evaluation and Research type; Cooke et al., 2012) was chosen when screening studies for this scoping review. Due to time constraints, this scoping review did not explore grey literature, and no second reviewer was involved in citation screening. This is further discussed in the limitation section of this chapter's discussion section.

Quality assessment was not carried out as Peters et al. (2020) suggest that JBI standards for conducting a scoping review do not include quality assessment.

Data extraction

Data were extracted using a tool developed by the researcher before starting the review. This tool captured information on discrimination, outlining the types of discrimination, descriptive statistics for demographics and inferential statistics for discriminatory experiences. A copy of the data extraction form is included in the appendices (refer to Appendix B).

Data screening

The researcher transferred data to the Rayyan online platform. Rayyan is designed to help researchers screen and extract information pertinent to a scoping or systematic review. This system also supports researchers through technological advances, which indicate potential duplicate studies. Before excluding these suspected duplicates, the researcher for this review analysed these studies to ensure no relevant study was removed through technological error. Following this, the researcher then screened the abstracts of the remaining articles. Abstracts which

did not discuss SGM, CJS or discrimination were removed. The full articles that refer to these were then obtained and analysed. Through this analysis, the researcher removed articles that did not integrate all three concepts. The remaining articles which met this criterion were included in the final scoping review.

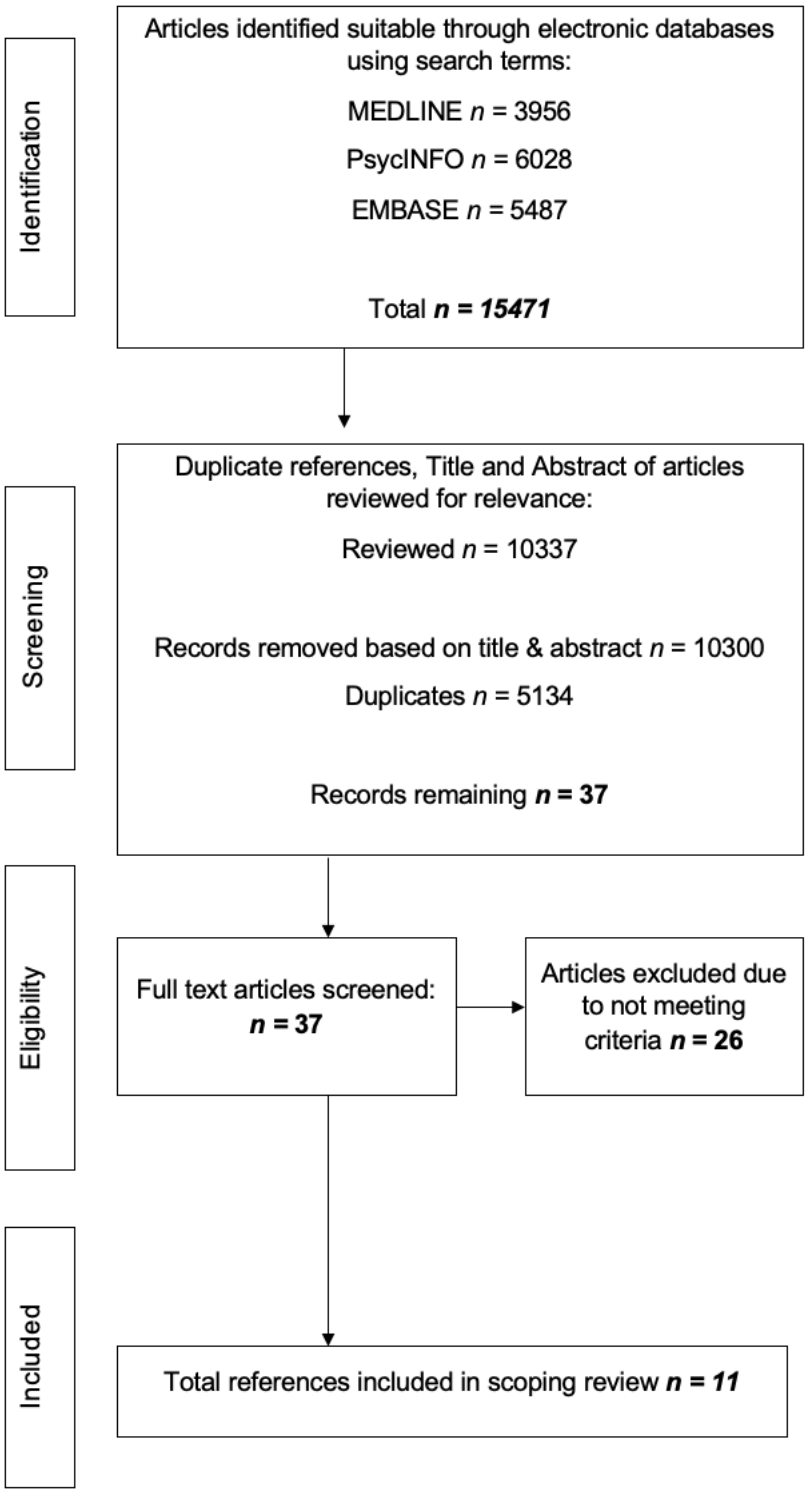
Data synthesis

The data included in this scoping review was extracted from quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods articles. In the initial synthesis, the researcher categorised the studies based on which type of data they reported. Key findings were then extracted. The researcher used a convergent integrated approach (Peters et al., 2020) for statistical data in both the quantitative and mixed methods studies. This assisted in converting quantitative findings into textual descriptions. Through this approach, the researcher was then able to combine the findings from the three categories (quantitative, qualitative & mixed methods) into the more critical interpretation of wider themes in the literature.

Results

The search process identified 15471 articles: 3956 from MEDLINE, 6028 from PsycINFO and 5487 from Embase. The researcher removed 5134 duplicate articles. Then, 10337 articles were reviewed by title and abstract screening, of which 10300 were removed. This left 37 articles for full-text reviews, of which 26 were excluded due to not meeting the inclusion criteria. The studies excluded after full-text screening are listed in Appendix C. The remaining 11 articles were included in the scoping review. The scoping review process is summarised in Figure 2.1 (p.54).

Figure 2.1. Flow chart of full selection and screening process



Characteristics of included studies

The researcher included 11articles were included in the final analysis for the scoping review, which included 10764 participants. Participant demographics are summarised in Table 2.2 (p.56). Sample sizes ranged from 3 – 8785 participants. All the studies were conducted in the United States, United Kingdom or Australia. Study designs were variable, but all studies recruited participants with an offending history, either previously or located in a criminal justice agency at the time of the study commencing. The researcher gave each study a number which is used when discussing specific findings.

Table 2.2. Summary of demographic data from extracted studies

			Participant characteristics			
Author & Year published	Country research conducted	Sample size.	Age	Gender identity	Sexual orientation	Ethnicity
Fowler et al. (2010) (Study 1)	*United States*	*N= 912*	Not stated	54.1% male & 45.9% female	88% heterosexual & 12% homosexual or bisexual.	36.1% Caucasian, 40.2% African American, 16.8% Hispanic & 34% other.
Hughto et al. (2022) (Study 2)	*United States*	*N= 574*	18-73	32.1% Trans man, 24.6% Trans women & 43.4% non-binary.	Not stated	81.5% white, 2.4% Asian, 3.3% black, 3.3% Hispanic, 1.2% Middle eastern, 0.2% Native American, 7.7% Multiple ethnicities, 0.3% other
Wilson et al. (2017) *Study 3)*	*United States*	*N= 8785*	Not stated	Male and female juveniles	42% sexual minorities and 57.4% straight	Not stated

Brömdal et al. (2024) (Study 4))	*Australia & United States*	*N= 24*	20 – 53	24 trans women	Not stated	29.2% Black, 33.3% white, 12.5% first nation, 16.7% Latina & 8.3% multiracial.
Graham (2014) (Study 5)	*United States*	*N= 10*	18 - 24	Trans women	Not stated	Black
Maschi et al. (2016) (Study 6)	*United States*	*N= 10*	50-65	Not stated	5 gay men, 1 bisexual man & 4 lesbians	6 black, 2 white & 2 Latino
McCauley et al. (2018) (Study 7)	*United States*	*N= 10*	Age: Not stated	Trans women	Not stated	Not stated
Nulty et al. (2019) (Study 8)	*United Kingdom*	*N = 3*	25 – 53	Trans women	Not stated	Not stated
White Hughto et al. (2018) *(Study 9)*	*United States*	*N= 20*	22-53	Trans women	Not stated	Not stated
Jenness et al. (2019) (Study 10)	*United States*	*N= 315*	Not stated	76.1% female, 14% “male and	33.3% homosexual,	Not stated

				female", other 3.5%, 3.2% not male nor female, 3.2% male.	11.3% bisexual, 19.4% transgender, 18.1% heterosexual, 17.8% other	
Poprilo (2020) *(Study 11)*	*United States*	*N= 101*	Not stated	Not stated	85% heterosexual, 6% bisexual, Heterosexual/ Bisexual 3%, 2% Lesbian, 2% pansexual, Gay, 1% Lesbian & pansexual.	59% Caucasian, 28% Asian, 7% Black, 5% Hispanic & 1% America's First People.

The aims, methods and main findings of each study are summarised in Table 2.3 (p.60). Study designs included case studies, semi-structured interviews, or survey/ questionnaire formats. Some studies chose face-to-face contact with participants, whilst others used remote strategies, recruiting participants through online or postal methods. Consequently, studies included quantitative (n= 3), qualitative (n= 6) or mixed methods (n= 2) approaches to their data. A convergent integrated approach was applied to this review as it was an approved method that supported the researcher in incorporating quantitative findings with qualitative results (Peters et al., 2020). The convergent integrated approach required the researcher to transform quantitative findings into textual descriptions, as seen in Table 2.3 (p.60), summarising both numerical and qualitative findings.

Table 2.3. Summary of findings

				Experience of SGM discrimination
Author & year published	Study aims.	How was it measured?	Study type	What experience was it?
Fowler et al. (2010) (Study 1)	Explore reporting of sexual victimisation in prison	Self-administered questionnaires	Quantitative	• Avoidance of reporting sexual victimisation to staff • Fear of further harassment from other inmates • SGM inmates were less likely than heterosexual counterparts to report sexual victimisation to staff.
Hughto et al. (2022) (Study 2)	Victimisation of previously incarcerated Trans people	Quantitative online survey	Quantitative	• 56.1% victimisation in custody (verbal, sexual and physical assault) • 16.4% sexual assault by other inmates, 6.8% by sexual assault by staff • Those who experienced physical abuse by inmates (27.4%), prison officers (16.4%) and healthcare professionals (5.5%). • Those who experienced verbal harassment by inmates (54.8%), prison officers (32.9%) and healthcare professionals (5.5%). • Found that those with physical gender non-conforming traits were at a greater risk of being victimised whilst in custody.
Wilson et al. (2017) (Study 3)	Exploration into SGM representation in US juvenile system	Survey	Quantitative	• 15.1% gay and bisexual male juveniles reported victimisation by staff. This is higher than heterosexual counterparts and female juveniles • 20.6% gay and bisexual juveniles experienced forced sexual assault. This is higher than heterosexual counterparts and female juveniles.

Brömdal et al. (2024) (Study 4)	Trans women housing preference in prison	Semi-structured interviews	Qualitative	• Trans experience in men's prison highlighted using sex as currency for safety • Unwanted attention and harassment • Sexual assault from other inmates and staff • Denial or access to female products • Verbal discrimination • False allegations in female prison of rape threat that trans women pose to females • Lack of personal choice in where to be housed.
Graham (2014) (Study 5)	Violence, discrimination and harassment in societal institutions	Interviews	Qualitative	• Sexually assaulted by law enforcement agents • Being dehumanised, harassed by police • In custody being segregated based on sexual orientation or gender identity • Told to conform to gender norms in male prison.
Maschi et al. (2016) (Study 6)	Experience of SGM individuals prior to, during and after prison	Focus groups, interviews	Qualitative	• Negative stereotyping being gay perceived as weak and could not commit violence • Systemic bias prevented many participants from accessing rehabilitative services and personal safety • Physical assaults, bullying from other inmates towards SGM service users, resulting in SGM giving material objects • Sexual assault by other inmates, staff ignoring this and not challenging or supporting SGM service users Being outed by professionals to family via telephone.
McCauley et al. (2018) (Study 7)	Incarcerated trans women healthcare experience in prison	Semi-structured interview	Qualitative	• Nonconsensual sex harassment – being touched inappropriately from other inmates • Reporting sexual harassment to staff, complaint ignored and remaining located in the same cell with the inmate who was perpetrator of sexual harassment • Being placed in segregation for same sex nonsexual relationships in custody

				• Misgendering in healthcare services in custody. Being referred to as “he” • Being harassed and dehumanised by other inmates, denied hormone treatment.
Nulty et al (2019) (Study 8)	Trans experience in prison	Interview	Qualitative	• Removal of gender related items in prison. • Gender binary constructs • Lack of understanding from professionals and other inmates • Being sexualised • Fear of sexual assault • Experience sexual violence from other inmates and professionals • Victim blaming, because the SGM sexual orientation misconception that they enjoy sexual assault • Daily harassment, residing in settings where they felt rejected by others had a negative impact on SGM self-esteem. Feeling that staff would avoid contact with transgender inmates • Being denied employment whilst in custody based on transgender identity • Sexual comments and innuendos by other inmates • Settings which normalised sexual harassment of trans inmates. Threat of sexual assault • Lack of access to gender affirming healthcare.
White Hughto et al. (2018) (Study 9)	Experience of transwomen with healthcare in prison setting	Semi-structured interviews	Qualitative	• Sex binary structures result in transwomen being placed in male prisons • Feminine expression in these settings is belittled, treated as “abnormal” and prevented by policies • Being prevented from wearing female clothing items • Reduced access to hormone therapy, denial to access of hormone therapy

				• Feeling that institutions are not set up to support trans rights and therefore suggest gender-based violence will occur if hormone treatment is provided • Living in fear that trans inmates would be victimised • Concealing trans identity to avoid being treated differently. • Intentional misgendering in pronouns used • Lack of professional training. Campaigning for greater education and staff training to support trans issues cultural sensitivity training.
Jenness et al. (2019) (Study 10)	Experience of sexual victimisation in prison	Interview	Mixed Methods	• Verbal harassment by inmates and staff, include derogatory terms for sexual orientation, misgendering, being sexualised, life being threatened • Physical assault included being beaten, reporting to staff, and moved to segregation for own safety • Pressure to perform sexual acts, nonconsensual sex from both inmates and staff • Nonconsensual sex including rape, being touched inappropriately • Intimate partner violence in custody. Entering a sexual relationship with another service user that then became domestically abusive • The currency of sex for safety.
Poprilo (2020) (Study 11)	Experience of Transgender people with criminal justice system	Online survey (Likert-type and open-ended questions)	Mixed methods	• 68% reported poor quality of interactions with other service users whilst in custody • 39% reporting that their gender identity was not supported by other service users • 49% reported feeling uncomfortable to express their gender identity in prison • Low levels of acceptance from other service users • 50% accessed gender specific provisions (clothing & products).

	• 42% reported feeling unsafe in general population of prison • 41% reported feeling unsafe in segregated units in prison • 68% felt uncomfortable expressing their gender identity in prison • SGM service users reported incarceration impacted negatively on their mental health • 68% SGM service users reported feeling that their gender identity impacted on their relationship with their probation officer • 41% of SGM service users had low levels of comfort engaging with police officials • 55% SGM service users reported feeling that their gender identity impacted on their relationship with professionals in the court system and that this had impacted on their sentencing.

Data findings and synthesis

Following the data extraction, the researcher reviewed each article's content. This content identified key forms of discrimination that SGM service users experienced in CJS agencies. These forms of discrimination are discussed further below.

Verbal victimisation (quantitative studies= 1; qualitative= 7; mixed methods= 2)

The quantitative data extracted identified that participants experienced verbal victimisation whilst in prison (Study 2). Study 2 focused on the victimisation that transgender service users experience during and post-incarceration. They found that verbal victimisation was perpetrated by peers (54.8%), prison officers (32.9%) and healthcare professionals (5.5%).

The researcher also identified verbal discrimination was identified through analysis of the qualitative studies. Forms of verbal discrimination extracted from these studies highlighted the misgendering of transgender service users, bullying and negative stereotypes, and false allegations toward SGM.

Misgendering was frequently reported across the qualitative studies focused on the experiences of transgender service users. This form of victimisation occurred during interactions with professionals, with several transgender service users also reporting having their gender identity questioned by police officers (Study 5). Healthcare professionals were also found to have misgendered transgender service users within the prison setting, frequently using the wrong pronouns (Study 7 & Study 9). This had a psychological impact on the service users, who described these interactions as an intentional method used by professionals to break the individual's spirit.

Bullying was the second form of verbal victimisation identified, with transgender female service users having reported being belittled and their feminine identity questioned by staff (Study 10). This bullying included physically removing gender-specific items from the transgender female service user, laughing and over-emphasising that the service user was biologically male. In addition, professionals were identified to hold attitudes that were underpinned by negative stereotypes towards specific sexual minorities (Study 6). The third form of verbal victimisation reported was negative stereotypes. They found that prison staff questioning was linked to perceptions that gay men were weak and, therefore, could not commit violent offences (Study 6).

Studies also found in prisons that cisgender peers reported false allegations towards SGM service users. One study identified that cisgender female service users who had made false allegations of sexual assault towards transgender service users (Study 4). Another study reported that false allegations were made, and prison staff moved the transgender service user to the segregation unit (Study 7). In other studies, SGM service users reported feeling that professionals did not want transgender service users in their prison (Study 8 & 9). These allegations were based on other service users being uncomfortable sharing a prison cell with transgender service users. The allegations were, therefore, an attempt to move the service user from either their prison cell or prison location. This had a negative impact on the service user's mental health and self-esteem.

Mixed methods studies also reported the presence of verbal victimisation in CJS settings perpetrated by cisgender service users and professionals (Study 10). The identified forms of verbal victimisation identified supported the findings from qualitative studies and included the use of derogatory terms and misgendering. In

addition, 39% of SGM service users reported that their gender identity was not acknowledged by their peers (Study 11).

Physical victimisation (quantitative studies= 1; qualitative= 4; mixed methods= 1)

One quantitative study identified that SGM service users experienced physical forms of victimisation whilst in prison (Study 2). They determined that this form of victimisation was perpetrated by peers (27.4%), prison officers (16.4%) and healthcare professionals (5.5%).

The results also identified physical violence in qualitative literature in both police and prison settings. Study 5 found that several SGM service users reported being physically assaulted by law enforcement agents. In the prison setting, forms of physical victimisation included assaults and intimidation. Prisoners targeted SGM service users frequently attacking them in this setting (Study 6). Furthermore, they found cisgender service users would use intimidation tactics to force SGM service users to give up material items sent from friends and family (Study 6). To manage this violence prison staff would use segregation units to protect SGM service users (Study 4). In addition, the threat of physical violence posed by peers was a contributing factor for prison staff to show reluctance in issuing hormone treatment for transgender service users (Study 9). They found that staff considered the inclusion of hormone treatment in male prisons would increase the rates of violence. The low retention of staff in these settings also influenced this opinion.

The mixed method analysis further highlighted the presence of physical victimisation experienced by SGM service users (Study 10). Physical bullying included SGM individual being headbutted, having their jaw broken, loss of teeth or being intentionally tripped up.

Sexual victimisation (quantitative studies= 3; qualitative= 5; mixed methods= 1)

Quantitative data indicated that SGM service users experienced sexual victimisation in prison. Study 3 focused on SGM youths in jail. They found that 15.1% of gay and bisexual boys experienced sexual abuse perpetrated by a professional. In addition, they identified that peers had forced 20.6% of this population to have sexual intercourse. The results also identified further evidence of sexual victimisation in the adult prison estate. Study 2 found that SGM adults (n=12) had experienced this form of victimisation and that it had been perpetrated by both other service users (16.4%) and prison officers (6.8%). The quantitative data also indicated differences amongst heterosexuals and SGM in reporting sexual victimisation in prison (Study 1). They stated that heterosexual service users showed lower rates of encouraging others to report this form of victimisation when compared to gay and bisexual service users. In contrast, however, they identified that gay and bisexual service users showed lower rates of reporting their own experience of sexual victimisation compared to heterosexual counterparts.

The analysis of the qualitative data also indicated that SGM service users had experienced sexual victimisation. Forms of sexual victimisation included being sexualised, receiving unwanted attention and sexual assault by peers and professionals.

The first form of sexual victimisation focused on the sexualisation of SGM and the unwanted attention they received (Study 4). Study 4 focused on the experiences of transwomen in prison. This discrimination was perpetrated by prison officers and other cisgender service users (Study 4; Study 5). In addition, other studies reported transgender service users receiving unwanted attention, sexual innuendos made

about them (Study 8) and being inappropriately touched by peers in shower blocks (Study 7).

The second form of sexual victimisation was sexual assault. Research indicated that in extreme cases, the unwanted attention escalated to rape (Study 4). Studies also highlighted that in custody settings, prison officers had observed SGM service users being raped by other service users; however, they did not challenge this behaviour nor offer support. When sexual assaults were reported, SGM service users experienced victim-blaming by professionals (Study 8). This assumed that the victim consented to the assault due to their sexual orientation. In addition, CJS professionals were also found to have misused their authority and perpetrated sexual assaults against SGM service users. Study 5 reported that law enforcement agents had made threats to arrest and send SGM service users to prison unless they performed sexual acts.

The researcher also identified evidence of sexual victimisation in the mixed methods data. Study 10 found that 58.5% of participants were forced to engage in sexual activity against their will. Forms of sexual victimisation included groping, grabbing and fondling, all committed by other service users. Furthermore, transgender service users would enter sexual relationships with peers. This would initially start as a consensual relationship; however, it would develop into coercive and abusive partnerships characterised by sexual assault. Transgender service users reported being pressured into forced sexual acts to de-escalate potential violence that their partner posed. This, however, was not exclusive to one sexual partner, with transgender service users also reporting incidents where their partner would force them to have sex with other service users. Several SGM service users, therefore, expressed that prison settings were unsafe and entered these

relationships for protection. The quantitative data highlighted that after entering a sexual relationship with another service user, the risk of sexual assault experienced by the SGM service user increased. This highlights the association between sexual relationships in custody and rates of sexual assault.

Barriers to healthcare and gender-specific provisions (quantitative studies= 0; qualitative= 4; mixed methods= 0)

A common form of discrimination identified in the qualitative studies was the denial of gender-specific provisions (Study 4; Study 7). Study 4 found that several transgender service users were denied gendered items, including bras and make-up. This denial had a negative psychological impact on the service users (Study 8). This was because the service user's physical body did not represent their true gender identity, and they were reliant on the gender-specific items (make-up, clothes, wigs) which professionals denied them.

Furthermore, research highlighted healthcare processes and documentation-maintained barriers to accessing hormone therapy (Study 9). Service users reported that professionals would delay contacting doctors and following up on hospital appointments, which placed further barriers to accessing this support. When service users did access hormone therapy, they reported that professionals needed to be more consistent in providing this and would miss doses. This inconsistency was not reported for other types of medication, such as antipsychotic medication. Transgender service users referred to this as a form of silent discrimination perpetrated by professionals (Study 9). Research, however, challenged this perception, arguing that the lack of professional training maintained these barriers (Study 8). The delays or inconsistency in providing hormone therapy to transgender service users, studies suggested, were underpinned by a lack of understanding of

the psychological and physical benefits to that individual. This lack of knowledge created a hierarchy of understanding in which professionals prioritised medication for other health conditions over providing hormone medication (Study 9). Furthermore, the lack of knowledge meant that professionals mistook gender identity issues with sexual orientation. This resulted in staff asking the wrong types of questions and kind of support.

Lack of safety (quantitative studies= 0; qualitative= 6; mixed methods= 2)

The qualitative studies indicated that the forms of victimisation were a result of an unsafe CJS for SGM. Two areas which emphasised this lack of safety were the concealment of transgender identity and professionals not following correct procedures.

Transgender service users reported concealing their trans identity due to feeling unsafe in CJS settings (Study 4). This lack of safety resulted in transgender service users conforming to the binary genders constructs in their prison location (Study 5). Further evidence indicated that prison policies prevented opportunities for transwomen to express their female identity (Study 9). Professionals were reported to have approached transgender service users and informed them that their transgender status increased their risk of sexual and physical victimisation. This, therefore, created cultures of fear in prison settings.

Another area of concern was associated with professionals not following correct procedures. In the prison settings, SGM service users stated that other service users would ask staff to open cell doors and that staff would not question this request. This created fear amongst SGM service users, who became hypervigilant about the possibility of being assaulted in their prison cell (Study 6). Where service users were required to share prison cells, research found that SGM service users

had experienced harassment perpetrated by cellmates. The harassment was reported to professionals; however, several SGM service users stated that staff ignored the complaint and that they were forced to continue sharing the same prison cell (Study 7). Further evidence of correct procedures not being followed was also highlighted in sexual assault cases (Study 7; Study 8). This research indicated that complaints submitted on sexual victimisation were not followed up but ignored by professionals. In addition, professionals would inform SGM service users' families when they were perceived to have engaged in same-sex sexual practices with another service user (Study 6).

Mixed methods data also indicated the lack of safety as a factor contributing to the forms of victimisation experienced by SGM in the CJS. 42% of SGM service users reported feeling unsafe in a normal location in prison, whilst 41% reported feeling unsafe when located in segregation units (Study 11). The mixed method data also showed that 68% of transgender service users were not comfortable expressing their gender identity in prison (Study 11). In addition, in sexual assault cases against SGM service users, physical evidence disappeared, and no further processes were completed (Study 10). To manage the failings of professionals, SGM service users would enter and engage in sexual activity to gain protection from other service users (Study 10).

Discussion

This scoping review aimed to explore the discrimination levels experienced by SGM service users in the CJS. The review indicated unsafe residential services and mistrust towards CJS professionals. This lack of safety prevented SGM service users from expressing their sexual or gender identity. Social learning theorists' perspectives on these environments would indicate interpersonal dynamics which have enforced perceived negative consequences from their peers or professionals if sexual or gender minorities express their identity (Le & Hancer, 2021). This review highlighted that the negative repercussions occurred through three forms of discrimination: verbal, physical and sexual victimisation.

Verbal victimisation towards SGM service users was found to be associated with peers and professionals holding prejudicial attitudes towards these communities. This prejudice was underpinned by negative stereotypes, specifically around gay men being perceived as weak. The findings also indicate that peers and professionals acted on these prejudices and engage in discriminative behaviours. These discriminative behaviours included microaggressions through misgendering transgender service users. This form of discrimination aligns with Nadal's (2016) definition of microaggression as it indicates a behaviour or statement that communicates a hostile message to transgender communities in this review.

In addition, the review indicated that transgender service users experienced false allegations. These instances were designed to orchestrate the transgender person moving to alternative accommodation. Whilst the allegation shifted the focus from the threat posed to the transgender service user to a narrative of the risk that transgender service users pose to others, it also aligns with a previous construct discussed in chapter one, symbolic group threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). An

integrated threat theorist would suggest that transgender communities pose an ideological threat to other communities. For example, in the female CJS estate, the presence of transgender service users raises concerns about whether the rights of these individuals exceed the rights of cisgender females. Through creating the allegations, cisgender females eradicated this symbolic threat, and their rights were no longer threatened. This, however, creates additional challenges for the CJS as systemic pressure is placed on where to locate and offer support to transgender service users appropriately.

The review also highlighted that SGM service users also encountered physical and sexual forms of discrimination. The prisons would relocate SGM service users to the segregation unit to minimise the threat of physical violence. Whilst considered supportive, this approach could negatively impact the service user psychologically. The SGM service user loses contact with any potential support network on their residential wing and is isolated on a restricted regime. Furthermore, segregation units will have different routines; therefore, the SGM service user's access to facilities such as education and gym will drastically be reduced. This provides further evidence that SGM service users experience minority stress (Meyer, 2003). These experiences of discrimination are directly linked to the service users sexual or gender identity.

The results also indicate that SGM service users encountered sexual victimisation. This form of victimisation was perpetrated by peers and professionals and included rape and non-consensual body contact. It was perpetuated through a culture of victim-blaming based on the victim's sexual orientation. SGM service users were identified to have lower rates of reporting sexual assault compared to heterosexual peers. The difference in reporting could be based on the level of

discrimination these communities already experience in prison. The avoidance of reporting this abuse could be influenced by feeling unsafe in the environment, lack of trust in CJS professionals completing the correct procedures and the possibility of further victimisation.

In addition to these forms of victimisation, the results present findings that gender minorities experience additional barriers to accessing healthcare and gender-specific provisions. This had a detrimental effect on gender minorities who relied on hormone therapy and gendered products (bras, wigs & make-up) to express their gender identity. The findings of this review therefore support previous literature discussed in chapter one, which introduced the concept of heteronormativity (Corlett et al., 2023). The lack of these provisions indicates that the environments continue to promote a culture that emphasises the dominance of cisgender setting (males located in men's prisons, females located in women's prisons).

An additional factor which maintained the cis-gendered heteronormative culture was found to be a lack of training for professionals to meet the needs of transgender service users correctly. This created an environment in which professionals were unable to ensure the safety of SGM service users. Through this lack of safety, SGM service users developed mistrust towards these professionals. This mistrust mimics the longstanding and historical negative experience that SGM has been exposed to by CJS agencies (Knight & Wilson, 2016). In addition, the review highlighted that the lack of trust resulted in several SGM service users entering volatile relationships with peers to obtain protection. Knight & Borders (2020) have previously suggested that individuals entering custodial settings are trauma survivors. The findings that SGM enter violative and domestically abusive

relationships in custody demonstrate a perpetuation of trauma that these individuals are exposed to because of professional failings.

Professionals were also identified to have disclosed SGM service user's sexual practices to their friends and family. Previous literature has found that homelessness among SGM was directly correlated to family rejection (DeChants et al., 2022). Through the actions of these professionals, SGM individuals may encounter additional stressors to their heterosexual peers following release. This is because their relative may reject them, resulting in the individual becoming homeless. These findings provide further evidence supporting minority stress that SGM service users must consider during incarceration and on release back into the community.

Overall, SGM service users in CJS experience discrimination perpetrated by their peers and the professionals employed to ensure their safety. These CJS institutions also promote a heteronormative culture that emphasises the dominance of heterosexuality and cisgender at the detriment of SGM. Furthermore, the lack of SGM-friendly spaces in CJS prevents opportunities for these individuals to process and seek support for minority stress.

It is also noteworthy that there was a more significant number of qualitative studies than quantitative and mixed methods studies. Qualitative studies allow researchers to explore the nuances underneath participant's responses and offer insight into the lived experiences of SGM service users. However, the overall number of qualitative studies is still quite low, suggesting that qualitative researchers are in the infancy of understanding this area of victimisation. In addition, whilst there were no quantitative studies that reported on safety issues or barriers to healthcare provisions, differences were observed in the reporting of sexual (n=3), physical

(n=1), and verbal (n=1) victimisation. The slight increase in research reporting on sexual victimisation could be the result of the types of questions explored in the studies methodology. Alternatively, it could be because of differences in research objectives, with greater emphasis being placed on exploring this form of victimisation. This scoping review has, therefore, provided further evidence that across the three study types, there remains limited exploration into the discrimination experienced by SGM service users in the CJS.

Limitations

While the scoping review identified specific forms of victimisation experienced by SGM service users, several limitations exist. These limitations relate to the type of studies included and the development of the scoping review.

Limitations of included studies

Several studies did not report all the demographic data (age, gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnicity) about their sample population. It needed to be clarified whether the researchers of these studies considered the intersectionality of these variables and their impact on the experiences of the SGM communities they were exploring. In addition, the studies did not report whether SGM individuals were involved in developing study materials. The lack of SGM involvement in this process could have resulted in the studies failing to capture the nuances in the data.

Self-reported measures were another limitation of the studies included in this scoping review. Self-reported measures may lead to participants providing socially desirable answers or, otherwise, subject bias in responding based on hostile attitudes towards CJS agencies. In addition, studies also used online surveys, which impacted the generalisation of findings. Online surveys will recruit technologically educated participants and can exclude groups with less experience with technology,

lower reading abilities, and less access to information technology. Furthermore, the studies did not verify each participant's identity during the online surveys. Therefore, it is unclear if the data analysed reflected SGM experiences in CJS.

Several of the studies only reported data for specific communities under SGM. Most of the literature focused on the experience of transgender females or gay and bisexual participants. It did not explore other communities, for example, asexual, transgender males or non-binary individuals. This indicates that the findings across several studies cannot be generalised to all SGM communities.

Many of the articles included in this review focused on the experience of SGM in prison settings. The review highlighted scarce literature on the experience of SGM individuals with an offending history in other CJS agencies. The findings are limited in their generalisability to the broader CJS.

The data collected across the studies was reflective of only three countries (Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom). This, therefore, prevents the findings of the scoping review from being generalised across the CJS and can only be analysed in the context of the countries included. In addition, studies reported data that was collected several years prior to publication. Societal attitudes towards gender expression have shifted, so it is unclear if these are still the experiences of SGM service users.

Limitations in the development of the scoping review

The review also had limitations about its development. The initial search strategy was developed with general research databases and did not include exploring CJS specialist databases or grey literature. The decision to conduct the review on MEDLINE, PsycINFO, and EMBASE was based on the rationale that the three databases stored research across various disciplines and, therefore, would

yield a greater number of studies. However, it is possible that the exclusion of CJS specialist databases and grey literature could have impacted the overall findings of this scoping review.

In addition, another limitation in the development of this scoping review was the researcher's decision not to use a secondary researcher during the extraction phase of this process. Therefore, the findings cannot be considered entirely objective, as the inclusion of studies depended on the researcher's subjective opinion.

The final limitation in the development of the review was the researcher's decision to restrict studies publication dates. The researcher implemented a time constraint between studies published between 2010 and 2024. The rationale for this decision aligned with a key piece of legislation in the UK, the Equality Act 2010. Whilst the Equality Act has been an important piece of legislation in the UK, other countries' policies and key milestones in anti-discrimination laws were not considered. This oversight may have resulted in literature preceding the time constraints being excluded. This exclusion may have had a detrimental impact on the overview review.

Implications for practice and future research

The findings identified that CJS professionals had directly abused SGM service users or had actively facilitated such abuse. This indicates that these settings should review their recruitment, policies, procedures, managerial structures and working cultures to address further discriminative practices. Furthermore, an investigation into the level of training that CJS professionals receive could assist in a shift towards working cultures where anti-gay prejudice is no longer tolerated. In

addition, this could create environments where SGM service users experience a sense of safety and reduce levels of victimisation.

An additional area for further exploration is whether there are differences amongst countries in the prison placement of transgender service users. The literature extracted for this scoping review reflected only three Western countries (Australia, the US, and the UK), so more international studies are needed. A global review of all countries would assist in identifying whether countries locate transgender service users in prison settings aligned with their gender identity or their biological sex. Further research could gain insight into the experience of transgender service users in these settings.

The findings of this scoping review highlight barriers to research focused on SGM experiences in the CJS. Brömdal et al. (2024) commented upon the difficulty of conducting research in prison settings since prison populations require extra permissions to gain access. If, however, future research can overcome these barriers, then it offers an opportunity to develop a richer understanding of SGM communities in these settings, which historically have been underrepresented in research.

Several studies included in this scoping review focused on the experience of SGM service users in the prison context. Limited research, however, has been published in alternative CJS agencies. For example, scarce literature has explored the experience of SGM service users with offending histories in the courts, police, or probation. This scoping review, therefore, has implications for future research, highlighting the necessity for greater exploration into these settings and the SGM service users who engage with them.

Conclusion

SGM individuals in the CJS experience frequent and multiple forms of discrimination. Social and professional attitudes can harm their experiences in the CJS. Whilst this review has provided evidence indicating the level of discrimination experienced by SGM in CJS, it is also important to consider the level of prejudice perpetuated against these communities. Furthermore, this review's evidence has highlighted differences in the types of discrimination experienced by communities under the collective term SGM. Therefore, the remaining chapters in this thesis will focus on the attitudes towards gay and bisexual men.

Chapter Three: Critique of psychometric: The Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Men (ATLG) scale

Abstract

Background: The findings from the previous chapter highlighted the types of discrimination that SGM can experience in the CJS. This discrimination can manifest from an individual's prejudiced attitudes. One method of assessing prejudice in psychological literature is through the implementation of an attitudinal psychometric. The rationale for this chapter is to evaluate one specific psychometric, the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale. The ATLG is further utilised in chapter four of this thesis' empirical study.

Objective: The main objective of this chapter was to explore and evaluate the psychometric properties of the ATLG scale.

Method: Through analysing the background, administration, application, and psychometric properties this critique explored the effectiveness of the ATLG scale.

Results: The ATLG scale demonstrated the importance for attitudinal research to explicitly focus on specific SGM communities to avoid generalisation. The critique, however, found the ATLG to have problematic psychometric properties and questioned the quite dated terminology included in this measure.

Conclusion: The critique therefore highlights the frequent use of the ATLG and adapted versions of this in psychological literature. Its limitations, however, are further discussed in this chapter.

Background of chapter

An important factor in chapter two was the presence of prejudice towards SGM. This chapter, therefore, utilised an existing attitudinal psychometric, the ATLG scale. Since its development the ATLG has frequently been used to assess attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. The ATLG, however, should be evaluated and assessed through exploration of its psychometric properties to determine whether it remains a good measure in investigating attitudes towards these communities. The critique provides background on the development of the ATLG, its application, the administration in practice and a critical evaluation of its psychometric properties. Analysing the development, administration, and psychometric properties of the ATLG is important as this measure was used in chapters four of the thesis.

Development of the ATLG scale

Previously, instruments that have been used to analyse attitudes towards lesbians and gay men have grouped both communities under one term: homosexual (Herek, 1988). This, however, has been criticised as the term homosexual became synonymous with gay men and the AIDS pandemic (Gross, 1994). A leading researcher who opposed the universal term of homosexual was Gregory Herek (Parrott, 2020). Herek is a renowned researcher in the field of prejudice towards sexual minorities. His career began in the 1970s, and his breadth of work has influenced societal understanding of the experience and well-being of sexual minorities (Parrott, 2020). This includes recognising gender differences in attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (Herek, 2002b), the influence of religion in perceptions towards gay people (Herek, 1987), and the psychological trauma of hate crimes on sexual minority groups (Herek et al., 1999).

Herek (1988) argued that grouping the two communities together was questionable since attitudes towards lesbians should not be assumed to be the same as those regarding gay men. Herek (1988) argued that researchers should acknowledge these two communities' differences and develop psychometrics that reflect this. Herek (1988), therefore, developed the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG) (refer to appendix D).

The initial phase of the ATLG construction occurred through a series of factor analyses (Herek, 1984). Through an explanatory factor analysis, Herek (1984) used the Attitudes Toward Homosexuality Scale (ATHS; Macdonald et al., 1973) with a sample group (n=72) and a five-point Likert-type scale. The findings highlighted that 43% of the common variance of items was associated with the condemnation of homosexuality. An additional factor was identified, with 6% of common variance in ATHS items associated with refusing to acknowledge similarities between heterosexual and homosexual relationships. Furthermore, 5% of the common variance was also identified to load onto a factor associated with personal revulsion. Herek (1984) recommended that researchers be cautious when developing attitudinal psychometrics as additional factors could underpin the items embedded into the measures. Herek (1984) also questioned whether the three factors noted in his explanatory factor analysis were robust in measuring attitudes or were solely reflective of the sample used.

Herek (1984) conducted additional explanatory factor analyses to analyse this issue further. A new questionnaire was developed using new items, items from the ATHS, and various statements taken from other researchers (Levitt & Klassen, 1976; Smith, 1971). The new questionnaire consisted of 47 items and was administered to

university students (n=104). The analysis identified a Condemnation-Tolerance factor, which accounted for 42% of the common variance, and two smaller factors, stereotypical beliefs (5%) and avoidance toward homosexuals and a desire for homosexuals to stay away from children (3.5%). These factors were identified to correlate with the Condemnation-Tolerance factor, with Herek (1984) reporting levels from .34 to .59. A further explanatory factor analysis was conducted by Herek (1984) with a different sample group (n=130) and a revised questionnaire consisting of fifty-nine items. This yielded similar results to the previous two-factor analyses, with a significant factor of Condemnation-Tolerance reflecting 36% of the common variance. Therefore, the result from the explanatory factor analyses indicated a single stable factor associated with Condemnation-Tolerance. The questionnaires, however, used in these explanatory factor analyses did not differentiate between lesbian and gay men, which had been Herek's (1984) major criticism of previous psychometrics.

To address this issue, Herek (1984) developed another questionnaire which was administered to a university student sample group (n=949). The questionnaire consisted of 66 items with two versions, one which focused on lesbians and one which discussed gay men. In contrast to the previous factor analyses, Herek (1984) utilised a nine-point Likert-type scale. The rationale for expanding this was to provide greater participant score variation. Herek (1984) separated participants based on their sex, which provided four sets of data: female perception of lesbians, female perception of gay men, male perceptions of lesbians and male perceptions of gay men. Two factors were reported across the four data sets. The first was a smaller factor focused on beliefs towards lesbians and gay men, which underpinned less than 6% of the common variance. The more prominent factor was found to be the

Condemnation-Tolerance factor. Furthermore, Herek (1984) found that male and female respondents scored similarly to each other, with correlations of .97 towards lesbians and .98 toward gay men. Herek (1984), therefore, argued that the Condemnation-Tolerance factor remained stable with different sample groups and across a three-year period.

Following these findings, Herek (1988) developed a 37-item questionnaire based on 64 Condemnation-Tolerance items from his 1984 study (Herek,1984). 37-items were chosen as they scored .30 or higher on this factor. The questionnaire was developed with two versions, one focused on lesbians and one referring to gay men. The questionnaire used a nine-point Likert-type scale with two sample groups (n=133) and (n=147). Following analysis, Herek (1988) chose 20 items most highly correlated with the Condemnation-Tolerance factor. Ten items focused on lesbians, and ten items on gay men. Combining these into a 20-item questionnaire, Herek (1988) constructed the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale.

The ATLG has become one of the most widely used attitudinal psychometrics in psychological literature when investigating discrimination and sexual orientation. However, the administration, application, and psychometric properties must be further analysed.

Administration of the ATLG scale

The ATLG scale consists of 20 items with two subscales, each consisting of ten items, respectively, the attitudes towards lesbians (ATL) and the attitudes towards gay men (ATG) subscales (Herek, 1988). The ATLG scale includes questions such as “Lesbians just can’t fit into our society” and “I think male homosexuals are disgusting”. Participants completing this psychometric are asked to

score each question on a nine-point Likert-type response scale. The scale ranges from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. The scoring of the ATLG scale ranges from 20, considered a positive attitude, to 180, considered a negative attitude towards the two communities. Scoring on each subscale ranges from 10 to 90. Seven items are reverse scored to reduce the risk of response bias from participants. There are three reverse-scored items (2, 4 & 7) on the ATL and four (11, 15, 17 & 20) on the ATG subscales; for example, question 4: “State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behaviour should be loosened”, and question 17: “I would not be too upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual”. Herek (1988) suggested that completion of the ATLG would take no longer than 60 seconds per item, therefore a maximum completion time of 20 minutes. This completion time, however, could vary in today’s practice with research’s use of online platforms when administering psychometrics. This function would not have been available for Herek (1988) when he developed the ATLG. The completion time could, therefore, vary between 5 minutes and 20 minutes.

Application of the ATLG scale

After publishing the ATLG, Herek turned his attention to the factors that support these attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Through three studies with a university student sample population across six universities, Herek (1988) identified that heterosexual males demonstrated greater hostility towards lesbians and gay men when compared to heterosexual females. Furthermore, he found that heterosexual males held more opposition towards gay men when compared to their attitudes towards lesbians. Herek (1988) also reported that participants' hostile attitudes were reinforced by religious ideology, maintaining traditional gender role values, demonstrating fixed beliefs that peers hold similar opinions and their

experience with either lesbians or gay men. A limitation of this study was that the sample population was recruited from an undergraduate participant group, so the findings could not be generalised to the general population.

Since its development in 1988, the ATLG has become a widely used measure to assess group attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (Magrath et al., 2022). One study using the measure focused on attitudes towards lesbians and how these related to the participants' norms, belief systems and prior contact with either lesbians or gay men (Mohipp & Morry, 2004). Using a Canadian sample group (n=170) of university students, Mohipp and Morry (2004) found that both belief systems and contact were predictors for either favourable or unfavourable attitudes. In addition, the results indicated that the participant's belief system was a more significant predictor for attitudes towards lesbians. In contrast, prior contact was a more significant predictor for attitudes towards gay men. Therefore, the findings of this research further support the ATLG scale's effectiveness, as both predictors were highlighted in Herek's (1988) original research. The research, however, utilised a similar sample group of university students to that of Herek (1988). Therefore, the findings could not be generalised.

Research on gaining a greater understanding of homonegativity has also used the ATLG. Moreno et al. (2015) explored the psychometric properties of the Spanish version of the ATLG scale using a Colombian university student sample group (n=359). The results indicated that the Spanish ATLG scale demonstrated good reliability and validity, indicating it is a robust psychometric used with this population. However, Moreno et al. (2015) also used a university sample group; therefore, this does not provide evidence for generalisability to the general population.

Researchers have also analysed the ATLG's factor structure (de la Rubia, 2013). Using an undergraduate university student sample group (n=452) in Mexico, de la Rubia (2013) identified three factors in the ATLG underpinning one general factor. These focused on attitudes rejecting lesbians (ATL), attitudes of open rejection towards gay men (ATG-Open) and attitudes of subtle rejection towards gay men (ATG-Subtle). These findings highlight an adequate data fit on this factor model. de la Rubia (2013) suggested that the weighting of the general factor indicates that the 20-item measure could be reduced to 15 items. This shorter version would consist of ten items from the ATL factor and five items from the ATG-Open or ATG-Subtle factor. Again, these results were obtained from a university sample group, reducing the possibility of generalising the results.

Yu et al. (2011) explored the effectiveness of the ATLG scale with a Chinese population. Herek's (1988) original ATLG scale was translated from English to Chinese and then back to English. A group of researchers conducted this without familiarity with the ATLG scale. Amendments were made to specific items on the original version. For example, item 6, "The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in North American morals", was changed to "The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in social morals" (Yu et al., 2011, p. 266). Despite these changes, Yu et al. (2011) argued that this version was equivalent to the English version of the ATLG. Yu et al. (2011) recruited a sample group (*n*=2391) that included college students (*n*=*1501*), community (*n*=536), and medical hospital cohort (*n*=327). The Chinese ATLG scale demonstrated good reliability and, consistent with Herek (1988), found that heterosexual males reported greater negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men than heterosexual females. In addition, Yu et al. (2011) identified that the educational level of participants also influenced the severity of

negative attitudes held towards both communities: participants with a college-level education demonstrated fewer negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men when compared to those who had not obtained this educational level. Thus, the research of Yu et al. (2011) had results similar to those of Herek (1988) but in a partly community-based sample, indicating that the ATLG scale could be generalised to the general population.

Herek (1988) developed a short ATLG psychometric (ATLG-S) version. The ATLG-S comprised five items from each of the ATL and ATLG subscales. Four reverse-scored items were embedded into the ATLG-S to avoid response bias. Herek (1988) identified a good reliability coefficient of the ATLG-S, reporting *alpha* = .92. This measure was administered to a community sample group (n=36). It demonstrated construct validity through high correlation with other psychometrics completed. Herek et al. (1998) recommended that researchers use the ATLG-S rather than the original ATLG.

The ATLG-S has been investigated in the UK with a university sample group (n=226; Ellis et al., 2003). Ellis et al. (2003) focused on understanding attitudes held amongst this population towards lesbians and gay men and the extent of support for lesbian and gay rights. Using the ATLG-S and the Support for Lesbians and Gay Human Rights Scale (SLGHR; Ellis et al., 2003), they found that although many participants held positive attitudes, they did not, however, tend to support either lesbian or gay human rights. However, Siebert et al. (2014) argued that the ATLG-S needed to be rigorously validated. These researchers explored the psychometrics' factor structure, finding that while exploratory factor analysis supported the one-factor structure, confirmatory factor analysis did not. Siebert et al. (2014) reported that the ATLG-S demonstrated good reliability and validity. Whilst the ATLG-S has

been widely used in literature, the findings of Siebert et al. (2014) indicate some conceptual problems, advising researchers to use the psychometric with caution.

The ATLG and its revised version (ATLG-S) have been used internationally to explore attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. However, some questions remain about the ATLG's psychometric properties, which will be explored in the rest of this chapter.

Psychometric properties of the ATLG scale

A psychometric can be considered a good method if it has specific characteristics (Kline, 2015). To analyse this, researchers argue that psychometrics should be scrutinised for the following properties: reliability, validity, discriminating, and normative data (Kline, 2015). This critique will explore the ATLG's performance in relation to each property.

Reliability

Reliability is defined by two meanings (Kline, 2013). The first refers to the measure's internal consistency, while the second is the test's stability over time (Kline, 2013). An important third kind of reliability is inter-rater reliability, a measure of consistency between different users of the measure (Hallgren, 2012). However, this is less relevant to a self-rated scale such as the ATLG.

Internal reliability

Internal consistency measures the interrelationship or homogeneity of the items in a scale. It is typically based on the correlations between the individual items of the scale. It has been suggested that the items in the psychometric should all measure one variable (Guildford, 1956; Nunnally, 1978) and that psychometrics that

include a larger number of similar items on a measure will produce higher internal reliability (de Klerk, 2008).

As mentioned previously, the ATLG is a 20-item scale with two subscales of ten items focused on attitudes towards lesbians and ten items on gay men. Phillips et al. (2015) hypothesised that the ATLG scale would produce greater reliability than the subscale versions of the measure ATL and ATG. In support of this hypothesis, researchers have demonstrated coefficient scores of .90 (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008), and .96 (Vicario et al., 2005) for the full ALTG scale. For subscale versions of the ATLG, lower coefficient scores have been reported; for example, .88 (Sarac, 2012) and .91 (White et al., 2010).

An important consideration is that a sample's characteristics could affect a scale's internal consistency (Phillips et al., 2015; Eason, 1991). Defining sample characteristics acknowledges the influence that variables can have on the score that a participant will produce through a psychometric measure. Due to variations in sample characteristics between different studies, Vacha-Haase (1998) argues that researchers should report the reliability coefficient scores. Vacha-Haase (1998), therefore, developed the concept of reliability generalisation, which provides a meta-analytic approach to summarise variation in the reliability scores from a psychometric measure.

Phillips et al. (2015) conducted a reliability generalisation of the ATLG scale in their study to ascertain the influence of sample characteristics on internal consistency. This study focused on the sample characteristic of ethnicity, hypothesising that a Caucasian sample would provide a more significant internal reliability in ALTG scores due to the over-representation of this group in previous

research (Herek, 1994). Phillips et al. (2015) provided evidence for this hypothesis from previous literature that had demonstrated a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for the ALTG of .96 in an 83% Caucasian sample group (Vicario et al., 2005) and a reliability coefficient of .95 in a 73% Caucasian participant group (Nomberg Silver, 2001). In contrast, coefficient scores in a mixed ethnic sample group produced scores of .82 (Phillips et al., 2015) and coefficient scores of .88 in a Turkish sample (Sarac, 2012). This variation, however, may not have been based on ethnicity but on the presence of additional factors, such as the quality of translation or cultural issues. These considerations, however, have affected the internal consistency of the ALTG, which has been further impaired through the initial use of convenience samples by Herek (1988).

Phillips et al. (2015) also explored the reliability of the ATLG scale, reviewing studies published between 1994 and 2013. They included studies that reported their Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient. The findings indicated that the ATLG scale coefficient scores ranged from .82 to .96, reporting a mean of .91 (*SD*= *.03)*. This indicates that the ATLG scale reliability scores fall within the acceptable to excellent range. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the findings indicated that predominantly Caucasian participant groups (M= .93, *SD*= .03) produced greater reliability in comparison to non-Caucasian samples (M= .86, *SD*= .03). Furthermore, the mean scores from the subscale ATL indicated that individuals were less consistent in negative attitudes towards lesbians. It can be suggested that the inconsistency on this sub-scale (ATL) could be linked to the variety in stereotypical perceptions of different sub-groups (masculine or feminine presentation) in the lesbian community (Phillips et al., 2015). This difference was not suggested to have

been present in the scores for the ATG, as participants held a singular view towards gay men.

Test-retest reliability

Test-retest reliability describes the stability of the measure over time. This reliability is measured through a group of participants participating in research on two occasions. The participants' scores are then correlated to explore the level of similarity in the sets of scores (Kline, 2013). The greater the similarity in scores, the nearer the correlation coefficient will be to +1, whereas a score of zero would indicate no relationship between earlier or later scores (Kline, 2013). To analyse test-retest reliability, they should have a minimum interval of three months between two studies (Kline, 2013). Kline (2013) also recommends that a correlation coefficient score of .8 or higher indicates that the psychometric has good reliability and that there should be a minimum sample size of 100 participants representing the population the psychometric intends to measure. In the context of the ATLG, Herek's (1988) sample adheres to the recommendation (n=368). However, it does not meet Kline's additional criterion for test-retest reliability. This conclusion has been drawn because the ATLG has not been re-administered to the same sample population under similar conditions. This evidence, therefore, indicates that the ATLG does not have good test-retest reliability.

Inter-rater reliability

Inter-rater reliability refers to how two or more observers' scores correlate (Hallgren, 2012). Classical test theory suggests that a psychometric score consists of the participant's actual score and an error measurement (Lord, 1959). The latter

impacts research collecting a participant's actual score due to various factors such as inaccurate scoring, poor internal consistency and/or poor test-retest reliability (Hallgren, 2012). Whilst a participant's actual score cannot be attained, inter-rater reliability can be used as an estimation through the covariance between two observers' scores (Hallgren, 2012). In contrast, the unshared variance in the two observers' scores is assumed to reflect the level of error measurement present. However, as the ATLG is a self-administered scale, inter-rater reliability is not applicable as it only applies to instruments completed by observers.

Validity

"A test is said to be valid if it measures what it claims to measure" (Kline, 2013, p.17). This may seem self-evident, but there are several forms of validity to consider when evaluating a psychometric measure. These forms of validity are discussed further.

Face validity

Kline (2013) states that face validity refers to whether a psychometric appears to measure what it intends to measure. In the context of the ATLG scale, Herek (1988) argues that the measure focuses on the attitudes held amongst heterosexual participants towards lesbians and gay men and that feelings of Condemnation-Tolerance underpin these. Herek's (1988) findings are supported by further research, which has identified similar results that the items in the ATLG all correlate to one factor: Condemnation-Tolerance (Van de Meerendonk et al., 2003). This, therefore, indicates that the purpose of the ATLG is to analyse attitudes based on a Condemnation-Tolerance scale towards lesbians and gay men. Based on this premise, the ATLG has good face validity as it meets this objective.

Criterion validity

This refers to the effectiveness of psychometrics in predicting the variables being assessed (Swerdlik & Cohen, 2005). Criterion validity is considered to consist of two types: concurrent and predictive validity.

Concurrent validity

Concurrent validity is considered when a psychometric correlates to another scale on the same variable (Kline, 2013). In addition, Herek (1988) suggested that the ATLG highlighted sex differences in attitudes amongst heterosexual males and females towards lesbians and gay men. As already mentioned, heterosexual males reported more significant prejudicial attitudes towards gay men than towards lesbians when compared to heterosexual females. These findings are replicated in the Modern Homophobia Scale (Raja & Stokes, 1998), which thus supports Herek's (1988) recommendation to measure attitudes towards lesbians and gay men separately on two sub-scales.

Predictive validity

Predictive validity refers to how a psychometric accurately predicts a future outcome (Kline, 2013). Siebert et al. (2014) reviewed the ATLG-S's predictive validity. This adaptive version included an additional item which focused on whether the participant had known or knew a friend or relative who was a lesbian, gay man or bisexual. The rationale for the inclusion of this item was based on previous literature highlighting lower levels of prejudicial attitudes towards sexual minorities amongst participants who have had contact with these communities (Rutledge et al.,2012). Siebert et al. (2014) findings highlighted that this item predicted lower prejudicial

attitudes amongst participants who had contact with someone from a sexual minority when compared to participants who did not.

In contrast, research on the ATLG has indicated that the original psychometric does not meet the criterion for predictive validity (Corrêa-Ribeiro et al., 2019). Corrêa-Ribeiro et al. (2019) found that predictive validity among Brazilian physicians was inconclusive. This finding, therefore, indicates that the results from ATLG do not indicate whether participants acted on their prejudice towards lesbians or gay men. This evidence indicates that whilst adapted versions have reported predictive functioning, the original ATLG does not meet the criterion for this psychometric property—predictive validity.

Content validity

Content validity is the extent to which a psychometric's items address all parts of the construct it is designed to measure (Zamanzadeh et al., 2015). Herek's (1988) study focused on the attitudes held among heterosexual participants using the ATLG. This study, however, did not report any measures implemented to ascertain the sexual orientation of the participants recruited. During the 1980s, non-heterosexual identities were persecuted, and therefore, it is unclear whether any of the original samples may have falsely documented their sexual orientation as heterosexual. Furthermore, Yaghmaie (2003) argues that research should obtain good content validity through the following two processes: literature and consultation with experts. Whilst Herek conducted a review of relevant literature related to attitudes towards sexual minorities, it remains uncertain whether he consulted individuals from either the lesbian or gay community when devising the ATLG. Therefore, the ATLG does not meet the criterion for content validity as it is unclear

whether the participants were all heterosexual. This omission of participant sexual orientation indicates that the final questions included in the ATLG are not representative of heterosexual attitudes towards lesbian and gay men.

Construct validity

According to Cronbach and Meehl (1955), construct validity refers to the extent to which a psychometric effectively measures the theoretical concept that underpins it. Exploratory factor analysis can be a practical methodological approach to identify the factors which underpin the theoretical concept when developing a psychometric. Further studies can then examine the psychometrics' construct validity by using confirmatory factor analysis. In his original research paper for the ATLG, Herek (1988) described a factor analysis conducted in the early stages of its development. In this factor analysis, all the items were loaded onto a single factor, which was labelled as Condemnation-Tolerance. The ATLG, therefore, aims to ascertain attitudes towards lesbians and gay men based on whether Condemnation-Tolerance is present.

Construct validity was further supported through follow-up studies that conducted a confirmatory factor analysis, such as Stoever and Morera (2007). Their analysis identified that religious belief was a predictor for condemnation, whilst lower religious beliefs and gender highlighted differences in attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. The evidence supports the idea that the ATLG measures attitudes of Condemnation-Tolerance, indicating good construct validity.

Convergent validity

Convergent validity refers to the process in which two measures that explore similar concepts demonstrate a high correlation (Carlson & Herdman, 2012). In the context of the ATLG scale, Moreno et al. (2015) found good correlations with the Homophobia scale (Bouton et al., 1987) ($r = .82$, $p < .01$).

Discriminant validity

Discriminant validity refers to how independent a psychometric is from other instruments to measure different constructs (Rönkkö & Cho, 2022). The ALTG has demonstrated good discriminant validity as it shows no correlation with measures exploring concepts focused on sexual experience and social desirability (Rye & Meaney, 2010). The ATLG has also been compared to the Zung Self-Rating Anxiety Scale-short form (Moreno et al., 2015). The findings indicated that the ALTG scale had good discriminant validity as both measures were found to be unrelated ($r = -.09$, $p = .08$).

Normative data

Normative data reflects a population at a particular point in time (O'Connor, 1990). This can be used as a baseline or threshold in diagnostic instruments. The ATLG was not designed as a diagnostic tool; therefore, normative data are irrelevant to this psychometric. Furthermore, because Herek's (1988) study used an undergraduate university sample, those findings cannot be used to reflect the American population in 1988. They cannot, therefore, be considered normative.

Discussion

This critique provides an overview of the background and development of the ATLG, as well as its application and psychometric properties. The construction and implementation of the ATLG have provided further evidence of distinctions between communities under SGM and the prejudice they encounter. It was the first measure to stress the importance for researchers to explore prejudice separately between gay men and lesbians. The research also highlighted in this critique differences amongst stereotypes used against lesbians and gay men. Whilst there was a singular stereotype that enforced prejudice towards gay men, multiple stereotypes were highlighted towards lesbians. This supports previous areas of discussion in this thesis, which focused on the historical relationship between the CJS and SGM (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Whilst gay men in certain countries have been criminalised, prejudice towards lesbians has been underpinned by negative opinions towards their sexual orientation as well as sexist beliefs which have been enforced by gender-conforming social norms (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This, therefore, provides further evidence to support the importance of researchers clarifying which SGM community they have focused on and the intersectionality present amongst these groups.

Furthermore, the development of the ATLG has highlighted that prejudice is influenced by religion and traditional opinions on gender roles. These factors could also suggest the presence of heteronormative culture. Whilst this is not explicitly explored further through this psychometric, it does raise further evidence that this is an important concept which could explain the continuation of prejudice and discrimination towards SGM.

This critique also indicates that the ATLG and its adapted versions have been implemented across several sample populations. It, however, remains unclear

whether all participants recruited were heterosexual. This is because the studies included in this critique did not explain how their researchers determined the sample's sexual orientation. This is an important consideration, as evidence in Chapter One indicates that countries worldwide continue to persecute SGM (Haider, 2023). Participants recruited in countries that maintain heteronormative principles may, therefore, falsely disclose a heterosexual orientation to avoid negative consequences.

The research reviewed in this critique has indicated the impact of sample characteristics on the ATLG internal reliability. Historically, the ATLG has over-recruited Caucasian participants, demonstrating stronger internal consistency amongst this sample population than other ethnic backgrounds. This evidence is also present within the samples utilised in the original ATLG studies (Herek, 1984; Herek,1988). This suggests that the ATLG fails to acknowledge intersectionality amongst participants, therefore concluding results from an exclusively Caucasian sample.

The critique has found the ATLG implementation in a variety of populations. However, it has not been utilised in forensic settings. Whilst it is assumed that opinions held amongst general populations and university samples (Yu et al., 2011) will align with those residing or working in CJS, research has not confirmed this. Furthermore, if this psychometric were used with a forensic population, it would encounter additional challenges. Evidence highlighted in chapter two demonstrated settings where SGM concealed their sexual and gender identity. These settings might also include individuals identifying as MSM or WSM. These groups differ from the heterosexual population that the ATLG attitudinal scales were designed to assess. Researchers would, therefore, encounter difficulties accurately determining

which recruited participants correctly identified as heterosexual and those who presented a counterfeit heterosexual identity to avoid persecution.

Therefore, this critique has indicated the importance of ATLG in psychological research when evaluating prejudice towards a specific SGM community. It has also presented evidence that suggests the ATLG has problematic psychometric properties and has remained largely untested since its conceptualisation almost 40 years ago.

Limitations and future direction of the ATLG scale

Whilst the ATLG scale has been widely used in research, the measure does have limitations. The first limitation is the relevance of the Condemnation-Tolerance factor in contemporary Western society. This factor domain was derived from a sample group in the 1980s, underpinned by religiosity and maintaining traditional gender roles. This factor is, therefore, based on data collected 40 years ago, and a key question is whether attitudes have changed. Specifically in Western culture, there has been a decline in organised religious practice, which previously influenced attitudes towards sexual minority groups (Herek, 1988). It is, therefore, important to review the variables such as intolerance and anti-gay prejudice, which now underpin hostility.

A second limitation of the ATLG is that, historically, this measure has been implemented in a heterosexual population. Whilst evidence has indicated gender differences, literature has not explored the attitudes towards lesbians and gay men held by non-heterosexual participants. Prejudice from these communities may not be underpinned by the Condemnation-Tolerance factor; therefore, a new psychometric must be devised.

Since its development in the 1980s, the ATLG falsely assumes that SGM is underpinned solely by lesbian and gay men. The modern social shift in gender and sexual orientation expression has meant that additional community groups are recognised. This, therefore, indicates that psychometrics such as the ATLG, which are underpinned by a binary construct of sexual orientation, may no longer elicit results that are reflective of attitudes within the community it is exploring.

A further limitation of the ATLG is the assumption that societal attitudes towards sexual minorities are simple and singular. For example, there is evidence that attitudes towards lesbians are more nuanced and subgroup stereotypes (such as being butch or overly feminine) can impact findings (Phillips et al., 2015). This, therefore, indicates that differences in subgroups within sexual minorities should be embedded into future psychometrics.

The final limitation of the ATLG is its phrasing and use of homosexuality to refer to lesbians and gay men, and an example of this is noted in the following items: “Male homosexuality is a perversion”. The term homosexuality may imply the medicalisation of sexual orientation with connotations to history where and a historical view of non-heterosexual orientation as something that should be cured, and the wording, therefore, promotes this. Future research should review the language used by the ATLG and observe if changes to terminology to lesbianism and gay men have impacted the psychometric properties of the measure.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the ATLG provides further evidence of the importance of independently exploring prejudice towards specific SGM communities to avoid the risk of generalisation across all SGM. It, however, has shown problematic psychometric properties, and this critique questions whether the language used remains appropriate for modern society. Whilst it has faced criticism for its language, the ATLG continues to be frequently used for research purposes. The researcher has, however, utilised the ATLG in chapter four's study. The rationale for this decision was due to limited accessibility to attitudinal psychometrics and the recurrent use of the ATLG in research. The limitations reflected in this critique were considered in the proceeding chapter.

Chapter Four: To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexual men in the United Kingdom.

Abstract

Background: The preceding chapters have indicated that SGM encounter anti-gay prejudice and discrimination. They also highlighted the importance of exploring specific SGM communities independently, as this prejudice and discrimination can vary. However, chapters two and three did not offer an opportunity to understand further the attitudes towards SGM amongst professionals working in the CJS, nor determine whether any psychological factors influenced these beliefs. The rationale for this chapter is, therefore, to explore these variables in greater depth about prejudice towards gay and bisexual men.

Objective: The study had four objectives. (1) regional differences and type of location (rural/ urban) on attitudes held amongst males; (2) the influence of age on participants' attitudes; (3) explore group differences between CJS professionals and the general population; (4) explore the ability to mentalise and participants' attitudes towards gay and bisexual men**.**

Design: This cross-sectional study recruited male participants who resided in the UK. Participants completed five questionnaires through an online platform. The study had five dependent variables: age, regional location, type of area, CJS employment and ability to mentalise. In addition, the study had four independent variables, which included the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay men (ATLG) subscale: Attitude Towards Gay Men (ATG), Attitudes Regarding Bisexual Scale-Male version (ARBS-M) scores, the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIDR-16) and Reflective-Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ) scores.

Method: Through online recruitment, 105 male participants took part in this study. The study consisted of four sections, and all participants were required to complete the same sections. These sections focused on collecting demographic data, attitudes towards gay men, attitudes towards bisexual men and participants' ability to mentalise. The study used the following psychometrics: the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) sub-scale Attitude Towards Gay Men (ATG), Attitudes Regarding Bisexual Men (ARBS-M) and Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ). The data analysis for this study used IBM SPSS version 29, which consisted of 11 statistical tests.

Results: The study utilised non-parametric testing due to a non-normal distribution of data. A Kruskal-Wallis test and a Mann-Whitney U test assessed the regional differences and type of location (rural/urban) regarding participants' attitudes. Three Spearman correlations analysed the influence of age, ability to mentalise and employment; the employment correlation was carried out across two levels as there were two groups, those working in CJS and the general population. There were no significant differences between groups (age, location, rural/urban, employment) or the participant's ability to mentalise.

Conclusion: The findings of this study did not provide further insight into the influence of participants' location, age, employment and ability to mentalise on attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. Limitations and directions for future research are discussed.

Introduction

Throughout this thesis, countries have differed in their approach to SGM (Ong et al., 2022; Haider, 2023). Further evidence of this was reported by Takács and Szalma's (2020) research. They analysed several contrasting European nations, their democratic infrastructure and welfare states and whether a relationship was present between their social systems and levels of sexual prejudice. Takács and Szalma (2020) concentrated on 22 countries and participants' opinions on whether lesbians and gay men should be free to live their lives. Takács and Szalma (2020) found high levels of prejudice in Russia against the freedom of lesbians and gay men to live freely and openly. In contrast, five countries in the study demonstrated more significant levels of social acceptance. This study's findings provide further evidence that prejudice and discrimination towards SGM can vary depending on the country in which the research is conducted.

The existence of national differences is, therefore, an important consideration when attempting to understand the attitudes towards sexual minority groups. In addition, the research discussed in Chapter One indicates that a country's historical context and relationship with sexual minority groups can also influence current societal attitudes (Knight & Wilson, 2016). This is further supported by Clements and Field (2014). They focused on the attitudinal shifts towards homosexuality in the UK. Reviewing poll trends, they identified a negative opinion in the 1940s and 1950s before a shift in the 1960s following the decriminalisation of homosexuality. By the 1980s and the AIDS pandemic, public opinion returned to a hostile stance toward the SGM communities. However, in the 2000s, public opinion liberalised the legalisation of same-sex marriage in England and Wales. Clements and Field (2014) argue that this trend is associated with reducing religious ideology in the UK. These findings link

to evidence reported in chapter three, which found that prejudice towards lesbians and gay men in America was associated with religious ideology (Herek, 1988). Herek (1988) argued that a person's religious ideology was an important factor in determining negative opinions towards lesbians and gay men. Therefore, the social and political shifts in the UK and the overall decline in religious observance may have influenced public opinion towards SGM communities.

Whilst it is important to consider the influence of an individual's country, the region that the person resides in can also impact their attitudes towards sexual minorities. Research has identified that SGM individuals residing in an area with discriminative policies and laws are likely to experience trauma and greater rates of mental health difficulties (Travers et al., 2020). Travers et al. (2020) found more significant mental health difficulties among SGM individuals residing in Northern Ireland compared to their heterosexual counterparts. These findings highlight that researchers should cautiously approach when generalising attitudinal findings at the country level. Instead, they should acknowledge regional nuances as these can provide richer data in understanding where prejudice is prevalent and, in turn, this may offer opportunities for strategies to decrease bias.

Research has also suggested that the characteristics of an area can influence attitudes that individuals hold towards other communities (Herek, 2002a). Herek (2002a) found that participants who resided in rural or southern America reported greater prejudicial attitudes towards bisexual people. McGlynn (2018) also reported that greater tolerance of SGM expression was associated with urban than rural areas. In contrast, other researchers have found no correlation between the type of area and prejudicial attitudes (Eliason & Hughes, 2004). Comparing urban Chicago with rural Iowa, Eliason and Hughes (2004) reported that therapists in Chicago were

more racially diverse and had more significant contact with SGM clients than their Iowa counterparts. However, these authors did not find that urban therapists reported more positive attitudes towards SGM communities. This highlights that whilst the type of area is an important consideration, additional factors could provide greater insight into the demographics associated with prejudicial attitudes.

Age is one demographic that has been proposed to influence prejudicial attitudes towards SGM communities (Herek, 1988). Herek (1988) identified that older participants reported greater prejudicial attitudes towards lesbians and gay men when compared to younger counterparts. Herek (1988) also reported that these attitudes were influenced by the participants' contact with lesbian and gay men. This is further supported by research focused on the influence of media on societal attitudes (Ayoub & Garretson, 2017). Ayoub and Garretson (2017) found, in an American sample, that those with liberal opinions held a more favourable opinion towards lesbians and gay men. During this time, liberal opinion was associated with a younger American population. From this, Ayoub and Garretson (2017) argued a relationship between this liberal opinion and the shift in post-1990s media outlets in portraying SGM communities more favourably. Previous literature has, therefore, indicated that age is an important factor influencing attitudes towards sexual minorities.

Gender is another potentially important demographic variable linked to negative attitudes (Herek, 2002b). Herek (2002b) suggested that gay men were perceived to be mentally ill, with more significant negative attitudes towards gay men when compared to lesbians. In addition, heterosexual males reported less supportive attitudes to same-sex relationships, adoption and employment rights, and stereotypical values towards gay people underpinned their opinions. Historically,

researchers have grouped sexual minorities under the term homosexuality; however, given the diversity within SGM, research results can only be applied to the relevant groups if the sexual orientations in each study are focused and specified. This is, therefore, an important consideration for this study and future literature.

While demographic variables are important, chapter two highlighted discrimination and prejudice in CJS. The UK's CJS comprises four sub-systems: law enforcement, courts, penal system, and crime prevention. Under each sub-system, specific institutions aim to tackle crime. The police's objective is to ensure law enforcement, whilst the objective of prisons and probation agencies is the incarceration and monitoring of offenders under the correctional and rehabilitation system (Davies et al., 2005). Whilst the UK has decriminalised same-sex relationships, professionals have continued to work across these agencies. Therefore, exploring these professionals' attitudes towards SGM in CJS settings is important.

Criminal Justice System and sexual minorities

Tucker et al. (2019) argued that biased attitudes and discriminative behaviour were still present in US policing. They suggested that these attitudes were perpetuated by a white heterosexual male staffing group, which promoted a hyper-masculine culture. This culture, researchers suggest, included anti-gay prejudice (Colvin, 2009). Within the American context, law enforcement agents were identified to target and harass sexual minorities in attempts to maintain heteronormative values which exclude non-heterosexual individuals (Amnesty International, 2005). These behaviours arose from historical processes that American policing implemented during the criminalisation of same-sex relationships in the 1960s. While these findings are from studies conducted in the US rather than in the UK, they do

indicate that CJS agencies can continue to endorse discriminative professional practices which are out of step with societal attitudes towards sexual minorities. This is also further supported by the results of this thesis' scoping review (chapter two).

In the context of the criminal courts, limited research has been carried out on SGM issues (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Research has found that one in five professionals observed derogatory remarks made about sexual minorities in an open court forum (California Judicial Council, 2001). These findings were supported further in a study conducted in the UK (Brower, 2004). Brower (2004) found that 55.2% of SGM employees disclosed having observed anti-gay jokes, and 20.8% reported a working environment which perpetuated prejudicial attitudes towards SGM people. These findings, therefore, support research that the Western judicial system was systemically biased against sexual minorities (Shortnacy, 2004).

Limited research exploring attitudes towards SGM individuals has been carried out in the prison setting (Carr et al., 2016). Carr et al. (2016) explored the experiences of SGM service users in Irish prisons. They suggest that prison settings promote heteronormative values and, specifically in male prisons, a hyper-masculinity culture. Research has also suggested that prisons are total institutions (Ellis, 2021). Ellis (2021) argues that this refers to settings that isolate and remove a person's ability to self-express themselves, access society, and implement strict social norms to which they must conform. This argument was further supported by the evidence provided in this thesis's chapter two, which found high levels of SGM discrimination perpetrated by a heteronormative culture. Ellis (2021), however, also argues that individuals entering these settings bring their attitudes and behaviours to the environment. Ellis (2021) suggests that religion is an example of this. This opinion is supported by other researchers (Said & Butler, 2023). Said and Butler

(2023) suggested that individuals turn to religion when their worldview has shattered or need to rebuild their lives. Entering the prison setting, one can argue, stigmatizes an individual (Ellis, 2021).

In contrast, religion offers salvation for individuals in these settings (Ellis, 2021). The previous chapters of this thesis, however, highlight that religious ideology can perpetuate anti-gay prejudice and discrimination. This could, therefore, further increase the harassment, abuse and violence reported by other researchers in these settings (Carr et al., 2016).

Another CJS agency to consider is the probation service. Research on probation services in Ireland has suggested that processes to enhance staff understanding of SGM issues are essential (Byrne, 2016). Byrne (2016) suggested that SGM clients will engage in a professional relationship with their probation officer, whom they perceive holds the power in the relationship. Byrne (2016) argues that SGM clients could hide their sexual orientation in this dynamic due to concerns that they could be judged by probation staff. This provides evidence to support the ongoing minority stress that SGM experience (Meyer, 2003). Thus, the research across the professional institutions included under the CJS indicates that a greater understanding of attitudes held amongst its professionals towards SGM communities is required and whether these attitudes differ from those of the general population.

Mentalisation and development of prejudice

Psychological factors may also be an important consideration to explore. Mentalisation (Bateman & Fonagy, 2016) offers an opportunity to explore this. Bateman and Fonagy (2016) define mentalising as “the ability to understand actions by both other people and oneself in terms of thoughts, feelings, wishes and desires” (Bateman & Fonagy, 2016, p.3). Therefore, this could be considered an individual’s

ability to remain actively curious about how their thinking interacts with their surroundings in a social context. Without this process, Bateman and Fonagy (2016) argue that individuals do not develop a sense of self, and no shared social communication occurs.

The concept of mentalising is included in broader psychological therapy, which Bateman and Fonagy (2016) refer to as Mentalisation-Based Treatment (MBT). MBT encourages clients to consider four attributes, which Bateman and Fonagy (2016) call mentalising poles. These include self and other, cognitive and emotional, implicit and explicit, and internal and external. Bateman and Fonagy (2016) argue that the function of MBT is to prompt clients to shift towards a centralised stance on all four poles to achieve a position that optimises mentalisation. MBT is reported to effectively support those with mental health issues, including post-traumatic stress disorder and personality disorder (Bateman & Fonagy, 2016). As mentalisation promotes curiosity levels, it may readily apply to CJS workers. Jain and Fonagy (2020) argue that when individuals do not take a mentalised stance, their internal dialogue becomes rigid towards their interactions with others. Individuals can group communities in extreme circumstances, associating these with negative stereotypes. This function minimises self-blame and projects a negative sense of self in a social context onto another group (Jain & Fonagy, 2020). This research, therefore, highlights links between mentalising and the presence of prejudice.

Given the above issues, it is timely to investigate the influence of demographic variables such as age, area of residence and CJS employment on attitudes towards sexual minorities. In addition, research has suggested a correlation between mentalising and the development of prejudice. This study aims to expand

the existing literature on gendered attitudes toward SGM communities. Previous research has highlighted that males hold greater discriminatory attitudes towards SGM communities when compared to female counterparts (Herek, 2002b). Furthermore, males have also been identified to hold negative opinions towards gay men in comparison to lesbians. This study will, therefore, focus specifically on UK males and their attitudes toward gay and bisexual men. In addition, this study will bridge the knowledge gap by investigating the variables that influence these attitudes. The study described in this chapter will explore the influence of the participants' regional, rural, or urban location and age on these attitudes, the influence of CJS employment and the ability to mentalise.

Based on this aim, the study's research objectives are as follows: (1) to explore UK regional location and type of location differences and attitudes towards gay and bisexual men; (2) to explore the association between age and attitudes towards gay and bisexual men; (3) to explore if there is a group difference between the attitudes held amongst CJS employees and the general population towards gay and bisexual men;(4) to explore the association between the ability to mentalise and participants' prejudicial attitudes towards gay and bisexual men.

Method

Design

A cross-sectional design was chosen for this study. The study was conducted online through a survey structure. The study included five dependent variables: age, regional area, type of area (urban/rural), occupation status, and ability to mentalise the participant. The study also had four independent variables: ATG, ARBS-M, BIDR-16 and RFQ scores. For the first research objective, analysis was conducted across three levels, as there were three regional groups. In addition, analysis was conducted across two levels for the third research objective, as two groups worked in CJS and the general population. All participants completed the same study procedure.

Participants

105 participants were recruited online through a social media poster to participate in this study. The eligibility for this study was participants who identified as male, resided in the UK and were 18 years or older (M=39.44, SD=13.25). Each participant was then provided with an information sheet and consent form which outlined the study. On reviewing these documents, the participant was asked to click NEXT or EXIT. If the participant chose NEXT, they would confirm their consent to start the study. If they did not wish to give consent and did not want to participate in the study, they were advised to click EXIT. All participants completed the same procedure.

Materials

Recruitment Poster: The researchers developed this poster to advertise on social media platforms and recruit participants who met the eligibility criteria (male, residing in the UK, and 18 years or older) (refer to Appendix E).

Social media platforms: The researchers created user accounts on Facebook, Twitter (now called X), and Instagram to advertise and recruit participants for the study.

Jisc online survey platform: All forms were uploaded onto a templated structure on the Jisc online platform. This platform was an encrypted webpage chosen to ensure that participants' IP addresses were not visible to the researchers, ensuring further anonymity for participants.

Information sheets: The information sheet provided an overview of the study's purpose to participants, outlining why they had been approached and emphasising that the study was voluntary. In addition, the information sheet explained the study's process and what participants needed to do. The information sheet also mentioned that participation was voluntary with no monetary incentive and provided contact details for the researchers, plus information about data storage and security (refer to Appendix F).

Consent form: The consent form included eight points that participants were required to review and agree to before commencing the study. This included consent to having read the information sheet, the study is voluntary, and confirming that the participant is 18 or older, residing in the UK, and identifies as male. In addition, the remaining three points refer to the agreement that participant data was kept confidential, data would be anonymised, and finally, the agreement to take part in the study (refer to Appendix G).

Demographic questionnaire: Participants were asked to include their ethnicity, age, current regional area, urban or rural location, sexual orientation, and contact with the criminal justice system, such as working in this system or having ever been arrested or resided in prison (refer to Appendix H).

Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Scale (ATLG), Attitudes Towards Gay Men (ATG) subscale (Herek, 1988): This study used the ATG subscale to collect data on participants' attitudes toward the gay community. This subscale consists of 10 questions measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Some of the items are reverse scored. The higher the overall score, the greater the level of prejudice towards gay men (refer to Appendix I).

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M) (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999): The ARBS-M is a 12-item measure across two subscales: tolerance and stability. Each item contains a 5-point Likert-type scale for responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Negative items are reverse scored. The language in question 12 was amended from "Decline in American values" to "Decline in British values". The measure was administered without any further amendments. Overall scores, which were higher on the tolerance subscale, indicate a lower tolerance towards bisexuality. Lower scores on the stability subscale reflect the perception that bisexuality is not a legitimate sexual orientation (refer to Appendix J).

The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIDR-16), Impression Management subscale (Hart et al., 2015): The subscale measures impression management, which refers to the conscious concealment of a participant's response to gain favour from others. This measure was used to assist the researchers in identifying potential socially desirable responses amongst the participants. This subscale consists of eight questions, four of which are reverse scored. The researcher then rescores participant scores for each item. Participant scores of 3, 4 or 5 on any item are rescored as 0. If the participant score is 1 or 2 for any reverse-scored items, the researcher rescores each as 1. For the conventionally

scored items, a score of 6 or 7 is rescored as 1. The rescoring creates a total score for each participant ranging from 0(no impression management) to 8 (impression management present). A copy of the scale is shown in Appendix K.

Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ) (Fonagy et al., 2016): The RFQ was used to collect data on a participant's ability to mentalise. Participants are asked to read eight items and score each on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Two subscales are included in this psychometric: uncertainty (RFQU) and high certainty (RFQC). These subscales measure two mentalising concepts: hypo-mentalising and hyper-mentalising. Hypo-mentalising refers to difficulties in understanding different mental states and is associated with rigid and concrete thinking (Fonagy et al., 2016). This concept is associated with non-mentalising modes such as psychic equivalents. Hypo-mentalising is measured using the RFQU subscale. In contrast, hyper-mentalising is the opposite, and it reflects overthinking, which applies complex thinking to social situations where there is no observational evidence to support the thinking process (Fonagy et al., 2016). This concept is associated with non-mentalising modes such as pretend mode. Hyper-mentalising is measured using the RFQC subscale. The subscales are scored on six items, sharing four items, with two additional items loading on either the RFQU or RFQC. The RFQU is measured by how much the participants agree with the statement. Those who agree with the statement will be less able to mentalise this subscale. The RFQC subscale is measured by how much the participant disagrees with the statement. Those who score high on disagreement will show a lower level of mentalising. Following participants' self-administered scores, researchers are advised to rescore using the scales' 3210000' (RFQC) and '0000123' (RFQU). These are reversed scores, and a score of 3 on the RFQC reflects the participant's score of

1, whilst a score of 3 on the RFQU refers to the participant's score of 7 (refer to Appendix L).

Debrief form: The debrief form provided an overview of the study aims and included contact details for professional support services if participation caused distress. In addition, the debrief form provided contact details to participants for the researchers (refer to Appendix M).

Procedure

The study took at most 20 minutes and consisted of four sections. In the first section, participants were asked to complete the demographic questionnaire, which included ethnicity, age, current regional area, type of area (rural or urban), sexual orientation, and contact with the CJS (employed, arrested, resided in a criminal justice setting). After completing this section, participants were instructed to continue to the next stage of the study.

The second section focused on participants completing two questionnaires: the Attitudes Towards Gay Men (ATG) subscale and the Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale- Male version (ARBS-M).

The third section asked participants to complete the Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ). This questionnaire was measured using a 7-point Likert-type scale: 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree. Participants were asked to read each of the statements and score them accordingly.

The fourth section of the study focused on analysing whether participants had provided socially desirable responses. This was measured using the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIDR-16), Impression Management subscale. This questionnaire used a 7-point Likert-type scale: 1- Very untrue, 7 – Very true. Participants were asked to read each of the statements and score them

accordingly. On completing all the questionnaires, the participant was asked to click SUBMIT. This informed them that they had completed the study.

On completing the study, participants were directed to the electronic debrief page which outlined the study's aims. This expanded on the aims outlined in the information sheet and explained that the study focused on the influence of regional location, age, and ability to mentalise on the participant's attitudes. In addition, the debrief page also provided the contact details of the researchers and signposted to relevant support services if distress had occurred.

Data analysis

The data analysis for this study was carried out using IBM SPSS version 29. The analysis consisted of six statistical tests. Further details about the study's analysis are discussed in the results section. The study included five dependent variables: regional location, type of area, age, CJS employment, and the participant's ability to mentalise. The study also had four independent variables: Attitudes Towards Gay (ATG) subscale, Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M), Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ) and Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIDR-16).

Ethical considerations

The study obtained ethical approval from the University of Nottingham Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (Reference number FMHS 444-0122). The approval letter is included in the appendices (refer to Appendix N). To mitigate ethical dilemmas, the researchers ensured that the following considerations were addressed.

Ethics statement

The documents used in the study used bias-free language. For example, the preferred term sexual orientation was used. In addition, to avoid the presence of heteronormative assumption, the study included participants from those identifying as male and their sexual orientations. This was to ensure that the researchers did not solely assume that participants were heterosexual or gay. The researchers also gained a good understanding of the historical context of sexual orientation discrimination and colloquialisms used in gay and bisexual culture prior to conducting this study. This ensured that unfair, prejudicial, or discriminative practices were absent throughout the study.

The researchers were actively conscious of the sensitivity of sexual orientation research. They ensured that appropriate measures were implemented to anonymise study data and provided the researcher's contact details if any concerns were expressed by the participants.

Results

Descriptive data are summarised in Table 4.1 (p.123). The sample group included participants who had implemented impression management strategies during this study. All responses were included (N=105), and analysis was carried out to explore the impact of impression management prior to exploring the research objectives.

The sample group's age was mature (M=39.44, SD=13.25). The data indicated that most participants were White British, 82 (78.1%), and the remaining population consisted of people from various ethnic backgrounds. 70 (66.7%) of the sample identified as heterosexual, whilst the remaining 35 (33.3%) identified as non-heterosexual (gay, bisexual or other). 44 (41.9%) of the participants were in Mid and Northern England, 50 (47.6%) were in Southern England, and 11 (10.4%) were outside England (Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales). In addition, 86 (81.9%) participants reported being residents in urban areas, with the remaining 19 (18.1%) in rural settings.

Additional descriptive data about this contact with the CJS were also collected. Among the sample, 38 (36.2%) worked in the UK's CJS, while the remaining 67 (63.8%) did not work in these settings. The sample population also included 14 (13.3%) who reported having been arrested or charged for breaking a law and 4 (3.8%) having spent time in a jail, prison, or juvenile detention centre.

Table 4.1: Descriptive statistics of sample population

	Total Sample (N=105)	
	Male (n=105)	
Age (years)	*N*	*(%)*
18-25	*9*	*(8.6%)*
26-34	*42*	*(40%)*
35-44	*16*	*(15.2%)*
45-54	*17*	*(16.2)*
55-64	*19*	*(18.1%)*
65+	*2*	*(1.9%)*
M (SD)	*39.44 (13.25)*	
Ethnicity		
Asian Indian	2	(1.9%)
Asian Pakistani	1	(1%)
Black African	4	(3.8%)
Mixed Asian	*3*	*(2.9%)*
Mixed Caribbean	*1*	*(1%)*
Mixed Other	4	(3.8%)
White British (English, Welsh, Scottish)	82	78.1%
White Irish	2	(1.9%)
White Other	6	5.7%
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual or straight	70	(66.7%)
Non-heterosexual	35	(33.3%)
Residential Region		
Mid & Northern England	44	(41.9%)
Southern England (Southeast, Southwest & London)	50	(47.6%)
Non-England (Scotland, Northern Ireland & Wales)	11	(10.4%)
Type of area		
Rural	19	(18.1%)
Urban	86	(81.9%)
Worked in the UK's Criminal Justice System		
Yes	38	(36.2%)
No	67	(63.8%)
Been arrested or charged for breaking a law		
Yes	14	(13.3%)
No	91	(86.7%)
Spent time in a jail, prison, juvenile detention centre		
Yes	4	(3.8%)
No	101	(96.2)

Scores on the ATG and ARBS-M scales are shown in Table 4.2 (p.124). The researcher conducted assumption tests prior to data analysis. The skewness statistic for the ATG was found to be .91, which highlights that the distribution was right-skewed. In addition, the kurtosis of the ATG was reported to be 2.30, which highlights that the distribution was light-tailed compared to the normal distribution. The ARBS-M was found to be 1.07, which revealed that the distribution was right-skewed. In addition, the kurtosis of the ARBS-M was .94, which was light-tailed compared to the normal distribution. (refer to table 4.2, p. 124).

Table 4.2: Attitude scores for the whole sample (N=105)

	M (SD)	*Med (IQR)*	Skewness (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)
ATG	25.4 (3.4)	26.0 (2.0)	0.91 (0.23)	2.30 (0.47)
ARBS-M	24.0 (6.1)	23.0 (7.0)	1.07 (0.24)	0.94 (0.47)

Attitudes Toward Gay Men (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale- Male version (ARBS-M)

On further inspection, one outlier which exceeded three standard deviations was identified on the ARBS-M scale, and two outliers on the ATG scale. The researcher chose to include the outliers on both variables as it was deemed that these did not affect the results and highlighted variation in participants' responses. This initial testing highlighted that the data were not normally distributed, so non-parametric testing was carried out for all analyses.

Prior to conducting the analysis, the researcher explored confounding variables, specifically if there was any difference between heterosexual and non-heterosexual participant attitudes towards gay and bisexual males. For the Attitudes Regarding Bisexual Scale-Male version (ARBS-M), the median was slightly higher

for the heterosexual participants (Mdn=23.5, IQR=8.25) than the non-heterosexual participants (Mdn=20.0, IQR=5.00). This difference, however, was not statistically significant (*U*=987.50, *z*=-1.633, *p*=.102). In the Attitudes Towards Gay men subscale (ATG), the median was slightly higher for the non-heterosexual participants (Mdn=26.0, IQR=2.00) when compared to the heterosexual participants (Mdn=25.0, IQR=2.25). This difference, however, was also not statistically significant (*U*=1009.0, *z*=-1.510*, p*=.131).

Exploratory analysis of the BIDR-16 data was carried out by splitting the participants into two groups (low bias and high bias) based on a median split. The median was 2, therefore, two groups (0-2 and 3-8) were formed. The descriptive data is presented in Table 4.3 (p.125). The medians were similar for the two groups, and those who reported high socially desirable answers did not score lower on the attitudinal scales.

Table 4.3: Descriptive statistics for the BIDR-16 on the ARBS-M and ATG scales

	Social Desirability Low			Social desirability high		
	N	*Mdn*	*IQR*	*N*	*Mdn*	*IQR*
ATG	61	26.0	4.0	44	26.0	2.0
ARBS-M	61	23.0	6.5	44	22.0	7.75

Attitude Toward Gay (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M)

A Kruskal-Wallis test was chosen to assess whether the participants' regional location impacted their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. Participants' regional location and attitudes towards gay men on the ATG did not differ, H (2) =2.39, P=.303. In addition, the data indicated that the regional location did not differ in attitudes towards bisexual men, H (2) =1.46, P=.482 (refer to table 4.4, p.126).

Table 4.4: Descriptive statistics and group comparisons based on regional location

	Mid and Northern England (*N*=44)		Southern England (*N*=50)		Non-England (*N*=11)		Kruskal-Wallis test of group differences		
	Med	*IQR*	*Med*	*IQR*	*Med*	*IQR*	*H*	*df*	*p*
ATG	25.0	2.0	26.0	4.0	26.0	4.0	2.39	2	.303
ARBS-M	21.0	6.0	23.0	8.0	24.0	6.0	1.46	2	.482

Attitude Toward Gay (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M)

A Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to analyse the impact of the type of area that participants resided in had on their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The distribution of scores was similar to that of visual observation. The median scores for participants' attitudes towards gay men were not statistically different based on the type of area they resided in, rural (24.0) and urban (26.0), *U*=558, *z*=-2.22, *p*=.027. The median score for participants' attitudes towards bisexual men was not statistically different based on the type of area they resided in rural (20.0) and urban (23.0), *U=627.5, z*=-1.60, *p*=.111 (refer to table 4.5, p.127).

Table 4.5: Descriptive statistics and group comparisons based on type of location

	Rural (*N*=19)		Urban (*N*=86)		Mann-Whitney U	
	Med	*IQR*	*Med*	*IQR*	*Z*	*P*
ATG	24.0	4.0	26.0	2.0	-2.22	.027
ARBS-M	20.0	4.0	23.0	8.0	-1.60	.111

Attitude Toward Gay (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M)

A Spearman correlation was used to analyse the association between the age of the participants and their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. There was no statistically significant correlation between the participant's age and attitudes towards gay and bisexual men (refer to Table 4.6, p.127).

Table 4.6: Spearman correlations between attitudes scales and participants' age

	Age	ATG	ARBS-M	*P*
Age	-	-	-	
ATG	-.137	-	-	.163
ARBS-M	.097	.159	-	.327

Attitude Toward Gay (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale- Male version (ARBS-M)

The researcher also explored whether there were any UK regional differences between CJS employees and the general population. Descriptive statistics for scores on the attitudes towards bisexual men and attitudes towards gay men scales were split by region and CJS employment (refer to table 4.7 & 4.8, p.128). The findings indicate that there is no difference between those who working in CJS and the general population. Whilst scores for the general population in Mid and Northern

England and Non-England are slightly higher than CJS, the sample size is not large enough to draw any further conclusions.

Table 4.7: Descriptive statistics for attitudes towards bisexual men based on regional location, CJS employment and general population

	Works in the UK justice system			Does not work in the UK justice system		
	N	*Mdn*	*IQR*	*N*	*Mdn*	*IQR*
Mid &Northern England	11	20.0	5.0	33	23.0	8.5
Southern England	25	23.0	8.0	25	23.0	9
Non-England	2	20.5	-	9	24.0	7.5

Table 4.8: Descriptive statistics for attitudes towards gay men based on regional location, CJS employment and general population

	Works in the UK justice system			Does not work in the UK justice system		
	N	*Mdn*	*IQR*	*N*	*Mdn*	*IQR*
Mid & Northern England	11	25.0	2.0	33	26.0	2.0
Southern England	25	25.0	3.0	25	26.0	4.0
Non-England	2	25.0	-	9	26.0	4.0

A Mann-Whitney U test was chosen to analyse differences between participants working in CJS agencies and those who do not and their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. On visual inspection, the distribution of scores appeared to be similar. The median score for participants' attitudes towards gay men was not statistically different between participants employed by CJS (25.0) and the general population (26.0), U=1092, z=-1.24, *p*=.215. The median score for

participants' attitudes towards bisexual men was not statistically different between participants who had CJS employment (21.5) and those who did not (23.0), U=1059, z=-1.44, *p*=.149 (refer to table 4.9, p.129).

Table 4.9: Descriptive statistics and group comparisons based on CJS employment

	Works in CJS (*N*=38)		Does not work in CJS. (*N*=67)		Mann-Whitney U test	
	Med	*IQR*	*Med*	*IQR*	*Z*	*p*
ATG	25.0	2.5	26.0	2.0	-1.24	.215
ARBS-M	21.5	6.3	23.0	8.0	-1.44	.149

Attitude Toward Gay (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M)

A Spearman correlation was used to analyse the association between participants' ability to mentalise and prejudicial attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. There was no statistically significant correlation between the participants' ability to mentalise and prejudicial attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. There was an expected strong negative statistical significance between the two subscales for mentalising (RFQ_C & RFQ_U), r*s*=-.388, *p*< .001. Whilst a statistical correlation was identified between the mentalising subscales, the researcher found no statistical correlation between mentalising and prejudicial attitudes (refer to table 4.10, p.130).

Table 4.10: Spearman correlations between attitudes scales and mentalising scales

	ATG	ARBS-M	RFQ_C	RFQ_U
ATG	-			
ARBS-M	.159	-		
RFQ_C	.130	-.094	-	
RFQ_U	.006	.175	-.388***	-

Attitude Toward Gay (ATG) subscale

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuals Scale-Male version (ARBS-M)

Reflective Functioning Questionnaire-Certainty subscale

Reflective Functioning Questionnaire-Uncertainty subscale

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to expand on the existing literature on attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The study aimed to achieve this by exploring the participants' demographic variables (regional location, type of area, age, and CJS employment) and one psychological variable (ability to mentalise) and how these interacted with psychometric scores.

Whilst the study found no significant difference based on participants' regional location or type of residential area, research has highlighted that the historical relationship that these UK regions have with criminalisation and discrimination towards sexual minorities varies (Clements & Field, 2014). Future research could, therefore, assess the regions separately to ascertain their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men and the factors which influence this. Researchers could implement a face-to-face or online recruitment of participants and expand on this study by including qualitative data to explore the nuances amongst the different UK regions.

The study's second research objective focused on exploring the association between the age of participants and prejudicial attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The results indicated no statistical correlation between the participant's age and whether they held prejudicial attitudes. These findings do not support previous literature that argued that older participants held more significant prejudice than their younger counterparts (Herek, 1988). Previous literature, however, has suggested that participant contact with sexual minority groups can influence their perceptions (Herek, 1988). In the context of this study, this could have been present as older participants might have reported less prejudice due to favourable contact with members from either the gay or bisexual communities. Future research should

incorporate questions about contact with sexual minority groups to ascertain whether this variable has a greater influence than age on prejudicial attitudes.

The results of the third research objective indicated that there was no significant difference between CJS employees and the general population about their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. Whilst the study did not indicate a difference between CJS employees and the general population, previous literature has highlighted that CJS consists of multiple agencies. A limitation of this study is that demographic data were not collected from participants to specify which CJS agency they were employed by or their job role (e.g., prison governors, psychologists or cleaners). Future researchers could explore the individual CJS agencies (police, prison, probation) and whether differences are present amongst these settings. This direction of future research would also provide further evidence to support the findings from Chapter Two's scoping review. Greater insight into the influence of job roles, professional grade and CJS agency could inform what groups maintain a heteronormative culture which perpetuates discriminative professional practice identified by staff in chapter two.

The study's fourth research objective focused on whether there was an association between the ability to mentalise and attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The results highlighted no significant correlation between the participants' ability to mentalise and their attitude scores. However, the study found a statistical correlation between the RFQ's subscales (RFQ_C & RFQ_U). There was a strong negative correlation, so as the RFQ_C measure of certainty went up, the RFQ_U measure of uncertainty went down. This, therefore, confirmed that the two subscales measured the opposite phenomenon. Future research could explore the interaction between the two concepts, hyper-mentalising and hypo-mentalising, in mentalising

that are captured on the RFQ's subscales (RFQ_C & RFQ_U) and understand how these could influence the presence of prejudicial attitudes.

An additional consideration for future research focused on mentalising and prejudicial attitudes is the type of data collected. This study focused on collecting and analysing quantitative data to observe whether a correlation between mentalising and prejudicial attitudes was present. However, it did not account for nuances in social contexts. Future research could expand on this by utilising face-to-face recruitment methods and a greater emphasis on collecting qualitative data. Case study or group methods may provide more prosperous, more nuanced data about participants' responses to attitudinal and mentalisation questionnaires.

Strengths and limitations

An important consideration underlying this study was to explore specific sexual minority groups. The previous chapters of this thesis have indicated that participants can hold different perceptions towards communities under SGM. This study has, therefore, acknowledged this and focused explicitly on attitudes towards gay men and bisexual men. In addition, previous research has identified gender differences; therefore, this study has focused on male participants' context. Future research should enhance the findings of this study and narrow the lens of their research further by focusing on attitudes towards gay or bisexual men and applying similar approaches to other well-defined SGM groups.

Another important consideration of this study was the intersectionality of characteristics that can inform prejudice. Whilst the study focused on the attitudes held amongst male participants, the researcher collected sexual orientation and gender identity data. Future research should, therefore, report on their participant inclusion criteria to ascertain the exact sexual orientations and additionally gender

identity of participants who identify as transgender, gender non-conforming or gender questioning. This consideration should be vital in developing research focusing on gender differences, as this could yield richer data and offer opportunities to gain further insight.

A limitation of this study is the sample size used (n=105). The sample supported the researchers in testing the study's hypotheses. However, there was insufficient power to conduct further testing on some of the collected variables. The first of these variables was ethnicity, as most of the sample was white British (78.1%), with the remaining 21.9% of participants from various ethnic backgrounds. Future research could, therefore, expand on this study by recruiting a sample group of participants from various ethnic backgrounds. This would elicit more significant discussion and understanding of whether there are differences in attitudes held amongst UK males based on the participant's ethnicity.

Whilst the study did not focus on the sexual orientation of the participants, these demographic data were collected. Historically, researchers have recruited a heterosexual population (Herek, 1988). This study, however, did not exclude participants who did not identify as heterosexual and, therefore, included participants who identified as gay, bisexual, and other sexual orientations not listed. Whilst this was exploratory research and no statistically significant results were identified between heterosexual and non-heterosexual participants, future research should continue to report the sexual orientation of its participants. This will provide opportunities to ascertain if this variable influences the research's findings.

While this study collected data from participants employed by CJS agencies, a limitation was that the small sample size of these professionals prevented the researcher from conducting further investigation into this variable. Therefore, Future

research could expand on this study's findings by further exploring the UK's regional CJS services. Literature has indicated that the UK's CJS is governed by three regional structures (Davies et al., 2005). Future research could, therefore, explore the different CJS agencies (police, prison, probation) in the context of the three regional structures. This approach could provide researchers with further insight into whether the UK's regional CJS services vary in their attitudes towards sexual minorities.

A limitation of this study's design is that participants were recruited online, and the researcher had no direct contact with them. While participants should have been limited to the UK, it is impossible to be sure that there were no participants from outside. In addition, the online forum and recruitment through social media may have influenced the type of CJS employees recruited. This could have enhanced an existing selection bias in which participants with more interest in the subject and possibly more accepting attitudes towards gay and bisexual men were more likely to take part. In addition, those with more significant negative attitudes towards these communities might show greater reservations about participating in research of this kind. The online forum could facilitate this avoidance.

Furthermore, it is unknown if there are differences between CJS employees having social media accounts and those who do not use social media. Due to the nature of their work or workplace policies, CJS employees might be encouraged to reduce their online presence to reduce the risk posed by offending populations. In addition, those with an online presence might be more technology adept and/or have greater acceptance towards sexual minorities. Future research could rectify these limitations through a face-to-face study design. The face-to-face design would also allow researchers to analyse whether there are differences between CJS employees

and the general population's online presence. This would assist future studies on the CJS utilising effective participant recruitment methods. While this would capture data from the correct sample population, face-to-face studies come with challenges and are more expensive to organise.

A limitation of this study is also indicated in its sample size. The study aimed to analyse regional locations and attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. However, it only recruited 10% of participants who resided in non-England (Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales). Therefore, this small sample may not accurately reflect the attitudes held amongst these regions. Future research should expand on this study by recruiting a larger sample from non-England regions to ascertain the attitudes toward gay and bisexual men.

The final limitation of this study is the ambiguity surrounding the terms rural and urban. Whilst this variable was collected from participants, participants were not asked to clarify their definition of rural or urban. This could have resulted in participants defining their location rather than the specific classification. Future research could develop a strict classification of rural and urban locations to reduce subjectivity in participants' decision-making. This is an important consideration as variation can exist between different types of rural areas and the classification of inner-city and suburban settings. In addition, by providing strict definitions, future research could avoid participants' self-defining the type of area in which they reside. This could provide clearer insight into whether this variable influences attitudes.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the objective of this study was to analyse whether there was a statistical difference in participants' attitudes towards gay and bisexual men based on their regional location, type of area, age, CJS employment and ability to mentalise. The study did not demonstrate significant differences between groups based on age, place of residence or CJS employment in this survey of UK males. In addition, the study was unable to find a statistical correlation between participants' ability to mentalise and attitude scores. However, it does have implications for future research that have been suggested. It is hoped from this research that, future studies can bridge the knowledge gaps in gay and bisexual male literature. This can increase awareness and identify any outstanding barriers to an inclusive society in the UK. It is important to look at demographic variables and attitudes and explore individual differences amongst the UK male population.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Overview

In recent years, academic and social commentary has highlighted differences globally in how countries support or persecute their SGM citizens (Ong et al.,2022; Haider, 2023; González-Cabrera, 2023). This thesis has introduced key theoretical concepts which may influence this difference. For example, the thesis has reflected that a country that incorporates heteronormative principles into its social norms will likely have a negative outcome for SGM (Corlett et al., 2023; Elliott, 2024; Rahman et al., 2023). Furthermore, the complex relationship between SGM identity and criminal or deviant definition creates societal cultures, which indicate high levels of mistrust held amongst SGM towards the CJS agencies designed to protect its citizens (Knight & Wilson, 2016). In addition, understanding oppression and attitudes towards SGM requires greater exploration into the specific communities that are grouped under this universal term. These marginalised groups will experience different levels and types of discrimination. For example, a white lesbian could experience sexism and anti-gay prejudice, whilst in contrast, a black gay man could encounter racism and anti-gay prejudice. The intersectionality of SGM is an essential consideration for research. In addition, there has been progress in research focused on society in general and SGM, SGM issues in specific institutions such as the Criminal Justice System (CJS), however, remain underexplored.

This thesis, therefore, aimed to broaden the existing literature and focus on the attitudes towards SGM communities. This aim was outlined through the following research objectives:

- To explore SGM service users' experience in the CJS.
- To evaluate and assess the Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay Men (ATLG) scale by exploring its psychometric properties.
- To explore factors associated with attitudes towards gay and bisexual men amongst men in the United Kingdom (UK).
- To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexual men in the UK.

The thesis incorporates four interlinked chapters. Chapter two presented a scoping review which explored the level of discrimination experienced by SGM service users in the CJS. Research has highlighted that societal attitudes can influence the level of discrimination experienced by SGM individuals. Chapter three was, therefore, designed to critically review and evaluate a commonly used attitudinal psychometric, the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG; Herek, 1988). Chapter four explored the attitudes held amongst males in the UK towards gay and bisexual men. This chapter focused explicitly on participants' demographics (age, regional location, type of area (rural or urban) & CJS employment) and introduced mentalisation (Fonagy & Bateman, 2016). The practical and theoretical implications and suggestions for future research are discussed in greater detail below.

Practical implications

The results of this thesis have practical implications for practitioners. The findings of this thesis' scoping review highlighted that SGM experiences high levels of discrimination in the CJS. Previous literature has suggested that individuals entering CJS settings will have a trauma history before entering these environments (Auty et al., 2023). A family member or intimate partner will have perpetrated this trauma. The findings of the scoping review indicate that SGM service users enter abusive relationships with peers whilst in custody. Therefore, these findings indicate that CJS creates environments that re-traumatise its service users. Prison settings, however, could reduce the risk of traumatisation through fostering recent initiatives. For example, the Trauma Informed approach (Petrillo, 2021) recognises the trauma that service users experience and implements five core components: safety, trust, choice, collaboration and empowerment (Knight & Borders, 2020). Through appropriate training, prison staff could incorporate the trauma-informed model into their practice. In addition, by recognising that service users entering CJS are already trauma survivors, this approach assists professionals in taking an empathic stance rather than a punitive approach to individuals in their care.

In addition, the scoping review demonstrated that CJS does not offer SGM-friendly spaces in its settings. Research indicates that historically, SGM safe spaces have provided sanctuary for SGM persecuted for their sexual or gender identity (Margetson, 2023). This further supports CJS settings in incorporating initiatives such as trauma-informed care (Petrillo, 2021). The inclusion of trauma-informed support would encourage professionals to attend and engage in training on different factors which increase the risk of traumatic experiences that marginalised communities face. Research indicates that in the context of SGM, these communities

encounter additional stressors as a direct result of their sexual or gender identity (Meyer, 2003). Throughout this thesis, minority stress has been a common point of discussion, and the results of the scoping review provide further evidence that this is still present in the lives of SGM. Through trauma-informed training, professionals would gain insight into the importance of creating SGM-friendly spaces in their establishments to offer safety away from the discrimination that their marginalised service users encounter.

The trauma-informed model also emphasises that professionals implement safe practices. The evidence of this thesis indicates that various CJS settings are currently unsafe, and professionals do not adhere to safe practices. This is further demonstrated in the results of the scoping review that SGM have been victim to verbal, physical and sexual assaults from professionals and peers. These findings raise significant concerns over the actions of both professionals and peers towards SGM service users. Therefore, this has practical implications for reviewing the current cultures in these settings and a necessity and urgency for greater trauma-informed practices. This would also provide opportunities to create SGM-friendly spaces, which would alleviate minority stress.

A barrier to implementing a trauma-informed approach is highlighted through two of the model's core components: trust and collaboration (Petrillo, 2021). The thesis's introductory chapter (Chapter One) provided an overview of literature demonstrating a complex and hostile relationship between SGM and CJS (Knight & Wilson, 2016). The findings of the thesis' scoping review provide further concerning results that reflect professionals maintaining a heteronormative cis-gendered culture that oppresses its SGM service users. This culture and the working practices of its

staff prevent opportunities to repair ruptures, instead perpetuating the hostile relationship between CJS and SGM. The trauma-informed model encourages professionals to foster trust with their service users through collaborative working, but SGM persecution will prevent this in practice. This is because SGM service users' experience with professionals is one in which staff are unable to create safe spaces for them and, in certain situations, are the perpetrators that re-traumatise them in these settings. These experiences will, therefore, maintain a high level of mistrust towards CJS from SGM. Whilst this is a barrier, the findings from this thesis indicate an urgent need for CJS agencies to act quickly and identify new initiatives. Through this, it is hoped that the level of discrimination that SGM service users currently encounter in these settings will be reduced.

Through the scoping review results, it was identified that prejudice underpinned the discrimination that SGM experienced. The remaining chapters, therefore, focused on attitudes towards specific SGM communities: gay and bisexual men. The thesis' third chapter critically evaluated one attitudinal psychometric: The ATLG scale (Herek, 1988). The ATLG was the first psychometric to recognise differences in attitudes towards the various communities under SGM. This provided further evidence supporting the thesis rationale to explore attitudes separately, with lesbians and gay men reporting differences in the discrimination they experienced. The relevance of this psychometric, however, in contemporary society was questioned. This was based on the problematic psychometric properties and dated terminology included in its items. Furthermore, the items reflected negative stereotypes that were underpinned by religious, heteronormative and cis-gendered values. These values promoted a singular stereotype of gay men that falsely aligned to the AIDS pandemic and multiple gender non-conforming stereotypes for lesbians.

The decline of religion in certain countries and developments in the treatment of AIDS may reduce the prevalence of a singular gay stereotype. The ATLG items may, therefore, no longer accurately reflect the prejudicial stereotypes individuals now hold towards gay men.

In addition, differences in global attitudes may prevent the generalisability of the ATLG across countries. For example, the research presented in this thesis's introductory chapter indicates that countries such as Uganda hold anti-gay prejudice, whilst Spain's recent legislation indicates a progressive culture (Haider, 2023; González-Cabrera, 2023). These differences suggest that the factors underpinning prejudice in these countries may vary; therefore, the ATLG would not accurately reflect this. An additional consideration is that the ATLG included medicalised terminology such as homosexuality when discussing lesbians and gay men. This term is no longer recognised amongst SGM communities, and the developments of new sexual orientations bring into question whether the items included in the ATLG accurately reflect what modern societies classify as lesbian and gay men. For example, a queer person or someone who is pansexual may enter a same-sex relationship. Same-sex relationships are discussed in several of the ATLG's items. Both communities would not have been considered during the time that ATLG was developed, and therefore, included items may no longer reflect attitudes towards lesbians and gay men exclusively.

The result of this thesis also indicates the importance of further research on SGM, specifically in CJS settings. Research, however, needs to acknowledge the complex relationship between the communities and these agencies (Knight & Wilson, 2016) and ensure the safety of SGM individuals who participate in studies.

Furthermore, researchers should review the prioritisation of research given to other protected characteristics (Brower, 2004) as this has a detrimental impact on and reflects the scarce literature on SGM issues in CJS. An additional practical implication of this thesis is the barriers to completing SGM research in CJS. This is reflected in the thesis statement, as the intended empirical study for this thesis had been designed to assess the attitudes held by prisoners in a male prison towards gay and bisexual men. Due to ethical processes, this was not viable and, therefore, provides further evidence of the challenges in conducting SGM research in CJS. Whilst these settings support vulnerable adults, the ethical processes to conduct research promoted the hidden status of SGM in CJS settings.

Theoretical implications

The thesis has also provided research with theoretical implications. The first of these is highlighted throughout the chapters, providing further evidence to support theoretical concepts such as heteronormativity (Corlett et al., 2023) and symbolic group threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2013; Mackey & Rios, 2023). The former was identified through the scoping review's evidence of discrimination that SGM service users encounter in CJS. Examples of this included the denial of gender-specific provisions for transgender service users. The absence of these provisions indicates that CJS settings maintain binary gender norms that assume the environment only contains individuals of one gender. In addition, the ATLG psychometric discussed in chapter three and administered in chapter four was devised in America during the 1980s. This country during this time held religious ideologies and cis-gendered attitudes towards gender identity. As the measure has not been revised, the items included in this psychometric reflect attitudinal questions constructed in a heteronormative culture. The inclusion of this psychometric in this thesis, therefore,

indicates the ongoing use of heteronormative measures still used in psychological research.

The thesis also provides evidence that a deviancy model rather than a criminal framework offers insight into SGM discrimination (Clinard & Meier, 2011). This is an important distinction as the countries included in the thesis' scoping review had all legalised sexual identity. In this context, a criminal framework would not be applicable as the communities residing in these countries would not be arrested for their sexual orientation. Instead, a deviancy model indicates that the discrimination encountered in chapter two may have been a result of SGM violating a heteronormative norm promoted in CJS. Furthermore, evidence supporting research to approach SGM from a deviancy framework was highlighted in chapter four. This chapter recruited participants from the UK, which does not criminalise SGM. Whilst this chapter did not provide any significant results, it did offer recommendations for future research to ascertain the current level of prejudice towards gay and bisexual men.

This thesis has also provided evidence of symbolic group threat when understanding the presence of discrimination (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). This concept argues that a marginalised group threatens the social positioning of another group. In the context of this thesis, the scoping review indicated that transwomen posed a symbolic threat to cisgender females in women's prisons. In addition, research has highlighted that religion is present in prison settings (Said & Butler, 2023; Ellis, 2021). Whilst this thesis did not directly review religion, it did identify high levels of discrimination towards SGM in the prison setting. Historically, religion has been identified as a factor associated with lower levels of tolerance towards SGM identities (Herek, 1988). The presence of religious ideology in these environments

could therefore influence the prison culture, especially within one holding heteronormative attitudes. The inclusion of SGM in these settings would directly threaten the social standing of anti-gay religious beliefs and heteronormative norms.

The thesis has expanded on previous definitions of discrimination (Demirtas-Madran, 2020), including microaggressions (Nadal et al., 2016). By evaluating existing definitions for both theoretical concepts, this thesis was able to devise a working definition that supported its scoping review and analyse discriminative practices that would have been categorised under microaggression. The thesis' working definition for discrimination recognised this as an action or behaviour aimed towards a person or group directly linked to their protected characteristic. This could include direct behaviours or microaggressions that are designed to mistreat the person or communicate a hostile message. Combining both concepts has allowed for a definition supporting future research focusing on marginalised groups' discrimination.

This thesis's final theoretical implication is the importance of considering intersectionality in research (Crenshaw, 1991). This concept argues that experiences are not exclusively based on one trait but instead require acknowledging that several characteristics form one's identity (Bešić, 2020). This thesis has demonstrated differences amongst SGM communities regarding the types of discrimination experienced. For example, transgender service users were denied gender-specific provisions, which had a detrimental effect on their psychological well-being whilst incarcerated. This form of victimisation, however, was less present amongst gay cisgender men. It, however, is not only the intersectionality of SGM but also diversity among research participants. In chapter three, the critique indicated that Herek (1988) recruited a predominantly Caucasian sample population. In addition, 78.1% of

Chapter Four's sample population were Caucasian males. This is an essential consideration for research as results must not be generalised to create a false narrative that argues that it reflects a male perspective but instead is an over-representation of Caucasian males.

Limitations

Whilst the thesis contributed to attitudinal research towards gay and bisexual men, it did have several limitations.

The first limitation of this thesis was that it did not conduct face-to-face research. Data collection for chapter four was conducted online. Whilst all participants in these chapters reported being male, the researcher could not confirm this. In addition, social media was utilised to recruit participants for chapter four. This could have affected the findings from both chapters as the participant group recruited may have held specific opinions on gay and bisexual men. Those with more traditional viewpoints on sexual orientation may not utilise social media outlets to engage in research.

Furthermore, chapter four notes an additional consideration regarding the uncertainty of CJS employees and their access to social media. These individuals may use these forums less frequently or avoid research projects following CJS policies. These factors could have influenced the recruitment approach utilised for this thesis, resulting in a cohort of participants not reflective of the male population in the UK.

Another limitation of this thesis was the sample size used in chapter four. This chapter aimed to explore participants' regional location and their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. The data collected, however, only reflected 10% of participants from Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales. This sample size raises

concerns about whether it reflects the attitudes towards both communities in these regions. In addition, the small sample size in these studies did not allow for further exploration of ethnic differences in attitudes towards gay and bisexual men.

Chapter four introduced the variable of type of location (rural or urban) in relation to attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. This variable was not clearly defined, so participants were required to self-define their residential location. This subjectivity within participant self-defining will have influenced the grouping of this variable and hindered the overall findings of this chapter.

The scoping review (chapter two) found greater research on SGM victimisation in prisons when compared to other CJS agencies (police, courts, probation). Furthermore, the scoping review identified that professionals had directly abused SGM service users. Whilst chapter four offered a continuation in the exploration of CJS factors, through reviewing CJS employment, it did not investigate attitudinal differences amongst these settings. This is an additional limitation as the thesis needs to highlight whether there are current attitudinal differences within the UK's CJS agencies, nor does it offer implications for professional practice.

Implications for future research

The findings from this thesis provide an opportunity for future research to explore the following areas:

- **Regional differences:** UK regions should be assessed separately to ascertain their attitudes towards gay and bisexual men and the factors which influence this.
- **Participants' sexual orientation:** Historically, research has focused on heterosexual attitudes towards SGM issues, and fewer studies have focused on the attitudes amongst SGM individuals towards other communities under

the SGM term. This research direction could offer insight into prejudicial attitudes within SGM.

- **Classification of rural and urban locations:** A stricter classification of rural and urban locations is needed to avoid subjectivity from participants self-defining their area. This could provide clearer insight into whether this variable influences attitudes.
- **CJS agencies:** This could offer an opportunity to explore the individual CJS agencies (police, prison, probation) and whether differences in attitudes are present amongst these settings. In addition, this allows research to explore whether a participant's job type or professional grade in the CJS influences their attitudes. Through this approach, researchers could identify whether the UK's CJS employees hold accepting attitudes towards sexual minorities or whether professional practice is underpinned by historical processes that adhere to the criminalisation of same-sex relationships. In addition, this would assist research to ascertain whether managerial staff implementing policies or frontline staff who follow procedures hold prejudicial attitudes towards gay and bisexual men.
- **Psychological factors:** This is an important area for future research as it can offer professionals insight into understanding the development and maintenance of derogatory stereotypes and discriminative attitudes. Through greater knowledge, researchers and practitioners could inform therapeutic interventions such as mentalisation and mindfulness, which could aid in reducing these negative internal states.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided an opportunity to review the existing literature on attitudinal perspectives towards SGM individuals. The scoping review (chapter two) shows that SGM service users experience frequent discrimination in CJS settings, including verbal, physical and sexual abuse, along with barriers to meeting their needs and profound feelings of safety. The thesis has explored some demographic and psychological variables that may influence attitudes toward people from SGM communities. Although the findings here were largely non-significant, the thesis offers practical and theoretical implications and directions for future research.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Chapter Two's full search strategy syntax for scoping review

Ti.ab. [titles and abstracts]

MEDLINE- (21/06/2024) – via Ovid- Total hits: 3,956

1. exp "Sexual and Gender Minorities"/
2. exp Homosexuality/
3. (LGB* or homosexual* or gay* or lesbian* or bisexual* or bi or queer or intersex or asexual* or trans or transgender* or gender* or pangender or pansexual* or non-hetero* or nonhetero* or non-cisgender or non-binary or nonbinary). ti, ab.
4. ((sexual adj1 (minorit* or identit* or orient*)) or (gender* adj1 (minorit* or identit* or orient* or "non-conforming" or "nonconforming" or questioning or fluid* or diverse))). ti, ab.
5. "Men who have sex with men". ti, ab.
6. "Men who have sex with men and women". ti, ab.
7. "Men who have sex with women and men". ti, ab.
8. "Women who have sex with women". ti, ab.
9. "Women who have sex with men and women". ti, ab.
10. "Women who have sex with women and men". ti, ab.
11. 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10
12. exp Social Discrimination/
13. (microagression* or micro-aggression*). ti, ab.
14. (bias* or prejudice* or discrimin* or mis-gender* or misgender* or bigot* or intoleran* or victimi#ation or victimi#ed or marginali#ed or stigma* or harass* or insult*). ti, ab.
15. (negative* adj1 (perception* or perceive* or view* or attitude*)). ti, ab.
16. 12 or 13 or 14 or 15
17. (prison* or probation* or court* or jail* or felon* or perp* or "secure unit*" or forensic or crim* or offen* or custod* or police or detent* or arrest* or delinquen* or justice or juvenile). ti, ab.
18. (judiciary or penitentiar* or correction* or incarcerat* or inmate* or imprison* or convicted or accused or legal or prosecut*). ti, ab.
19. ((justice or legal or judicial or court or penal) adj3 system*). ti, ab.
20. 17 or 18 or 19
21. 11 and 16 and 20
22. limit 21 to (english language and yr="2010 -Current")

PsycINFO - (21/06/2024) – via Ovid- Total hits: 6,028

1. (Sexual and Gender Minorities).mp. [mp=title, abstract, heading word, table of contents, key concepts, original title, tests & measures, mesh word]
2. exp Homosexuality/
3. (LGB* or homosexual* or gay* or lesbian* or bisexual* or bi or queer or intersex or asexual* or trans or transgender* or gender* or pangender or pansexual* or non-hetero* or nonhetero* or non-cisgender or non-binary or nonbinary). ti, ab.

4. ((sexual adj1 (minorit* or identit* or orient*)) or (gender* adj1 (minorit* or identit* or orient* or "non-conforming" or "nonconforming" or questioning or fluid* or diverse))). ti, ab.
5. "Men who have sex with men". ti, ab.
6. "Men who have sex with men and women". ti, ab.
7. "Men who have sex with women and men". ti, ab.
8. "Women who have sex with women". ti, ab.
9. "Women who have sex with men and women". ti, ab.
10. "Women who have sex with women and men". ti, ab.
11. 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10
12. exp Social Discrimination/
13. (microagression* or micro-aggression*). ti, ab.
14. (bias* or prejudice* or discrimin* or mis-gender* or misgender* or bigot* or intoleran* or victimi#ation or victimi#ed or marginali#ed or stigma* or harass* or insult*). ti, ab.
15. (negative* adj1 (perception* or perceive* or view* or attitude*)). ti, ab.
16. 12 or 13 or 14 or 15
17. (prison* or probation* or court* or jail* or felon* or perp* or "secure unit*" or forensic or crim* or offen* or custod* or police or detent* or arrest* or delinquen* or justice or juvenile). ti, ab.
18. (judiciary or penitentiar* or correction* or incarcerat* or inmate* or imprison* or convicted or accused or legal or prosecut*). ti, ab.
19. ((justice or legal or judicial or court or penal) adj3 system*). ti, ab.
20. 17 or 18 or 19
21. 11 and 16 and 20
22. limit 21 to (english language and yr="2010 -Current")

EMBASE – (21/06/2024) – via Ovid- Total hits: 5,487

1. exp "sexual and gender minority"/
2. exp homosexuality/
3. (LGB* or homosexual* or gay* or lesbian* or bisexual* or bi or queer or intersex or asexual* or trans or transgender* or gender* or pangender or pansexual* or non-hetero* or nonhetero* or non-cisgender or non-binary or nonbinary). ti, ab.
4. ((sexual adj1 (minorit* or identit* or orient*)) or (gender* adj1 (minorit* or identit* or orient* or "non-conforming" or "nonconforming" or questioning or fluid* or diverse))). ti, ab.
5. "Men who have sex with men". ti, ab.
6. "Men who have sex with men and women". ti, ab.
7. "Men who have sex with women and men". ti, ab.
8. "Women who have sex with women". ti, ab.
9. "Women who have sex with men and women". ti, ab.
10. "Women who have sex with women and men". ti, ab.
11. 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10
12. exp social discrimination/
13. (microagression* or micro-aggression*). ti, ab.
14. (bias* or prejudice* or discrimin* or mis-gender* or misgender* or bigot* or intoleran* or victimi#ation or victimi#ed or marginali#ed or stigma* or harass* or insult*). ti, ab.

15. (negative* adj1 (perception* or perceive* or view* or attitude*)). ti, ab.
16. 12 or 13 or 14 or 15
17. (prison* or probation* or court* or jail* or felon* or perp* or "secure unit*" or forensic or crim* or offen* or custod* or police or detent* or arrest* or delinquen* or justice or juvenile). ti, ab.
18. (judiciary or penitentiar* or correction* or incarcerat* or inmate* or imprison* or convicted or accused or legal or prosecut*). ti, ab.
19. ((justice or legal or judicial or court or penal) adj3 system*). ti, ab.
20. 17 or 18 or 19
21. 11 and 16 and 20
22. limit 21 to (english language and yr="2010 -Current")

Appendix B: Chapter two's data extraction form

Data extraction			
1) Study Information:			
Paper title:			
Author(s)			
Year published			
Article type (e.g., journal, doctoral thesis etc.)			
Country research completed			
Study ID			
2) Study Characteristics:			
Quantitative			☐
Qualitative			☐
Study design (e.g., cross sectional etc)			
Study aims			
Study factors	Experience of SGM discrimination	How was it measured:	
		What the experience was:	
Location/setting:			
3) Participant characteristics:			
Age information			
Gender Identity			

Sexual Orientation	
Ethnicity breakdown	
Sample size	
Recruitment method	
4) Study results (only those relevant to the review question noted):	
Analysis used	
Findings	
5) Conclusion/Summary:	
6) Strengths and Limitations	
7) Any other important/relevant information:	

Appendix C: Chapter two's Table of excluded articles at full text review stage

Table of excluded articles at full text review stage

	Reference	Reason for Exclusion
1	Philbin, M. M., Kinnard, E. N., Tanner, A. E., Ware, S., Chambers, B. D., Ma, A., & Fortenberry, J. D. (2018). The association between incarceration and transactional sex among HIV-infected young men who have sex with men in the United States. *Journal of Urban Health*, *95*, 576-583.	Doesn't examine discrimination
2.	Thompson, A., Baquero, M., English, D., Calvo, M., Martin-Howard, S., Rowell-Cunsolo, T., ... & Brahmbhatt, D. (2021). Associations between experiences of police contact and discrimination by the police and courts and health outcomes in a representative sample of adults in New York City. *Journal of urban health*, *98*, 727-741.	Doesn't focus on Criminal justice participants
3	Scheibe, A., Howell, S., Müller, A., Katumba, M., Langen, B., Artz, L., & Marks, M. (2016). Finding solid ground: law enforcement, key populations and their health and rights in South Africa. *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, *19*, 20872.	Not an empirical study

4	Salerno, J. M., Murphy, M. C., & Bottoms, B. L. (2014). Give the kid a break—but only if he's straight: Retributive motives drive biases against gay youth in ambiguous punishment contexts. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *20*(4), 398.	Non- forensic participant sample
5	Phillips, C. J. (2010). Toward a healthier tomorrow: competent health and HIV care for transgender persons. *Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care*, *21*(3), 183-185.	Not an empirical study
6	Ricciardelli, R., Grills, S., & Craig, A. (2016). Constructions and negotiations of sexuality in Canadian federal men's prisons. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *63*(12), 1660-1684.	Participants not SGM
7	Arguello, J. C. (2020). Developing policies for adult sexual minorities with mental health needs in secured settings. *CNS spectrums*, *25*(5), 618-623.	Not an empirical study
8	Einat, T. (2013). Rape and consensual sex in male Israeli prisons: are there differences with Western prisons? *The Prison Journal*, *93*(1), 80-101.	Participants not SGM
9	Mountz, S. (2020). Remapping pipelines and pathways: Listening to queer and transgender youth of color's trajectories through girls' juvenile justice facilities. *Affilia*, *35*(2), 177-199.	Doesn't examine discrimination in criminal justice

10	Hail-Jares, K., Cumming, C., Young, J. T., Borschmann, R., Lennox, N., & Kinner, S. A. (2023). Self-harm and suicide attempts among incarcerated lesbian, gay and bisexual people in Australia. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *57*(4), 562-571.	Doesn't examine discrimination in criminal justice
11	McCarter, S. (2017). The school-to-prison pipeline: A primer for social workers. *Social work*, *62*(1), 53-61.	Not an empirical study
12	Rogers, S. A., & Rogers, B. A. (2024). Trans men's pathways to incarceration. In *Intersectional Experiences and Marginalized Voices* (pp. 137-156). Routledge.	Request made to author. Unable to access.
13	Enoch, R. (2015). Understanding the Lived Experiences of Transgender Inmates.	Request made to author. Unable to access
14	Siegert-Horgeshimer, M. (2021). *The Incarceration of Transgender Women: A Narrative Perspective of Life Before, During, and After Involvement with the Correctional System* (Doctoral dissertation, The Chicago School of Professional Psychology).	Request made to author. Unable to access.
15	Panfil, V. R. (2014). "I will fight you like I'm straight": Gay gang-and crime-involved men's participation in violence. *Handbook of LGBT communities, crime, and justice*, 121-145.	Participants not CJS

16	Mirabito, L. A., & Lecci, L. (2021). The impact of anti-gay bias on verdicts and sentencing with gay defendants. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, *33*(1), 32-55.	Participants not CJS
17	Barth, T. (2012). Relationships and sexuality of imprisoned men in the German penal system—a survey of inmates in a Berlin prison. *International journal of law and psychiatry*, *35*(3), 153-158	Not an empirical study
18	Baćak, V. (2023). Looking back: Victimization of transgender persons and the criminal legal system. *American journal of public health*, *113*(10), 1043-1045.	Not an empirical study
19	Byrd, J. (2020). *Transgender Protection and Best Practices in the Prison Setting* (Doctoral dissertation, Walden University).	Participants not SGM with offending histories
20	Dwyer, A., Bond, C. E., Ball, M., Lee, M., & Crofts, T. (2022). Support provided by LGBTI police liaison services: An analysis of a survey of LGBTIQ people in Australia. *Police Quarterly*, *25*(1), 33-58.	Participants do not have offending histories
21	Carr, N., Serisier, T., & McAlister, S. (2020). Sexual deviance in prison: Queering identity and intimacy in prison research. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, *20*(5), 551-563.	Not an empirical study
22	Erickson, M., Shannon, K., Ranville, F., Pooyak, S., Howard, T., McBride, B., ... & Krüsi, A. (2022). “They look at you like you’re contaminated”: how HIV-related stigma shapes access to	Participants not SGM

	care for incarcerated women living with HIV in a Canadian setting. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *113*(2), 282-292.	
23	Pemberton, S. (2013). Enforcing gender: The constitution of sex and gender in prison regimes. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *39*(1), 151-175.	Not an empirical study
24	Andrinopoulos, K., Figueroa, J. P., Kerrigan, D., & Ellen, J. M. (2011). Homophobia, stigma and HIV in Jamaican prisons. *Culture, health & sexuality*, *13*(2), 187-200.	Participants not SGM
25	Blackburn, A. G., Fowler, S. K., Mullings, J. L., & Marquart, J. W. (2011). Too close for comfort: Exploring gender differences in inmate attitudes toward homosexuality in prison. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, *36*, 58-72.	Does not focus on discrimination
26	Caraves, J. (2018). Straddling the school-to-prison pipeline and gender non-conforming microaggressions as a Latina lesbian. *Journal of LGBT youth*, *15*(1), 52-69.	Does not explore discrimination in CJS

Appendix D: Chapter three's The Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay men (ATLG) full scale

The ATLG scale (Herek,1988).

Scale Items for Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale items 1 through 10 comprise the ATL subscale; items 11-20 constitute the ATG. Short form items are 1, 4, 5, 7, 10 (ATL-S); 12, 14, 15, 18, 20 (ATG-S). Scoring is reversed for starred (*) items. Based on respondent's comments, items #1 and #4 were reworded slightly from their form in Herek (1984b) to clarify their meaning.

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.
2. A woman's homosexuality should *not* be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.*
3. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.
4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.*
5. Female homosexuality is a sin.
6. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.
7. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.*
8. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.
9. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.
10. Lesbians are sick.
11. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.*
12. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.
13. Male homosexuals should *not* be allowed to teach school.
14. Male homosexuality is a perversion.
15. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.*
16. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.
17. I would *not* be too upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual.*
18. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.
19. The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me.
20. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should *not* be condemned.*

Appendix E: Chapter four's recruitment poster

Appendix F: Chapter four's information sheet

Local Letterhead to be added

Information and Consent page for an Online Survey/Questionnaire

Participant Information Sheet
(Final version 2.0: 12/03/2022)

Title of Study: To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexuality in the UK.
Name of Chief Investigator: Dr Shihning Chou
Local Researcher(s): Prof Tom Dening & Nathan Rollins

Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences Research Ethics Ref:

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study. Before you decide we would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you.

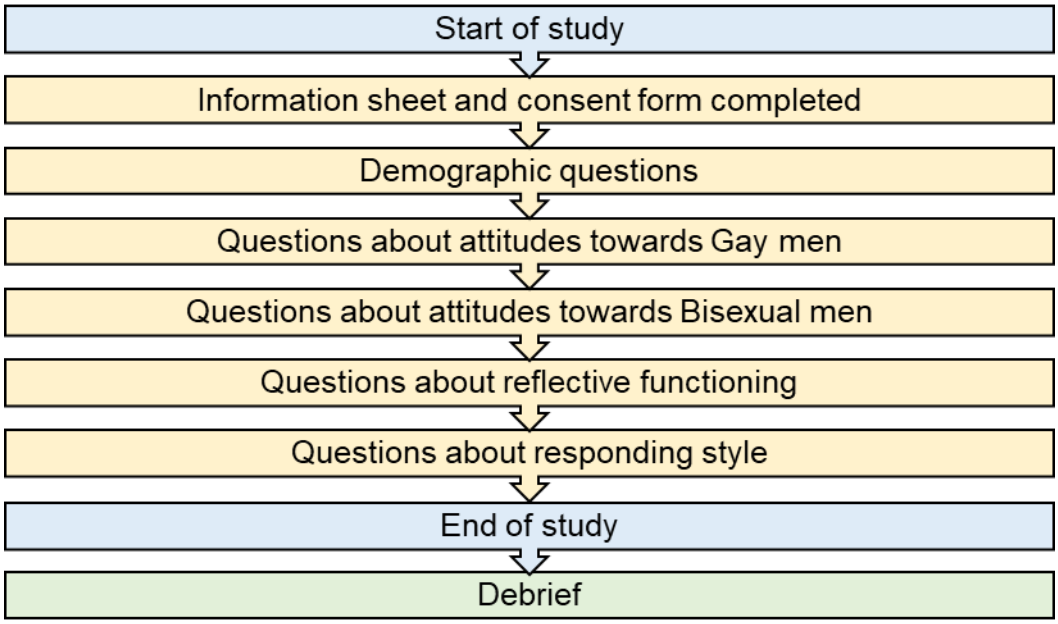
What is the purpose of the study?
The purpose of this study is to gain insight into the attitudes held amongst the men who currently reside in the UK towards gay and bisexual men.

Why have I been invited?
You are being invited to take part because you are currently over the age of 18, reside in the United Kingdom and identify as male. We are inviting 92 participants like you to take part.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether to take part. This information sheet is designed to provide a clear explanation on the study. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?
If you wish to take part in this study, you will be asked to read through the information sheet and consent form. Following this you will be asked to click NEXT. This will confirm that you give consent to start the study. If you do not wish to give consent and do not want to participate in this study, you can click EXIT which will indicate that you do not consent.
The study will consist of 5 questionnaires. The study should take no longer than 20 minutes. On completing the questionnaires, you will be asked to click SUBMIT. This will explain that you have completed the study. You will be directed to an electronic debrief page which will outline the study's aims and will signpost relevant support services if you require.
If during the study you decide to withdraw your data, you can do so by exiting the questionnaires and closing your web browser. If you choose to withdraw your data

after completing the study, you will need to contact the researchers directly (details below).
Please see the flowchart below which explains what happens at each stage of the study.



Expenses and payments
Participants will not be paid to participate in the study.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
This study will explore attitudes towards gay and bisexual men. It is possible that some of the survey questions presented make you feel uncomfortable or upset. We have provided details of support services in the debrief following the questionnaires in case this is needed.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
We cannot promise the study will help you but the information we get from this study may help in gaining an understanding of the current attitudes held amongst men towards gay and bisexual males.

What happens when the research study stops?
The data which you provide will be analysed and will be included as part of an academic thesis.

What if there is a problem?
If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please do not hesitate to contact the main researcher (Nathan Rollins), who will do their best to answer your questions. The researchers' contact details are given at the end of this information sheet. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the chief investigator (Shihning Chou).

Who will know I have taken part in the study?

No one will know you have taken part in this study because we will not ask for your name or any other personal ID during this questionnaire. Your IP address will not be visible to or stored by the research team because an online survey platform is being used which receives and stores an IP address but enables this detail to be filtered out before it is transferred to the research team. As with any online related activity the risk of breach is possible, but this risk is being minimized by using a platform that sits on an encrypted webpage.

What will happen to your data?
When you have clicked the submit button at the end of the questionnaire, it will be uploaded into a password protected database with a code number. The research team will not be able to see who it is from and for this reason it will not be possible to withdraw the data at this point. Your data (research data) will be stored in a password-protected folder sitting on a restricted access server at the University under the terms of its data protection policy. Data is kept for a minimum of 7 years and then deleted.

This questionnaire is for a Doctorate project and the answers received from all participants will be combined in a password protected database ready for analysis. The results will be written up as a dissertation and may be used in academic publications and presentations.

In accordance with the University of Nottingham's, the Government's, and our funders' policies the overall anonymised data from this study may be shared with researchers in other Universities and organisations, including those in other countries, for research in health and social care. Sharing research data is important to allow peer scrutiny, re-use (and therefore avoiding duplication of research) and to understand the bigger picture in particular areas of research.

The only personal data we will receive is your e-mail if you contact us to ask further questions or need support. This will be received and handled separately from your completed questionnaire, and it will not be possible to link the sets of data. Your e-mail address will only be kept as long as needed to resolve your query. It will then be deleted from the system. For further information about how the university processes personal data please
see: https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/utilities/privacy.aspx/

Who will have access to your data?
The University of Nottingham is the data controller (legally responsible for data security), and the Supervisor of this study (named above) is the data custodian (manages access to the data) and as such will determine how your data is used in the study. Your research and personal data will be used for the purposes of the research only. Research is a task that we perform in the public interest.

Responsible members of the University of Nottingham may be given access to data for monitoring and/or audit of the study to ensure it is being carried out correctly.

Who is organising and funding the research?
This research is being organised by the University of Nottingham.

Who has reviewed the study?
This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by the University of Nottingham Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (ref no: FMHS 444-0122).

If you wish to complain formally, you should then contact the FMHS Research Ethics Committee Administrator E-mail: FMHS-ResearchEthics@nottingham.ac.uk

Further Information and contact details

Chief Investigator: Dr Shihning Chou
Associate Professor
HCPC Registered Forensic Psychologist
Email: shihning.chou@nottingham.ac.uk

Co-investigators: Nathan Rollins
Trainee Forensic Psychologist
Student on the Top-up Doctorate in Forensic Psychology at the University of Nottingham
Email: Nathan.rollins@nottingham.ac.uk

Co-Investigators: Tom Dening
Professor of Dementia Research
Deputy Director, Mental Health & Clinical Neurosciences
Email: tom.dening@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix G: Chapter four's consent form

CONSENT FORM
(Final version 1.0: 27/01/2022)

Title of Study: To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexuality in the UK.

Name of Researcher: Nathan Rollins
Supervisors: Dr Shihning Chou, Prof Tom Dening,

	Please initial box
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet version number 1 dated 27/01/2022 for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions	☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. I understand that should I withdraw then the information collected so far cannot be erased and that this information may still be used in the project analysis.	☐
3. I confirm that I am 18 years or above in age	☐
4. I currently reside in the United Kingdom	☐
5. I identify as male at the time of participating in this study	☐
6. I understand that my personal details will be kept confidential.	☐
7. I understand that the information collected about me will be used to support other research in the future and may be shared anonymously with other researchers.	☐
8. I agree to take part in the above study	☐

Click **NEXT** if you consent to take part in this study

Click **EXIT** if you do not consent

Appendix H: Chapter four's demographic questionnaire

Demographic questionnaire
(Version 2.0 date: 12.03.2022)

Title of Study: To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexuality in the UK.

Instructions: Please complete the following demographic information. All personal information will be kept completely confidential and none of the responses you provide will be connected to your name or other identifying information.

1. Age: _____

2. Which of the following options best describes how you think of yourself?

Male [including trans man] ☐

Other (specify) _____

3a. Current residential region

Cymru Wales	☐	Northern Ireland	☐
East Midlands	☐	Scotland	☐
East of England	☐	South-East	☐
London	☐	South-West	☐
North-East & Cumbria	☐	West Midlands	☐
North-West	☐	Yorkshire & the Humber	☐

3b. which of the following options best describes the area which you currently live in?

Urban location (This includes towns, cities, and suburbs) ☐
Rural location (This includes in the countryside) ☐

4. Ethnicity:

Asian Bangladeshi ☐	Asian Indian ☐	Asian Pakistani ☐	Asian Other ☐
Black African ☐	Black Caribbean ☐	Black Other ☐	Chinese ☐
Mixed African ☐	Mixed Asian ☐	Mixed Caribbean ☐	Mixed other ☐
White British (English, Welsh, Scottish) ☐	White Irish ☐	White Irish Traveller or Gypsy ☐	White Other ☐

5. Sexual orientation
Which of the following options best describes how you think of yourself?

Heterosexual or Straight ☐ Bisexual ☐

Gay or Lesbian ☐ Other sexual orientation not listed ☐

6. Criminal Justice System

6a. Do you or have you worked in the UK's criminal justice system?
(This includes working with individuals with forensic histories in prison, probation, the NHS and or community services)

Yes ☐ No ☐

6b. Have you ever been arrested or charged for breaking a law?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6c. Have you ever spent time in a jail, prison, or juvenile detention centre?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Thank you for completing this information. Please continue to the next questionnaire of the study.

Appendix I: Chapter four's Attitudes Towards Lesbian and Gay men, Gay men subscale (ATG)

The Attitudes Towards Gay Men Scale (ATG)

Please read each of the following statements and rate them according to how accurately they describe your attitudes and beliefs. Please respond honestly and answer every question according to the rating scale below.

1. strongly disagree

2. disagree somewhat

3. neither agree nor disagree (for 5-point scales only)

4. agree somewhat

5. strongly agree

1)	Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples	1 2 3 4 5
2)	I think male homosexuals are disgusting	1 2 3 4 5
3)	Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school	1 2 3 4 5
4)	Male homosexuality is a perversion	1 2 3 4 5
5)	Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men	1 2 3 4 5
6)	If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them	1 2 3 4 5
7)	I would not be too upset to learn that my son was a homosexual	1 2 3 4 5
8)	Homosexual behaviour between two men is just plain wrong	1 2 3 4 5
9)	The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me	1 2 3 4 5
10)	Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.	1 2 3 4 5

Appendix J: Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale (ARBS-M)

Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale - Male Form (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999)

Please read each of the following statements and rate them according to how accurately
they describe your attitudes and beliefs. Please respond honestly and answer every question according to the rating scale below.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5
Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

____ 1. Most men who claim to be bisexual are in denial about their true sexual orientation.
____ 2. Male bisexuality is harmful to society because it breaks down the natural divisions
between the sexes.
____ 3. Gay men are less confused about their sexuality than bisexual men.
____ 4. Bisexuality in men is immoral.
____ 5. Just like homosexuality and heterosexuality, bisexuality is a stable sexual orientation for men.
____ 6. Bisexual men are sick.
____ 7. Most men who identify as bisexual have *not* yet discovered their true sexual orientation.
____ 8. Male bisexuality is *not* a perversion.
____ 9. Most men who call themselves bisexual are temporarily experimenting with their
sexuality.
____ 10. As far as I'm concerned, male bisexuality is unnatural.
____ 11. Male bisexuals are afraid to commit to one lifestyle.
____ 12. The growing acceptance of male bisexuality indicates a decline in British values.

Appendix K: Chapter four's The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIRD-16) Impression Management subscale.

The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding short form (BIDR-16)
Impression Management Subscale

Please read the following 8 statements and rate using the Please respond honestly and answer every question according to the rating scale below.

1 – Very untrue
2 – Untrue
3 – Somewhat untrue
4 – Neutral
5 – Somewhat true
6 – True
7 – Very true

1 I sometimes tell lies if I have to. *
2 I never cover up my mistakes.
3 There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone *
4 I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. *
5 I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back *
6 When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
7 I never take things that don't belong to me.
8 I don't gossip about other people's business.

*Note: * Item is reversed scored*

Appendix L: Chapter four's The Reflective Functioning Questionnaire

The Reflective Functioning Questionnaire

Please work through the next 8 statements. For each statement, choose a number between 1 and 7 to say how much you disagree or agree with the statement, and write it beside the statement. Do not think too much about it – your initial responses are usually the best. Thank you.

Use the following scale from 1 to 7:

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly agree

1. __ People's thoughts are a mystery to me **(original item 1)**

2. __ I don't always know why I do what I do **(original item 17)**

3. __ When I get angry I say things without really knowing why I am saying them **(original item 22)**

4. __ When I get angry I say things that I later regret **(original item 29)**

5. __ If I feel insecure I can behave in ways that put others' backs up **(original item 35)**

6. __ Sometimes I do things without really knowing why **(original item 36)**

7. __ I always know what I feel **(original item 8)**

8. __ Strong feelings often cloud my thinking **(original item 27)**

Appendix M: Chapter Four's debrief form

Debrief page for an online survey/ questionnaire
Title of Study: To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexuality in the UK.

Thank you for taking part in this study.

Aim of the study
The aim of this study was to explore the current attitudes held by men in the UK towards gay and bisexual males. In addition, the study also is looking at the influence of age, regional location, area classification such as rural or urban, contact with the criminal justice system and the ability to mentalize has on these attitudes. Mentalizing refers to the ability to recognise the influence that our own and other actions have on thoughts and feelings (Bateman & Fonagy, 2016). Your responses will be scored and analysed by the chief investigator and co-investigator.

If you have experienced distress from taking part in this study, please contact your local GP where appropriate support services can be offered. Alternatively, if you do not want to contact your local GP, we have provided the contact details for support services who you may wish to contact. Please see contact details below:

Stonewall
Opening hours: 9:30am to 4:30pm, Monday to Friday
Freephone: 0800 050 2020
Website: https://www.stonewall.org.uk/help-and-advice

Switchboard LGBT+ Helpline
Opening hours: 10am to 10pm every day
Telephone number: 0300 330 0630
Website: https://switchboard.lgbt

Samaritans
Opening hours: support is offered 24 hours 365 days a year
Telephone number: 116 123
Website: https://www.samaritans.org/

Mind
Opening hours: 9am to 6pm, Monday to Friday (except for bank holidays).
Telephone number: 0300 123 3393
Website: https://www.mind.org.uk/

If you have any queries regarding the study, please do not hesitate to contact either the chief investigator or co-investigator from the information below.

Further Information and contact details

Chief Investigator: Dr Shihning Chou
Associate Professor
HCPC Registered Forensic Psychologist

Co-investigators: Nathan Rollins
Trainee Forensic Psychologist

Email: shihning.chou@nottingham.ac.uk

Student on the Top-up Doctorate in Forensic Psychology at the University of Nottingham
Email: Nathan.rollins@nottingham.ac.uk

Co-Investigators: Tom Dening
Professor of Dementia Research
Deputy Director, Mental Health & Clinical Neurosciences
Email: tom.dening@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix N: Chapter four ethics approval letter

University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences
Research Ethics Committee
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28 February 2022

Nathan Rollins
Trainee Forensic Psychologist
Top-up Doctorate in Forensic Psychology Student
Centre for Forensic and Family Psychology
Mental Health and Clinical Neurosciences
School of Medicine
Yang Fuijia Building
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Wollaton Road
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Dear Mr Rollins

Ethics Reference No: FMHS 444-0122 **– please always quote**	
Study Title: To explore attitudes amongst men towards gay and bisexuality in the UK	
Chief Investigator/Supervisor: Shihning Chou, Associate Professor/HCPC Registered Forensic Psychologist, Mental Health and Clinical Neurosciences, School of Medicine (SoM)	
Lead Investigators/student: Nathan Rollins, Top-up Doctorate in Forensic Psychology, SoM	
Other Key investigators: Tom Dening, Professor of Dementia Research, Mental Health and Clinical Neurosciences, SoM	
Proposed Start Date: 01/03/2022	**Proposed End Date:** 30/09/2022

Thank you for submitting the above application which was considered by a sub-committee on 11 February 2022. The following documents were received:

- FMHS REC Application form and supporting documents version 1.1: 20/01/2022

These have been reviewed and are satisfactory and the project is given a favourable ethics opinion.

A favourable ethics opinion is given on the understanding that:

1. The protocol agreed is followed and the Committee is informed of any changes using a notice of amendment form (please request a form).
2. The Chair is informed of any serious or unexpected event.
3. An End of Project Progress Report is completed and returned when the study has finished (Please request a form).

Yours sincerely

pp Williams

Dr John Williams, Associate Professor in Anaesthesia and Pain Medicine
Chair, Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee