

A Cross-Cultural Investigation Into the Sociocultural Factors That Influence Gender Identity in Polyadic Family Systems

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Introduction

Gender Identity as A Sociocultural Construct

Gender roles (GR) are multifaceted products of sociocultural evolution that establish a normative framework for expected social behaviour based on an individual's presenting gender (Eagly & Wood, 2012). GRs are deeply ingrained in cultural gender norms (GN), which in turn shape and influence gender identity (GI) at the individual level. While proponents of gender-essential psychology maintain that gender is a biological, immutable construct (Hall, 1904; Gould, 1981; Heyman & Giles, 2006), empirical evidence has consistently undermined these claims, pointing instead to the development and expression of GI as being an exceedingly complex and an iteratively evolving sociocultural process (Lindsey, 2015).

While it is unwise to entirely disregard the biology of gender, it is indisputable that social and cultural landscapes hold direct influence over the construction and expression of individual GI (Lindsey, 2015). Importantly, parental figures serve as salient models for children who observe and imitate their gendered behaviour from birth (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Halim et al. (2014) underscores the critical importance of parental attitudes toward gender, which significantly predict a child's adherence to social GNs. Furthermore, the cultural variance of GNs themselves impacts intergenerational transmission of gender ideology (Bem, 1993; Lerner, 2018), with Bolak (1997) observing that *"structural conditions and cultural ideology interact to construct a gendered division of family work."*

In light of these findings, we define GI as a dynamic, intricately crafted sociocultural process shaped by upbringing, socialization, and cultural GNs (Beal, 1994; Carter, 2014; Lerner, 2018; Leaper, 2018; Dess et al., 2018). While the biology of gender is pertinent, evidence points to the prime importance of sociocultural factors in shaping GI in childhood and adolescence and thus, these will be the variables this study endeavours to explore.

However, despite increasing investigations into the sociocultural processes of gender, most work has been constrained within Western-Educated-Industrialised-Rich-Democratic (WEIRD) frameworks. Contemporary gender research overwhelmingly focuses on nuclear families and binary parental investment, as is the norm in WEIRD, heteronormative societies. This neglects studying the influence of polyadic families and community-level childrearing on GI as they lie outside WEIRD standards (Sear, 2016).

The prioritization of WEIRD norms has further been highlighted by scholars (Snider, 2016). For instance, Snider (2016) argues that narrow focus on heterosexual parenting and binary GRs in traditional nuclear families overlooks the diversity of GIs that exist within families and communities. Moreover, a limited understanding of the family and community's roles in shaping GI has important implications for social policy and practice. For example, in countries where policies are designed based on the assumption that a nuclear family is the norm, non-nuclear families may face legal, economic, and social barriers (Cook, 2002). Additionally, health care providers may overlook the importance of community-level support in promoting gender-affirming practices, leading to inadequate care for transgender, non-binary, and gender-nonconforming individuals (Telfer et al., 2018).

Thus, psychological investigation into GRs is constrained within WEIRD paradigms, limiting its practical applicability and generalisability. Evidently, further research is needed to examine GI construction, accounting for the influence of cultural norms and dynamic family structures that exist outside WEIRD conceptions of gender, family, and society.

Research Proposal

We propose investigating the sociocultural factors that influence GI, particularly, the role cultural GNs and family structure (FS) play in shaping GI. Our investigation will be informed by Erikson's psychosocial development framework (1950), which provides a lens through which to understand the dynamic interplay between cultural norms, individual experiences, and socialization processes across age-groups. Since we aim to understand how cultural differences and diverse FSs influence GI, we will focus on three cross-cultural groups that lie outside the tenets of WEIRD societies. For this study, the (A) Mosuo, (B) Araweté, and (C) polygamous, non-heteronormative family systems act as suitable research groups. Each group provides a unique familial structure to examine the expression and self-construal of GRs within their highly contrasting cultural contexts, as discussed below.

The Mosuo are a matrilineal society in Southwest China, where women hold economic power with no social concept of marriage. Walking marriages where couples freely choose their partners and live as they wish dictates social structure, and adults collectively raise children without binary conceptions of parenthood. The Araweté tribe in South America, contrastingly, believe that a child can have multiple biological fathers and that all men in the community share responsibility for childrearing. On the other end, Polygamous families, found in many WEIRD societies yet consistently understudied, involve one person having multiple spouses. In these families, GRs and expectations vary depending on the specific polyadic relationship and roles assigned to each spouse.

Design

Studying the sociocultural variables that influence GI requires an approach that considers the universal aspects of GI and culturally specific GNs. To address this complexity, a sequential explanatory, cross-sectional process emphasising qualitative data collection will be used in this study (Matsumoto, 2012). Three arguments underpin justification for the chosen design.

First, GI can be objectively analysed as it has universally measurable traits (Bem, 1974).

Contrastingly, GNs are unique products of culture, requiring qualitative exploration situated within cultural microcosms. Moreover, cultural factors that impact children's understanding of GNs can only be captured through subject interaction. Thus, an integration of quantitative and qualitative approaches is necessary.

Second, by taking a sequential explanatory approach, researchers can holistically identify the variability in GIs and GNs between and within groups. This allows for a comprehensive examination of the research problem by triangulating data, minimising biases, and enabling researchers to isolate how culture and caregivers influence GI and transmit GNs.

Finally, a cross-sectional study with nested hierarchical data, vis-à-vis, children nested within families within each cultural group, allows for more salient data analyses, while minimising the expenditure of resources and risks that comes with longitudinal designs.

Research Questions (RQs) and Hypotheses

Considering existing literature, we predict GRs within our chosen RGs will differ from WEIRD norms. We further hypothesise that groups A and B will have fewer binary GNs, with children leaning toward androgynous GI due to their non-gendered socialisation and community-based childrearing. Lastly, we hypothesise that GNs within each RG are significantly associated with the individual's GI and behaviour in later stages of life.

Research Question 1. How do family systems impact the self-conception of gender identity?

Research Question 2. How do cultural gender norms impact the self-conception of gender identity?

Hypothesis 1. Gender identity and gender norms in groups A, B and C will differ from those in WEIRD communities.

Hypothesis 2. Cultures with community-based childrearing (Group A and B) will have more gender-neutral social behaviour and androgynous gender identities.

Hypothesis 3. Cultural differences influence the self-conception and expression of gender identity across lifespans.

Figure 1 provides a flowchart of the proposed design.

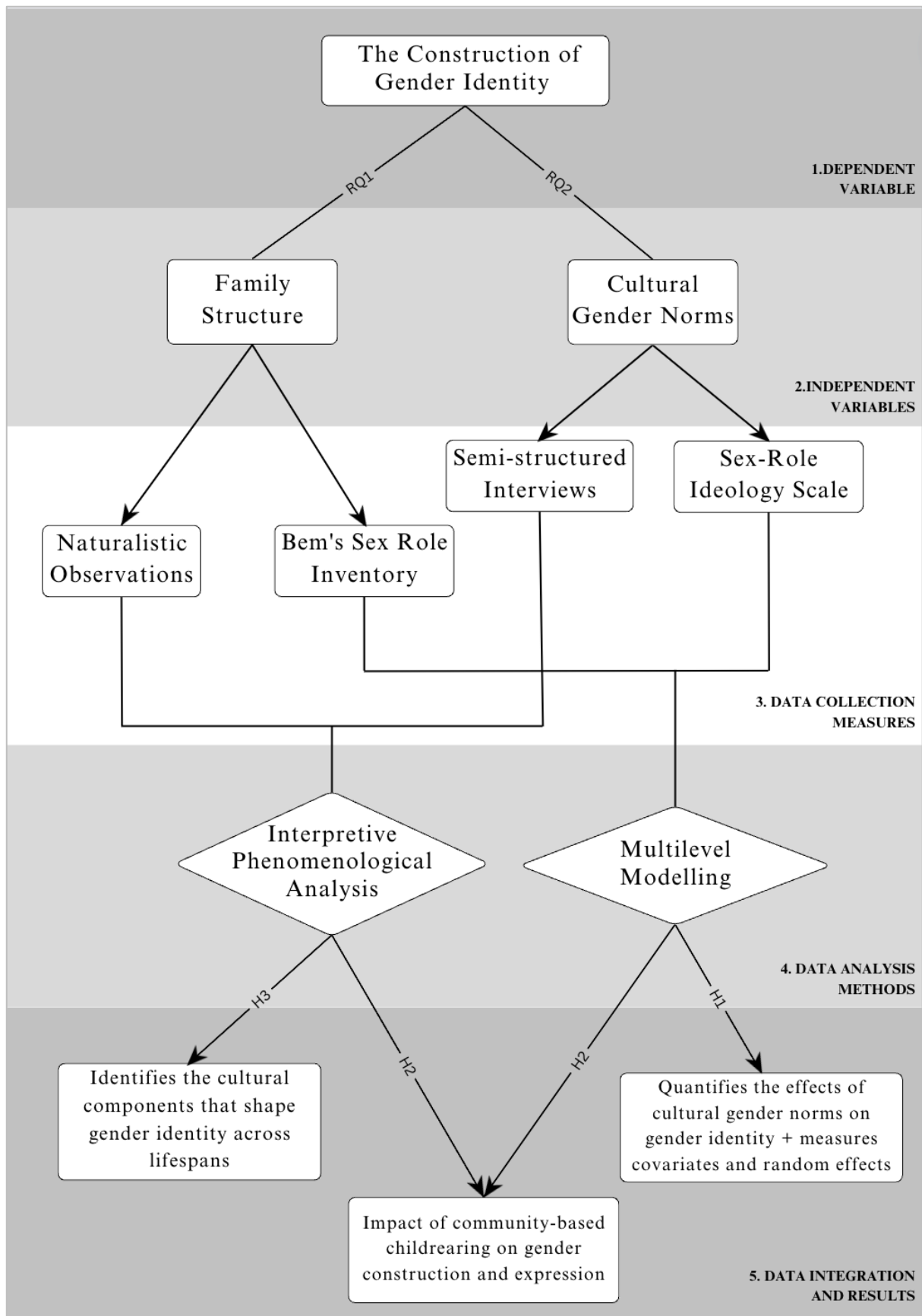


Figure 1: Study Design and Hypotheses

Methods

Procedure

Pilot tests will be conducted on three randomly selected participants in each RG to ensure process validity. Due to children's reduced attention spans, verbal questioning will be conducted in presence of caregiver(s). Ethical approval (Appendix 1) and informed consent (Appendix 2) will be obtained prior to study commencement, following preregistration on the Open Science Framework.

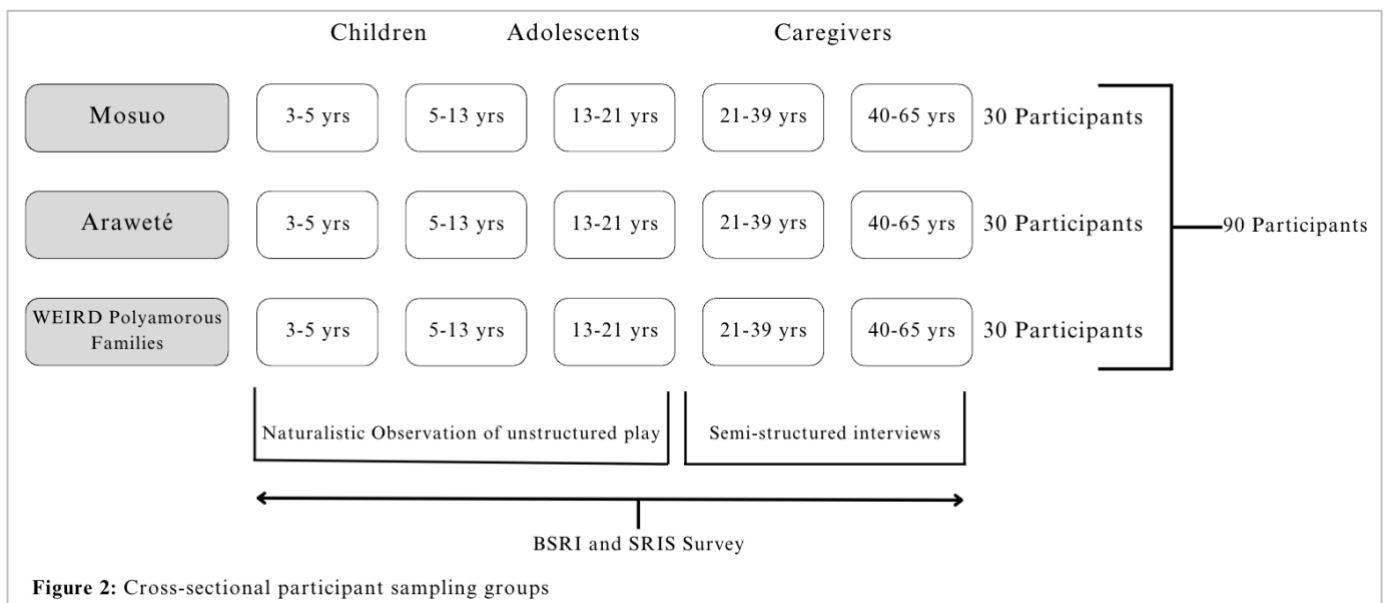
Researchers will undergo pre-fieldwork training in survey administration, finalising research protocol after the pilot while adjusting instruments to limit social desirability bias (Byrne et al., 2009; Bergen and Labonté, 2020).

Data Collection

This study will collect primary data, as the temporal unreliability of archival data make it unsuitable for analysis. Three researchers – with one fluent in the native language and familiar with local cultural norms – will constitute each RG. They may additionally recruit a local RA if so required. This could ensure the growth of trust and cooperation between RGs and participants. Furthermore, diverse RGs prevent own race bias, minimise construct bias and item bias, thus promoting research salience (Van de Vijver, 1997, 2015).

Sample

To ensure a representative sample of participants, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques will be employed. This approach is necessary due to the limited availability of communication channels and internet access in groups A and B, which makes mass recruiting strategies ineffective. Therefore, RGs will use primary contacts, and actively establish connections with the community to expand recruitment efforts. We aim to recruit 30 participants in each RG, with recruitment stratified across six age groups (Erikson, 1950; described in Chung, 2018). This distribution will enable the collection of data from a range of age groups and provide sufficient statistical power for subsequent analyses (Figure 2).



Qualitative Data

Naturalistic observations (NOs) are a first-order interpretive method for studying behaviours in cross-cultural research (Eby, 2011). Relying solely on self-reported methods may impede face validity, which is overridden by direct observation of subjects in their natural environments, hence making NOs advantageous to our study (ibid; Foster & Ritchey, 1979; Bornstein & Chea, 2019). Successful studies by Mead and Sylva on cross-cultural groups also serve as additional precedents to employ NOs. An observational guide (Appendix 3) modelled using the Play Observation Scale (Rubin, 1982) and Golombok and Rust (1993)'s Pre School-Activities Inventory will be used in RGs to document parent-child interactions and child-child interactions in settings of play and community-level socialisation.

Second, imitating and observing caregivers is how children understand cultural norms and socially acceptable behaviour (Bandura, 1977), making it beneficial to study their influential role. Harkness et al. (2011) describe how “*cultural meanings and themes are woven into parents' organization and understanding of their children's daily lives*”, thus, studying parental influence could expand our view on the intergenerational transmission of culturally GNs, while also capturing how different family structures enforce and adhere to gendered behaviour. This captures the complexity of gender construction. Thus, semi-structured interviews will be conducted in the interviewee's native tongue, translated to English using Otter.ai (Appendix 4).

Quantitative Data

Two surveys will be administered in each age group – Bem's Sex Role Inventory Scale (BSRI) (1974) and the Sex Role Ideology Scale (SRIS) (Kalin & Tilby, 1978). Both are scored on a 7-point Likert scale (Appendix 5).

Three rationales underpin the decision to deploy these instruments. First, GI can be objectively analysed as it has universally measurable characteristics. The BSRI provides a comprehensive measure of GI and has high internal consistency with a correlation of .90 (Holt & Ellis, 1998), making it extremely favourable. Second, GNs are culturally specific and require qualitative exploration situated within cultural microcosms. The 30-item SRIS, quantifies specific attitudes towards GNs *within* each cultural group, shedding light on culturally specific GNs, and their in-group adherence. Finally, complementary quantitative measures cancel biases inherent in qualitative methods, thus increasing research salience. The surveys will take no more than 30 minutes to complete. No compensation is offered to adult participants, but toys may be provided to incentivize toddler engagement.

A time-consuming limitation of this method are translations, which must be done without sacrificing semantic equivalence across languages. A workaround comes from Behling and Law's (2000) highly influential book on translating methodology, wherein they evaluate back translations to be the method with highest accuracy. Thus, surveys will be back translated, with saturation reached upon co-translators' mutual agreement after every iteration. As the Mosuo do not have a written language, local RAs will be recruited to aid with pre-recording questions, undertaking back-translation to develop a final, audio version of the instruments.

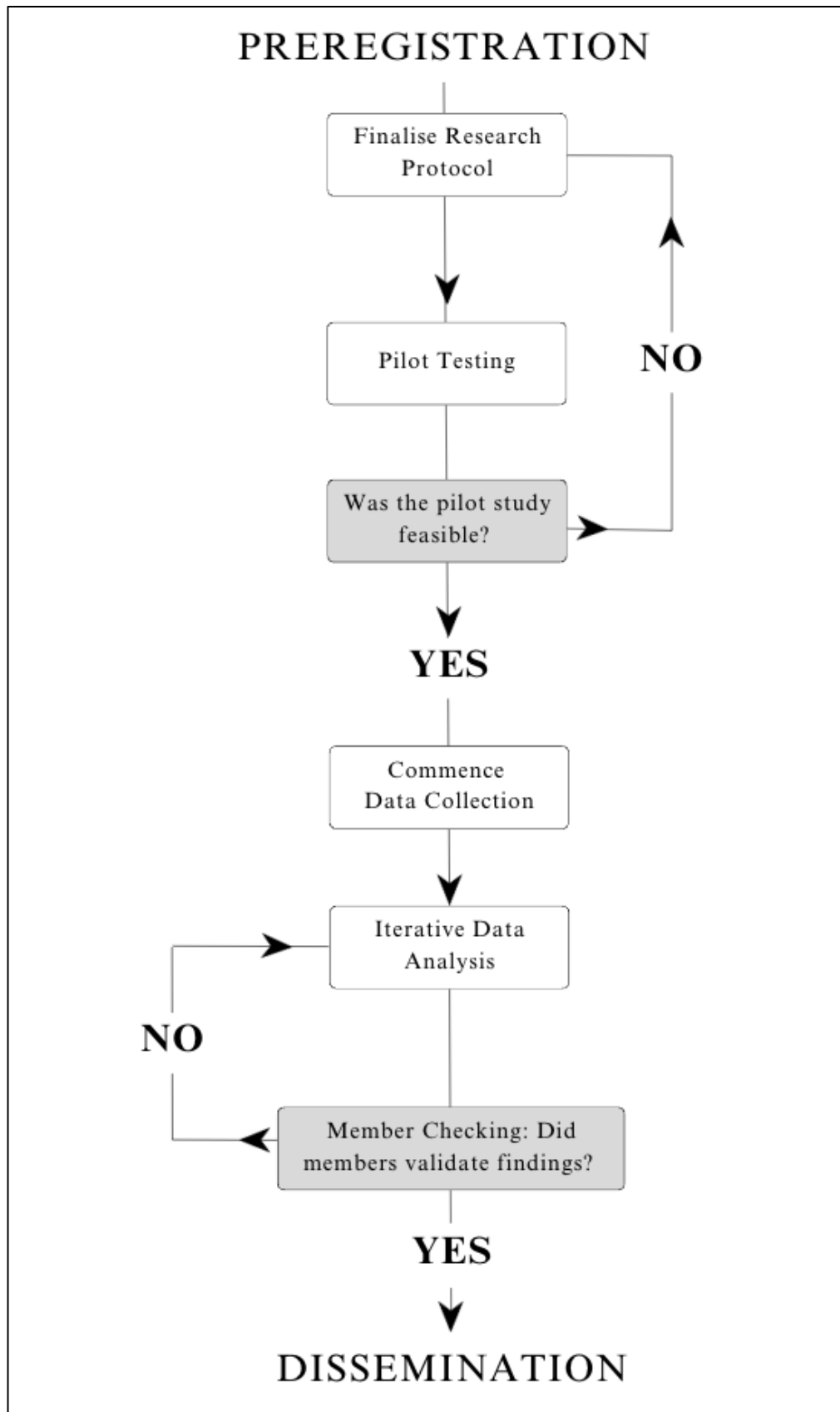


Figure 3: Research Procedure

Data Analysis

This section details qualitative and quantitative analyses, discussing the integration, triangulation, and validation of findings.

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

IPA qualitatively analyses sociological phenomena through the lens of the subject, understanding the subject's worldview using their interpretive resources as opposed to a thematic analysis that emphasises researchers' interpretations of participant anecdotes (Smith, 2004; Braun & Clarke, 2022). IPA has frequently been employed in gender research (Saltis, 2021; Cooper 2022; Murphy, 2022), and the highly context-specific analyses it can provide renders it useful in this study, helping researchers understand:

- (a) the ways in which cultural expectations reinforce or punish non-normative GRs,
- (b) the adherence and transmission of these roles and norms from caregiver to child within each family unit, and
- (c) the extent of expression of traditional gender-affirming behaviour in children of these family units.

The nature of IPA allows theory generation, enabling a rich understanding of GI construal upon data triangulation. Researchers within each RG will generate individual codes, with inter-coder agreement checked to ensure consistent interpretations. An initial list of emergent themes will be curated, with further coding generating subordinate themes. All RGs will use NVivo to carry out the analyses. To establish intercoder reliability, we will consider a Cohen's kappa value of 0.6 or above as indicating good agreement between coders (Cohen, 1960; Landis & Koch, 1977; McHugh, 2012).

Multilevel Modelling (MLM)

The collected survey data is cross-sectional and hierarchical in nature due to the nested structure of children within a family system across three cultural groups (Snijders, 2005). While hierarchical data can be analysed through either aggregates or single-level linear regressions, the former is inefficient while the latter may introduce wrong standard error estimates, both of which a random-effects multi-level model subverts. The advantage of using MLMs lies in their efficiency in handling missing data, accommodating unbalanced designs, and providing estimates of within-subject variability (ibid.). Thus, this modelling technique is suitable for examining relationships between multiple predictors and a continuous outcome variable.

After conducting descriptive analyses, RGs will use MLMs to investigate the effects of FSs and GNs on GI, while considering individual-level factors such as age and sex. At Level 1, individual differences in age, sex, and GNs will be included as predictors [Equation 1]. At Level 2, FSs and GNs will be included as predictors [Equation 2].

$$GenderIdentity_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}Age_{ij} + \beta_{2j}Sex_{ij} + \beta_{3j}GenderNorms_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

Equation 1: Level 1 – Within Group Variation

This approach allows us to examine the relationships between GI and FSs and GNs at both within and between RGs, while controlling for individual differences in age, sex, and random effects.

A breakdown of all terms and definitions is in **Appendix 6**.

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}FamilyStructure_j + u_{0j}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + u_{1j}$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + u_{2j}$$

$$\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30} + u_{3j}$$

Equation 2: Level 2 – Between Group Variation

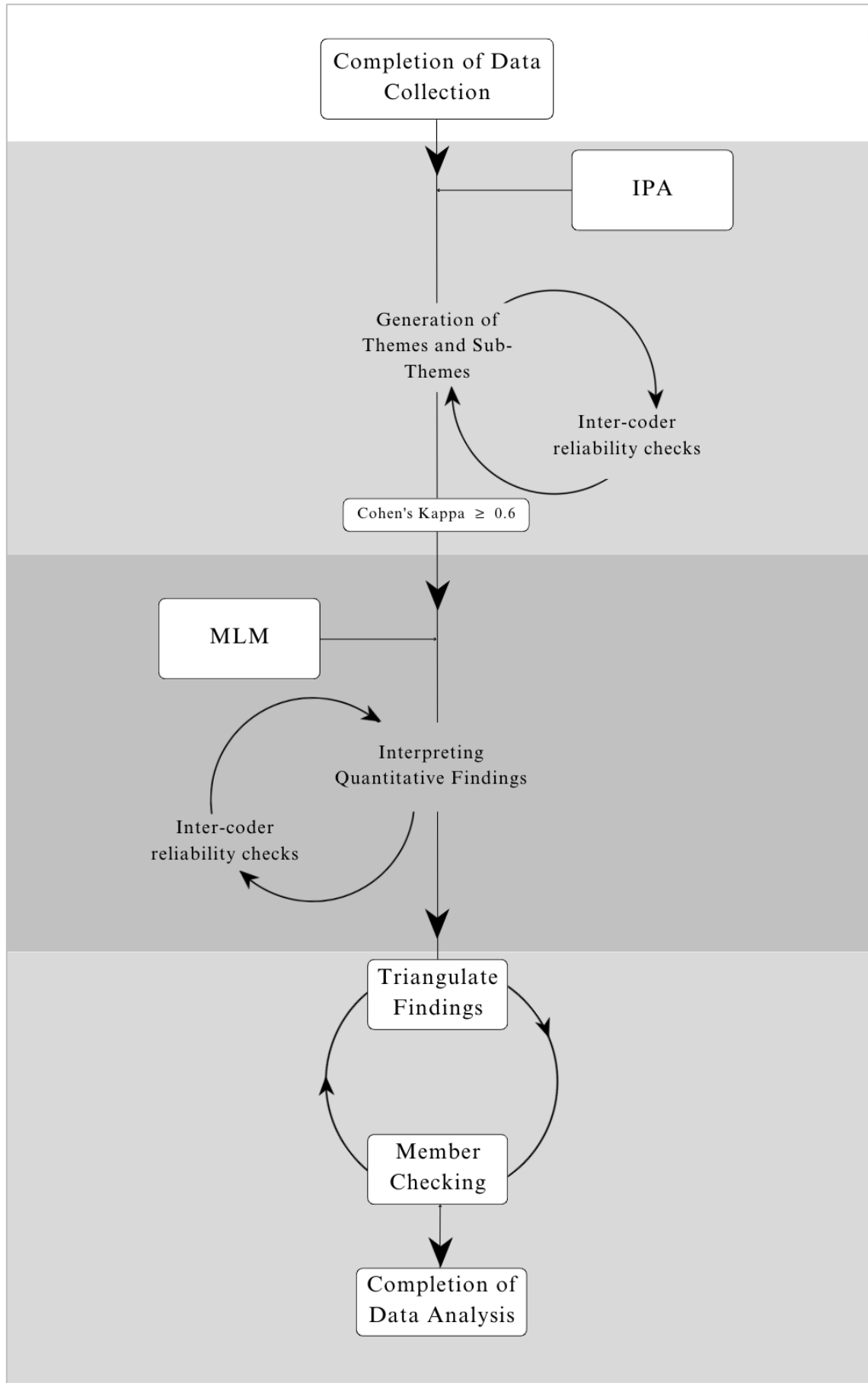
Integration

Data integration will be achieved through a sequential explanatory process that prioritises methodological and investigator triangulation (Figure 4).

First, BSRI and SRIS quantify GI and opinions on GNs across birth cohorts, thus answering RQ1 and RQ2. A comparative analysis will provide grounds to reject or accept H1 depending on the significance of data. MLMs will allow us to test H1 by examining differences in GI and GNs between and within each group. We will also explore differences in gender expression and social categorization in cultures with community-based childrearing (Group A, B) compared to those with individual-based childrearing (Group C).

To further test H2, data triangulation will compare themes that emerge from the qualitative interviews with quantitative results, examining differences in gender expression and gender-based social categorization between groups.

Finally, IPAs of the interviews will enable us to investigate how the transmission of cultural norms impact the self-conception and expression of GI across lifespans (RQ2 and H3), substantiating and complementing quantitative observations.

**Figure 4:** Data integration and validation

Validation

Three modes of triangulation will ensure the analyses is robust: methodological triangulation, data triangulation, and investigator triangulation.

Methodological triangulation ensures that data collected through each method is complemented and cross-validated. Data triangulation will be used to compare themes and patterns that emerge from qualitative interviews with quantitative survey results. Investigator triangulation will involve using three researchers in each RG to increase robustness of the analyses. Lastly, member checking will be used to ensure that the interpretations of the researchers are consistent with the participants' experiences. This will involve presenting the findings to the participants and seeking their feedback and verification, thereby ensuring credibility and transferability in our findings.

Furthermore, IPAs involve double hermeneutics (Smith, 2008), as RGs interpret the participants' interpretations of their own experiences. Therefore, the presence of first- and second-order interpretations, as well as a double hermeneutic, increases reflexivity and transparency.

Ethical Considerations

Children cannot provide active consent. Thus, caregivers will be informed of observation procedures and instruments, along with their right to withdraw consent at any point during the study. The British Psychological Association (2021) requires informed consent for observational research. Thus, written consent will be obtained from caregivers for their participation and that of their children.

Second, the study collects sensitive information. Thus, ensuring participants' privacy is crucial. This will be addressed by assigning unique identification numbers to participants, anonymising data, and limiting data access to authorized members of the research team.

Finally, researchers will undergo cultural sensitivity training to safely and empathetically enable participants to share their experiences. By proactively addressing this concern, the study endeavours to maximise participants' benefits while minimizing the potential for their emotional distress. Furthermore, three culturally diverse researchers in each group will minimize ethnocentrism and unconscious stereotyping, while multiple data collection methods will reduce the potential for biased analyses.

Feasibility and Significance

Considerable investment must be made to ensure logistical feasibility, as this study is both cross-cultural and cross-sectional. A secure data storage system, with NVivo and R installed in hardware is a key requirement, with compatible video recorders and data storage cards.

When considering methodological feasibility, the study runs the risk of losing participant retention. Thus, building rapport and trust with the community is a task that must be carried out carefully. Effort will be undertaken to use concise, culturally appropriate language while obtaining informed consent. Another trade-off is the time and financial resources required to conduct this study, which may limit its size and scope. Withal, the intricate question that our study seeks to address warrants undertaking these impending risks and trade-offs, and benefits appear to outweigh these costs.

The results of our study will have important implications for understanding the complex interplay between culture, family structures, and gender identity. First, it contributes to the literature on GRs in non-WEIRD cultures and non-nuclear families. This would facilitate a nuanced understanding of GI and expression. By exploring the impact of cultural diversity and family structures, novel insights could be obtained into the construction of GRs.

Moreover, results will have implications for parents, educators, and policymakers, as they work towards creating a more inclusive and equitable environment for children. The knowledge collected will be vital to redesigning policies, particularly within family policy, and gender representation in media. Ultimately, the study intends to contribute to gender-inclusive policy and expand the existing body of academic research for a more inclusive study of human psychology.

Appendix 1: LSE Ethics Form

LSE ETHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire enables you to explain how the ethical issues relating to your research will be addressed.

1. Research aims

Please provide brief (no more than approx.500 words) details in non-technical language of the research aims, the scientific background of the research and the methods that will be used.

Research Aims: The research aims to investigate how cultural gender norms and family structure impact gender identity, focusing on three different cultural groups: the Mosuo tribe in China, the Arawete tribe in Brazil, and polyadic families in Western countries.

Scientific Background: The concept of family and parenting practices can vary greatly across cultures and societies. Understanding different caregiving styles and cultural norms can help us study how gender identity is influenced by these sociocultural factors. For this reason, the research team has chosen to investigate three different populations, each with unique family structures and cultural practices, and different methods by which they impose cultural gender norms.

Methods: The research will undertake a mixed-methods, sequential explanatory design. First, qualitative interviews and naturalistic observations will be conducted to understand how caregivers raise their children with gender ideals, and how children display gendered behaviour within their social groups. Next, a quantitative phase will follow, with all participants – both parents and children – filling out two surveys that quantify gender identity and the extent of belief in gender norms. Together, the qualitative and quantitative approaches will integrate to answer how family structure, caregiving, and the transmission of cultural norms vary cross-culturally, and how each influences the self-construction of gender identity.

2. Informed consent

i.	Has information (written and oral) about the study been prepared in an appropriate form and language for potential participants? At what point in the study will this information be offered?
	<p><i>Please provide brief details about how information is going to be conveyed to participants about their participation in the project (e.g., information sheet about the project and verbal instructions)</i></p> <p>This information will be offered to participants before the study commences. Researchers will establish rapport, reach out to the community members, and explain their interests. Then, they will go on to explain the need for written and verbal consent, and obtain these through a dedicated written consent form, recording their approval to be included in the study as participants.</p>
ii	Will potential participants be asked to give informed consent in writing and will they be asked to confirm that they have received and read the information about the study? If not, why not?

	<p><i>Please provide brief details about how written consent is going to be ascertained (e.g., with use of an informed consent sheet)</i></p> <p>Participants in Groups B and C will be asked to provide consent in writing and will be asked to confirm that they have received and read the information about the study. However, Group A – the Mosuo tribe – have no written language. In this case, researchers will re-record a translated version of the consent form and play it to the participants. Then, verbal consent will be recorded through an audio file, along with a thumb print or signature to indicate that they consent to being a participant in the study.</p>
iii.	<p>If the research takes place within an online community, explain how informed consent will be obtained? What arrangements are in place for ensuring that participants do not include vulnerable groups or children?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about how online consent is going to be ascertained (e.g., with use of a consent check box)</i></p> <p>N/A</p>
iv.	<p>How has the study been discussed or are there plans to discuss the study with those likely to be involved, including potential participants or those who may represent their views?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about how participants will be recruited and the auspices under which this recruitment will be conducted</i></p> <p>Purposive and snowball sampling will be used to recruit participants for the study. Researchers will first establish rapport with the community, and once contacts have been created, proceed to recruit and reach out to community members. Recruiting a local research assistant to help with communicating with the tribe will also be beneficial in terms of recruiting participants. All participants will be provided with consent forms, and will be informed of the research project's objectives, procedures, and the ways in which collected data will be used.</p> <p>In the case of child participants, great care will be taken to explain the research to parents, caregivers, and children, and informed consent will be obtained from a legal guardian. Throughout the process, every step will be taken to ensure ethics are upheld, and that the researchers are transparent, direct, and empathetic.</p>
v	<p>Will potential participants be clearly informed that no adverse consequences will follow a decision not to participate or to withdraw during the study?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about how it will be made clear to participants that their involvement is voluntary and that they can withdraw freely without prejudice</i></p> <p>Yes. Participants will be clearly informed that no adverse consequences will follow a decision to not participate or to withdraw consent during or any point after the study. They will be informed both verbally and in a written form. The participant consent form clearly explains that there are no adverse consequences whatsoever if the participant chooses to withdraw consent to participate, both for themselves, and in the case of legal guardians, the participation of their kids.</p> <p>They will also be informed of their right to withdraw consent before and after the surveys and the interview session.</p>
vi	<p>What provision has been made to respond to queries and problems raised by participants during the course of the study?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about safeguard that will be put in place to ensure that participants are signposted effectively to the researchers if they have any queries or problems (perhaps you might list the researchers' university email on the information sheet)</i></p>

	<p>Each research group will have at least one researcher fluent in the language of the cultural group, possessing cultural knowledge to interact and establish rapport with participants. This researcher will be the first point of contact. Additionally, if conditions permit, or if it becomes necessary to do so, researchers will recruit a local research assistant who will then serve as a first point of contact for the participants. This is done so that participants feel more comfortable and safer in approaching researchers and asking questions. Overall, every effort will be made to ensure participants are fully informed of their roles and rights, and during all parts of the research, research assistants and researchers can be interrupted at any time with a question or any additional concerns the participants may have.</p>
3. Research design and methodology	
i	<p>Where the research involves the use of deception (or the withholding of full information about the study), how does the research methodology justify this?</p> <p><i>Only fill in if study requires deception (if this is the case deception must be justified on the basis of the research question)</i></p> <p>N/A</p>
ii	<p>How will data be collected and analysed during the project?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about how data will be collected and analysed</i></p> <p>The quantitative survey data will be collected on Kobo Toolbox, a mobile platform used for cross-cultural research. It will be analysed using R. The qualitative data will be collected via audio and video recordings, stored on LSE's servers and analysed using NVivo.</p>
4. Potential risks to research participants	
i	<p>Who do you identify as the participants in the project? Are other people who are not participants likely to be directly or indirectly impacted by the project?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about the participants of the project</i></p> <p>The members of the cultural groups – namely adults with children and extended caregivers of the children are participants in the project. In the Mosuo tribe, this will involve the matriarch, the female and male adults of the households, along with their kids. In the Arawete tribe, this would involve the mothers, their multiple husbands, and the children, along with any other tribe members who are appointed by the family as additional caregivers. In western polyadic families, this would involve all primary and secondary caregivers, and their children.</p>
ii	<p>Are there any specific risks to research participants or third parties? If so, please give details</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about any specific risks of participation to the participants</i></p> <p>N/A</p>
iii	<p>If the research involves pain, stress, physical or emotional risk, please detail the steps taken to minimize such effects.</p>

	<p><i>Only fill this in if there is any risk of physical or emotional harm from the proposed methods</i></p> <p>The research involves no physical pain, stress or physical risk to participants. However, as the study attempts to understand the construction of gender identity, it may be a sensitive topic for some. Thus, researchers will undergo cultural sensitivity training to safely and empathetically enable participants to share their experiences. By addressing this concern, the study endeavours to maximise participants' benefits while minimizing the potential for their emotional distress.</p>
5. Confidentiality	
i.	<p>What arrangements have been made to preserve confidentiality and anonymity for the participants or those potentially affected, and compliance with data protection law?</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about how confidentiality will be ensured (e.g., participants personal information not collected and data anonymously coded)</i></p> <p>Participant data will be issued unique identification codes so as to preserve anonymity. The code will be generated using the first and last letters of their name, followed by their year and date of birth. For example, Joe Bloggs, born July 5, 1998, will have the user code JB19985. The participants will be assisted with creating their code both while being surveyed, and while they are informed of their right to withdraw consent at any point in time.</p>
7. Risk to researchers	
	<p>Are there any risks to researchers? If so, please provide details.</p> <p><i>Please provide brief details about any risks to the researchers (there may be none, this is okay to say so)</i></p> <p>There are no serious political risks or threat to safety associated with conducting this study. The only risks to be mindful of, are risks associated with travel and the transfer of research equipment to and from these different destinations.</p>

Appendix 2: Participant Consent Forms

The following contains the participant consent form that will be used to obtain consent from all participants and legal guardians in each study group. Every effort has been made to ensure translations are exact. This section contains translations in English and Portuguese for the Polygynous groups and the Araweté tribe respectively.

As the Mosuo do not have a written language, and only speak a dialect of the Naxi language, a researcher from the study group will verbally translate the consent form and obtain verbal consent that will be recorded for ethics purposes.

Participant Consent Form

Title of Study: A Cross-Cultural Investigation into The Sociocultural Factors that Influence Gender Identity in Non-WEIRD Polyadic Family systems

This study is funded by the London School of Economics and has passed the Ethical Review Board's standards for approval.

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in a research study exploring gender identity in cultural groups. We are conducting this study to better understand the factors that contribute to the construction of gender identity in different cultural contexts. As a member of a polygynous family/as a member of the Mosuo, your participation in this study would prove vital to understanding the ways in which gender is interpreted, enforced, and constructed. Your participation in this study involves two stages:

- (1) The completion of a questionnaire, which you can either choose to self-fill, or be assisted in filling with the presence of a researcher who will code in the answers for you, and
- (2) The observation of your family in community-level interactions.

Participation in this study is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw consent at any time without any requirements. Your decision to participate or not to participate will not affect any current or future relationship with the researchers, their institution, or any other organization.

The data that we collect from you will be kept strictly confidential, and all identifying information will be removed before the analysis. Only the researchers involved in the study will have access to the data. Results of this study may be used in scholarly presentations or publications; however, your personal identity will not be disclosed in any way. If you choose to withdraw consent, all your data will be deleted from the system unless otherwise you request a copy of your data by citing your unique user code.

The code will be generated using the first and last letters of your name, followed by your year and date of birth. For example, Joe Bloggs, born July 5, 1998, will have the user code JB19985. You will be assisted with creating your code when being surveyed.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study, you may contact any of the researchers in this study group. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB). If you have any questions or concerns during the research process, you may ask the researcher for clarifications or assistance (e.g., with understanding certain questions in the questionnaire) at any point.

By agreeing to participate in this study, you are indicating that you have read and understood the above information and agree to participate in the study.

If you are the legal guardian of a child who is under 18 years old, please also read and sign the following statement to provide consent for the participation of your child in this study. The nature of your child's involvement in the study requires observing their interaction with other children during community play, and in observing parent-child social interactions. If you do not consent to recording your child and only consent for your own participation, please only sign the first statement.

I [Insert Name] give my consent to participate in this study. I understand that I can withdraw consent at any time, and this will have no effect on me whatsoever. I also understand that by consenting to participate in this study I give permission for the study to store, analyse, and use data collected on me.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

If you provide consent for your child to participate in this study, please sign after the following statement.

I, [Insert Name], give permission for my child, [Insert Child's Name], to participate in the study 'Exploring Gender Identity in Cultural Groups.' I have read and understand the information provided above and consent to my child's participation in this study.

Parent/Guardian Signature (if participant is under 18): _____

Date: _____

The following is the Participant Consent Form translated in Portuguese, to be administered to the Araweté tribe:

Formulário de Consentimento do Participante

Título do Estudo: Estudando a construção da identidade de gênero entre grupos culturais e sistemas familiares.

Este estudo é financiado pela London School of Economics e foi aprovado pelos padrões da Comissão de Ética.

Prezado Participante,

Você está convidado a participar de um estudo de pesquisa explorando a identidade de gênero em grupos culturais. Estamos conduzindo este estudo para entender melhor os fatores que contribuem para a construção da identidade de gênero em diferentes contextos culturais. Como membro da tribo Araweté, sua participação neste estudo é vital para entender as formas como o gênero é interpretado, imposto e construído. Sua participação neste estudo envolve duas etapas:

- (1) O preenchimento de um questionário, que você pode optar por preencher sozinho, ou ser assistido no preenchimento com a presença de um pesquisador que codificará suas respostas para você, e
- (2) A observação de sua família em interações de nível comunitário.

A participação neste estudo é voluntária, e você é livre para retirar o consentimento a qualquer momento sem qualquer exigência. Sua decisão de participar ou não participar não afetará nenhum relacionamento atual ou futuro com os pesquisadores, sua instituição ou qualquer outra organização.

Os dados que coletamos de você serão mantidos estritamente confidenciais, e todas as informações identificáveis serão removidas antes da análise. Somente os pesquisadores envolvidos no estudo terão acesso aos dados. Os resultados deste estudo podem ser usados em apresentações ou publicações acadêmicas; no entanto, sua identidade pessoal não será divulgada de forma alguma. Se você optar por retirar o consentimento, todos os seus dados serão excluídos do sistema, a menos que você solicite uma cópia de seus dados citando seu código de usuário exclusivo.

O código será gerado usando as primeiras e últimas letras do seu nome, seguidas pelo ano e data de nascimento. Por exemplo, Joe Bloggs, nascido em 5 de julho de 1998, terá o código de usuário JB19985.

Você receberá assistência para criar seu código durante a pesquisa. Se você tiver alguma dúvida ou preocupação sobre o estudo, poderá entrar em contato com qualquer um dos pesquisadores deste grupo de estudo. Se você tiver dúvidas ou preocupações sobre seus direitos como participante da pesquisa, poderá entrar em contato com a Comissão de Ética. Se você tiver alguma dúvida ou preocupação durante o processo de pesquisa, poderá pedir esclarecimentos ou assistência ao pesquisador (por exemplo, com o entendimento de certas perguntas no questionário) em qualquer ponto.

Ao concordar em participar deste estudo, você indica que leu e entendeu as informações acima e concorda em participar do estudo.

Se você é o guardião legal de uma criança menor de 18 anos, por favor, leia e assine também a seguinte declaração para fornecer consentimento para a participação de seu filho neste estudo. A natureza da participação de seu filho no estudo requer a observação de sua interação com outras.

Eu [Inserir Nome] dou meu consentimento para participar deste estudo. Entendo que posso retirar meu consentimento a qualquer momento, sem nenhum efeito sobre mim. Também entendo que, ao concordar em participar deste estudo, autorizo o estudo a armazenar, analisar e utilizar dados coletados sobre mim.

Assinatura do Participante: _____

Data: _____

Se você fornecer o consentimento para que seu filho participe deste estudo, assine após a seguinte declaração: "Eu, [Inserir Nome], dou permissão para que meu filho, [Inserir Nome da Criança], participe do estudo 'Explorando Identidade de Gênero em Grupos Culturais'. Li e entendi as informações fornecidas acima e concordo com a participação do meu filho neste estudo."

Assinatura do Pai/Responsável Legal (se o participante tiver menos de 18 anos): _____

Data: _____

Appendix 3: Observational Guide

This section outlines the observational guide that will be used in the study. Researchers will study children's social interactions during play, recording their observations and analysing the key social interactions that could inform gender identity and representation.

The observations will take place in a naturalistic setting, primarily in playgrounds and homes where children are left to socialise with peers and engage in unstructured play. After understanding the culture's gender norms and behaviour by interacting with caregivers and upon completion of the pilot study, researchers will have a rough understanding of gendered behaviour and gender-typical social interaction. This will be used to code and observe unstructured play.

Participant IDs will be used to refer to each child in the setting, and notes will be made under each child's ID. These notes will then be consolidated.

Mildly adjusted versions of the Play Observation Scale (Rubin, 1982) and Golombok and Rust (1993)'s Pre School-Activities Inventory will be used to study children's interactions during unstructured play. The tables below all show an adjusted version that will be used in this study.

It is important to note that this observational guide is a pre-pilot version. After the pilot is conducted, researchers will review and update the guide to reflect context specific behaviour, add cultural traditions or norms that may be reflected in play behaviour for each cultural group as required.

Observational Guide for Studying Children's Play and Analysing Gendered Behaviour

Researcher Name:

Setting

1. Where is the observation taking place?
2. What date, time, and day the observation taking place?
3. What are the main objects/toys/equipment being used during the play session?

Participants

1. Number of children observed:
2. Approximate age range of children being observed:
3. Participant IDs of children observed (obtained from/created from information provided by caregivers in the consent form)

The following sections each have five responses that the researcher will write down and make note of as they observe the unstructured play session. The key is as follows:

N = Never	HE = Hardly Ever	S = Sometimes	O = Often	VO = Very Often
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Interaction with other children

S.No	Pro Social Skills	S.No	Confiding and Care	S.No	Atypicality	S.No	Conflict Management	Notes
1.1	Sustaining Group Interaction	2.1	Confides with pleasure	3.1	Atypical group behaviour	4.1	Instigates Conflict	
1.2	Social Reciprocity	2.2	Seeks care	3.2	Aloofness	4.2	Intensifies Conflict	
1.3	Friendship Groups	2.3	Responds to care	3.3	Reduced interaction	4.3	Bullies	
1.4	Peer Acceptance	2.4	Care-giving	3.4	Hostility	4.4	Is bullied	
1.5	Responding to a good-natured tease	2.5	Physical expressions of care (hugs, etc.)	3.5	Isolated/ignored	4.5	Instigates resolution	
1.6	Sticks up for self			3.6	Aggression	4.6	Controls temper	
1.7	Anxiety			3.7	Shyness	4.7	Avoids Conflict	

Equipment/Toys

1	Uses tools that are culturally categorised to be used by men (agricultural tools, guns, arrows)
2	Uses tools that are culturally categorised to be used by women (basket-weaving, dolls, jewellery)
3	Engages with both 1 and 2 above

Activities

1	Playing with boys
2	Playing with girls
3	Pretending to be a female character/occupation
4	Pretending to be a male character/occupation
5	Physical fighting
6	Pretending to be a family character
7	Sports and physical activity
8	Climbing (e.g. fences, trees, park equipment)
9	Playing at taking care of babies
10	Showing interest in tools/play equipment deemed to be masculine by culture
11	Showing interest in tools/play equipment deemed to be feminine by culture
12	Refers to themselves using masculine pronouns
13	Refers to themselves using feminine pronouns
14	Refers to themselves using ambiguous/gender-neutral pronouns

Interaction with the environment

1	Explores new surroundings
2	Enjoys rough tumble and play
3	Shows interests in animals/dangerous insects/things socially deemed as dangerous
4	Getting dirty
5	Risk-taking
6	Physical movement/group movement

Generic Coding

The researcher will use these codes to make additional notes or observations that may be of interest to the study, but outside the structured observational guide used for studying unstructured play. For example, a child-caregiver interaction that may involve a caregiver giving the child a toy to play with, can be noted down using these keys.

M	Male
F	Female
X	Non-Binary
Mo	Mosuo
Ar	Arawete
PF	Polyadic families
PC	Primary Caregiver
SC	Secondary Caregiver
MC	Mother of Child
FC	Father(s) of child
NRP	Non-parental Romantic partner/spouse

Appendix 4: Semi-structured Interview Questions

This section contains the semi-structured interview questions researchers will use when interviewing primary and secondary caregivers. The questions will be adjusted for each tribe and cultural group.

There is considerably flexibility with conducting the interview – researchers (with the aid of research assistants if required), will conduct a 45-60minute interview. They will also adapt their questioning in response to the participant's answers and adjust other questions accordingly.

Before starting the interviews, researchers will ensure that the family has signed consent forms located in Appendix 6.

Sections 1-5 contain questions that will be asked across all study groups. All sub-questions are follow-ups that the researcher may choose to ask depending on the response they receive.

Sections 6, 7 and 8 consist of questions that will be asked within the Mosuo, Arawete, and WEIRD polyadic families respectively. A translated version of the general interview questions is included in Portuguese to be asked to the Arawete tribe.

General Interview Questions

Section 1: Introduction

The interviewer will establish rapport with the caregivers, while asking them their age, gender, and obtaining information about their background.

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your family structure and cultural background?
2. How do you define gender in your community?
3. In your opinion, how important is it for your child to adhere to cultural gender norms?

Section 2: Parenting Style and Practices

1. How do you approach parenting your child?
2. How do you divide responsibilities between multiple caregivers?
3. In what ways, if any, do you encourage your child to conform to gender norms?
 1. Could you give me some examples?
 2. What are your motivations for encouraging your child to adhere to gender norms?
4. How do you respond to your child's gender expression or gender identity exploration?
 1. Has your child ever expressed gender non-conformity? How have you responded to this?
 2. How much free choice do your children have in expressing their gender identity?
5. Do you treat your children differently based on the gender assigned to them at birth?
 1. If so, how?
 2. If not, why not?
6. Have you ever had any concerns or worries about your child's gender identity? If so, could you elaborate on them?

Section 3: Cultural Gender Norms

1. How do cultural gender norms influence your parenting practices?

1. (Potential follow-up) How do you respond if your child does not wish to follow cultural gender norms?
2. (Potential follow-up) If you don't conform to cultural gender norms, how do you raise your child without enforcing the norms that they may observe in social contexts?
2. In your culture, what are some of the expectations or roles assigned to individuals based on their gender?
 1. As a parent, to what extent do you follow or enforce these expectations onto your child? How do you enforce them?
3. How much social importance is given to an individual's gender in your community?
4. Have you noticed any changes in cultural gender norms over the years? If so, could you describe them?
 1. Thinking back to when you were a child, what have your experiences been growing up with multiple fathers/mothers/grandparents/parents?
5. How does your culture assign social value to different genders?
 1. Do you raise your child with the intention that they go on to fulfil these gender-confirming social roles?
 1. Have they every expressed a hesitation to fulfil these roles?
 2. If they have, how do you respond?
6. In social situations – like festivals and community meetings – do you ask your child to behave in socially normative ways?
 1. If you do, what kind of rules or instructions do you give them?
 2. If you don't, how do other families respond to your decision?

Section 4: Impact of Non-Dyadic Parenting

1. How does parenting as a group impact your family's understanding and expression of gender roles?
 1. (To the primary caregiver) How do you share responsibilities in raising your child(ren) with other caregivers?
 2. (To the primary caregiver) Who does your child rely on the most when it comes to understanding things and learning new information?
2. Have you noticed any differences in the development of gender identity between children raised in households with multiple caregivers/fathers/mothers and children raised in households with a single mother and father?
 1. If you have children of different genders, do they prefer different parents/caregivers? Are they the same gender as the child?
 2. (If they have multiple children) How do each caregiver in the family system bond with each child?
3. In your opinion, what are some of the benefits and challenges of raising a child in a multi-parent household?
 1. Do you think your gender influences the way your child perceives you and your authority as a parent?
 1. Why do you think that is?
 2. If you don't think that way, why?
 2. Do you designate specific caregivers for specific children? If you do, why is that?
 1. If you don't, how do you ensure all caregivers spend time with each child?

Section 5: Conclusion

1. Is there anything else you would like to add about your experiences with raising a child in light of cultural gender norms in your society?

2. Is there anything that you feel researchers should know about your culture or parenting practices that could be relevant to this study?

Section 6: Mosuo

For the Mosuo, the unique concept of “walking marriages” is a factor that could impact parenting and the enforcement of gender norms. Thus, researchers will ask a few additional questions to the matrilineal community to understand their conception of “family”

1. How do you approach parenting your child within the context of "walking marriages" in the Mosuo community?
 1. If you know who the father of your child is, do you try to ensure your child has a relationship with the father?
 2. If you don't know the father or don't have a relationship with the father, how do your brothers and other men in the family care for the child?
2. How does the Mosuo practice of "axia" influence your parenting practices and understanding of gender roles?
 1. How do you respond if your child does not wish to conform to "axia" gender norms?
3. The Mosuo practice "duolocal" residence, where partners live separately and children are raised by their mother and her extended family. How does this unique family structure affect your approach to parenting?
4. How do you divide responsibilities between multiple caregivers within the Mosuo community?
5. Who holds more authority in your family system between mothers, grandmothers and other male relatives?
 1. Why is that?
 2. How fair do you think the division of social roles on the basis of gender is in your society?

Section 7: Arawete

For the Arawete, researchers will explore their concept of “communal” ownership of children, and try to understand the impact of multiple paternal figures on gender norms and the enforcement of gendered social roles.

1. How do the Arawete approach parenting and child-rearing within their community?
2. What role do fathers play in the upbringing of their children?
3. How do the Arawete view the importance of extended family members in the upbringing of children?
 1. Could you give me a few examples?
4. Do the Arawete have any specific initiation rites or rituals that children go through as they mature into adulthood?
 1. Do these rites differ based on the child's gender? If so, how?
 2. If not, why not?
5. What role do gender norms play in Arawete parenting and family dynamics?
 1. How do fathers divide parenting responsibilities amongst themselves?
 2. What role does the mother play in raising the child?
 1. Does she get any support from the fathers? If so, what kind of support does she get?

6. How are responsibilities for caregiving and household tasks divided between genders in Arawete communities?
7. Are there any particular taboos or customs that govern sexual behavior or relationships within the Arawete tribe?
 1. How are these enforced or taught to children?
 2. If you have chosen not to enforce these taboos on the next generation, why not?
8. How does the concept of "collective ownership" of children impact Arawete parenting practices?
 1. Do your children have a specific father they prioritise? If so, how does that impact the responsibilities other fathers take on?

Section 8: WEIRD Polyadic families

1. How do you define and conceptualize "family" within your polyamorous or non-traditional family structure?
 1. How, if at all, do you make sure your child understands this family dynamic?
 2. How do you approach parenting and child-rearing in a polyamorous or non-traditional family structure?
 3. How do you negotiate boundaries and expectations around sexual and romantic relationships within your family unit?
2. How do you allocate resources (such as time, money, and emotional labor) within your family unit, and how is this affected by your non-traditional family structure?
 1. How much time does each parent spend with the child?
 2. Do you think the child has a preferred parent? If so, who is it and why do you think that is?
 3. Do you notice any differences in your child's relationship with each parent? If so, what do you think contributes to these differences?
3. How do you navigate societal stigma and discrimination against non-traditional family structures, and how does this impact your family dynamics?
 1. If your child has faced discrimination based on your family unit, how have they reacted?
 2. How does your child engage with or approach the idea of heteronormative, dyadic family systems?
4. How do you incorporate extended family members and non-partnered individuals into your family unit, if at all?
5. How much do you value non-binary and gender non-conforming ideals, and social gender ideals within the family?
 1. To what extent, if at all, do you enforce these upon your children?
 2. How will you validate the gender identities of non-binary and gender non-conforming children, if your children choose to identify that way?

The following section contains the translated versions of sections 1-5, and section 7. This will be used to interview the Arawete tribe.

Seções 1 a 5 contêm perguntas que serão feitas em todos os grupos de estudo. Todas as subperguntas são acompanhamentos que o pesquisador pode escolher fazer dependendo da resposta que receber.

Seção 1: Introdução

O entrevistador estabelecerá rapport com os cuidadores, enquanto pergunta a idade, gênero e obtém informações sobre sua origem.

1. Você pode me contar um pouco sobre a estrutura de sua família e origem cultural?
2. Como você define gênero em sua comunidade?
3. Na sua opinião, o quão importante é para seu filho seguir normas culturais de gênero?

Seção 2: Estilo e Práticas Parentais

1. Como você aborda a parentalidade do seu filho?
2. Como você divide responsabilidades entre múltiplos cuidadores?
3. De que forma, se houver, você encoraja seu filho a se conformar com as normas de gênero?
 1. Você poderia me dar alguns exemplos?
 2. Quais são suas motivações para encorajar seu filho a aderir às normas de gênero?
4. Como você responde à expressão de gênero ou exploração da identidade de gênero do seu filho?
 1. Seu filho já expressou não conformidade de gênero? Como você respondeu a isso?
 2. Quanta escolha livre seus filhos têm em expressar sua identidade de gênero?
5. Você trata seus filhos de forma diferente com base no gênero atribuído a eles no nascimento?
 1. Se sim, como?
 2. Se não, por quê não?
6. Você já teve alguma preocupação com a identidade de gênero do seu filho? Se sim, poderia elaborar sobre elas?

Seção 3: Normas Culturais de Gênero

1. Como as normas culturais de gênero influenciam suas práticas parentais?
 1. Como você responde se seu filho não quiser seguir as normas culturais de gênero?
 2. Se você não se conforma às normas culturais de gênero, como você cria seu filho sem impor as normas que eles podem observar em contextos sociais?
2. Em sua cultura, quais são algumas das expectativas ou papéis atribuídos às pessoas com base em seu gênero?
 1. Como pai, até que ponto você segue ou impõe essas expectativas em seu filho? Como você as impõe?
3. Quanta importância social é dada ao gênero de um indivíduo em sua comunidade?
4. Você notou alguma mudança nas normas culturais de gênero ao longo dos anos? Se sim, poderia descrevê-las?
 1. Pensando de volta quando você era criança, quais foram suas experiências crescendo com múltiplos pais/avós?
5. Como sua cultura atribui valor social a diferentes gêneros?
 1. Você cria seu filho com a intenção de que eles cumpram esses papéis sociais conformantes de gênero?
 1. Eles já expressaram hesitação em cumprir esses papéis?
 2. Se sim, como você respondeu?
6. Em situações sociais - como festivais e reuniões comunitárias - você pede ao seu filho que se comporte de maneira normativa socialmente?
 1. Se sim, que tipo de regras ou instruções você dá a eles?
 2. Se não, como outras famílias respondem à sua decisão?

Seção 4: Impacto da Paternidade Não-Diádica

1. Como a paternidade em grupo impacta a compreensão e expressão de papéis de gênero na sua família?
 1. (Para o cuidador principal) Como você compartilha as responsabilidades na criação de seu(s) filho(s) com outros cuidadores?
 2. (Para o cuidador principal) Em quem seu filho mais confia quando se trata de entender coisas e aprender informações novas?
2. Você notou alguma diferença no desenvolvimento da identidade de gênero entre crianças criadas em lares com vários cuidadores/pais/mães e crianças criadas em lares com uma mãe e um pai?
 1. Se você tem filhos de diferentes gêneros, eles preferem pais/cuidadores diferentes? Eles são do mesmo gênero que a criança?
 2. (Se tiver vários filhos) Como cada cuidador no sistema familiar se conecta com cada criança?
3. Em sua opinião, quais são alguns dos benefícios e desafios de criar uma criança em um lar com vários pais?
 1. Você acha que seu gênero influencia a maneira como seu filho percebe você e sua autoridade como pai/mãe?
 1. Por que você acha que isso acontece?
 2. Se você não pensa assim, por quê?
 2. Você designa cuidadores específicos para crianças específicas? Se sim, por quê?
 1. Se não, como você garante que todos os cuidadores passem tempo com cada criança?

Seção 5: Conclusão

1. Há mais alguma coisa que gostaria de acrescentar sobre as suas experiências em criar uma criança em relação às normas de gênero culturais na sua sociedade?
2. Há algo que sinta que os pesquisadores devam saber sobre a sua cultura ou práticas parentais que possa ser relevante para este estudo?

Seção

7:

Arawete

Para os Arawete, os pesquisadores explorarão o conceito de propriedade "comunal" das crianças e tentarão entender o impacto de múltiplos pais em normas de gênero e na aplicação de papéis sociais de gênero.

1. Como os Arawete abordam a parentalidade e a criação de filhos dentro de sua comunidade?
2. Qual é o papel dos pais na criação de seus filhos?
3. Como os Arawete veem a importância de membros da família estendida na criação de crianças?
 1. Poderia dar-me alguns exemplos?
4. Os Arawete têm algum rito ou ritual específico de iniciação que as crianças passam à medida que amadurecem para a vida adulta?
 1. Esses ritos diferem com base no gênero da criança? Se sim, como?
 2. Se não, por quê?
5. Que papel as normas de gênero desempenham na parentalidade e na dinâmica familiar dos Arawete?
 1. Como os pais dividem as responsabilidades parentais entre si?
 2. Qual é o papel da mãe na criação da criança?
 1. Ela recebe algum apoio dos pais? Se sim, que tipo de apoio ela recebe?
6. Como as responsabilidades de cuidado e tarefas domésticas são divididas entre os gêneros nas comunidades Arawete?
7. Existem tabus ou costumes específicos que regem o comportamento sexual ou os relacionamentos dentro da tribo Arawete?

1. Como esses tabus são ensinados ou aplicados às crianças?
2. Se você escolheu não impor esses tabus na próxima geração, por quê?
8. Como o conceito de "propriedade coletiva" das crianças impacta as práticas parentais Arawete?
 1. Seus filhos têm um pai específico em quem priorizam? Se sim, como isso impacta as responsabilidades que outros pais assumem?

Seção 7: Arawete

Para os Arawete, os pesquisadores explorarão o conceito de propriedade "comunal" das crianças e tentarão entender o impacto de múltiplos pais em normas de gênero e na aplicação de papéis sociais de gênero.

1. Como os Arawete abordam a parentalidade e a criação de filhos dentro de sua comunidade?
 2. Qual é o papel dos pais na criação de seus filhos?
 3. Como os Arawete veem a importância de membros da família estendida na criação de crianças?
 1. Poderia dar-me alguns exemplos?
 4. Os Arawete têm algum rito ou ritual específico de iniciação que as crianças passam à medida que amadurecem para a vida adulta?
 1. Esses ritos diferem com base no gênero da criança? Se sim, como?
 2. Se não, por quê?
 5. Que papel as normas de gênero desempenham na parentalidade e na dinâmica familiar dos Arawete?
 1. Como os pais dividem as responsabilidades parentais entre si?
 2. Qual é o papel da mãe na criação da criança?
 1. Ela recebe algum apoio dos pais? Se sim, que tipo de apoio ela recebe?
 6. Como as responsabilidades de cuidado e tarefas domésticas são divididas entre os gêneros nas comunidades Arawete?
 7. Existem tabus ou costumes específicos que regem o comportamento sexual ou os relacionamentos dentro da tribo Arawete?
 1. Como esses tabus são ensinados ou aplicados às crianças?
 2. Se você escolheu não impor esses tabus na próxima geração, por quê?
 8. Como o conceito de "propriedade coletiva" das crianças impacta as práticas parentais Arawete?
 1. Seus filhos têm um pai específico em quem priorizam? Se sim, como isso impacta as responsabilidades que outros pais assumem?
-

Appendix 5: Survey Questions

This section contains the BSRI and SRIS survey instruments. An interactive version of this survey can be accessed [here](#). The surveys will be coded into Kobo Toolbox, a mobile platform used for cross-cultural research. They will be translated into Portuguese for the Awete tribe, while verbal translations will be used for the Mosuo as their Naxi dialect has no written form.

S.No	Item	S.No	Item
1	Self reliant	31	Makes decisions easily
2	Yielding	32	Compassionate
3	Helpful	33	Sincere
4	Defends own beliefs	34	Self sufficient
5	Cheerful	35	Eager to soothe hurt feelings
6	Moody	36	Conceited
7	Independent	37	Dominant
8	Shy	38	Soft spoken
9	Conscientious	39	Likeable
10	Athletic	40	Masculine
11	Affectionate	41	Warm
12	Theatrical	42	Solemn
13	Assertive	43	Willing to take a stand
14	Flatterable	44	Tender
15	Happy	45	Friendly
16	Strong Personality	46	Aggressive
17	Loyal	47	Gullible
18	Unpredictable	48	Inefficient
19	Forceful	49	Acts as a leader
20	Feminine	50	Childlike
21	Reliable	51	Adaptable
22	Analytical	52	Individualistic
23	Sympathetic	53	Does not use harsh language
24	Jealous	54	Unsystematic
25	Has leadership Abilities	55	Competitive
26	Sensitive to the needs of others	56	Loves children
27	Truthful	57	Tactful
28	Willing to take risks	58	Ambitious
29	Understanding	59	Gentle
30	Secretive	60	Conventional

Participants will be asked to indicate how well each item describes them on the following scale:

Never or almost never true	1
Usually not true	2
Sometimes but infrequently true	3
Occasionally true	4
Often true	5
Usually true	6
Almost or always true	7

Researchers will have a separate list of characteristics that are feminine and masculine.

Feminine items are: 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32, 35, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50, 53, 56, 59

Masculine items are: 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 37, 40, 43, 46, 49, 52, 55, 58

They will then add the scores for feminine and masculine individually, obtaining a femininity score and a masculinity score. Then, scores will be coded above the median on the femininity scale and below the median on the masculinity scale. 95 will be taken as a default median until information about the median of the group is obtained.

Classification will be carried out as follows:

- (1) Scores above the median on both scales are classified as 'androgynous'.
- (2) Scores below the median are 'undifferentiated'.
- (3) Scores above the median on the masculinity scale and below the median for the femininity scale are classified as 'masculine'.
- (4) Scores above the femininity scale and below the median for the masculinity scale are classified as 'feminine'.

The following is the BSRI translated into Portuguese to be administered to the Arawete tribe.

S.No	Item	S.No	Item
1	Autoconfiante	31	Toma decisões facilmente
2	Cedendo	32	Compassivo
3	Prestativo	33	Sincero
4	Defende suas próprias crenças	34	Autossuficiente
5	Alegre	35	Desejoso de aliviar sentimentos feridos
6	Temperamental	36	Convencido
7	Independente	37	Dominante
8	Tímido	38	De voz suave
9	Consciente	39	Agradável
10	Atlético	40	Masculino
11	Afetuosos	41	Caloroso
12	Teatral	42	Solene
13	Assertivo	43	Disposto a tomar uma posição
14	Lisonjeável	44	Terno
15	Feliz	45	Amigável
16	Personalidade forte	46	Agressivo
17	Leal	47	Inocente
18	Imprevisível	48	Ineficiente
19	Enérgico	49	Age como um líder
20	Feminina	50	Infantil
21	Confiável	51	Adaptável
22	Analítico	52	Individualista
23	Compreensivo	53	Não usa linguagem dura
24	Ciumento	54	Desorganizado
25	Tem habilidades de liderança	55	Competitivo
26	Sensível às necessidades dos outros	56	Ama crianças
27	Verdadeiro	57	Tátil
28	Disposto a correr riscos	58	Ambicioso
29	Compreensivo	59	Gentil
30	Sigiloso	60	Convencional

Nunca ou quase nunca verdadeiro	1
Geralmente não verdadeiro	2
Às vezes, mas raramente verdadeiro	3
Ocasionalmente verdadeiro	4
Frequentemente verdadeiro	5
Geralmente verdadeiro	6
Quase sempre ou sempre verdadeiro	7

The SRIS is a 30-item survey with answers scored on a 7-point Likert scale.

S.No	Question
1	The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family group in all matters of law.*
2.	A wife's activities in the community should complement her husband's position.*
3	A woman should have exactly the same freedom of action as a man.
4	The best thing a mother can teach her daughter is what it means to be a girl.*
5	A married woman should feel free to have men as friends.
6	Woman's work and man's work should nor be fundamentally different in nature.
7	Swearing by a woman is no more objectionable than swearing by a man.
8	A woman is not truly fulfilled until she has been a mother.*
9	When a man and woman live together she should do the housework and he should do the heavier chores.*
10	A normal man should be wary of a woman who takes the initiative in courtship even though he may be very attracted to her.*
11	It is an outdated custom for a woman to take her husband's name when she marries.
12	Women should be paid a salary by the state for the work they perform as mothers and home-makers.
13	Women should be much less concerned about make-up, clothing and body care.
14	Every child should be taught from an early age to feel a special honour and respect for Motherhood.*
15	A woman should be appreciative of the glances and looks she receives as she walks down the street.*
16	It should be perfectly alright for a mature woman to get involved with a young man.
17	Marriage should not interfere with a woman's career any more than it does with a man's.
18	A man's main responsibility to his children is to provide them with the necessities of life and discipline.*
19	A woman should be careful how she looks, for it influences what people think of her husband.*
20	A woman who dislikes her children is abnormal.*
21	Homosexual relationships should be as socially accepted as heterosexual relationships.
22	More day care centres should be available to free mothers from the constant caring for their children.
23	Women should be allowed the same sexual freedom as men.
24	A man's job is too important for him to get bogged down with household chores.*
25	A woman should be no more concerned with her physical appearance on the job than a man.
26	Abortion should be permitted at the woman's request.
27	The first duty of a woman with young children is to home and family.*
28	For the good of the family, a wife should have sexual relations with her husband whether she wants to or not.*
29	A woman should be more concerned with helping-her husband's career than having a career herself.*
30	Women should not expect men to offer them seats in buses.

*It is important to note that items marked with an asterisk are reverse scored.

Participants will be asked to indicate how well they agree with each statement on the following scale:

Almost or always disagree	1
Occasionally disagree	2
Sometimes but infrequently agree	3
Occasionally Agree	4
Often Agree	5
Usually Agree	6
Almost or always agree	7

The following is the SRIS translated into Portuguese to be administered to the Arawete tribe.

S.No	Question
1	O marido deve ser considerado o representante legal do grupo familiar em todos os assuntos legais.*
2.	As atividades de uma esposa na comunidade devem complementar a posição de seu marido.*
3	Uma mulher deve ter exatamente a mesma liberdade de ação que um homem.
4	A melhor coisa que uma mãe pode ensinar à sua filha é o que significa ser uma menina.*
5	Uma mulher casada deve se sentir livre para ter amigos homens.
6	O trabalho de uma mulher e de um homem não deve ser fundamentalmente diferente em sua natureza.
7	Palavrões ditos por uma mulher não são mais objetáveis do que quando ditos por um homem..
8	Uma mulher não está verdadeiramente realizada até que tenha sido mãe.*
9	Quando um homem e uma mulher vivem juntos, ela deve fazer o trabalho doméstico e ele deve fazer os trabalhos mais pesados.*
10	Um homem normal deve ficar atento a uma mulher que toma a iniciativa na corte, mesmo que ele esteja muito atraído por ela.*
11	É um costume antiquado uma mulher adotar o sobrenome do marido quando se casa.
12	As mulheres deveriam receber um salário do estado pelo trabalho que realizam como mães e donas de casa.
13	As mulheres deveriam se preocupar menos com maquiagem, roupas e cuidados corporais.
14	Toda criança deveria aprender desde cedo a sentir um honra e respeito especiais pela maternidade.*
15	Uma mulher deveria apreciar os olhares e olhares que recebe enquanto caminha pela rua.*
16	Deveria ser perfeitamente aceitável para uma mulher madura se envolver com um homem mais jovem.
17	O casamento não deveria interferir na carreira de uma mulher mais do que interfere na de um homem.
18	A principal responsabilidade de um homem com seus filhos é providenciar-lhes as necessidades da vida e a disciplina.*
19	Uma mulher deve ter cuidado com sua aparência, pois isso influencia o que as pessoas pensam de seu marido.*
20	Uma mulher que não gosta de seus filhos é anormal.*
21	Relacionamentos homossexuais deveriam ser tão aceitos socialmente quanto os heterossexuais.
22	Mais creches deveriam estar disponíveis para libertar as mães do cuidado constante com seus filhos.
23	As mulheres deveriam ter a mesma liberdade sexual que os homens.
24	O trabalho de um homem é muito importante para que ele fique atolado em tarefas domésticas.*
25	Uma mulher não deve se preocupar mais com sua aparência física no trabalho do que um homem.
26	O aborto deve ser permitido a pedido da mulher.

27	O primeiro dever de uma mulher com filhos pequenos é o lar e a família.*
28	Para o bem da família, uma esposa deve ter relações sexuais com seu marido, quer ela queira ou não.*
29	Uma mulher deve se preocupar mais em ajudar a carreira de seu marido do que em ter uma carreira própria.*
30	Mulheres não devem esperar que os homens ofereçam assentos a elas em ônibus.

*É importante notar que os itens marcados com um asterisco são pontuados ao contrário.

Os participantes serão solicitados a indicar o quanto concordam com cada afirmação na seguinte escala:

Discordo quase sempre	1
Discordo ocasionalmente	2
Às vezes concordo, mas raramente	3
Concordo ocasionalmente	4
Concordo frequentemente	5
Concordo geralmente	6
Concordo quase sempre.	7

Appendix 6: Multilevel Modelling

Model specification

We employed a two-level MLM in this study which investigates the effects of age, sex, gender norms and family systems on gender identity across cultural groups. Level 1 measures within-group variation while and Level 2 represents between-group variation.

At Level 1, age, sex, and gender norms are employed as predictors of gender identity, as these are the covariates measurable within each cultural group. We have chosen these variables based on existing research referenced in the research proposal. The chosen research design also ensures these variables are easily quantified and collected.

$$GenderIdentity_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}Age_{ij} + \beta_{2j}Sex_{ij} + \beta_{3j}GenderNorms_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

At Level 2, the model includes family systems and gender norms as predictors of gender identity. We operate with the assumption that family systems are grossly similar within each group. For this particular covariate, the number of primary and secondary caregivers within each family unit will be averaged to obtain a group mean value.

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}FamilyStructure_j + u_{0j}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + u_{1j}$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + u_{2j}$$

$$\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30} + u_{3j}$$

Where,

β_{0j} represents the intercept for group j ,

β_{1j} represent the effects of *age* on *gender identity*

β_{2j} represents the effects of *sex* on *gender identity*

β_{3j} represent the effects of *gender norms* on *gender identity*

e_{ij} represents the residual for individual i in group j

γ_{00} represents the average intercept across all groups

u_{0j} represents the effect of family systems on the intercept across all groups

γ_{10} represents the average effect of *age* on *gender identity* across all groups

γ_{20} represents the average effect of *sex* on *gender identity* across all groups

γ_{30} represents the average effect of *gender norms* on *gender identity* across all groups

u_{0j} represents the random effect of intercept for group j

u_{1j} represents the random effect of the effect of *age* on *gender identity* for group j

u_{2j} represents the random effect of the effect of *sex* on *gender identity* for group j

u_{3j} represents the random effect of the effect of *gender norms* on *gender identity* for group j

Covariates

The final covariate list includes age, sex, and gender norms at Level 1, and family systems and gender norms at Level 2. It is important to note that the inclusion of these variables does not necessarily imply causality or represent the full range of variables that may influence gender identity development. Future research may consider additional covariates and explore the interaction effects between different variables.

Assumptions

There are several assumptions that underly the use of hierarchical modelling techniques. First, we assume that the residuals at both levels take the form of a normal distribution with constant variance. We also assume that the residuals in Level 1 are centred around the person mean, while Level 2 predictors are assumed to be centred around the group mean. Finally, it is necessary to assume that there is no covariance between residuals at both levels.

Interpretation

The Level 1 coefficients represent within-group effects of age, sex, and gender norms on gender identity. The Level 2 coefficients represent the between-group effects of family systems and gender norms on gender identity. The random intercept (γ_{0j}) represents the between-group variation in the intercept (β_{0j}), while the random slopes (γ_{1j} , γ_{2j} , γ_{3j}) represent the variation in the effects of age, sex, and gender norms on gender identity.

Model fitness

Model fit will be evaluated using the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA).

Limitations

Despite the edge MLMs provide over other modelling techniques, the nested structure of the data may lead to potential biases, and measurement errors could affect the validity of our results. Moreover, the need for careful interpretation of cross-level interactions is critical, and as such findings may not generalise to other population groups or cultures.

Sensitivity analyses

Sensitivity analyses will be conducted to test the robustness of the MLM results, including a comparison of results using different modelling specifications. The results of these sensitivity analyses will give us an indication of the findings' robustness and consistency across different methods. However, we also endeavour to note that these analyses do not provide definitive proof of the validity of the results. Instead, they provide us with an indication of their reliability when calculated while making different assumptions and employing specific modelling criterions.

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