Differences Between Trans and LGB Experiences with Discrimination, Violence and Support in School:
A Multilevel Analysis Across 30 European Countries

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Abstract

In light of recent waves of transphobia and increasing amounts of anti-trans legislation, it is highly important for research to accurately include and explore transgender people's experiences. This study investigates the differences between trans and LGB experiences with discrimination, violence, and support in school. I also explore how these experiences vary across European countries, how they are affected by a person's disability and ethnic minority identity, and how they vary between trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people. This study used data from the 2020 EU LGBTI II Survey, with data on the experiences and views of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans people (N = 138,212), to conduct a multilevel analysis across 30 European countries, and used scores from the 2022 Rainbow Europe Country Ranking as the country-level predictor. The findings showed that trans people reported experiencing more discrimination, more violence, and felt slightly less supported in school than LGB people. These differences were consistent throughout European countries, meaning that these inequalities persist even in countries with high levels of queer rights. The difference between trans and LGB experiences with discrimination and violence was larger among participants with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities than among other participants. Trans women and nonbinary people reported more violence and less support in school than trans men, but for discrimination, trans men scored equal to trans women and higher than nonbinary people. In conclusion, this study provides convincing empirical evidence of the consistent and disproportionately negative experiences of trans people. As such, researchers and policymakers across Europe are urged to continue to address this, and I provide initial guidelines for how the findings can be used to promote equity and justice for trans and LGB people.

Keywords: Discrimination, LGBTQ+ equality, multilevel analysis, school support, trans rights, violence

Table of Contents

Although transgender people's rights, freedom, and well-being have been threatened throughout history, human rights organisations and academics have noted a recent wave of intensified anti-trans mobilisation and discrimination (Ronan, 2021; Vincent et al., 2020). These anti-trans sentiments have been expressed within broader movements against LGBTQ+ people, feminism, and "gender" itself (Grzebalska et al., 2017). However, trans rights are also specifically targeted, often denying trans people access to essential resources and care (Romo, 2022). Several European countries have recently limited trans rights, with Hungary banning trans people from legally changing their gender, the UK government blocking the Scottish government's bill to allow self-determination of gender without a medical diagnosis, and Swedish legislators restricting gender-affirming treatments for teens (Min, 2023). Meanwhile, the legal and social efforts to support and protect queer rights have historically been and currently remain focused on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual (LBG) people (Parmenter et al., 2020; Ward & Schneider, 2009). Indeed, the annual review of LGBTQ+ human rights in Europe by the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association indicated more prominent and widespread progress for sexual orientation and same-sex partnership rights, while trans rights and gender recognition laws are stagnating and regressing in several countries (ILGA Europe, 2022). Therefore, a greater focus on the differences between trans people's and cisgender LGB people's experiences is urgently needed.

Academic work on queer experiences and issues has been predominantly concerned with LGB, particularly gay people as compared to trans people (Corrington et al., 2020; Worthen, 2013). Research has documented the large improvements in queer acceptance and living conditions across the world over the last few decades (Flores, 2019), yet many studies include little or no specific references to trans people. Large cross-national studies about queer acceptance have almost exclusively asked questions about "gay" and "lesbian" people or about same-sex partnerships (Adamczyk & Liao, 2019). In terms of trans people as participants, survey measures of sex and gender have been slow to change and criticised for not adequately encompassing or even allowing for indicating trans identities (Saperstein & Westbrook, 2021). Research has also been criticised for generalising queer experiences and missing important differences in their needs and health risks by not examining people with different LGBTQ+ identities independently (Smalley et al., 2016).

Moreover, studies that solely focus on the experiences of trans people are often qualitative and view them separately from other groups (Bower-Brown et al., 2021; Dispenza et al., 2012). Quantitative studies also mostly construct separate statistics about trans experiences or compare them to the general population, meaning the comparison group will be

mostly heterosexual and cisgender (Grant et al., 2011). Both approaches are useful for identifying and understanding trans issues, but leave a noticeable gap in exploring the differences between trans and LGB experiences. Overall, the current approach to studying trans people's life experiences may have resulted in an incomplete and false narrative about LGBTQ+ people being one uniform entity who equally suffers the same challenges (Takács et al., 2006) and enjoys the same improvements to quality of life and social acceptance (Flores, 2019) when there is no data to support such conclusions. In turn, research which more adequately addresses trans people's experiences could lead to crucial new insights in promoting equity and justice for all queer people.

As such, this paper's aim is to identify the differences between trans and LGB experiences with violence, discrimination, and support in school, building on data indicating that these domains are particularly relevant to negative physical and mental health, unemployment, homelessness, and weak support-networks (FRA, 2014; The Trevor Project, 2022). Further, I look at how these experiences vary across European countries, how they are affected by a person's disability and ethnic minority identity, and vary among trans people with different gender identities.

To address these questions, I use large-scale cross-national data from the 2020 EU LGBTI II survey, including responses from lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people from 30 European countries (N = 138,212). From the survey, I use measures of how many areas of life participants felt discriminated in, how many times they have been physically or sexually attacked, and how supported they felt in school based on their LGBT identity, as well as their ethnic minority status and disability, while controlling for age and socioeconomic status. Additionally, I use scores from the Rainbow Europe Country Ranking (ILGA Europe, 2022) as the country-level predictor.

In the remaining parts of the introduction, I will first outline some of the relevant terminology and concepts relating to trans experiences and briefly discuss current European anti-gender and anti-trans mobilisations. Then, I will discuss theoretical perspectives on how norms and prejudices might affect trans and LGB experiences, followed by empirical findings on the differences between trans people's and cisgender LGB people's experiences with discrimination, violence, and support in school. I also address how these experiences might vary across European countries based on their laws and policies. Next, I highlight disability and race/ethnicity as particularly relevant to an intersectional understanding of trans issues due to their close relationship with (non)normative conceptualisations of gender. Lastly, I point to

evidence indicating that there are also differences between the experiences of trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people.

Trans Terminology

In this paper, "trans" and "transgender" are used as umbrella terms in reference to people whose gender identity and sense of self do not correspond with their assigned sex at birth (Vincent et al., 2020). Gender identity refers to an internal process of how we understand ourselves in relation to the culturally dependent and socially constructed classifications of gender (Holleb, 2019). Gender expression refers to the external choices and social cues a person makes to indicate their gender identity, including their outward appearance, body language, vocal mannerisms, and the various ways they interact with other people. Gender dysphoria is partially a medical term and mental health disorder, but is also used generally to describe the physical and social feelings of incongruence between a person's sense of self and the body or how a person is gendered by others (Holleb, 2019). Gender dysphoria can be alleviated by different types of transition; a social and/or medial process of changing one's life or body to better reflect one's gender identity. This often involves changes to a person's gender expression and can include gender-affirming health care, such as puberty blockers, hormone therapy, and surgery (Holleb, 2019). There are binary, nonbinary, gender-queer, and gender-diverse trans people who vary in their gender expressions, experiences with dysphoria and level of transition, while a number of people who fall within this definition might not self-identify as trans. "Cis" and "cisgender" refers to people whose gender identity and sense of self corresponds with their assigned sex at birth (Aultman, 2014). This does not necessarily imply that a cis person possesses all the primary and secondary sexual characteristics indicative of a biological sex, nor that they consistently exhibit the expressions and behaviours that are associated with their gender (Polderman et al., 2018).

This paper will use "queer" as an umbrella term referring to people that identify themselves within the LGBTQ+ community and "queer rights" is used synonymously with "LGBTQ+ rights". However, the literature may also use "queer" to describe people, spaces, and movements that have adapted a perspective which opposes essentialist and binary systems regarding gender, romantic and sexual orientations, identities, expressions, and behaviours (McCann & Monaghan, 2019). This paper will similarly use such queer perspectives to be critical of various social scripts, assumptions, stereotypes, attitudes, laws, and physical structures, that are born out of institutionalised norms and continue to be enforced in current political movements.

Current Anti-Trans and Anti-Gender Movements

To examine the unique experiences of trans people and how they might compare to the experiences of cisgender LGB people, it is necessary to understand the current climate of anti-trans ideologies, including the role of trans-exclusionary feminists and LGB people.

The largely neoconservative and Christian fundamentalist "anti-gender" mobilisations have grown in various subgroups around the world, particularly in Europe and the United States, with the catholic church being one of the earliest and most influential actors (Korolczuk & Graff, 2018). They mobilise against vague and generalised terms such as "gender ideology", "gender theory", and "genderism". These terms include an array of political ideas, such as LGBTQ+ rights, marriage equality, gender equality, reproductive rights, bodily autonomy, comprehensive sex education, and anti-discrimination policies, which are framed as de-naturalising and immoral (Grzebalska et al., 2017; Marschütz, 2014). In particular, anti-gender groups view these aspects of liberal democracy as threatening to normative societal structures and values about family, heteronormativity, and the gender binary (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2018). In various countries, anti-gender mobilisations have adapted to this new way of framing their political agenda, incorporating similar vocabulary in their discourses, strategies and modes of action (Hodzic & Bijelic, 2014). Indeed, examinations of right-wing populism find that opposition to "gender" has become a central characteristic which is able to invoke and exploit people's anger, shame, and anxiety (Graff & Korolczuk, 2021), and has even drawn links between anti-trans ideologies and fascist political desires to maintain gender hierarchies (Stanley, 2018). As such, anti-gender and anti-trans movements can be seen as a part of the current rise in European and global far-right, ultraconservative, and populist movements (Korolczuk, 2020; Kuhar & Paternotte, 2018), which capitalise on dissatisfaction, insecurities and fears of the many people who are structurally excluded in the neoliberal market-driven democracy of modern Europe (Grzebalska, 2016).

While anti-trans sentiments are more likely to come from heterosexual people and aforementioned groups that generally oppose liberalism, there are also a minority of feminists and LGB people who want to distance themselves from trans people. This wave of trans-exclusionary ideology within feminist and LGB groups heavily borrows terminology and rhetoric from the larger anti-gender movement. In particular, biological essentialism is used to oppose trans people's rights to gender-affirming resources and spaces, or legal recognition and protection (Westbrook & Schilt, 2014). However, they also draw rhetoric from liberal social justice movements but argue that trans-inclusionary notions of gender are incompatible with women's "sex-based rights" (Fair Play for Women, 2017), and invalidate LGB identities (LGB

Alliance, 2022). Although they are less religiously founded, these subgroups also claim ownership of what is "natural" and "objective" (Vincent et al., 2020). Meanwhile, they politicise and weaponize scientific language to promote underdeveloped theories, such as Rapid Onset Gender Dysphoria, which has been highly criticised and empirically opposed (Ashley, 2020), while disregarding tremendous evidence which supports gender-affirming and trans-inclusive policies (Macdonald et al., 2022). They will also work together with conservative actors in limiting trans rights, despite these groups also promoting policies which harm women and LGB people (Burns, 2019). In sum, the increased mobilisation against trans rights is likely to result in more negative outcomes for trans people and to widen the inequalities between trans and LGB people.

Social Norms Affecting Trans and LGB Experiences

Queer theoretical and critical psychology often highlight social norms in their approach to understanding LGBTQ+ experiences (de Oliveira et al., 2014). Heteronormativity and cisnormativity interactively centre the natural and essential aspects of opposite-sex attraction and portray biological sex as a fixed and stable binary, both producing expectations and granting privilege to those behaviours and identities which align with the ideal heterosexual "feminine woman" or "masculine man" (Bain & Podmore, 2021; Robinson, 2016). Homonormativity describes how these hetero- and cisnormative ideals can also be enforced by and within the LGBTQ+ community, rewarding queer people who can more easily conform and assimilate to normative institutions (de Oliveira et al., 2014; Ferguson, 2005). Such norms have far-reaching influences on institutions, research, and policy making, leading to systemic inequalities for LGBTQ+ people (Ecker et al., 2018; Payne & Smith, 2013). However, even within growing movements for queer rights, homonormative perspectives disproportionately centre and benefit LGB people and exclude or devalue trans people (Garwood, 2016). These institutionalised norms naturally have social and political consequences on how LGBTQ+ people are treated.

Social norms are embedded in psychological biases and political ideologies such as essentialism and biological determinism, which can explain why trans, nonbinary and gender-nonconforming individuals are disproportionately dismissed and opposed, compared to LGB people (Weber, 2012). Mainstream essentialist narratives have misrepresented how queer identities are constructed, experienced, and expressed in dynamic and fluid ways (Klein et al., 2014). For example, they might support LGB people because they were "born that way" but dispute "transitioning" from the gender one was assigned at birth. Rigid and deterministic perspectives have often led to narratives of pathologisation and medicalisation of non-

normative identities and expressions, linking these with illness, disorders, disability, and trauma (Chen, 2021). Such narratives have become less commonly used about lesbian, gay and bisexual people, but remain prominent in debates about trans rights (Kronk & Dexheimer, 2021; Suess Schwend, 2020). Further, the reliance on essentialist identity labels requires different LGBTQ+ groups to individually go through an assimilating process of "humanising" and "normalising" them to the majority in order to receive legal and social benefits (McCann & Monaghan, 2019). This has led to changes in the landscape of heteronormativity, with the emergence of "homotolerance" and the progressive normalisation of same-sex sexualities in some European countries, while the same shift has not emerged for non-normative gender identities (Roseneil et al., 2013).

Antecedents and Consequences of Anti-Trans Prejudice: Theoretical Perspectives

A literature review and qualitative content analysis of 68 papers attempting to explain discrimination against trans people found that there are two broad theoretical perspectives: discursive approaches, which emphasise the role of social and historical practices and processes, and cognitive approaches, which situate the problem in the mind of (some) individuals (Aguirre-Sánchez-Beato, 2020).

Discursive approaches can be divided into three explanatory categories on how anti-trans prejudice is structurally produced through social and historical practices and processes (Aguirre-Sánchez-Beato, 2020). First, anti-trans discrimination derives from the "production of gender meanings", which is to say how gender is constructed through the way people perform their perceived gender (Meadow, 2010) and the language people use to describe gender (Riggs, 2014). Second, the dynamics of social power, which decides what gender constructions prevail over others, plays a role in favouring cisgender people over trans people and expecting conformity to gender norms (Spade, 2015). Third, the effects of such constructions, like the "othering" of those who do not follow the norms, also perpetuates prejudice and discrimination against trans people (Dean et al., 2017). Violence against trans people might also be explained by discursive perspectives on how normative gender is conceptualised, and how trans people are "othered". Indeed, investigations haves suggested that attempting to maintain single-gender spaces in trans-exclusionary ways puts trans people at greater risk of violence (Jones & Slater, 2020). Discursive approaches would suggest that anti-trans prejudice also has unique consequences on trans youth, who continue to be vulnerable to marginalisation in school (McBride & Neary, 2021), as cisnormative assumptions and expectations are placed on children from early in life, while social and institutional influences continue to reinforce these throughout their upbringings (Robinson, 2005).

Cognitive approaches can also be divided into three explanatory categories on why some individuals are more likely to discriminate against trans people (Aguirre-Sánchez-Beato, 2020). First, many individual characteristics are associated with increased discriminatory behaviours towards trans people, such as a person's religiosity (Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015), right-wing authoritarianism (Norton & Herek, 2013), and being a heterosexual man (Worthen, 2016). Second, some factors external to the individual increase the likelihood that they discriminate against trans people, like lack of positive interactions (Huffaker & Kwon, 2016) and false information about trans people (Case & Stewart, 2013). Third, discrimination against trans people is associated with adherence to other prejudices, such as homophobia (Grigoropoulos & Kordoutis, 2015) and hostile sexism (Warriner et al., 2013). Theoretical examinations of anti-trans ideologies have indicated that these have historically been enforced by a violent minority (Williams, 2020). Cognitive approaches could suggest that the same individual factors that are associated with anti-trans discrimination also lead to violence against trans people, particularly proneness to aggression (Warriner et al., 2013). Individual motivations to maintain children's innocence and purity, and cognitive associations between queer people and overtly sexual or perverse themes are both explicit aspects of anti-gender and anti-trans movements (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2018), which should also negatively impact the amount of support queer and trans students receive at school.

Discursive and cognitive approaches are not mutually exclusive, as several studies point to factors from both approaches (Huffaker & Kwon, 2016). Ultimately, negative attitudes and discriminatory or violent behaviours against trans people are explained by both social and personal factors, as the concept of gender varies across cultures and institutions, and individuals differ between their likelihood to learn, believe in, and act on prejudiced beliefs (Aguirre-Sánchez-Beato, 2020).

Differences Between Trans and LGB Experiences: Empirical Findings

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans people have all been affected by normative institutions and prejudiced beliefs, and face increased risks of negative life outcomes like unemployment, homelessness, struggling with mental and physical health (including increased attempts of suicide) (The Trevor Project, 2022). However, trans people are found to experience higher rates of such outcomes than LGB people. In this study, I focus on experiences with discrimination, violence, and support in school because of their severe impacts on trans people's health and well-being (Drescher et al., 2021; Grant et al., 2011; Lombardi et al., 2002).

Discrimination. The high prevalence of experiences with discrimination against transgender people has been shown in several qualitative studies (Dispenza et al., 2012;

Papadaki & Ntiken, 2022), experimental field studies (Granberg et al., 2020), and large-scale quantitative studies (Rodriguez et al., 2018). A large European survey showed that 37% of trans people felt discriminated against when looking for a job, and 27% had experienced discrimination because of being trans at work. 22% of trans people who had interacted with healthcare services felt discriminated against by personnel or procedures, while 19% felt this way about social services (FRA, 2014). Research using these data from Germany, Portugal and the United Kingdom indicated that trans people were more at risk, compared to cisgender LGB people, to experience discrimination (Bayrakdar & King, 2023). Hiring and work-related discrimination could lead to increased rates of unemployment, negatively affecting people's economic stability, mental health and well-being (Paul & Moser, 2009). Discrimination in terms of housing and healthcare further increases the risk of homelessness and severe negative health outcomes for trans people (Grant et al., 2011; Lombardi et al., 2002). Thus, identifying the differences in discrimination towards LGB and trans people is integral to effectively promote social and institutional changes in queer acceptance and equality.

Violence. A review of data from self-report surveys, social service records and police reports shows that trans people are at increased risk of multiple types of violence, from early on and lasting throughout their lives, with a particularly high risk of sexual violence (Stotzer, 2009). Different quantitative studies indicated that over half of trans people experienced harassment or violence in their lifetime (Lombardi et al., 2002) and that 28% of trans people had experienced domestic abuse from a partner (Bachman & Gooch, 2018). Multiple quantitative studies have also found that trans people experience greater amounts of harassment and violence than cisgender LGB people across Europe (Bayrakdar & King, 2023; Turner & Whittle, 2012), with trans people being three times more likely to experience hate crimes in the EU. Experiences with violence are also related to economic instability and discrimination (Lombardi et al., 2002), and likely a lack of legal protections related to employment, housing, and social services for trans people (Peitzmeier et al., 2020). Moreover, physical, and sexual violence victimisation among trans people is related to higher rates of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts (Drescher et al., 2021). As such, it is important to study the differences in physical and sexual violence subjected to LGB and trans people for anti-violence policies and legislation to be equitable, efficient, and impactful to those at greater risk.

Lacking Support in School. Qualitative studies on the experiences of trans youth in school have indicated feelings of victimisation, lacking support networks, and discrimination within the school environment (Bower-Brown et al., 2021; Gato et al., 2020). Quantitative studies have shown a lack of school belonging among trans students (Hatchel et al., 2019), and

a lack of commitment among teachers and school administration to address cisnormative systems, including transphobic resistance to gender diversity (Martino et al., 2022). LGBTQ+ people lacking support and being victimised in school can have many direct negative effects on their physical and mental health outcomes (The Trevor Project, 2022), including increased suicidal ideation (Hatchel et al., 2019). It can also have long-term indirect impacts, as heterosexual cisgender people will struggle to identify and address queer issues in professional and social settings later in life (Grant et al., 2011). Therefore, studying the differences in support towards LGB and trans people in school is important for campaigns that wish to spread information and awareness of the issues faced by queer youth and to decrease their negative outcomes.

Queer and Trans Rights Across Europe

The analyses of large data samples show that trans people and cisgender LGB people experience different types and different levels of discrimination, harassment, and violence across Europe (Bayrakdar & King, 2023; Turner & Whittle, 2012) and that this can be linked to the variety in laws and policies affecting queer and trans people in different European countries (Bränström & Pachankis, 2021). For example, national legislation can create structural stigma and negative public attitudes against trans people, which again heightens discrimination against trans people, such as in healthcare settings (Falck & Bränström, 2022).

Queer and trans rights largely vary between European countries, with anti-discrimination and anti-violence policies protecting sexual orientation being more widespread than those protecting (trans)gender identity (ILGA Europe, 2022; TGEU, 2019). In 2022, 41 European countries had legal or administrative measures to recognise trans people's gender (Council of Europe, 2022). As of now, only 11 of those countries have self-determination as the basis for legal gender recognition; Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland, while the remaining countries use a selection of criteria that can be degrading and in violation of people's physical integrity, dignity, and rights to form a family. The process of gaining legal gender recognition is often considered invasive, time-consuming, overly medicalised, bureaucratic, and requiring large amounts of social and economic resources (Hines, 2013) and is particularly incompatible with the experiences of nonbinary and gender-fluid individuals (Nirta, 2021). While marriage equality is expanding, trans people face several difficulties and limitations in accessing marriage and its benefits, due to its binary gendered structures and the potential of having their gender inspected and policed by bureaucratic actors or other parties involved in the approval of

a marriage (Daum, 2019). Further, some countries promote or require the termination of marriages upon a person's legal change of gender (ILGA Europe, 2022).

The Rainbow Europe Country Ranking (ILGA Europe, 2022) has created a database and ranking system based on the countries' queer rights scores. The score reflects the presence of positive and negative laws and policies affecting the lives of LGBTQ+ people in each country. This regards categories such as family issues, freedom of expression, hate speech and hate crime, legal gender recognition, bodily integrity, asylum rights, equality, and non-discrimination. While this score mostly includes existing and established policies, it also considers the recommendations of human rights and LGBTQ+ rights organisations, which propose policies that have not yet been achieved by any European country. Intuitively, higher levels of trans rights should positively impact trans people specifically. However, while all LGBTQ+ people should be expected to experience more positive outcomes in countries with higher levels of queer rights, it is unclear if this is equally the case for LGB and trans people. Discovering this would be particularly important because of the groups campaigning for policies that benefit LGB people and not trans people.

Intersectional Perspectives on Trans Issues

A critical understanding of trans experiences must include the concept of intersectionality. Crenshaw (1989; 2017) describes an intersectional approach as one that takes into account the various social identities, forces, and ideological instruments that legitimise and express institutional power and disadvantage. Researchers need to consider the multiple identities and contexts where trans people face an increased risk of marginalisation, discrimination and violence, such as having a physical, psychological or developmental disability, or being an ethnic/racial minority within a particular region (Aizura, 2012). Trans-inclusive activism and scholarship highlight the complex process of how groups perceive and construct different social categories, especially gender, and how these overlap with our construction of other categories, like national boundaries, ethnicity, race, class, political economies, and dis/ability (Enke, 2012). Moreover, intersectional literature has illustrated that anti-trans ideologies build on narratives that stigmatise disability and dehumanise people of colour, all of which are used to police people's bodies and the construction of gender itself (Hsu, 2022).

Disability. Both an individual's disabilities and ableism in society can limit one's capacity to realise one's gender identity internally and externally. One might face communicational, economic, political, and social challenges to expressing one's gender, accessing administrative processes, and being believed by medical and legal actors (Baril et al.,

2020; Riggs & Bartholomaeus, 2017). Some LGBTQ+ activists purposefully seek to distance disability from queerness because of the historical negative effects of pathologizing LGBTQ+ people (Miller, 2015). This remains particularly relevant for trans people, whose lives and rights are still overwhelmingly discussed through medicalised terms (Wahlert & Gill, 2017). However, such a separation can lead to experiences of exclusion, shame, humiliation, and invalidation for disabled queer (and especially trans) individuals for not achieving the normative able-bodied ideals of queerness (McRuer, 2021). Further, trans-exclusionary definitions of gender that focus on how particular gendered bodies are supposed to develop and function are deeply ableist and alienating for large amounts of people who might already be marginalised due to their conditions (Baril, 2015). Trans-exclusionary groups will particularly draw attention to one's ability to reproduce as an innate and fundamental aspect of a gendered identity (Vincent et al., 2020), despite many cisgender people being infertile or unable to carry a child to term. Empirical findings also indicate that trans people with disabilities experience higher levels of discrimination compared to trans people without disabilities (Kattari, Walls, & Speer, 2017), and more violence and discrimination compared to cisgender LGB people with disabilities (Leonard & Mann, 2018).

  Ethnicity. Queer people of colour also face intersectional and cumulative stigma, social exclusion, and discrimination because of racism within LGBTQ+ movements and anti-queer beliefs and attitudes within racial/ethnic groups (Cyrus, 2017). Mobilisations for queer rights that centre white people and whiteness might see some cultures, particularly outside of Europe and North America, as having repressive or underdeveloped views on gender and sexuality, without acknowledging how these were often established by white colonisers (Mcclintock, 2013). Consequently, pressure is put on queer people of colour to distance themselves from their ethnic communities, families, religions, and cultures (Liu, 2021). Additionally, imperialist histories uncover how white people conceptualised gender and sexuality, thus creating racist cisnormative and heteronormative ideals, and used these to justify the dehumanisation and oppression of people of colour (Mcclintock, 2013). Similar tactics and rhetoric are used by anti-trans movements, which use perceptions of idealised white (cis) female vulnerability and the dangerous masculinity of racialised (and especially Black) women and nonbinary people to target these groups (Patel, 2017). Empirical studies also show that trans people with ethnic minority backgrounds experience more discrimination compared to trans people with ethnic majority backgrounds (Kattari et al., 2017), and give some indication that trans and LGB people with ethnic minority backgrounds have different experiences with violence (Meyer, 2012).

As such, intersectional perspectives are vital to a comprehensive and critical understanding of how anti-trans ideologies disproportionately affect certain groups, particularly as ethnicity and disability overlap and interact with idealised conceptualisations of gender.

Differences Between Trans Women, Trans Men, and Nonbinary People

A person's gender identity and gender expression could also be considered intersectional factors that influence the experiences of trans people, although these differences would be between identities that all exist within the trans umbrella rather than outside of it. Differences among trans people with different gender identities are not well-studied, as certain identities are either omitted or all included as one uniform group (Bower-Brown et al., 2021). Anti-trans discourse and media coverage has disproportionately focused on trans women (McLean, 2021) and literature on trans experiences suggests that trans women experience more negative outcomes, particularly more violence, than trans men (Hines, 2020; Williams, 2020). Empirical findings also point to trans women experiencing higher rates of harassment and abuse than trans men (Turner & Whittle, 2012). Critical examinations of gender norms suggest that nonbinary, gender-fluid, and gender-nonconforming people are more often dismissed and misunderstood, are less likely to receive legal recognition and face institutions that are fundamentally unsuitable for nonbinary identities (Nirta, 2021). Quantitative data also indicate that genderqueer people are more likely to suffer physical and sexual assaults, face police harassment, be unemployed and fear discrimination in healthcare, compared to binary transgender people (Harrison et al., 2012). Overall, data shows that trans women and nonbinary people are at higher risk of harassment and discrimination than trans men, with trans women being most at risk in the workplace, public spaces, and family contexts, while nonbinary people face the greatest risk in educational, health and sports settings (Devís-Devís et al., 2022). Thus, investigating the differences between trans women's, trans men's, and nonbinary people's experiences is integral for research to accurately describe the issues and needs of trans people, so that trans-inclusive policies can effectively address them.

The Current Study

This study expands the limited amount of quantitative research on the experiences of trans people, particularly comparative research between trans people's and cisgender LGB people's experiences, and intersectional experiences of those with multiple minority identities. The data from the two EU LGBT(I) surveys are well-suited for such work, but has so far been underutilised by researchers, especially the data published in 2020, and have mostly not compared LGBT identities, not considered intersectional identities, and only explored the results within one or a few of the countries. Studies like that of Bayrakdar and King (2023)

have attempted to fill some of these gaps in the literature but use data from the 2014 EU LGBT survey from only three countries. In turn, the current study utilises more recent data with a larger sample size and more demographic diversity from all 30 countries in the survey. A more complex methodological approach of multilevel modelling is used to account for the nesting of individuals within countries. I use an additional data-source, the Rainbow Europe Country Ranking (ILGA Europe, 2022), to explore the effect of national queer rights across European countries on the experiences of trans and LGB people. I expand on intersectional approaches, which have included variables like ethnic minority status and disability as predictors, by also investigating interactions between LGBT identities and these additional minority groups. Further, I explore differences between trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people, which have largely been addressed as one group in previous studies and have never been investigated at this scale.

The following research questions are addressed: To what extent do trans people and cisgender LGB people experience different amounts of violence, discrimination, and support in school? Do these differences vary across countries based on their overall levels of queer rights? Are these differences larger for participants with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities, compared to participants with ethnic majority backgrounds and no disabilities? How do these experiences vary between trans women, trans men, and nonbinary participants?

First, based on the existing body of research on this topic, I expect that trans participants and LGB participants will have significantly different experiences, with trans people reporting more discrimination, more violence, and feeling less supported in school than LGB people. Second, regarding country differences, I expect that higher national queer rights will be associated with more positive experiences, and I will explore if this is equally the case for trans and LGB participants. Third, I expect that disability and ethnic minority status will have a moderating effect, such that the differences between trans and LGB outcomes will be larger for people with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities, compared to people with ethnic majority backgrounds and no disabilities. Lastly, I expect trans women and nonbinary people will report more negative outcomes than trans men.

Method

Procedure

I used data from the EU LGBTI II survey (FRA, 2020), which is the largest cross-national survey on the experiences and views of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex (LGBTI) people. The data were collected in 2019 and processed by Agilis SA and Homoevolution, under the guidance and supervision of the European Union Agency for

Fundamental Rights (FRA). Through national survey contact points and civil society organisations (LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+), the survey was promoted through various online and offline channels in 30 European countries. This was an online opt-in survey where participants volunteered. A true probability sample was considered impossible to achieve due to lacking reliable information about LGBTQ+ people in the surveyed countries. The online survey was deemed the most appropriate tool because traditional random sampling methods, such as door-to-door, face difficulties in reaching LGBTQ+ populations (Ellard-Gray et al., 2015). Particular efforts were made to reach queer people of diverse backgrounds, including those who are not wanting or able to be open about their queer identities in their daily lives. For participants to take the questionnaire in their national language, a rigorous process of translation was handled by independent professional translators, reviewers, and adjudicators, and was finalised by country and FRA experts (FRA, 2020). The online survey guaranteed full anonymity, and provided information on local organisations that offer support for relevant issues in the survey.

The sample consisted of self-identified LGBTI people, aged 15 and above. At the time of answering the survey, respondents needed to live in, and have lived in for at least one year, an EU Member State, the United Kingdom, North Macedonia or Serbia, regardless of citizenship or residency. FRA screened and cleaned the dataset by checking for survey responses that were incomplete or not falling within the specified frames of the survey, such as participants being too young or having lived in their country of residence for less than a year. Additionally, they checked for responses that were completed too quickly, or who provided internally inconsistent and contradicting answers, leading to 1,822 responses being excluded. Furthermore, I excluded 1,587 intersex respondents, as the identity does not fall within the scope of this project, leaving a total number of 138,212 participants.

Measures

From the EU LGBTI II survey (FRA, 2020), I used demographic questions to categorise participants' LGBT identity, country of residence, disability and ethnic minority status, age, and socioeconomic status (SES). I also used three items regarding participants' experiences with discrimination, violence, and support in school. Additionally, I added a country-level predictor from outside the EU LGBTI II Survey. Namely, the Rainbow Europe Country Ranking (ILGA Europe, 2022), assessing the level of queer rights in European countries.

Trans (versus LGB). The question "Are/were you a trans person?" was used to identify if the participants were transgender or cisgender. The question "Which group best matches your sexual orientation?" was then used to categorise the cisgender people as either lesbian,

gay or bisexual. These were then grouped together as LGB people. The question "How would you describe your current gender identity?" was also used to categorise cisgender participants as either cisgender women or cisgender men, and the trans participants as either transgender women, transgender men, or nonbinary (including all participants who did not identify as either a man or a woman). For the analysis, the trans variable is thus coded as 0 = LGB (Lesbian, Gay, or Bisexual) and 1 = trans (regardless of sexual orientation). In some of the additional analyses where the cisgender LGB participants are excluded, the trans variable is replaced with dummy variables for trans women (0 = trans man, 1 = trans woman) and nonbinary people (0 = trans man, 1 = nonbinary).

Discrimination. Concerning discrimination, participants were asked, "During the last 12 months, have you personally felt discriminated against because of being [RESPONDENT CATEGORY] in any of the following situations." Participants would then indicate if they had felt discriminated against ("Yes", "No", "Haven't done this", or "Don't know") in seven different aspects of life. The seven categories were "when looking for a job", "at work", "when looking for a house or apartment to rent or buy", "by healthcare or social services personnel", "by school/university personnel", "at a café, restaurant, bar or nightclub", or "at a shop". This variable used a sum score of every "yes" selected, to represent how many areas of life (0 – 7) the participant felt discriminated in. Thus, a higher score on this variable indicates feelings of being discriminated against in more areas of life.

Violence. Regarding violence, participants were asked, "In the last 5 years, how many times have you been physically or sexually attacked at home or elsewhere (street, on public transport, at your workplace, etc.) for any reason?" Responses included "never" (0), "once" (1), "twice" (2), "3-5 times" (3), "6-10 times" (4), "more than 10 times" (5), and "all the time" (6). The responses "Not sure" and "Prefer not to say" were treated as missing values. Thus, a higher score on this variable indicated more instances of exposure to physical or sexual violence.

Support in school. For support in school, participants were asked, "During your time in school in [COUNTRY] Has anyone supported, defended or protected you and your rights as [RESPONDENT CATEGORY] person?" Responses ranged from "never" (1) to "always" (4). The response "Does not apply" was treated as missing values. Thus, a higher score on this variable signifies feeling more supported in school, based on one's particular identity.

Country and national queer rights. To identify the country of residence, participants were asked to select the country where they currently live from a drop-down menu. They were also asked, "For how many years have you lived in [COUNTRY]?", to confirm the residency had lasted for at least one year. As an indicator of differences in overall queer rights between

countries, a score from the Rainbow Europe Country Ranking (ILGA Europe, 2022) was used. The score is on a scale between 0% (gross violations of human rights and discrimination) and 100% (respect of human rights and full equality), and is computed by comparing countries' legal standards with their European neighbours. The index is constructed by evaluating 72 types of laws and policies within seven categories; equality and non-discrimination (e.g., employment and education), family (e.g., marriage equality and joint adoption), hate crime and hate speech (e.g., hate crime law and policy tackling hatred), legal gender recognition (e.g., self-determination and no age restriction), intersex bodily integrity (e.g., prohibition of medical intervention before a child can give informed consent), civil society space (e.g., no state obstruction of freedom of assembly), and asylum (e.g., based on sexual orientation and gender identity).

Disability and ethnic minority status. Participants could self-report additional minority status following the question, "In the country where you live, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following, other than LGBTI?". Participants could select any relevant minority category, such as "An ethnic minority (including of migrant background)" or "A minority in terms of disability". The phrasing allows for different groups to be considered minorities in different countries, as the social context and demographics of a population vary across Europe. This has been coded as separate variables for ethnicity (0 = ethnic majority, 1 = ethnic minority), and disability (0 = no disability, 1 = disability).

Covariates. I also included two covariates representing participant's age and socioeconomic status, because outcomes such as discrimination, violence and support in school are likely to differ based on people's life stages and financial situation (Potter et al., 2019). Participants' age was coded into age categories from 1 (15-17 years old) to 11 (65+ years old) to ensure anonymity, with most categories referring to a span of five years. As an approximation of SES, participants were asked "Thinking of your household's total income, is your household able to make ends meet?". Responses ranged from "With great difficulty" (1) to "Very easily" (6). Both "Prefer not to say" and "Don't know" were treated as missing values.

Analysis

Using R version 4.2.2 (2022), I estimated multilevel models for each outcome variable separately: discrimination, violence and support in school. Multilevel analyses were used to account for participants being clustered within countries (Snijders, 1999; Bickel, 2007). Following the methodological and analytical recommendations for multilevel modelling (Hox, 2010; Moerbeek, Schoot, & Hox, 2017; Finch, Bolin, & Kelley, 2019), the variables were introduced stepwise in multiple models and the data was analysed at the individual level (level

1) and the country level (level 2). Maximum likelihood estimation was used for all models, utilising the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015) and the lmerTest package (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) to summarise the estimates and significance levels of the fixed effects and random effects. Missing data were not replaced because multilevel models are well equipped to handle missing values in the outcomes (Van Buuren, 2018), and very few values were missing in the predictors. Means, standard deviations (SD), and correlations were calculated for all variables. The continuous variables of national queer rights, age, and SES were grand-mean-centred to obtain meaningful zero-values and increase the interpretability of the models. For the dichotomous identity variables, the relative majority groups (LGB, ethnic majority, no disability) were given a score of zero so the models would indicate how the group or variable of interest (trans, ethnic minority, disability) scored in comparison.

I investigated differences between LGB and trans experiences and, in turn, how this difference varied across countries. First, an intercept-only model, without any predictors, was estimated to calculate the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC), indicating the amount of between- and within-country variance the data explained. The second model included the trans variable as a predictor. In the third model, I added the covariates for age and SES, and the variables for ethnic minority and disability, to estimate their main effects. The fourth model included national queer rights as a predictor at the country level. To explore country differences further, the fifth model allowed random slopes for the trans variable. Then, the sixth model added a cross-level interaction term between the trans and national queer rights variables.

Building on Model 4, I investigate the moderating effect of ethnic minority status and disability on the interaction between trans identity and the outcomes. The seventh and eighth models each included interaction terms between the trans variable and the ethnic minority and disability variables respectively. To explore differences among trans participants, the ninth model replaced the trans predictor with a trans woman dummy variable (0 = trans man, 1 = trans woman). The tenth model did the same with a nonbinary dummy variable (0 = trans man, 1 = nonbinary). Replacing the trans predictor with these dummy variables excludes all cisgender LGB people from these models. An overview of the models in the multilevel analyses is displayed in Table 1.

For each model, regression coefficients, p-values and R-squared values were calculated. To compare how well the models fitted the data, I used the Akaike information criterion (AIC) of each model, in which lower scores indicate better model fit (Heck et al., 2011). I also performed likelihood ratio tests to determine what models had significant improvements in how they fit the data.

Table 1

Overview of the Models in the Multilevel Analyses

Model	Description
Model 1	An intercept-only model, without any predictors.
Model 2	The trans variable is added as a predictor.
Model 3	The covariates for age and SES, and the variables for ethnic minority and disability are added.
Model 4	The national queer rights variable is added as a level-2 predictor.
Model 5	Allows random slopes for the trans variable.
Model 6	A cross-level interaction term between the trans variable and the national queer rights variable is added. No other interaction terms are included.
Model 7	An interaction term between the trans variable and the ethnic minority variable is added. No other interaction terms are included.
Model 8	An interaction term between the trans variable and the disability variable is included. No other interaction terms are included.
Model 9	Replaces the trans predictor with a trans woman dummy variable. Cisgender LGB participants are excluded.
Model 10	Replaces the trans predictor with a nonbinary dummy variable. Cisgender LGB participants are excluded.

Ethics

This project has been ethically evaluated and approved by the Department of Psychology's internal research ethics committee. Approval to use the data was given by European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights after agreeing to the obligations to maintain data privacy and the required ethical standards of data management. Results are only discussed in terms of general findings based on groups, with no reference to individual participants. While the data cannot be shared openly, interested parties can apply for their own access, and detailed findings are available through the LGBTI II survey data explorer and supplementary materials at https://fra.europa.eu/en/data-and-maps/2020/lgbti-survey-data-explorer. Survey participants were informed of the types of data that were collected, how the data would be processed and used, who could have access to data, and what security measures would be taken to safeguard personal data. All participants provided informed consent before study participation.

Results

Participants

The breakdown of LGBT identity and gender is displayed in Table 2. Note that this is not a probability sample and is not representative of the LGBTQ+ population within Europe, as illustrated by the particularly large proportion of gay men in this sample. Further, measures

were taken to ensure that the proportion of trans participants was large enough to represent a variety of trans experiences and allow a more meaningful comparison between the trans and cis participants.

The participants were also diverse in terms of demographic backgrounds. The sample had an average age of nearly 29 years. Of all participants, 13.3% were between 15 and 17 years, 35.6% were between 18 and 24 years, 33,3% were between 25 and 39 years, 13.7% were between 40 and 54 years, and 4.0% were 55 years and above. Regarding additional minority status, 7.4% of participants reported belonging to an ethnic minority, and 4.9% reported having a disability. Further, 47% of the sample lived in a big city and 45.3% had a university education. Concerning their socioeconomic status, 36.7% indicated that their households had difficulties to make ends meet. In terms of residence country, the participants were diverse, yet the countries with the largest number of participants were Spain (14.5%), Germany (11.5%), Poland (9.8%), France (9.6%), and the United Kingdom (8.8%). Meanwhile, the smallest samples (with less than 0.5% each) were from Cyprus, Luxembourg, North Macedonia, and Slovenia. The average national queer rights score for the whole sample was 47.13 (out of 100), the highest being Malta with a score of 92.93 and the lowest being Poland with a score of 13.07. The country ranking by national queer rights is displayed in Figure 1.
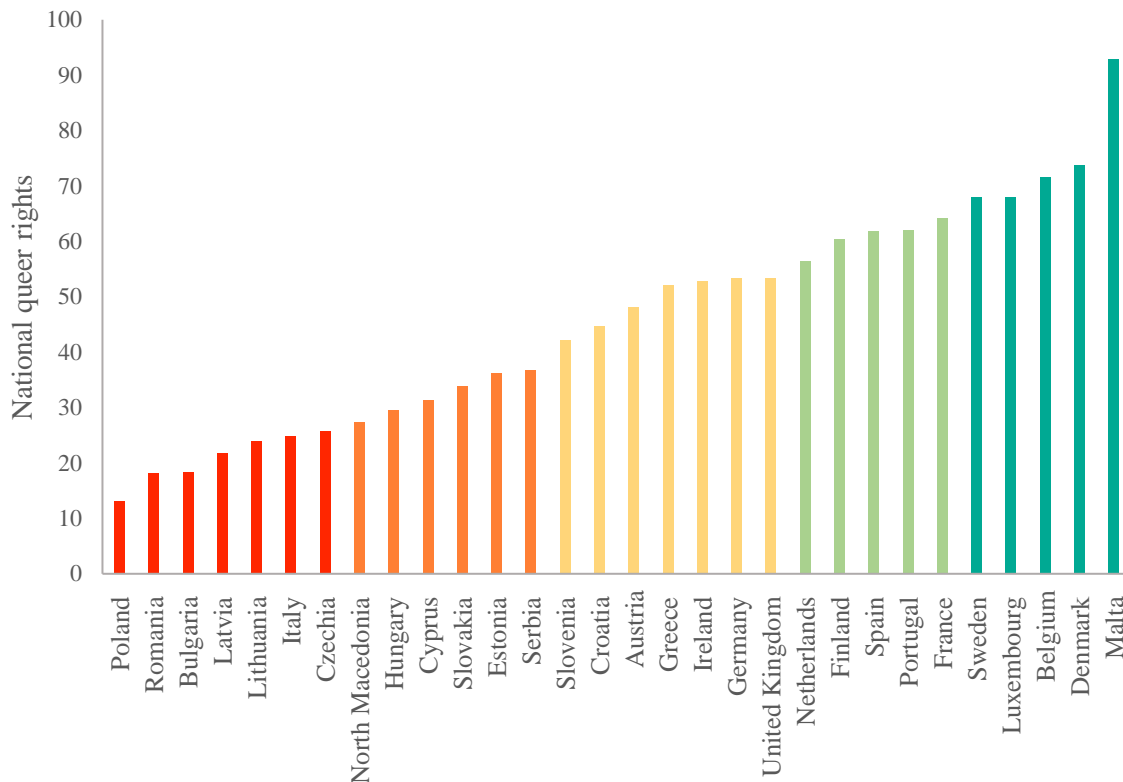
Table 2

LGBT Identity and Gender

LGBT Identity	Percentage	Gender	Percentage
Lesbian	16.4%	Cisgender woman	36.1%
Gay	42.6%	Cisgender man	49.7%
Bisexual (female)	19.7%	Transgender woman	2.8%
Bisexual (male)	7.0%	Transgender man	3.9%
Trans	14.2%	Nonbinary, genderqueer, other	7.5%

Note: participants categorised as lesbian, gay and bisexual in this sample are all cisgender, and transgender participants are not separated by sexuality.

Figure 1

Country Ranking by National Queer Rights

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for all variables at the individual level (level 1) and the country level (level 2) are displayed in Table 3. Out of seven life areas, trans people reported feeling discriminated against in 1.42 areas of life on average in the last year, while LGB people reported an average of 0.77. Further, 58% of trans participants and 40% of LGB participants had felt discriminated against in at least one area of life during the last year. When it comes to experiences of being a victim of physical or sexual violence in the last five years, trans people reported an average score of 1.00, while LGB people reported an average score of .56. Moreover, 40% of trans participants and 25% of LGB participants had been attacked at least one time, while 5% trans and 2% LGB participants had been attacked more than 10 times. A majority of trans (66%) and LGB (64%) participants reported that they and their rights were never or rarely supported or protected during their time in school. Trans people scored an average of 2.10, which was only slightly lower than LGB people's average score of 2.14 on support in school. In sum, as compared to LGB participants, trans participants scored nearly double on the measures of discrimination and violence and slightly lower on support in school.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Trans (vs LGB)	14.2%									
2 Discrimination	.86	1.3	.17***							
3 Violence	.62	1.23	.13***	.31***						
4 Support in school	2.14	1.02	-.01***	-.06***	-.02***					
5 National queer rights	47.13	18.55	.05***	-.01*	-.06***	.1***				
6 Ethnic minority	7.4%	-.00	.05***	.04***	.01***	.05***				
7 Disability	4.9%	.16***	.09***	.08***	.04***	.05***	.04***			
8 Age	3.43	2.25	-.10***	-.09***	-.15***	-.34***	.15***	-.02***	-.00	
9 SES	3.91	1.27	-.10***	-.18***	-.15***	.05***	.04***	-.10***	-.09***	.07***

Note: For Violence, N = 137,832. For School support, N = 99,354. For SES, N = 137,817. For all other variables, N = 138,212.

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. The age variable refers to age categories from 1 (15-17 years old) to 11 (65+ years old).

Examining correlations between outcome variables, discrimination was significantly correlated with violence ($r = .31$, $p < .001$) and support in school ($r = -.06$, $p < .001$), as was violence with support in school ($r = -.02$, $p < .001$). Looking at the intersections between identity variables, there was a positive correlation between being trans and being disabled ($r = .16$, $p < .001$), showing that the trans participants were proportionately more likely to report having a disability than the LGB participants. The non-significant correlation between being trans and being an ethnic minority ($r = -.001$, $p = .804$), suggested that in this sample, the distribution of participants with ethnic majority and ethnic minority backgrounds was equal across LGB and trans participants.

Multilevel Analysis

The results of the multilevel analysis are displayed in separate tables for discrimination (Table 4), violence (Table 5), and support in school (Table 6) (see pages 28-30). All tables include estimated fixed effects, standard errors for the estimate, variances for the random effects, AIC, and the number of responses for each model. All regression coefficients are unstandardized.

Country Variance. Using Model 1, containing only the intercept, the intraclass correlation (ICC) was calculated. The ICC indicated that .01% of the variation in discrimination, .04% of the variation in violence, and .07% of the variation in school support was due to country-level effects. However, by using a RANOVA of the country variance in Model 1, which adds an ANOVA-like table for random effects, it showed that this variance was significant for all three outcomes ($p < .001$).

Differences between Trans and LGB Experiences. The overall differences between trans and LGB experiences were tested through the fixed effects of the trans predictor in Models 2 to 4. Model 2 only added the trans variable, which compared LGB and trans people. When predicting discrimination in this model, the regression coefficient ($b = .67$) was significantly different from zero ($p < .001$). This means that, on average, trans participants felt discriminated against in .67 more areas of life than LGB participants. When controlling for ethnic minority status, disability, age, and SES in Model 3, the regression coefficient for the trans predictor was lower, but still significant ($b = .55$, $p < .001$). This remained the same in Model 4, which included the level-2 predictor for national queer rights. Thus, controlled for ethnic minority status, disability, age, SES, and national queer rights, trans participants felt, on average, discriminated against in half an area of life more than LGB participants.

Similarly, when predicting violence, the regression coefficient for the trans predictor was reduced from Model 2 ($b = .44$, $p < .001$) to Model 3 and Model 4 ($b = .31$, $p < .001$). This

indicated that trans respondents reported being subjected to more violence than LGB participants on average.

When predicting support in school, the regression coefficient for the trans predictor in Model 2 was smaller than the ones predicting discrimination and violence, but significant (b = -.03, p < .001). Then, it increased for Model 3 and Model 4 (b = -.13, p < .001), when including the other predictors and covariates. In sum, trans people in this sample felt a little less supported in school than LGB people.

Taken together, these results were in line with expectations, as trans people were subjected to more discrimination, more violence, and felt slightly less supported in school than LGB people. The mean scores for LGB and trans people on the measures of discrimination, violence, and support in school are displayed in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Mean Scores for LGB and Trans People on Discrimination, Violence, and Support in School
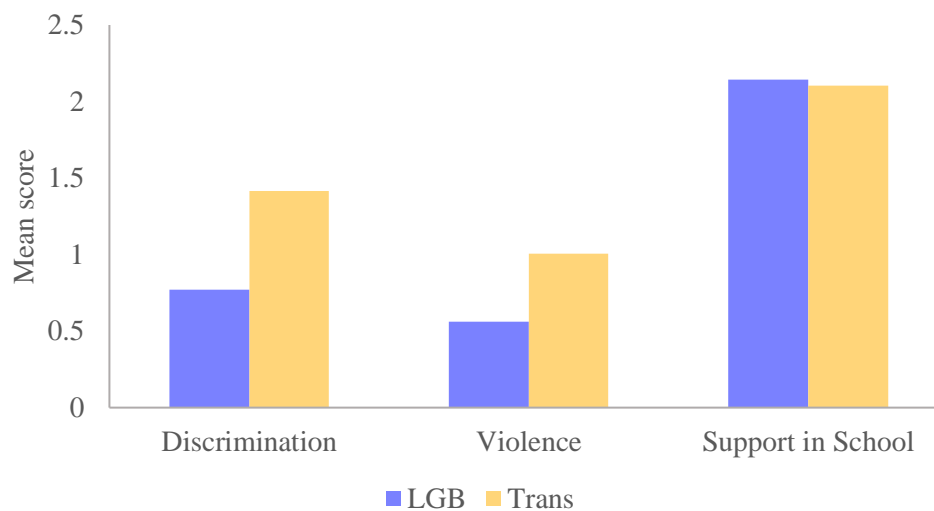

Note. The scales vary between discrimination (0 to 7), violence (0 to 6) and support in school (1 to 4).

National Queer Rights. Using Models 4, 5, and 6, I explored how the differences between trans and LGB people differed across countries. In Model 4, the national queer rights variable was added. When predicting discrimination in this model, the regression coefficient for national queer rights (b = -.002) was not significantly different from zero (p = .0116). Subsequently, in Model 5, I added random slopes which allowed the trans predictor to vary between countries. In this model, the regression coefficient for national queer rights did become significant (p = .018). In Model 6, an interaction term between the trans variable and the national queer rights variable was added. In this model, the main effect of national queer rights was again insignificant (p = .051), but trended in the expected direction, while the regression

coefficient for the cross-level interaction was significant ($b = .003$, $p = .039$). This somewhat indicated a weak relationship between higher national queer rights scores and participants feeling less discriminated against, particularly for LGB participants but not trans participants (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Effect of National Queer Rights on Trans and LGB Experiences with Discrimination
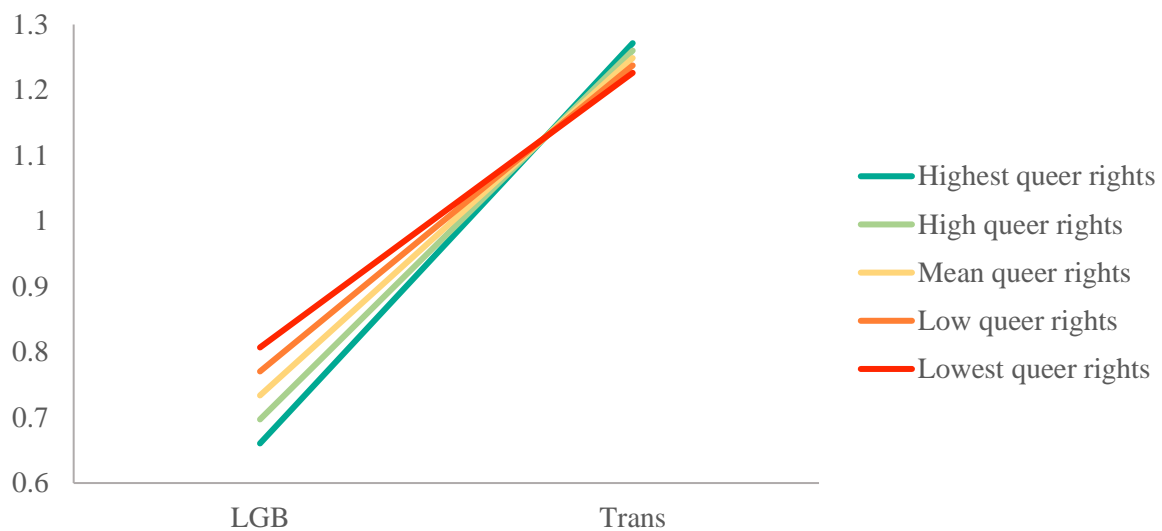
Note. Highest queer rights = 84.23, high queer rights = 65.68, mean queer rights = 47.13, low queer rights = 28.58, and lowest queer rights = 10.03.

For all the models predicting violence, none of the main effects for the national queer rights variable were significant ($b = -.002$, $p = .180$), nor was the cross-level interaction ($b = .002$, $p = .084$). Thus, a country's queer rights score did not affect the levels of violence reported by the participants, nor did it have different effects on trans and LGB people's experiences with violence.
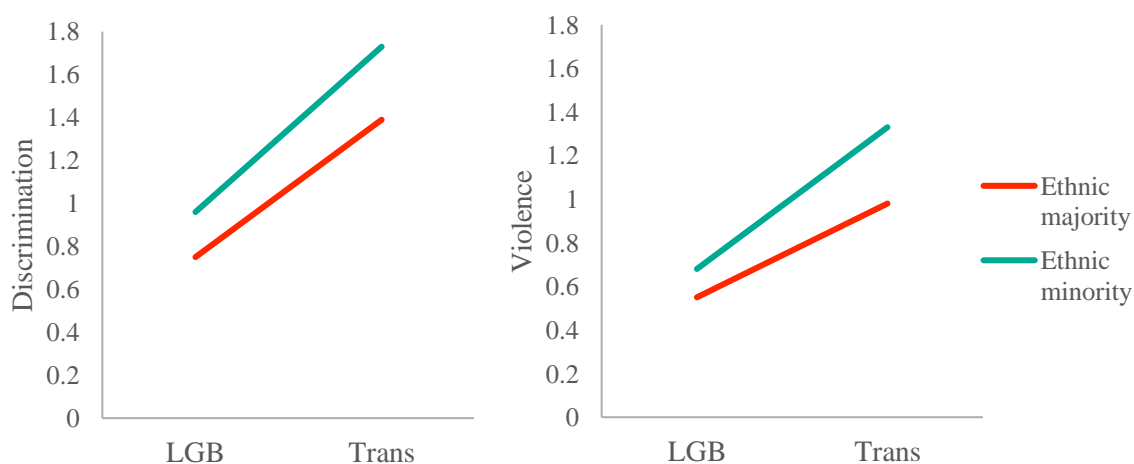
When predicting support in school, the regression coefficient for national queer rights was significant ($b = .008$, $p < .001$), but the interaction term between the trans variable and national queer rights was not significant ($b = .001$, $p = .346$). Thus, participants in countries with higher levels of queer rights felt more supported in school, but national queer rights did not have different effects on how much trans and LGB people felt supported.

Overall, the exploration of the country-level predictor implied that differences in national queer rights across European countries affected experiences with discrimination and support in school, and only yielded some support towards national queer rights having different effects on trans and LGB people's experiences with discrimination.

Ethnic Minority & Disability. The effects of being an ethnic minority and having a disability on trans and LGB people's experiences were tested in Model 7 and Model 8. These both build on Model 4, so there are no random slopes. In Model 7, an interaction term between the trans variable and the ethnic minority variable was added. When predicting discrimination, the regression coefficient for this interaction ($b = .11$) was significantly different from zero ($p = .002$). The interaction was also significant when predicting violence ($b = .23$, $p < .001$), but not significant when predicting support in school ($b = .02$, $p = .536$). This indicated that, for participants with ethnic minority backgrounds compared to participants with ethnic majority backgrounds, there were larger differences between trans and LGB experiences with discrimination and violence, but not for support in school (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Effect of Having an Ethnic Minority or Ethnic Majority Background on Trans and LGB People's Experiences with Discrimination and Violence

In Model 8 an interaction term between the trans variable and the disability variable was added. Similarly, the regression coefficient for this interaction was significant when predicting discrimination ($b = .14$, $p < .001$), and violence ($b = .07$ $p < .001$), but not significant when predicting support in school ($b = -.05$, $p = .086$). This indicated that, for participants with disabilities compared to participants without disabilities, there were larger differences between trans and LGB experiences with discrimination and violence, but not for support in school (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

Effect of Having a Disability or Not Having a Disability on Trans and LGB People's

Experiences with Discrimination and Violence.
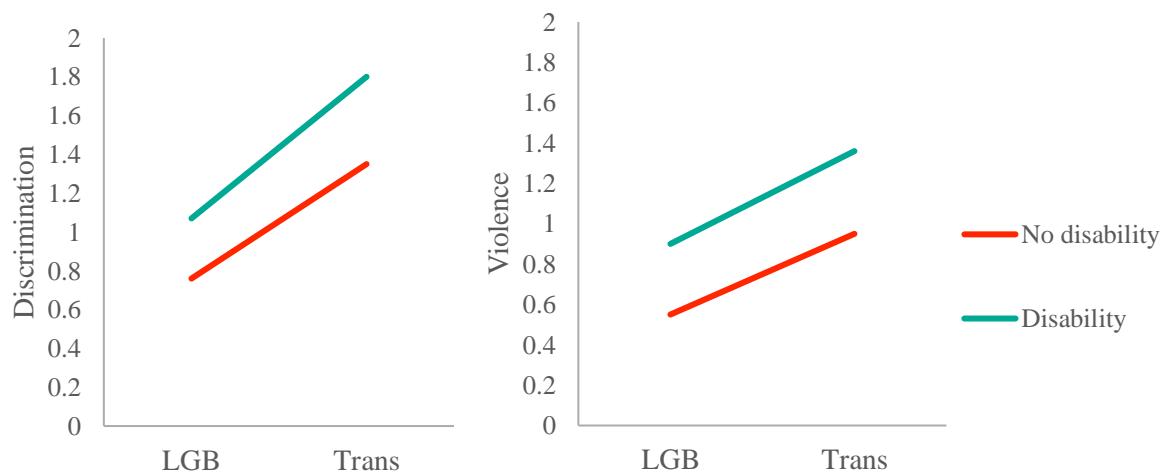
In these models, the main effects of being an ethnic minority for the whole sample were also significant when predicting discrimination ($b = .17$, $p < .001$), violence ($b = .11$, $p < .001$) and support in school ($b = .03$, $p = .022$). As were the main effects of disability when predicting discrimination ($b = .24$, $p < .001$), violence ($b = .3$, $p < .001$), and support in school ($b = -.12$, $p < .001$). Thus, participants with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities experienced more negative outcomes than others. Overall, the results were in line with expectations, as people with multiple minority identities experienced more negative outcomes and had larger differences between trans and LGB people's experiences with discrimination and violence.

Differences Among Trans Participants. The investigation of differences between trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people within the sample was done in Models 9 and 10. The cisgender LGB participants were excluded from these analyses. In Model 9, the trans woman variable, which compares trans men with trans women, was included instead of the trans variable, along with all other predictors and covariates. When predicting discrimination, the regression coefficient for the trans woman variable ($b = -.04$) was not significantly different from zero ($p > .05$). However, the regression coefficient for the trans woman variable was significant when predicting violence ($b = .14$, $p < .001$), and support in school ($b = -.18$, $p < .001$). This suggested that trans women and trans men felt, on average, discriminated against in an equal number of areas of life. Yet, trans women were subjected to more violence and felt less supported in school than trans men.

Model 10 was similar, but replaced the trans variable with a nonbinary variable, which compares trans men with nonbinary people. The regression coefficient for the nonbinary

variable was significant when predicting discrimination (b = -.32, p < .001), violence (b = .17, p = .331), and support in school (b = -.34, p < .001). The direction of these regression coefficients indicated that nonbinary people felt discriminated against in fewer areas of life, were subjected to more violence, and felt less supported in school than trans men.

In sum, these results were somewhat in line with the expectation that trans women and nonbinary people experience more negative outcomes than trans men. This was the case for violence and support in school, but not for discrimination, where trans men scored equal to trans women and higher than nonbinary people. The mean scores for trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people on the measures of discrimination, violence, and support in school are displayed in Figure 6.

Figure 6

Mean Scores for Trans Men, Trans Women and Nonbinary People on Discrimination, Violence, and Support in School.
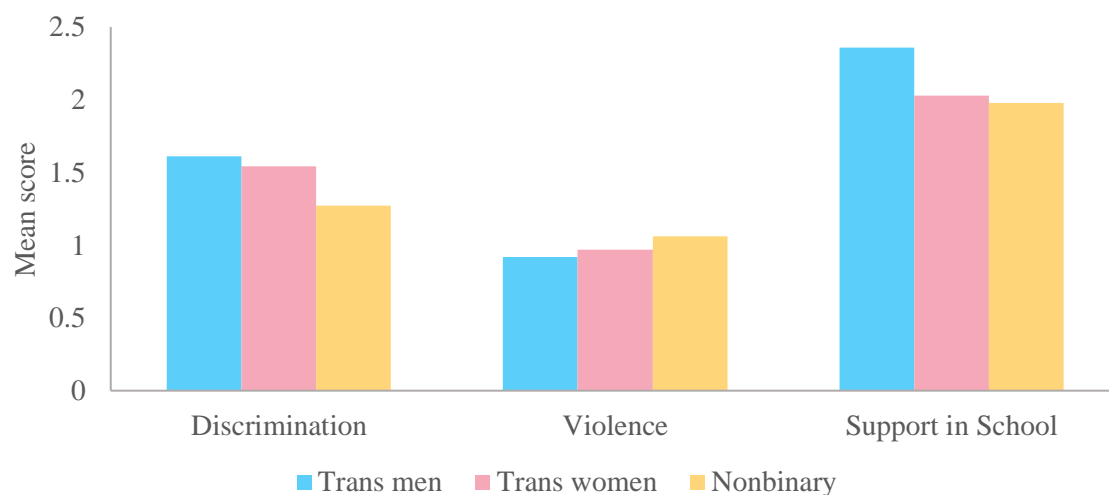
Note. The scales vary between discrimination (0 to 7), violence (0 to 6) and support in school (1 to 4).

Effect sizes and model comparisons. Based on the total r-squared values, most models explained up to 7 percent of the variance in discrimination and violence, while the models for support in school explained up to 17 percent of the variance. The best model fit for each outcome was determined by investigating reductions in AIC, and by performing likelihood ratio tests between the first six models, because the last four models replace certain variables from the previous six. This indicated that the model with the best fit for predicting discrimination was Model 6. Meanwhile, the model with the best fit for predicting violence and support in school was Model 4. Thus, this meant that only discrimination was best predicted by a model including the interaction term between the trans variable and national queer rights, while violence and support in school were best predicted by a model without any interaction terms.

Table 4

Multilevel Analysis Predicting Discrimination

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Fixed effects	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)
Intercept	.84***(.02)	.75***(.03)	.73***(.02)	.73***(.02)	.73***(.02)	.73***(.02)	.73***(.02)	.73***(.02)	1.36***(.05)	1.37***(.04)
Trans		.67***(.01)	.55***(.01)	.55***(.01)	.51***(.03)	.52***(.02)	.54***(.01)	.54***(.01)		
Ethnic minority			.19***(.01)	.19***(.01)	.19***(.01)	.19***(.01)	.17***(.01)	.19***.01)	.33***(.07)	.25***(.05)
Disability			.29***(.02)	.29***(.02)	.29***(.02)	.29***(.02)	.29***(.02)	.24***(.02)	.35***(.05)	.37***(.04)
Age			-.04***(.00)	-.04***(.00)	-.04***(.00)	-.04***(.00)	-.04***(.00)	-.04***(.00)	-.04***(.01)	-.04***(.01)
SES			-.16***(.00)	-.16***(.00)	-.16***(.00)	-.16***(.00)	-.16***(.00)	-.16***(.00)	-.28***(.01)	-.22***(.01)
National queer rights				-.00(.00)	-.00*(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	.00(.00)
Trans x National queer rights						.00*(.00)				
Trans x Ethnic minority							.11**(.04)			
Trans x Disability								.14***(.03)		
Trans woman									-.04(.04)	
Nonbinary										-.32***(.03)
Random Effects	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.
Country	.02	.02	.01	.01	.02	.02	.01	.01	.03	.02
Residual	1.69	1.64	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	1.58	2.7	2.47
AIC	464739.9	460361.6	454309.1	454308.5	454142.7	454140.7	454301.2	454293.5	35781.0	58829.3
N	138212	138212	137817	137817	137817	137817	137817	137817	9322	15701

Note: These are unstandardised regression coefficients. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. N = number of responses. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 5

Multilevel Analysis Predicting Violence

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Fixed effects	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)
Intercept	.60***(.03)	.54***(.03)	.53***(.03)	.53***(.03)	.53***(.03)	.53***(.03)	.53***(.03)	.53***(.03)	.73***(.04)	.70***(.04)
Trans		.44***(.01)	.31***(.01)	.31***(.01)	.31***(.02)	.31***(.02)	.29***(.01)	.3***(.01)		
Ethnic minority			.14***(.01)	.14***(.01)	.14***(.01)	.14***(.01)	.11***(.01)	.14***(.01)	.42***(.06)	.33***(.05)
Disability			.32***(.02)	.32***(.02)	.32***(.02)	.32***(.02)	.32***(.02)	.3***(.02)	.35***(.05)	.37***(.04)
Age			-.07***(.00)	-.07***(.00)	-.07***(.00)	-.01***(.00)	-.07***(.00)	-.07***(.00)	-.05***(.01)	-.07***(.01)
SES			-.12***(.00)	-.12***(.00)	-.12***(.00)	-.12***(.00)	-.12***(.00)	-.12***(.00)	-.18***(.01)	-.18***(.01)
National queer rights				-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.00(.00)	-.01**(.00)	-.00(.00)
Trans x National queer rights						-.00(.00)				
Trans x Ethnic minority							.23***(.04)			
Trans x Disability								.07***(.03)		
Trans woman									.14***(.03)	
Nonbinary										.17***(.03)
Random Effects	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.
Country	.03	.03	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.04	.03	.03
Residual	1.48	1.46	1.4	1.4	1.41	1.41	1.4	1.4	2.03	2.18
AIC	445286.7	443151.0	436378.9	436379.1	436331.0	436329.9	436337.4	436376.7	33009.6	56554.7
N	137832	137832	137441	137441	137441	137441	137441	137441	9292	15619

Note: These are unstandardised regression coefficients. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. N = number of responses. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 6

Multilevel Analysis Predicting Support in School

Fixed effects	Model 1 Est. (SE)	Model 2 Est. (SE)	Model 3 Est. (SE)	Model 4 Est. (SE)	Model 5 Est. (SE)	Model 6 Est. (SE)	Model 7 Est. (SE)	Model 8 Est. (SE)	Model 9 Est. (SE)	Model 10 Est. (SE)
Intercept	2.08***(.03)	2.08***(.03)	2.06***(.04)	2.08***(.03)	2.08***(.03)	2.08***(.03)	2.08***(.03)	2.08***(.03)	2.21***(.04)	2.20***(.03)
Trans		-.03**(.01)	-.13***(.01)	-.13***(.01)	-.12***(.02)	-.12***(.02)	-.13***(.01)	-.13***(.01)		
Ethnic minority			.03*(.01)	.03*(.01)	.03*(.01)	.03*(.01)	.02(.01)	.03*(.01)	.08(.05)	.07*(.03)
Disability			-.12***(.01)	-.12***(.01)	-.12***(.01)	-.12***(.01)	-.12***(.01)	-.11***(.02)	-.14***(.04)	-.11***(.03)
Age			-.17***(.00)	-.17***(.00)	-.17***(.00)	-.17***(.00)	-.17***(.00)	-.17***(.00)	-.13***(.01)	-.13***(.01)
SES			.05***(.00)	.05***(.00)	.05***(.00)	-.05***(.00)	.05***(.00)	.05***(.00)	.08***(.01)	.06***(.01)
National queer rights				.01***(.00)	.01***(.00)	.01***(.00)	.01***(.00)	.01***(.00)	.01**(.00)	-.00(.00)
Trans x National queer rights						.00(.00)				
Trans x Ethnic minority							.02(.03)			
Trans x Disability								-.05(.03)		
Trans woman									-.18***(.03)	
Nonbinary										-.34***(.02)
Random Effects	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.	Var.
Country	.03	.03	.04	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02	.02
Residual	.99	.99	.87	.87	.87	.87	.87	.87	.89	.85
AIC	281382.0	281375.5	266910.7	266889.9	266882.9	266884.0	266891.5	266888.9	17940.2	30687.2
N	99354	99354	99068	99068	99068	99068	99068	99068	6565	11470

Note: These are unstandardised regression coefficients. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. N = number of responses. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Discussion

In this study, I aimed to identify the differences between trans and LGB experiences with violence, discrimination, and support in school. Moreover, I explored how these experiences vary across European countries, how they are affected by a person's disability and ethnic minority identity, and how they vary among trans people with different gender identities. The results showed that trans people reported experiencing more discrimination, more violence, and felt slightly less supported in school than cisgender LGB people. These differences were consistent throughout European countries, meaning that these inequalities persist even in countries with high levels of queer rights. Further, the difference between trans and LGB people's experiences with discrimination somewhat increased in countries with higher queer rights scores. Participants with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities generally experienced more negative outcomes and, compared to other participants, had larger differences between trans and LGB experiences with discrimination and violence. Trans women and nonbinary people experienced more violence and less support in school than trans men, but for discrimination, trans men scored equal to trans women and higher than nonbinary people.

Differences Between Trans and LGB Experiences

The findings indicating that trans people report experiencing more discrimination, more violence, and less support in school add to existing data and studies showing negative outcomes for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans people, and that trans people experience higher levels of these negative outcomes (ILGA, 2022; FRA, 2014; The Trevor Project, 2022).

Discrimination. The measure of discrimination reflected how many domains of a person's life they perceived to have been affected by discrimination. As such, the findings indicate that discrimination against trans people is more widespread than discrimination against LGB people. This is in accordance with the findings of Bayrakdar and King (2023), who compared trans and LGB experiences from the EU LGBT survey from 2014 in Germany, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Theoretical perspectives on how heteronormativity has been adapted within homonormativity (Garwood, 2016), and in some cases produced a "homotolerance" (Roseneil et al., 2013), could explain why cisgender LGB people feel less discriminated against in different aspects of life than trans people. Controlling for disability in this analysis was particularly important, as trans participants were proportionately more likely to report having a disability than LGB participants, and people with disabilities are more likely to experience discrimination (Leonard & Mann, 2018).

Violence. The results show that trans people are more likely than cisgender LGB people to have been physically or sexually attacked in the last five years and are especially more likely to be victims of multiple attacks. Again, these findings are in line with previous comparative studies that show higher rates of violence against trans people, compared to cisgender LGB people, in Europe (Bayrakdar & King, 2023, Turner & Whittle, 2012). Trans people experiencing more violence than LGB people could be explained by the dehumanisation of trans people as a mechanism for maintaining and policing normative gender categories (Williams, 2020), and by the fact that "gender" itself is the ideological target of current right-wing and illiberal movements (Graff & Korolczuk, 2021; Kuhar & Paternotte, 2018). Controlling for socioeconomic status adds to the strength of the findings, as trans participants were proportionately more likely to report having financial difficulties than LGB participants, and people with economic instability are more likely to experience violence (Lombardi et al., 2002).

Lacking Support in School. A majority of trans people in this study reported that they never or rarely felt supported or protected in school, which aligns with previous findings on trans student being victimised and lacking support (Bower-Brown et al., 2021; Gato et al., 2020). However, while significant, trans participants only felt slightly less supported in school than LGB people. This could be because many queer students might not be open about or even fully aware of their identity during their time in school, which would place "closeted" trans and LGB students in very similar circumstances. Further, most trans people have only started to transition socially, and especially medically, after their time in school (Zaliznyak et al., 2021), making fewer opportunities to distinguish between generally anti-queer and specifically anti-trans school environments. Meanwhile, age was the strongest predictor of support in school ($b = -.17, p < .001$), indicating that older participants felt less supported when they were in school, and potentially that support of LGBT students has increased over time.

Country Differences

The results indicate that LGB people experience less discrimination in countries with higher queer rights, while trans participants' experiences with discrimination varied much less between countries, but slightly indicate an opposite pattern, where trans people feel more discriminated against in countries with higher queer rights scores. This could be because "debates" about trans rights and actively anti-trans agendas are more prominent in countries where awareness and acknowledgement of trans people have already progressed (McLean, 2021), while other countries campaign more generally against deviations from heteronormativity, gender norms, religious doctrine, or family values (Kuhar & Paternotte,

2018). This heightened attention in more progressive countries could either create more opportunities for trans-specific discrimination, or, subjectively, make trans people *feel* more targeted. This is not to say that there needs to be a dilemma between queer rights and trans experiences, but that queer-positive policies might not always be as inclusive of trans people as they are of LGB people.

The findings are in line with studies investigating how trans and LGB people experience different levels of discrimination in different European countries (Bayrakdar & King, 2023; Turner & Whittle, 2012). However, to my knowledge, no other studies show that national queer rights can have different effects on trans people's and cisgender LGB people's experiences with discrimination. It is relevant to note that the measure of national queer rights includes actual discriminatory laws and policies, so it makes sense that this was most closely related to participants' feelings of being discriminated against. Meanwhile, the national queer rights score is not affected by individual instances of violence, as is measured in this study. Both trans and LGB people felt more supported in school in countries with higher levels of queer rights, but national queer rights did not affect differences between the groups. This could be because international and local sentiments about LGBTQ+ rights could make the safety of both trans and LGB students too uncertain for them to test if they would be truly supported at their particular school.

Disability and Ethnic Minority Status

The results show that people with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities more often experience anti-queer discrimination and violence. Some potential explanations for this might lie in the fact that they are more "visible" and seen as less normative, and intersectionally marginalised individuals face the cumulating negative stereotypes and attitudes towards their groups (Cyrus, 2017; McRuer, 2021). Further, the results indicate that the rate of these negative experiences was higher for intersectionally marginalised trans people than cisgender LGB people. This could be because anti-trans ideologies rely on narratives that dehumanise people of colour and stigmatise disability (Hsu, 2022). The findings are in accordance with studies showing that within disabled and ethnic minority groups, trans people experience more discrimination and violence than cisgender LGB people (Leonard & Mann, 2018; (Meyer, 2012), and that within trans groups, those with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities experience more discrimination than others (Kattari, Walls, & Speer, 2017; Kattari et al., 2017). While having an ethnic minority background or a disability did not have different effects on trans and LGB people's experiences with support in school, there was a clear main effect of having a disability on all participants, such that people with disabilities felt that they and their

rights as LGBT people were less supported during their time in school than people without disabilities. This is also in line with previous data on queer people with disabilities generally having negative school experiences (Leonard & Mann, 2018).

Differences Between Trans Women, Trans Men, and Nonbinary People

In terms of differences among trans people, trans women experienced more negative outcomes than trans men, particularly being subjected to more violence, which is in accordance with previous studies showing higher rates of discrimination, harassment, and abuse against trans women than trans men (Devís-Devís et al., 2022; Turner & Whittle, 2012). This supports theories on intersectionality, explaining that trans women exist at the intersection of two marginalised groups, namely trans people and women, and receive the cumulative negative outcomes related to breaking gender norms and being feminine presenting (Crenshaw, 2017). However, these findings could also align with theories on gendered patterns within social dominance, which state that violence towards minority groups is targeted more towards men than women (Sidanius et al., 2016), assuming that people asserting social dominance through violence against trans women likely perceive their targets as queer men. Somewhat surprisingly, nonbinary people felt discriminated against in fewer areas of life than trans women and trans men, which, to my knowledge, does not align with any previous empirical findings. Perhaps because anti-trans campaigns often ignore the existence of nonbinary people altogether (LGB Alliance, 2022), it might lead to less targeted discrimination, as compared to trans women and trans men, while still being invalidating.

Strengths and Contributions

Up until now, few studies have used quantitative data to investigate trans people's experiences in a comparative and intersectional way (Bayrakdar & King, 2023). While Bayrakdar and King (2023) use the first iteration of the EU LGBT survey from 2014 to empirically compare trans people's and cisgender LGB people's experiences, the current study uses more recent data, a larger sample size with more demographic diversity, and state-of-the-art multilevel modelling to investigate the largely unexplored differences in LGBTQ+ people's experiences across Europe. Additionally, I combine data on participants' country of residence from the EU LGBTI II survey (FRA, 2020) and national queer rights scores from the Rainbow Europe Country Ranking (ILGA Europe, 2022) to explore country-differences. This study also investigates interactions between LGBT identities and additional minority identities and compares trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people, which both have been particularly lacking in large-scale quantitative research. To my knowledge, previous studies which have used data from the EU LGBT(I) surveys have either not compared LGBT identities, not

considered multiple and intersectional identities, and only explored the results within one or a few of the countries, while the current study includes all 30 countries from the sample.

Having responses from 30 countries in Europe increased the generalisability of the findings in the European context. This is further ensured by the highly robust process of translation and quality checks to guarantee functional, conceptual, and categorical equivalence across surveys in each language (FRA, 2020). Importantly, this study includes and contributes to understanding the experiences of a variety of queer people with different ethnic backgrounds, (dis)abilities, genders, ages, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Perhaps the most notable contributions of these findings are their persistence across European countries. The fact that trans people experience nearly the same amount of negative outcomes in all of Europe, and only cisgender LGB people experience less discrimination in countries with higher levels of queer rights is troublesome and needs to be addressed, particularly in light of the historical and theoretical contexts of anti-trans ideologies which have been detailed in this paper.

Limitations

Despite the strengths mentioned above, the results must be carefully interpreted in light of five key limitations. First, the data from the EU LGBTI survey are neither representative of nor a probability sample of European LGBTQ+ populations. As such, the findings indicate trends and relationships between variables and how some groups are more likely to experience discrimination, violence, and lacking support in school, but do not represent the exact rates of these experiences within each group.

Second, two out of three outcomes are derived from single-item measures, which increases the chance that the items misrepresent the concepts which they are meant to measure (Cullati et al., 2020). For the question about support in school, 28.11% of participants selected the response "does not apply to me" and were thus treated as missing values on this item. However, it is somewhat unclear how this response was interpreted. Some might indeed not have a school experience to draw from, but some of the same participants did respond to other questions about their time in school, such as whether they were open about their LGBTQ+ identity. Relatedly, many people were not open about their identity, but still responded to the question about how supported they felt, which again proposes a variety of interpretations to these responses.

Third, there are limitations to the use of self-report measures. Self-reports of discrimination do not take into account how people might have different perceptions of discrimination. Trans people are more likely to report poor mental health than cisgender LGB people (The Trevor Project, 2022), and poor mental can increase people's negativity bias

(Braund et al., 2019). As such, the differences in perceived discrimination between trans and LGB people could be smaller when mental health is controlled for. The self-report measures of violence do not capture certain instances of more extreme violence, which is more likely to affect trans women and racialised trans people (TMM, 2022). Thus, the findings of this study do not paint the full picture of trans people's real-life experiences with violence.

Fourth, some participant's sexual and romantic attraction might not have been accurately reflected, due to some inconsistencies in the survey, such as being able to report having a nonbinary partner, but no options for being attracted to or having had sex with nonbinary people. Further, more attention could be paid to the fact that trans people also identify with a variety of sexualities, including lesbian, gay, and bisexual.

Lastly, the intraclass correlations of the multilevel models were quite low, as was the country variance, which likely impacted the level-2 predictor of the analysis because there was not a lot of variance to explain between countries.

Future Research

Regarding future research, in the developmental stages of all studies concerning LGBTQ+ people, an intersectional understanding of heteronormativity, cisnormativity and homonormativity is integral (Bain & Podmore, 2021; de Oliveira et al., 2014; Ferguson, 2005; Robinson, 2016). Going forward, quantitative research on the experiences of queer people should ensure the adequate recruitment of trans people, ideally with a variety of gender identities and with other minority backgrounds. Such efforts should also be made in studies with more complex measures, potentially combining psychological and subjective experiences with systematic accounts of real-life outcomes. As more data becomes available, analysis of how trans experiences change over time would be highly useful, particularly as the differences between trans and LGB experiences have only recently been empirically investigated. Building on the current study, the different effects of national queer rights on trans and LGB people's experiences need further investigation. Critical and theoretical explorations of anti-trans movements should also be more utilised to place empirical research in context. Moreover, future studies could attempt to measure the different types and levels of anti-trans mobilisation across countries, and investigate how this predicts trans experiences. Lastly, interventions that seek to reduce negative experiences and outcomes of LGBTQ+ individuals, or that structurally promote equality and justice, should not only measure how successful these interventions are overall, but should compare their impact on LGB people, trans people, and those with multiple minority identities.

Policy Recommendations

The findings of this study show that future policies need to address the difference between trans and LGB people's negative life outcomes, particularly in reducing discrimination and violence against trans people. This is needed throughout Europe, including countries where LGB people feel less discriminated against, and report being attacked less. It also became clear that trans people with ethnic minority backgrounds and disabilities are at greater risk, meaning policies should reflect this by addressing intersectional inequalities. Attention should also be paid to how trans women and nonbinary people experience more violence and less support in school than trans men.

Several EU member states are already in violation of EU law, with inadequate measures being taken to ensure the safety and equal treatment of trans people (TGEU, 2019). A report on being trans in the EU, based on the EU LGBT survey (FRA, 2014) indicated that 87% of trans people in Europe express that easier legal procedures to obtain gender recognition would increase their quality of life, as discrimination would decrease in scenarios where identification is relevant. Moreover, policies should ensure that legal gender transitions do not lead to further discrimination or limitations on trans people's rights (Council of Europe, 2010). Transgender Europe also emphasises that anti-discrimination legislation and policies against violence and harassment need to address intersectionally marginalised trans people (Calderon-Cifuentes, 2021).

Changes also need to address administrative and systemic discrimination, where bureaucratic actors and existing laws or structures can position trans people as "administratively impossible" (Spade, 2015). It should not be acceptable for researchers or policymakers to claim that trans issues are "too challenging" to address, compared to LGB issues (Mitchell et al., 2014), even if these issues do require wider and larger amounts of structural changes. However, simple policies targeting discrimination against trans people can also be highly impactful, such as ensuring that people's identities are respected, as trans and nonbinary youth who report having their pronouns respected in different areas of life have greatly reduced rates of suicide attempts compared to those who did not have their pronouns respected (The Trevor Project, 2022).

When asked about ways to enhance a comfortable life as a trans person, the vast majority of trans people wanted more options for medical treatment, workplace anti-discrimination policies referring to gender identity, measures implemented at school to respect trans people, national authorities who promote the rights of trans people, better acceptance of differences in gender identities by religious leaders, and public figures in politics, business,

sports, etc. speaking openly in support of trans people (FRA, 2014). This points to both direct changes that address discrimination, violence, and support, as well as the indirect impact of increased public awareness, which should reduce ignorance, fear, intolerance, and hate-motivated actions.

Conclusion

This study identifies differences in experiences with discrimination, violence, and support in school between trans people and cisgender LGB people. The results indicated that trans people face more negative outcomes than LGB people across Europe. These findings should be used to effectively promote social and institutional changes in queer acceptance and equality, to make anti-violence policies and legislation equitable and impactful to those at greater risk, to spread information and awareness of the issues faced by queer youth and highlight the importance of inclusive school environments. These issues going unaddressed in countries with generally low levels of queer rights is not surprising. However, it should be a wake-up call for the countries and institutions that strive for equality, because it shows that trans issues have not been adequately addressed and that trans people do not experience better outcomes in the same way LGB people do. It cannot be acceptable to put LGB rights above and in front of trans rights, especially in light of current waves of transphobia and rising anti-trans mobilisations. The study also highlights that intersectional perspectives remain vital to a comprehensive and critical understanding of how these issues disproportionately affect certain groups, particularly as ethnicity and disability are highly interlinked with the conceptualisation and enforcement of gender norms. Trans-inclusive policies should not view trans people as one uniform group, as the study finds differences between the experiences of trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people. As such, policymakers should continuously strive towards a society where all people are free from discrimination and violence, and have a supportive school environment, irrespective of gender or sexual orientation.

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