



Associations between gender nonconformity and SOGIE-attributed victimization: Setting-specific variations by sociodemographic characteristics

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ABSTRACT

Using a nationwide survey of LGBTQ+ adults in China ($N = 17,100$), logistic and linear regression models were employed to examine associations between gender nonconformity and self-reported victimization attributed to sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression (SOGIE) in seven social settings (family, education, workplace, religion, medical care, mental health, and public service).

Results showed that 67.25% of participants reported at least one SOGIE-attributed victimization. Gender nonconformity was significantly associated with overall victimization in family, education, and workplace settings. Transgender and gender-diverse identity, greater self-restraint of gender expression, and greater outness (identity disclosure) were significantly associated with higher odds or levels of victimization in different settings, while documented gender markers showed associations of varying directions.

Effects of interaction terms showed that the association between gender nonconformity and barriers to accessing public restrooms and baths was stronger among transgender and gender-diverse individuals than cisgender. The documented female marker was significantly associated with stronger associations between gender nonconformity and victimization that directly targets appearance and behavior in the family setting and barriers to public services, but weaker associations for overall victimization in the education setting and sexual harassment across settings. Greater outness was associated with weaker associations between gender nonconformity and victimization in family, education, and workplace settings. Agricultural Hukou (household registration) was associated with weaker nonconformity-victimization associations in the family setting.

This study provides evidence supporting assessment of high-risk profiles and victimization types among LGBTQ+ individuals with nonconforming gender expressions in specific social settings.

Studies in numerous countries have found that individuals whose gendered attributes, including appearance, mannerisms, and behavioral patterns, diverge from societal expectations of femininity or masculinity may face heightened risk of victimization in multiple facets of their social lives (Do et al., 2020; Narita et al., 2023; Sawyer and Thoroughgood, 2017). Gender nonconformity challenges societal gender norms and may provoke social sanctions, including both interpersonal aggression and institutional discrimination, particularly among LGBTQ+ individuals (Adams et al., 2016; Gordon and Meyer, 2007). These risks are particularly pronounced for transgender and gender-diverse individuals, as their gender identities are often embodied

and expressed through nonconforming gender presentation (Miller and Grollman, 2015). However, research exploring these vulnerabilities across diverse social settings, such as families, schools, workplaces, religious communities, and professional services, particularly in China, remains sparse. The present study uses data from the largest national-level sample of Chinese LGBTQ+ individuals to examine the associations between gender nonconformity and victimization across seven social settings (family, education, workplace, religion, medical care, mental health, and public service).

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1. Understand the relationship between gender nonconformity and victimization in context

Mustaine's (1997) Domain-Specific Model of Victimization proposed that determinants of victimization vary across specific domains (home, work, and public) and translate into different patterns of vulnerability, indicating the importance of analyzing victimization in specific social backgrounds. For instance, Mustaine found that in workplaces, more highly educated women faced a higher victimization likelihood than their less educated counterparts, a pattern that did not hold in other domains. Even within the same domain, victimization patterns diverge by gender (using a binary measure), as Mustaine found that the number of people living in the home increased women's risk of domestic victimization but not men's. Guided by this framework, the present study not only examines whether gender nonconformity is associated with victimization but also explores for whom certain forms of victimization can be more risky within specific social contexts of distinct norms and power relations. Consistent with this perspective, a study found that gender nonconformity was associated with victimization in schools and neighborhoods but not in families among Dutch same-sex-attracted youth (Lisdonk et al., 2015). Similarly, a meta-analysis suggested that associations between gender nonconformity and victimization varied by perpetrator role (e.g., family members, peers, strangers) and type of aggression (Hu et al., 2024). Specifically, risks were most pronounced in peer settings and least evident within families, and verbal forms of victimization are more common than physical, relational, cyber, sexual, and mixed forms. Gender policing from family and friends in private settings, compared to coworkers and strangers in public settings, can be more subtle and pervasive, exemplified by microaggressive comments of dress (Anderson, 2020).

Culture provides a context for victimization by shaping social expectations, defining what counts as appropriate or deviant gender expression, and legitimizing aggression against norm violations (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). Bränström et al. (2023) found that the association between gender nonconformity and victimization varied by country-level structural stigma towards LGBTQ+ people across 28 European Union member states. Additionally, Zentner & Von Aufsess (2022) found that the association between gender conformity and self-esteem decreased as country-level gender equality increased. Another study found that students of non-Western ethnicity had lower acceptance of gender nonconformity than their Western peers in Amsterdam (Collier et al., 2013). These findings underscore the importance of incorporating relevant Chinese sociocultural factors into analyses.

2. Chinese concept of gender qizhi and its conceptual uniqueness

Gender Qizhi (性别氣質), literally meaning 'gender aura' or 'gender disposition', is a Chinese concept roughly equivalent to the English term 'gender expression'. Based on Chinese literature, Gender qizhi is defined as the integrated constellation of gendered characteristics that emanate from a person and are perceptible to others through means such as appearance, demeanor, and behavior style (Gang, 2009; Huang and Lin, 2011; Su, 2008). We adopt this concept because it refers to relatively holistic gendered attributes without implying intentionality or subjective control, whereas the English term 'gender expression' carries a potential connotation that an individual is consciously 'expressing' their gender in a specific way. This conceptualization is consistent with the survey measurement used in this study and offers a culturally compatible perspective in Chinese contexts, viewing gender nonconformity as the holistically perceived discrepancy between one's gender qizhi and social norms, rather than as appraisals of deliberate choices to behave differently or discrete expressions. From this perspective, while individuals may alter specific gender expressions, their gender qizhi is believed to be less amenable to situational modification, and the social

perception of one's gender conformity still tends to operate at the level of patterned interpretation.

Historically appropriated from *Yin-Yang* paradigm, one of the most foundational Chinese philosophies, gender qizhi has been dichotomized into *Yin-Feminine* (softness) and *Yang-Masculine* (toughness) forms (Yun, 2013; Zhu, 2018). This ingrained binary categorization has shaped perceptions of gender nonconformity and enduring gender discipline at both interpersonal and state levels in China (Louie, 2024). Cross-cultural studies found that Chinese youth exhibit more biased social appraisal and less social preference toward gender nonconforming peers compared to Canada and Thailand (Nabbijohn et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2022). Furthermore, within China, the environment for gender nonconformity may differ by socioeconomic and cultural background. Studies found that compared with urban areas, Chinese people in rural areas endorsed more traditional gender ideologies and were less likely to exhibit gender nonconformity (Suen et al., 2022; Zhang and Liu, 2022).

3. Gender nonconformity and victimization across settings in Chinese contexts

Chinese families may serve as key sites for gender discipline, enforced largely through *filial piety*, a Confucian virtue that entails gratitude toward parents, deference to parents' demands, upholding family reputation, and sustaining lineage through reproduction (Louie, 2024; Mulyani et al., 2022). Zhao et al. (2021) found that childhood gender nonconformity predicted higher levels of victimization in Chinese families, consisting of emotional, physical and sexual forms of maltreatment. Moreover, Chan et al. (2024) found that the family victimization patterns were different between transmasculine and transfeminine individuals in China, with transfeminine individuals more likely to experience emotional and physical abuse, and transmasculine individuals more likely to be subjected to gender identity/expression change efforts.

Chinese schools often utilize cisnormativity for classroom management and student discipline, through which gender norms are enforced at very fine-grained, pervasive levels, such as forcibly cutting students hair short and requiring certain types of dressing (Li, 2025). Chan (2022) found that gender nonconformity was significantly associated with peer victimization in Chinese schools, and this association was stronger among youth assigned male at birth than those assigned female at birth.

We did not identify empirical studies specifically examining gender nonconformity and victimization in workplace, religion, medical care, mental health, or public service settings in China. However, in these settings, existing studies have documented victimization among transgender or LGB people using different measures, with reported prevalence ranging from 8.0% to 37.5% (Beijing LGBT Center, 2017; Suen and Chan, 2020a; Suen and Chan, 2020b; Suen et al., 2021; Workplace Rainbow, 2020). Victimization in these settings often manifests as subtle and indirect forms, including verbal insults, microaggressions, and other non-physical forms. Moreover, compared with cisgender people, transgender individuals were particularly vulnerable when accessing binary sex-segregated facilities (e.g., sauna, restroom) (Vongvisitsin et al., 2025).

Typical of collectivist cultures, Chinese society tends to value group needs and relationships over individual goals, a pattern often manifested in self-control, deference to the group, and conflict avoidance (Forbes et al., 2011; Li et al., 2018). Qualitative studies in Taiwan found that men exhibiting Yin-feminine qizhi often felt compelled to suppress their authentic selves by restraining nonconforming mannerisms to avoid conflict (Huang, 2013; Wang, 2003). A nation-wide survey in China found that, in workplaces, 19.69% of transgender people and 33.76% of transgender women dressed in ways incongruent with their gender identity (Beijing LGBT Center, 2017). Similarly, the majority of Chinese LGBTQ+ people may choose not to disclose their identity to manage potential exposure to violence and discrimination (Wei and Liu, 2019).

Although stigma concealment is often adopted as a coping strategy, it can still incur significant social-psychological costs and may fail to reduce vulnerability (Pachankis, 2007).

4. The present study

Drawing on Domain-Specific Victimization Theory and the reviewed literature, the present study aims to examine the associations of gender nonconformity with SOGIE (sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression)-attributed victimization in seven social settings, guided by four hypotheses. Descriptively, the prevalence of SOGIE-attributed victimization would be highest in family and education settings (Hypothesis 1). Greater gender nonconformity would show

significant associations with at least one SOGIE-attributed victimization across settings (Hypothesis 2). Associations between gender nonconformity and physical form of victimization in family and education settings would be significant (Hypothesis 3). The strength of such associations would vary by sociodemographic characteristics. Specifically, two-way interactions between gender nonconformity and transgender and gender-diverse identity (vs. cisgender identity), documented male marker (vs. female marker), the lower level of self-restraint of gender expression, the greater level of outness, and urban Hukou (vs. agricultural Hukou) were expected to be associated with a stronger relationship between gender nonconformity and victimization (Hypothesis 4).

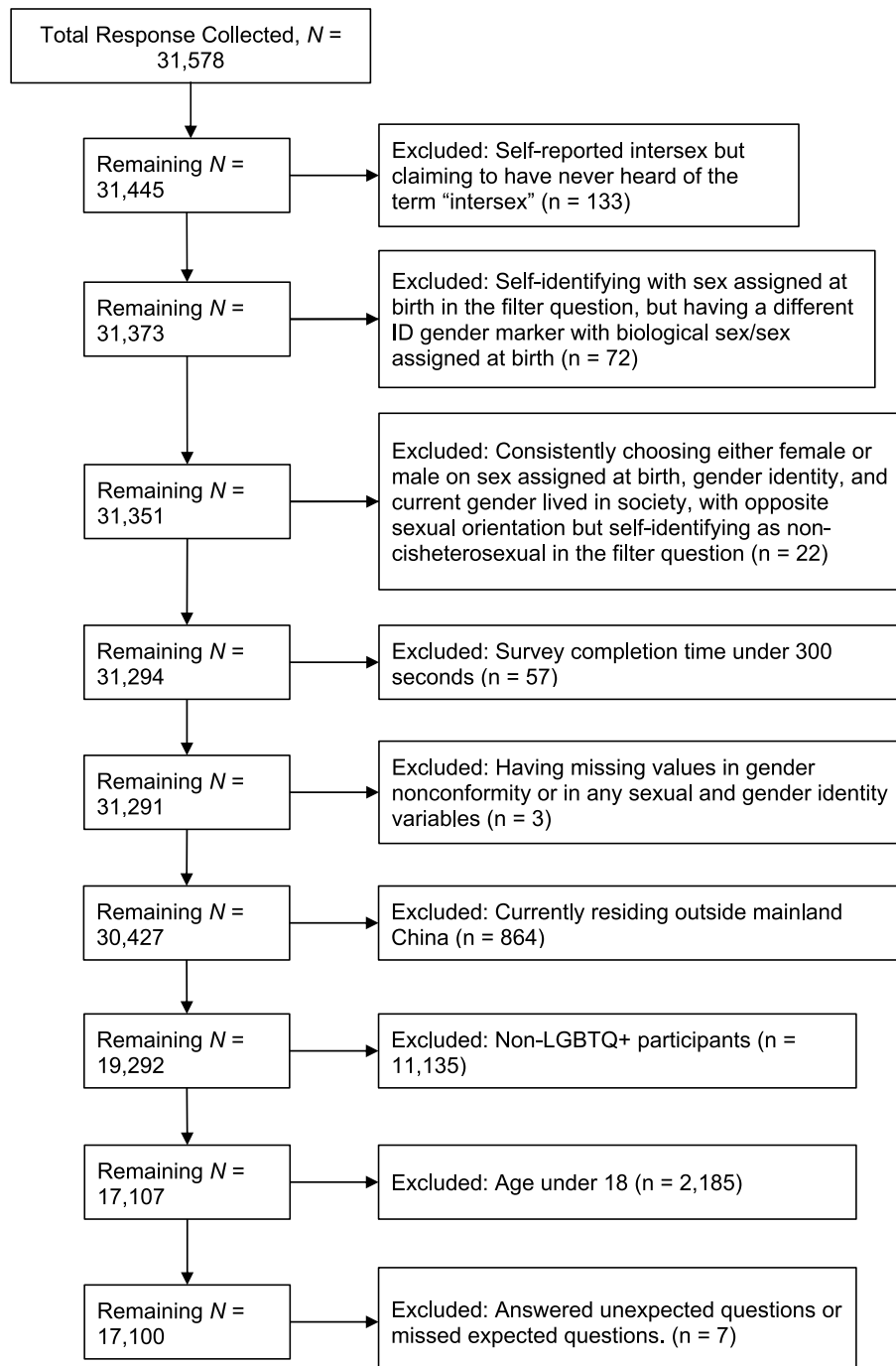


Fig. 1. Sample exclusion process.

5. Methods

The present study utilizes data from *Being LGBTI in China*, a nationwide survey conducted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2015. The survey aimed to provide fundamental information on the living conditions of LGBTQ+ people across multiple social settings and covered all provinces (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). To our knowledge, it remains the most comprehensive source of national-level data on experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals in China to date.

Given the sensitivity of SOGIE topics in China at the time, data were collected through snowball sampling and an anonymous online survey promoted within LGBTQ+ communities, relying on LGBTQ+ non-profit organizations and two of the most popular LGBTQ+ dating applications. Such recruitment strategies likely helped protect participant privacy but may have contributed to the overrepresentation of younger participants in the sample. All participants reported multiple dimensions of SOGIE, such as “lived gender in society”, “self-believed gender without external constraints”, and “with people of what gender you can develop romantic love”, but the survey did not adopt any checklists for self-identities of gender or sexual orientation. The survey decided LGBTQ+ status by self-reporting as intersex and a filter question asking whether participants identify with their sex assigned at birth and only heterosexual orientation. Those who did not pass the filter question (being cisgender heterosexual) and did not report being intersex were classified as non-LGBTQ+ participants. All other participants were classified as LGBTQ+ and were asked to report SOGIE-attributed victimization. All LGBTQ+ participants were asked to report SOGIE-attributed victimization in family and medical care settings. Other settings were assessed only for those with relevant experiences (i.e., official schooling, full-time employment, religious belief, mental health service use, and specific public service item use); thus, effective sample sizes varied across settings. After excluding incomplete and inconsistent responses, 17,100 LGBTQ+ adults residing in mainland China remained for analysis (see Fig. 1 for exclusion details).

5.1. Measures

5.1.1. Dependent variables

SOGIE-attributed victimization was measured using self-reported checklists for family (13 items), education (14 items), workplace (13 items), religion (9 items), medical care (9 items), and mental health (11 items) settings, with each including an “Other” item. Participants responded to the prompt, “In [setting], have you encountered any of the following situations *due to* your sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression?”, yielding dichotomous measures. In the public service setting, participants rated the obstacles they experienced due to their SOGIE in accessing each of 12 services that they had used, on a five-point Likert scale ranging from ‘Not difficult at all’ (1) to ‘Very difficult’ (5). This roughly continuous measurement was retained to preserve a full range of variation and enable detection of more nuanced differences.

Across family, education, workplace, and religion settings, seven items were common, two of which were classified as **qizhi-targeted victimization**. This category captures direct attempts to discipline an individual's gender qizhi toward socially expected norms (yin-feminine or yang-masculine), including “being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or overall image” and “being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance” due to SOGIE. All the other items (e.g., verbal attacks, physical violence, exclusion, coercion into conversion therapy) were classified as **non-qizhi-targeted victimization**, as they do not explicitly focus on correcting gender qizhi. Reporting of two or more types of non-qizhi-targeted victimization within one setting was marked as non-qizhi-targeted polyvictimization. These distinct measures allow clearer tests of whether gender nonconformity is associated with broader and more severe forms of violence or discrimination beyond direct gender expression policing. Five groups of SOGIE-attributed

victimization measures were constructed, yielding a total of 99 Boolean dependent variables.

- (1) Item-level victimization (81 variables), indicating whether the participant reported a specific item of victimization.
- (2) Setting-level overall victimization (6 variables), indicating whether the participant reported at least one victimization within a setting (excluding public services, where varying sample sizes precluded an overall indicator).
- (3) Setting-level qizhi-targeted victimization (4 variables), indicating whether the participant reported at least one qizhi-targeted victimization within a setting (available only for family, education, workplace, and religion).
- (4) Setting-level non-qizhi-targeted victimization (4 variables), indicating whether the participant reported at least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization within a setting (available only for family, education, workplace, and religion).
- (5) Setting-level non-qizhi-targeted polyvictimization (4 variables), indicating whether the participant reported two or more types of non-qizhi-targeted victimization within a setting (available only for family, education, workplace, and religion).

5.1.2. Independent variable

Gender nonconformity was assessed using a single item measuring the extent to which participants' clothing, behavior, physique, and appearance conformed to social norms of the gender marker listed on their Identity Document (ID) Card, using a four-point Likert scale ranging from “Very much conforming” to “Not at all conforming”.

5.1.3. Sociodemographic variables tested for interaction with gender nonconformity

Based on reviewed literature, five sociodemographic variables were examined for their interactions with gender nonconformity, including transgender and gender-diverse identity, documented gender marker, self-restraint of gender expression, outness, and Hukou type. Participants who did not identify with their sex assigned at birth were classified as transgender and gender-diverse. Sexual orientation may also be an important sociodemographic characteristic. However, the survey did not collect self-reported sexual orientations. When answering SOGIE questions (e.g., lived gender, self-believed gender, romantic love attraction), a great proportion of participants endorsed highly flexible options, such as ‘both male and female’, ‘neither male or female’, ‘any gender identities’, ‘not any’, and ‘unsure’. Inferring self-identified gender and generating categorical sexual orientation subgroups based on such information would not accurately reflect participants' true sexualities and could introduce substantial construct invalidity. Given this methodological constraint, this study did not examine the heterogeneity between different sexual orientation subgroups. The documented gender marker (female = 1, male = 0) reflects the binary notation on one's ID card, providing a proxy for social expectations of one's gender qizhi/expression in daily life. Self-restraint of gender expression indicates the extent to which individuals limit their gender expressions in front of others, rated on a five-point scale (ranging from “Not restrained at all” to “Very restrained”) separately in each setting. Outness was also assessed separately in each setting. In families, participants were asked which family members knew their sexual orientation or gender identity. Since not all family member items applied to everyone, disclosure was coded as a binary variable: “out” (disclosed to any family member, 1) or “closeted” (0). In education, workplace, and religious settings, outness was measured on a three-point scale: (1) absolutely closeted, (2) partially out, and (3) fully out. In medical care, mental health, and public services, willingness to disclose one's identity to service providers was rated on a three-point scale: (1) would not disclose, (2) depends on the situation, (3) would disclose. *Hukou* is China's household registration system. It classifies individuals as agricultural (rural) or non-agricultural (urban) based on family registration,

shaping access to welfare, education, and employment (Chan, 2010), and reflecting cultural and socioeconomic factors that may influence social beliefs and exposure to discrimination (Suen et al., 2022). It was coded as “agricultural” (1) and “non-agricultural” (0).

5.1.4. Covariates

To better estimate the specific associations of interest, the analyses adjusted for individual demographics, including age, education, ethnic minority status, current place of residence (urban vs. rural), as well as provincial socioeconomic context, measured by log-transformed 2015 GDP per capita (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2016). An interaction term “transgender and gender-diverse identity \times documented gender marker” was additionally included as a covariate to account for potential confounding effects. Moreover, internalized SOGIE stigma was included as a covariate, given its potential influence on LGBTQ+ individuals' perceived daily experiences and vulnerability to victimization (Mohr and Sarno, 2016; Puckett et al., 2023). It was measured using 26 items on a 5-point Likert scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .925$, 95% CI [0.924, 0.927]) that assessed endorsement of negative social appraisals toward diverse SOGIE. Sample items included “Men should behave like men, women should behave like women”, and “Homosexual orientation needs to be corrected”.

Setting-specific covariates were incorporated for analyses within their respective settings. Family setting covariates included perceived family acceptance of LGBTQ+ people and pressure to enter a heterosexual marriage (both five-point Likert scales). Education included receipt of gender diversity education (three-point) and self-rated academic performance (five-point). The workplace included job tenure (five levels), income (six levels), gender diversity training (three-point), LGBTQ+ protective policies (three-point), and perceived acceptance by supervisors and coworkers (five-point). Religion included family-tradition religious belief (binary), perceived acceptance of doctrine, religious professionals, and fellow believers (5-point). Medical care included living with HIV (binary).

5.2. Data analysis

Descriptive statistics summarized SOGIE-attributed victimization occurrences across seven settings. Unadjusted (bivariate) associations between gender nonconformity and each victimization measure were estimated using linear or logistic regressions. Linear regression was applied for public service victimization, with coefficients representing the mean change in barrier scores; logistic regression was used for other settings, with coefficients reflecting changes in victimization odds.

Adjusted multivariable linear or logistic regression models included gender nonconformity, five sociodemographic variables, their respective two-way interaction terms with gender nonconformity, and covariates. In multivariable models, a stratified Benjamini-Hochberg False Discovery Rate (FDR) correction ($q < 0.05$) was applied to the p-values of the key independent variables and interaction terms, excluding covariates, within three sample size-based strata ($n < 3500$; $3500-11,000$; $n > 11,000$) to account for multiple comparisons and minimize Type I error.

To assess the robustness of our findings, three sets of sensitivity analyses were conducted. First, all adjusted models were re-run using a dichotomized version of gender nonconformity (0 = “very much” or “somewhat”; 1 = “not very” or “not at all”) to test whether the results were sensitive to its scaling. Second, recognizing gender nonconformity may be a latent construct with variance not sufficiently captured by the single item, self-restraint of gender expression was examined as a potentially alternative operationalization. After examining the association between these two variables, the models were re-estimated with self-restraint of gender expression as the primary independent variable (including covariates and interactions with the same sociodemographic variables). Third, gender nonconformity and its interaction term with self-restraint were removed from the second sensitivity analysis models,

and the analysis was re-run. All analyses were conducted using Python 3.12 with pandas (v2.2.2), numpy (v2.0.2), and statsmodels (v0.14.5).

6. Results

6.1. Descriptive statistics

Sociodemographic characteristics are presented in Table 1. The majority of participants were under 30 years old (88.82%), highly educated (79.97% with or pursuing an associate degree or higher), and resided in urban areas (80.20%), although 30.19% held agricultural Hukou. Most had male markers on their ID cards (71.29%), and 16.66% were transgender or gender-diverse. The mean gender nonconformity score was 1.93 (SD = 0.76), with 80.49% reporting “very much conforming” or “somewhat conforming”. Descriptively, the highest mean score of gender expression self-restraint was observed in the religion setting (M = 3.78, SD = 1.33), and the lowest mean score in the mental health setting (M = 2.64, SD = 1.35). About half of the participants had fully or partially disclosed their identities in family (51.30%) and education (46.59%) settings, whereas disclosure was less common in workplaces (24.34%) and religion (20.37%). Most participants were fully or partially willing to disclose their identity in medical care (75.38%), mental health (89.55%), and public service (75.51%) settings.

Table 2 exhibited occurrences or mean scores of all victimization measures across all settings. Overall, 67.25% participants reported at least one SOGIE-attributed victimization across the six settings outside public services. The setting-level at least one SOGIE-attributed victimization prevalence was highest in family (55.70%), education (39.57%), and workplace (21.02%) settings, and lowest in medical care (8.02%) setting. Qizhi-targeted victimization was particularly high in family (40.59%), more than double that in education (18.34%), which ranked the second-highest. “Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or overall image” is the most common form of victimization in family (35.95%), workplace (8.60%), and religious (6.67%) settings, while verbal attack is the most common in education (24.51%). In medical care and mental health settings, 8.02% and 19.45% of participants, respectively, reported experiencing victimization. The most common forms included attempts by mental health providers to persuade clients to change their SOGIE (8.43%), mental health providers' incompetence regarding SOGIE (8.43%), and medical staff avoiding or reducing contact (2.01%). In the public service setting, the highest barrier was observed for “listing a partner as an insurance beneficiary” (M = 2.77, SD = 1.66), with 52.55% of service users reporting medium or high barriers. The results supported Hypothesis 1.

6.2. Associations between gender nonconformity and SOGIE-attributed victimization

In unadjusted models, higher gender nonconformity was significantly associated with increased odds or levels for 75 out of the 99 (75.76%) SOGIE-attributed victimization measures. The last column in Table 2 displayed the coefficients and significance levels of the association between gender nonconformity and each victimization measure. Across all settings outside public services, gender nonconformity was significantly associated with reporting at least one victimization instance. Within the public service setting, gender nonconformity was positively associated with barriers to 11 of 12 services, except accessing medical insurance benefits.

In adjusted models, after FDR adjustment, 163 out of 269 originally significant associations remained significant (60.59%). As shown in Table 3, higher levels of gender nonconformity were significantly associated with 37 out of 99 victimization measures (37.37%), mainly in family (11 out of 17), education (14 out of 18), and workplace (9 out of 17) settings. Only two measures in religion remained significant. All victimization measures in medical care, mental health, and public

Table 1
Sample characteristics by social setting.

n (% in whole sample) ^a	Whole sample	Family	Education	Workplace	Religion	Medical Care	Mental Health	Public Service
	17,100 (100.00%)	†	17,090 (99.94%)	10,057 (58.81%)	2,970 (17.37%)	†	1,933 (11.30%)	†
	n (%) / M(SD)	n (%) / M (SD)	n (%) / M(SD)	n (%) / M(SD)	n (%) / M (SD)	n (%) / M (SD)	n (%) / M (SD)	n (%) / M (SD)
Gender nonconformity	1.93 (0.76)	†	1.93 (0.76)	1.90 (0.79)	1.90 (0.75)	†	2.00 (0.78)	†
Transgender and gender diverse	2,849 (16.66%)	†	2,845 (16.65%)	1,913 (19.02%)	635 (21.38%)	†	315 (16.30%)	†
Documented gender marker								
Female marker (1)	4,909 (28.71%)	†	4,908 (28.72%)	2,551 (25.37%)	629 (21.18%)	†	603 (31.20%)	†
Male marker (0)	12,191 (71.29%)	†	12,182 (71.28%)	7,506 (74.63%)	2,341 (78.82%)	†	1,330 (68.80%)	†
Hukou (household registration) type								
Agricultural (1)	5,163 (30.19%)	†	5,159 (30.19%)	3,177 (31.59%)	1,065 (35.86%)	†	457 (23.64%)	†
Non-agricultural (0)	11,937 (69.81%)	†	11,931 (69.81%)	6,880 (68.41%)	1,905 (64.14%)	†	1,476 (76.36%)	†
Age ^b								
18-19	3390 (19.82%)	†	3387 (19.82%)	837 (8.32%)	455 (15.32%)	†	312 (16.14%)	†
20-24	8285 (48.45%)	†	8282 (48.46%)	4082 (40.59%)	1343 (45.22%)	†	916 (47.39%)	†
25-29	3514 (20.55%)	†	3512 (20.55%)	3266 (32.47%)	722 (24.31%)	†	443 (22.92%)	†
30-39	1565 (9.15%)	†	1563 (9.15%)	1538 (15.29%)	378 (12.73%)	†	223 (11.54%)	†
40+	346 (2.02%)	†	346 (2.02%)	334 (3.32%)	72 (2.42%)	†	39 (2.02%)	†
Educational attainment								
No formal education (1)	10 (0.06%)	†	0 (0.00%)	8 (0.08%)	1 (0.03%)	†	3 (0.16%)	†
Primary school & junior high school (2 & 3)	761 (4.45%)	†	761 (4.45%)	690 (6.86%)	209 (7.04%)	†	45 (2.33%)	†
Vocational/technical high school & general high school (4 & 5)	2654 (15.52%)	†	2654 (15.53%)	2096 (20.84%)	576 (19.39%)	†	220 (11.38%)	†
Associate degree & bachelor's degree (6 & 7)	12382 (72.41%)	†	12382 (72.45%)	6520 (64.83%)	1989 (66.97%)	†	1456 (75.32%)	†
Graduate and above (8)	1293 (7.56%)	†	1293 (7.57%)	743 (7.39%)	195 (6.57%)	†	209 (10.81%)	†
Ethnicity								
Minority	1,248 (7.30%)	†	1,245 (7.28%)	675 (6.71%)	310 (10.44%)	†	146 (7.55%)	†
Han	15,852 (92.70%)	†	15,845 (92.72%)	9,382 (93.29%)	2,660 (89.56%)	†	1,787 (92.45%)	†
Current Residency								
Live in urban areas	13,715 (80.20%)	†	13,706 (80.20%)	7,820 (77.76%)	2,277 (76.67%)	†	1,646 (85.15%)	†
Live in rural towns/villages	3,385 (19.80%)	†	3,384 (19.80%)	2,237 (22.24%)	693 (23.33%)	†	287 (14.85%)	†
Log GDP per capita (2015) of current province of residence	10.93 (0.42)	†	10.93 (0.42)	10.94 (0.42)	10.92 (0.41)	†	10.97 (0.43)	†
Setting-Specific Characteristics ^c								
Self-Restraint of gender expression	-	2.93 (1.41)	3.18 (1.36)	3.57 (1.39)	3.78 (1.33)	3.24 (1.42)	2.64 (1.35)	3.37 (1.32)
Outness (ordinal)	-	-	1.51 (0.59)	1.30 (0.56)	1.24 (0.52)	1.94 (0.65)	2.33 (0.66)	1.84 (0.55)
Outness (binary)								
Out	-	8,773 (51.30%)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Closeted	-	8,327 (48.70%)	-	-	-	-	-	-

†Same as the whole sample.

- Not available.

^a All participants were asked to report victimization in the family and medical care; other settings were conditional on whether participants have relevant experiences. All participants reported their use of 12 public services and rated barriers experienced only for services they had used.

^b Age was collapsed into broader categories for presentation purposes.

^c Self-restraint of gender expression and outness were measured separately in each setting.

service settings lost significance. Higher gender nonconformity was still associated with a greater likelihood of reporting at least one victimization in family ($\beta = 0.62, p < .001$), education ($\beta = 0.86, p < .001$), and workplace ($\beta = 0.99, p < .001$) settings. The results provided partial support for Hypothesis 2 (limited to family, education, and workplace settings). Qizhi-targeted victimization, non-qizhi targeted victimization,

and non-qizhi targeted polyvictimization still showed significant associations with gender nonconformity across family, education, and workplace settings. Physical violence only showed significant associations with gender nonconformity in family and education settings, which supported the Hypothesis 3.

Table 2
SOGIE-attributed victimization occurrence and unadjusted model results.

	N (Sample Size)	n (endorsed/reported a medium or higher barrier to a public service)	%/M (SD)	β (SE) of unadjusted model (victimization ~ gender nonconformity)
Family				
At least one victimization in families	17,100	9524	55.70%	0.78 (0.02)***
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	17,100	6941	40.59%	1.10 (0.02)***
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	17,100	5859	34.26%	0.30 (0.02)***
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	17,100	2040	11.93%	0.46 (0.03)***
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	17,100	6147	35.95%	0.98 (0.02)***
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	17,100	2334	13.65%	0.52 (0.03)***
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	17,100	840	4.91%	0.31 (0.04)***
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	17,100	4022	23.52%	1.34 (0.03)***
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	17,100	348	2.04%	0.49 (0.07)***
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	17,100	185	1.08%	0.70 (0.09)***
Being encouraged, persuaded, or coerced into a cisheterosexual relationship	17,100	2847	16.65%	0.39 (0.03)***
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	17,100	236	1.38%	0.49 (0.08)***
Being encouraged, persuaded, or coerced into non-consensual sexual activity	17,100	191	1.12%	0.10 (0.09)
Being encouraged, persuaded, provided, or coerced into conversion therapy	17,100	798	4.67%	0.32 (0.05)***
Personal freedom restriction	17,100	527	3.08%	0.21 (0.06)***
Economic control	17,100	734	4.29%	0.36 (0.05)***
Other	17,100	816	4.77%	-0.39 (0.05)***
Education				
At least one victimization in education	17,090	6762	39.57%	0.32 (0.02)***
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	17,090	3134	18.34%	0.58 (0.03)***
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	17,090	5597	32.75%	0.18 (0.02)***
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	17,090	1874	10.97%	0.33 (0.03)***
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	17,090	2955	17.29%	0.57 (0.03)***
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	17,090	4189	24.51%	0.21 (0.02)***
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	17,090	1534	8.98%	0.30 (0.03)***
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	17,090	684	4.00%	0.69 (0.05)***
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	17,090	432	2.53%	0.35 (0.06)***
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	17,090	214	1.25%	0.44 (0.08)***
Lost eligibility for "Outstanding Student" or similar honors	17,090	119	0.70%	0.40 (0.11)***
Lost eligibility to serve as a student leader	17,090	146	0.85%	0.53 (0.10)***
Lost eligibility to join the Communist Youth League/Party	17,090	114	0.67%	0.38 (0.12)***
Lost the right to attend classes	17,090	38	0.22%	-0.11 (0.22)
Required to call in parents	17,090	227	1.33%	0.60 (0.08)***
Being pressured to transfer/withdraw, or expelled	17,090	99	0.58%	0.52 (0.12)***
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	17,090	1032	6.04%	0.18 (0.04)***
Other	17,090	683	4.00%	-0.15 (0.05)**
Workplace				
At least one victimization in workplaces	10,057	2114	21.02%	0.44 (0.03)***
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	10,057	1007	10.01%	0.74 (0.04)***
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	10,057	1515	15.06%	0.23 (0.03)***
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	10,057	374	3.72%	0.39 (0.06)***
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	10,057	865	8.60%	0.71 (0.04)***
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	10,057	649	6.45%	0.34 (0.05)***
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	10,057	245	2.44%	0.27 (0.08)***
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	10,057	354	3.52%	1.01 (0.06)***
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	10,057	39	0.39%	-0.09 (0.21)
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	10,057	38	0.38%	0.16 (0.20)
Lost training opportunities	10,057	53	0.53%	0.43 (0.16)**
Lost promotion eligibility	10,057	133	1.32%	0.30 (0.10)**
Treated unfairly regarding salary increases or promotions	10,057	136	1.35%	0.36 (0.10)***
Persuaded to change positions or resign	10,057	86	0.86%	0.35 (0.13)**
Deliberately hassled by supervisors/colleagues at work	10,057	195	1.94%	0.41 (0.08)***
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	10,057	210	2.09%	0.25 (0.08)**
Other	10,057	472	4.69%	-0.06 (0.06)
Religion				
At least one victimization in religion	2970	411	13.84%	0.34 (0.07)***
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	2970	218	7.34%	0.57 (0.09)***

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Table 2 (continued)

	N (Sample Size)	n (endorsed/reported a medium or higher barrier to a public service)	%/M (SD)	β (SE) of unadjusted model (victimization ~ gender nonconformity)
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	2970	256	8.62%	0.13 (0.09)
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	2970	46	1.55%	0.31 (0.19)
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	2970	198	6.67%	0.52 (0.09)***
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	2970	78	2.63%	0.32 (0.14)*
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	2970	46	1.55%	0.28 (0.19)
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	2970	72	2.42%	0.95 (0.14)***
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	2970	19	0.64%	-0.21 (0.32)
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	2970	32	1.08%	0.22 (0.23)
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	2970	28	0.94%	-0.02 (0.25)
Being forced to leave a religious organization	2970	21	0.71%	0.17 (0.28)
Other	2970	118	3.97%	-0.05 (0.13)
Medical care				
At least one victimization in medical care	17,100	1371	8.02%	0.08 (0.04)*
Refusal of services	17,100	116	0.68%	-0.13 (0.13)
Staff avoided or reduced contact	17,100	343	2.01%	-0.07 (0.07)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	17,100	158	0.92%	0.16 (0.10)
Persuasion to transfer to another hospital or discharge early	17,100	58	0.34%	-0.09 (0.18)
Unable to receive medical services of the same quality as other patients	17,100	128	0.75%	-0.12 (0.12)
Being encouraged, persuaded, provided, or coerced into conversion therapy	17,100	118	0.69%	0.28 (0.11)*
Refusal of partner visitation	17,100	36	0.21%	0.70 (0.20)***
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	17,100	59	0.35%	0.06 (0.17)
Other	17,100	720	4.21%	0.12 (0.05)*
Mental health				
At least one victimization in mental health	1933	376	19.45%	0.37 (0.07)***
Refusal of services	1933	23	1.19%	-0.87 (0.33)**
Staff avoided or reduced contact	1933	36	1.86%	-0.09 (0.22)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	1933	32	1.66%	0.30 (0.22)
Referral to other providers	1933	21	1.09%	0.23 (0.27)
Incompetency regarding SOGIE	1933	163	8.43%	0.43 (0.10)***
Counselors/doctors believe that SOGIE is the root cause of mental health issues	1933	119	6.16%	0.43 (0.12)***
Being diagnosed as having a pathological or abnormal SOGIE	1933	113	5.85%	0.56 (0.12)***
Being encouraged, persuaded, provided, or coerced into conversion therapy	1933	120	6.21%	0.50 (0.11)***
Persuaded to change SOGIE	1933	163	8.43%	0.39 (0.10)***
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	1933	11	0.57%	0.42 (0.36)
Other	1933	35	1.81%	0.57 (0.20)**
Public service				
Renting a home	7334	782	1.33 (0.75)	0.03 (0.01)**
Applying for household registration or identification/residence permits	10,471	631	1.19 (0.58)	0.02 (0.01)**
Rights protection or litigation	3412	601	1.53 (1.02)	0.10 (0.02)***
Social welfare and assistance	2943	510	1.53 (1.01)	0.05 (0.03)*
Residing in elderly care facilities	2024	405	1.59 (1.03)	0.07 (0.03)*
Listing a partner as an insurance beneficiary	2468	1297	2.77 (1.66)	0.36 (0.04)***
Accessing medical insurance benefits	7370	797	1.34 (0.85)	0.01 (0.01)
Receiving non-profit services for LGBTQ+ people	3378	1047	1.98 (1.34)	0.16 (0.03)***
Participating in community organizations	9473	904	1.30 (0.75)	0.05 (0.01)***
Using public restrooms	12,622	1449	1.34 (0.82)	0.29 (0.01)***
Using public baths	11,705	1659	1.43 (0.96)	0.33 (0.01)***
Receiving re-employment services	3930	606	1.45 (0.91)	0.10 (0.02)***

Linear regression was used for public service items (coefficients representing changes in barrier mean scores); logistic regression was applied for other settings (coefficients representing changes in victimization odds).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

6.3. Main effects of sociodemographic variables and their interactions with gender nonconformity

6.3.1. Transgender and gender-diverse identity

Regarding the main effects (Table 3), transgender and gender-diverse identity was significantly associated with higher likelihood of reporting at least one SOGIE-attributed victimization in workplaces ($\beta = 0.62, p < .001$), at least one qizhi-targeted victimization in family and education ($\beta = 0.51, p < .001$; $\beta = 0.80, p < .001$), and at least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization in workplaces ($\beta = 0.70, p < .001$). Transgender and gender-diverse identity was significantly associated with higher odds of partner visitation being refused in medical care ($\beta = 6.01, p < .01$) and greater barriers to three public services, including renting a home ($\beta = 0.21, p < .05$), accessing medical insurance benefits ($\beta = 0.23, p < .05$), participating in community organizations ($\beta = 0.21, p < .05$).

Interactions between gender nonconformity and transgender and gender-diverse identity were significantly associated with higher barriers to using public restrooms and baths ($\beta = 0.18, p < .05$; $\beta = 0.22, p < .05$). In contrast, interaction effects were significantly negative for at least one qizhi-targeted victimization in education ($\beta = -0.28, p < .001$) and for two qizhi-targeted victimization items in the family setting ($\beta = -0.18, p < .001$; $\beta = -0.22, p < .001$). These results indicated more complex patterns than initially anticipated by Hypothesis 4.

6.3.2. Documented gender markers

Documented gender markers' main effects had mixed associations with victimization across settings. In the educational setting, male markers were significantly associated with at least one victimization ($\beta = -0.78, p < .001$), at least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization ($\beta = -0.98, p < .001$), and non-qizhi-targeted polyvictimization ($\beta = -1.07, p < .001$). In public services, male markers were significantly associated with greater victimization on public restroom use ($\beta = -0.68, p < .05$) and public bath use ($\beta = -0.72, p < .05$). By contrast, female markers were significantly associated with greater vulnerability to sexual harassment in families ($\beta = 1.27, p < .05$).

Interaction effects showed that among participants with female markers, greater gender nonconformity was more positively associated with qizhi-targeted victimization in family ($\beta = 0.24, p < .001$) and barriers to access public restrooms ($\beta = 0.36, p < .05$) and public baths ($\beta = 0.39, p < .05$), compared to those with male markers. In contrast, greater gender nonconformity was less positively associated with at least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization in education ($\beta = -0.18, p < .01$), non-qizhi-targeted polyvictimization ($\beta = -0.27, p < .05$) in education, and sexual assault across family ($\beta = -0.62, p < .01$), education ($\beta = -0.52, p < .001$), and workplace ($\beta = -0.66, p < .01$) settings among participants with female markers, compared to those with male markers. The results also suggested more complex patterns than Hypothesis 4.

6.3.3. Self-restraint of gender expression

The main effects of greater self-restraint of gender expression were significantly associated with higher odds of reporting at least one SOGIE-attributed victimization in education ($\beta = 0.17, p < .001$), workplaces ($\beta = 0.23, p < .001$), and religious settings ($\beta = 0.43, p < .01$). No significant associations emerged in medical care, mental health, or public service settings. Interaction terms between gender nonconformity and self-restraint of gender expression did not show significant associations with any victimization measures. The results did not provide evidence to support Hypothesis 4.

6.3.4. Outness

The main effects of higher outness were significantly associated with increased odds or levels in 46 out of 99 (46.46%) victimization measures across settings. Across family, education, and workplace settings, greater outness was consistently significantly associated with higher odds of at least one victimization, at least one qizhi-targeted victimization, at least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization, and non-qizhi-targeted polyvictimization (all $ps < .001$). In religion, greater outness was significantly associated with higher odds of at least one victimization ($\beta = 0.99, p < .001$) and at least one qizhi-targeted victimization ($\beta = 1.58, p < .001$). Greater outness was also significantly associated with experiences of medical service refusal ($\beta = 2.06, p < .01$).

Contrary to Hypothesis 4, greater outness was significantly associated with weaker associations between gender nonconformity and at least one victimization in family ($\beta = -0.15, p < .01$), education ($\beta = -0.10, p < .05$), and workplace ($\beta = -0.29, p < .001$) settings. Greater outness was also associated with a weaker association between gender nonconformity and at least one qizhi-targeted victimization in education ($\beta = -0.19, p < .001$) and workplaces ($\beta = -0.40, p < .001$).

6.3.5. Hukou type

The Hukou type showed relatively limited main effects, as testing for associations between the Hukou type with any setting-level victimization were not statistically significant, except for the "Other" item in the medical care setting. However, results showed that agricultural Hukou (vs. non-agricultural) was associated with weaker associations between gender nonconformity and at least one victimization in family ($\beta = -0.17, p < .01$), at least one qizhi-targeted victimization in family ($\beta = -0.17, p < .01$), and being required to call in parents in schools ($\beta = -0.69, p < .01$). The results supported Hypothesis 4 only for victimization types involving families. To aid readability, the key findings of interaction effects are summarized in Fig. 2.

6.4. Sensitivity analyses

As shown in Table 4, the overall pattern of main effects in models using dichotomized gender nonconformity was largely consistent with the main findings. Thirty-four out of 37 previously significant associations of gender nonconformity remained significant and all in the same directions, with three no longer significant (Physical violence in family; Being pressured to transfer, withdraw, or expelled in education; and Coldness and isolation in workplace) and four additionally reaching significance (Other in family; Sexual harassment in medical care; Using public restrooms and Using public baths in public services). This suggested that the main effects of gender nonconformity were not highly sensitive to this alternative operationalization.

The association between gender nonconformity and self-restraint of gender expression in each setting was examined. Bivariate regression models showed significantly negative associations across all settings (all $ps < 0.001$), with small-to-modest effect sizes (standardized β s ranging from the lowest -0.07 in family to highest -0.15 in education). After accounting for the same set of demographic characteristics and covariates used in the main analysis, their association became positive in family, medical care, and public service settings (standardized β s = 0.04, 0.02, & 0.02; $ps < 0.001, 0.05, & 0.05$) but not significant for other settings. As displayed in Table 4, the second sensitivity analysis substituting self-restraint of gender expression in all interaction terms yielded partially overlapping patterns with the main analyses in the family setting but did not show significance on any other setting-level victimization. The main effects of gender nonconformity remained largely unchanged, as 31 out of 37 previously significant associations retained significance. In the third analysis, after completely removing

Table 3
Multivariable regression results for key variables.

Item	Main effects						Interaction terms: Gender nonconformity ×				
	Gender nonconformity	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Family											
At least one victimization	0.62 (0.08)***	0.31 (0.14)	-0.14 (0.13)	0.07 (0.03)	0.90 (0.10)***	0.01 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.24 (0.06)***	0.04 (0.02)	-0.15 (0.05)**	-0.17 (0.05)**
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	0.90 (0.08)***	0.51 (0.14)***	-0.07 (0.14)	0.13 (0.04)***	0.50 (0.11)***	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.07)	0.24 (0.06)***	0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.17 (0.06)**
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.36 (0.07)***	0.06 (0.13)	0.15 (0.13)	0.04 (0.03)	0.87 (0.10)***	0.04 (0.11)	0.09 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.05)
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	0.67 (0.11)***	-0.01 (0.19)	-0.00 (0.19)	0.06 (0.05)	1.52 (0.16)***	-0.01 (0.16)	0.11 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.21 (0.07)**	-0.16 (0.07)
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	0.86 (0.08)***	0.54 (0.14)***	-0.00 (0.14)	0.12 (0.04)**	0.50 (0.11)***	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.07)**	0.16 (0.06)**	0.02 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.14 (0.06)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	0.73 (0.10)***	0.56 (0.17)**	-0.28 (0.19)	0.13 (0.05)*	0.75 (0.14)***	-0.33 (0.15)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	0.36 (0.16)	0.23 (0.26)	0.01 (0.28)	0.04 (0.07)	0.76 (0.23)***	0.09 (0.23)	0.10 (0.12)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.06 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	1.20 (0.10)***	0.64 (0.17)***	0.26 (0.17)	0.17 (0.05)***	0.69 (0.14)***	-0.22 (0.16)	-0.22 (0.08)**	0.19 (0.07)**	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.07)
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	0.67 (0.25)*	-0.00 (0.42)	0.41 (0.42)	0.07 (0.12)	1.12 (0.36)**	-0.23 (0.40)	0.23 (0.18)	-0.30 (0.17)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.18 (0.18)
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	1.02 (0.33)*	-0.07 (0.54)	0.27 (0.62)	0.29 (0.16)	0.51 (0.48)	0.59 (0.49)	0.27 (0.23)	-0.16 (0.24)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.04 (0.20)	-0.35 (0.21)
Being encouraged, persuaded, or coerced into a cisheterosexual relationship	0.53 (0.10)***	-0.45 (0.19)	0.38 (0.15)	0.00 (0.04)	1.69 (0.13)***	-0.17 (0.15)	0.16 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.33 (0.06)***	-0.10 (0.07)
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	0.94 (0.30)*	1.02 (0.45)	1.27 (0.50)*	0.24 (0.15)	0.21 (0.44)	0.18 (0.46)	-0.23 (0.20)	-0.62 (0.20)**	-0.09 (0.07)	0.14 (0.19)	-0.23 (0.20)
Being encouraged, persuaded, or coerced into non-consensual sexual activity	0.01 (0.33)	-0.10 (0.54)	-0.83 (0.64)	-0.07 (0.14)	1.36 (0.45)**	-0.14 (0.44)	0.15 (0.25)	0.06 (0.26)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.18 (0.21)	0.09 (0.21)
Being encouraged, persuaded, provided, or coerced into conversion therapy	0.33 (0.17)	-0.21 (0.29)	-0.50 (0.27)	0.03 (0.07)	1.66 (0.25)***	-0.31 (0.24)	0.20 (0.13)	0.14 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.11)
Personal freedom restriction	0.15 (0.20)	0.66 (0.31)	0.10 (0.34)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.96 (0.27)***	0.02 (0.28)	-0.17 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.14)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.09 (0.13)	-0.19 (0.13)
Economic control	0.32 (0.17)	0.18 (0.28)	-0.08 (0.30)	0.02 (0.08)	1.06 (0.24)***	0.10 (0.25)	0.06 (0.13)	-0.02 (0.12)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.20 (0.11)
Other	-0.24 (0.16)	0.11 (0.27)	0.51 (0.28)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.61 (0.21)**	0.12 (0.21)	-0.04 (0.14)	-0.25 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.11)	0.16 (0.11)
Education											
At least one victimization in education	0.86 (0.11)***	0.27 (0.13)	-0.78 (0.13)***	0.17 (0.04)***	0.47 (0.09)***	0.09 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.15 (0.06)**	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.04)*	-0.07 (0.05)
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	1.25 (0.14)***	0.80 (0.16)***	-0.34 (0.17)	0.23 (0.05)***	0.71 (0.11)***	0.18 (0.14)	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.19 (0.05)***	-0.15 (0.06)
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.69 (0.11)***	0.10 (0.13)	-0.98 (0.15)***	0.13 (0.04)***	0.39 (0.09)***	0.06 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.18 (0.06)**	0.01 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)

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Table 3 (continued)

Item	Main effects						Interaction terms: Gender nonconformity ×				
	Gender nonconformity	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	1.17 (0.18)***	0.42 (0.20)	-1.07 (0.25)***	0.17 (0.06)**	0.99 (0.14)***	0.02 (0.18)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.27 (0.10)**	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.19 (0.06)**	-0.19 (0.08)
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	1.21 (0.14)***	0.75 (0.16)***	-0.37 (0.17)	0.22 (0.05)***	0.69 (0.11)***	0.13 (0.14)	-0.25 (0.07)***	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.18 (0.05)***	-0.13 (0.06)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	0.84 (0.13)***	0.17 (0.15)	-1.74 (0.19)***	0.12 (0.04)**	0.45 (0.10)***	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	0.98 (0.19)***	0.07 (0.22)	-0.46 (0.24)	0.12 (0.07)	1.16 (0.15)***	-0.06 (0.19)	0.10 (0.10)	-0.30 (0.10)**	0.01 (0.03)	-0.24 (0.07)***	-0.09 (0.09)
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	1.25 (0.27)***	1.22 (0.29)***	-0.07 (0.34)	0.19 (0.10)	0.70 (0.23)**	0.16 (0.28)	-0.37 (0.12)**	-0.24 (0.13)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.15 (0.12)
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	1.31 (0.36)***	0.38 (0.39)	-1.05 (0.58)	0.15 (0.13)	1.03 (0.28)***	-0.45 (0.38)	-0.04 (0.16)	-0.51 (0.22)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.26 (0.12)	-0.08 (0.17)
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	1.93 (0.49)***	0.98 (0.48)	-0.76 (0.67)	0.52 (0.19)**	1.51 (0.38)***	0.09 (0.48)	-0.19 (0.21)	-0.26 (0.25)	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.44 (0.16)**	-0.15 (0.21)
Lost eligibility for "Outstanding Student" or similar honors	1.41 (0.62)	1.19 (0.63)	-0.37 (0.84)	0.11 (0.23)	1.13 (0.48)	1.14 (0.65)	-0.40 (0.28)	-0.34 (0.31)	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.23 (0.21)	-0.70 (0.31)
Lost eligibility to serve as a student leader	1.98 (0.57)**	1.71 (0.58)**	-1.03 (0.81)	0.30 (0.22)	1.57 (0.45)***	1.01 (0.59)	-0.63 (0.26)	-0.05 (0.29)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.45 (0.19)	-0.59 (0.26)
Lost eligibility to join the Communist Youth League/Party	2.56 (0.61)***	1.46 (0.65)	-1.09 (0.92)	0.56 (0.23)	1.96 (0.47)***	0.56 (0.71)	-0.55 (0.30)	-0.00 (0.33)	-0.23 (0.10)	-0.58 (0.20)**	-0.73 (0.35)
Lost the right to attend classes	1.38 (1.10)	1.92 (1.00)	-5.65 (2.96)	0.11 (0.34)	1.58 (0.81)	1.71 (1.04)	-0.73 (0.53)	1.29 (0.90)	0.05 (0.17)	-0.70 (0.42)	-1.31 (0.61)
Required to call in parents	1.97 (0.45)***	0.94 (0.46)	0.75 (0.51)	0.51 (0.18)**	1.62 (0.35)***	1.00 (0.51)	-0.22 (0.20)	-0.39 (0.20)	-0.17 (0.07)	-0.35 (0.14)	-0.69 (0.24)**
Being pressured to transfer/withdraw, or expelled	1.69 (0.65)*	0.18 (0.72)	-2.25 (0.96)	0.35 (0.24)	2.42 (0.48)***	0.51 (0.66)	0.24 (0.32)	0.70 (0.35)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.62 (0.20)**	-0.46 (0.30)
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	0.54 (0.24)	0.34 (0.27)	-0.71 (0.36)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.48 (0.18)**	0.01 (0.23)	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.52 (0.14)***	0.07 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.18 (0.11)
Other	-0.85 (0.26)**	0.06 (0.28)	0.08 (0.29)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.72 (0.23)**	0.26 (0.21)	-0.02 (0.15)	0.33 (0.13)*	0.08 (0.04)	0.11 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)
Workplace											
At least one victimization in workplaces	0.99 (0.17)***	0.62 (0.18)***	-0.44 (0.21)	0.23 (0.06)***	0.88 (0.14)***	0.31 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.09)	0.16 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.29 (0.06)***	-0.09 (0.07)
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	1.45 (0.22)***	0.47 (0.25)	-0.03 (0.28)	0.27 (0.09)**	1.20 (0.20)***	0.24 (0.22)	-0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.40 (0.08)***	-0.14 (0.09)
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.77 (0.19)***	0.70 (0.19)***	-0.29 (0.24)	0.23 (0.06)***	0.58 (0.16)***	0.21 (0.17)	-0.16 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.17 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.08)
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	1.19 (0.36)**	0.57 (0.37)	0.08 (0.46)	0.24 (0.13)	1.27 (0.29)***	0.19 (0.35)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.26 (0.18)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.27 (0.12)	-0.19 (0.16)
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	1.25 (0.24)***	0.50 (0.27)	-0.08 (0.29)	0.24 (0.09)	0.98 (0.21)***	0.16 (0.24)	-0.11 (0.12)	0.07 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.31 (0.08)***	-0.12 (0.10)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	1.06 (0.27)***	0.90 (0.29)**	-0.80 (0.42)	0.12 (0.10)	0.77 (0.24)**	0.06 (0.26)	-0.29 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.20 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.12)
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	1.46 (0.46)*	0.14 (0.45)	-0.21 (0.62)	0.39 (0.17)	1.51 (0.35)***	0.03 (0.44)	0.12 (0.21)	-0.20 (0.24)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.35 (0.16)	-0.21 (0.20)

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Table 3 (continued)

Item	Main effects						Interaction terms: Gender nonconformity ×				
	Gender nonconformity	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	2.00 (0.37)***	0.74 (0.41)	0.86 (0.44)	0.33 (0.16)	1.31 (0.34)***	0.66 (0.40)	-0.11 (0.17)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.45 (0.12)***	-0.28 (0.15)
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment)	1.64 (1.06)	1.22 (0.93)	0.74 (1.53)	0.30 (0.35)	1.52 (0.74)	0.66 (1.01)	-0.19 (0.47)	-0.68 (0.66)	-0.17 (0.18)	-0.44 (0.38)	-0.67 (0.54)
Exclusion from collective activities/group events	-2.18 (1.16)	1.35 (1.06)	-2.36 (1.57)	-0.41 (0.35)	-0.19 (0.89)	-1.22 (0.90)	-0.51 (0.55)	0.96 (0.56)	0.42 (0.19)	0.27 (0.39)	0.62 (0.41)
Lost training opportunities	1.04 (0.91)	0.83 (0.94)	-1.53 (1.28)	0.09 (0.32)	1.38 (0.79)	0.33 (0.85)	-0.25 (0.45)	0.58 (0.46)	0.05 (0.14)	-0.59 (0.36)	-0.21 (0.38)
Lost promotion eligibility	-0.11 (0.58)	1.14 (0.59)	-1.16 (0.77)	-0.02 (0.20)	0.63 (0.45)	-0.48 (0.60)	-0.15 (0.29)	0.45 (0.29)	0.09 (0.09)	0.06 (0.20)	0.10 (0.27)
Treated unfairly regarding salary increases or promotions	1.25 (0.54)	-0.09 (0.63)	-0.79 (0.71)	0.37 (0.20)	1.50 (0.43)***	0.18 (0.57)	0.28 (0.29)	0.35 (0.28)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.38 (0.18)	-0.14 (0.26)
Persuaded to change positions or resign	0.66 (0.71)	1.50 (0.68)	-2.38 (1.08)	-0.04 (0.24)	1.56 (0.55)**	0.13 (0.63)	-0.44 (0.33)	0.72 (0.37)	0.12 (0.11)	-0.53 (0.26)	-0.06 (0.28)
Deliberately hassled by supervisors/colleagues at work	0.76 (0.48)	0.92 (0.49)	0.18 (0.60)	0.12 (0.17)	0.84 (0.40)	0.02 (0.46)	-0.23 (0.23)	-0.11 (0.23)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.20)
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	1.55 (0.47)**	0.45 (0.49)	1.07 (0.55)	0.24 (0.16)	1.49 (0.35)***	0.46 (0.46)	-0.02 (0.22)	-0.66 (0.23)**	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.39 (0.16)	-0.28 (0.21)
Other	-0.19 (0.32)	0.58 (0.31)	-0.23 (0.35)	0.22 (0.10)	-0.74 (0.36)	0.19 (0.25)	-0.22 (0.17)	0.38 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.15)	0.12 (0.13)
Religion											
At least one victimization in religion	1.08 (0.38)	0.68 (0.37)	-0.07 (0.45)	0.43 (0.13)**	0.99 (0.29)***	0.46 (0.33)	-0.22 (0.18)	0.00 (0.18)	-0.12 (0.06)	-0.14 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.15)
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	1.77 (0.51)***	0.59 (0.51)	-0.37 (0.62)	0.65 (0.20)***	1.58 (0.37)***	-0.01 (0.45)	-0.14 (0.24)	0.10 (0.23)	-0.18 (0.08)	-0.32 (0.16)	-0.05 (0.20)
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.85 (0.46)	0.76 (0.45)	0.22 (0.55)	0.35 (0.15)	0.54 (0.35)	0.71 (0.39)	-0.38 (0.23)	-0.18 (0.22)	-0.14 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.16)	-0.09 (0.19)
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted (two or more)	2.07 (0.97)	2.00 (1.12)	-6.16 (3.17)	0.59 (0.37)	1.54 (0.64)	0.35 (0.87)	-1.32 (0.61)	1.27 (0.88)	-0.27 (0.16)	-0.25 (0.28)	0.07 (0.39)
Being reminded to watch speech, behavior, or appearance	1.81 (0.52)*	0.63 (0.54)	-0.39 (0.64)	0.66 (0.20)**	1.67 (0.38)***	-0.15 (0.47)	-0.21 (0.25)	0.11 (0.24)	-0.19 (0.08)	-0.37 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.21)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	0.90 (0.79)	1.08 (0.84)	-0.62 (1.16)	0.23 (0.28)	0.68 (0.60)	0.34 (0.70)	-0.59 (0.41)	0.04 (0.42)	-0.07 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.26)	0.05 (0.32)
Being treated with coldness or deliberately isolated	2.55 (1.01)	1.24 (1.03)	-0.37 (1.43)	0.81 (0.38)	1.86 (0.66)	0.09 (0.88)	-0.74 (0.51)	-0.24 (0.53)	-0.37 (0.17)	-0.44 (0.29)	0.25 (0.40)
Being required/forced to change dress, speech, behavior, or appearance	1.51 (0.74)	0.80 (0.88)	-1.63 (1.08)	0.39 (0.30)	1.67 (0.57)	0.25 (0.75)	-0.15 (0.40)	0.68 (0.38)	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.31 (0.22)	0.04 (0.29)
Physical violence (e.g., shoving, pulling, tripping, slapping, corporal punishment) ^a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Exclusion from collective activities/group events ^b	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching) ^b	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Being forced to leave a religious organization	2.14 (1.88)	2.92 (1.62)	-1.21 (2.81)	0.71 (0.63)	1.95 (1.05)	0.94 (1.45)	-1.49 (0.87)	-0.24 (0.99)	-0.17 (0.29)	-0.25 (0.49)	-0.38 (0.70)

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Table 3 (continued)

Item	Main effects						Interaction terms: Gender nonconformity ×				
	Gender nonconformity	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Other	0.03 (0.68)	0.59 (0.61)	0.39 (0.70)	0.12 (0.20)	-0.51 (0.74)	0.74 (0.52)	-0.39 (0.33)	0.01 (0.30)	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.35)	-0.10 (0.26)
Medical care											
At least one victimization in medical care	0.09 (0.44)	0.70 (0.43)	-0.55 (0.62)	0.09 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.27)	0.93 (0.38)	-0.30 (0.22)	0.08 (0.24)	0.02 (0.07)	0.07 (0.13)	-0.27 (0.19)
Refusal of services	3.00 (1.46)	1.86 (1.32)	-0.78 (3.81)	0.56 (0.49)	2.06 (0.80)**	0.32 (1.13)	-1.03 (0.67)	-0.27 (1.27)	-0.09 (0.24)	-0.94 (0.39)	0.00 (0.54)
Staff avoided or reduced contact	-0.22 (0.83)	1.01 (0.78)	-3.94 (3.90)	-0.13 (0.25)	-0.10 (0.50)	0.61 (0.70)	-0.39 (0.40)	0.55 (1.27)	0.12 (0.14)	0.10 (0.25)	-0.17 (0.35)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults)	1.03 (1.08)	1.17 (1.16)	-2.76 (2.87)	0.08 (0.33)	0.57 (0.69)	0.03 (1.00)	-0.55 (0.60)	0.42 (0.97)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.21 (0.35)	0.00 (0.50)
Persuasion to transfer to another hospital or discharge early	1.69 (1.50)	0.21 (1.53)	-7.73 (52493.89)	0.18 (0.50)	0.12 (1.00)	1.50 (1.46)	-0.12 (0.78)	-6.75 (52218.79)	-0.12 (0.26)	-0.49 (0.54)	-0.20 (0.75)
Unable to receive medical services of the same quality as other patients	0.76 (1.26)	0.49 (1.47)	-16.52 (5044.21)	0.18 (0.40)	-0.16 (0.79)	0.01 (1.20)	-0.52 (0.76)	-1.27 (1.42)	-0.10 (0.21)	-0.00 (0.41)	-0.25 (0.62)
Being encouraged, persuaded, provided, or coerced into conversion therapy	-0.23 (1.20)	0.04 (1.36)	-1.03 (1.75)	0.05 (0.37)	0.27 (0.75)	-0.29 (1.15)	-0.08 (0.68)	0.62 (0.64)	0.05 (0.17)	0.10 (0.35)	-0.17 (0.55)
Refusal of partner visitation	-3.28 (2.20)	6.01 (2.29)**	0.77 (3.36)	-0.93 (0.69)	-2.62 (1.40)	-0.03 (1.99)	-2.10 (0.95)	0.25 (1.09)	0.71 (0.35)	0.96 (0.56)	0.19 (0.81)
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	-0.31 (1.58)	-1.63 (1.47)	-17.42 (148245.36)	0.12 (0.41)	0.77 (0.90)	0.27 (1.27)	1.53 (0.79)	-3.56 (135715.06)	-0.10 (0.23)	-0.13 (0.50)	-0.21 (0.69)
Other	-0.01 (0.60)	0.11 (0.63)	0.32 (0.73)	0.12 (0.19)	-0.41 (0.39)	1.43 (0.54)**	-0.12 (0.32)	-0.01 (0.30)	0.01 (0.09)	0.12 (0.19)	-0.34 (0.26)
Mental health											
At least one victimization in mental health	0.43 (0.47)	-0.07 (0.47)	0.32 (0.43)	0.14 (0.15)	-0.28 (0.30)	-0.15 (0.43)	0.03 (0.20)	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.06 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.20)
Refusal of services ^a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Staff avoided or reduced contact	0.99 (1.42)	0.76 (1.20)	-0.51 (1.72)	0.41 (0.43)	0.53 (0.82)	-1.38 (1.24)	-0.10 (0.59)	0.16 (0.69)	-0.08 (0.21)	-0.30 (0.40)	0.46 (0.57)
Verbal attack (including sarcasm, ridicule, name-calling, contempt, or insults) ^a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Referral to other providers	-1.48 (1.51)	2.41 (1.70)	1.50 (1.73)	-1.05 (0.55)	-1.77 (1.06)	-0.54 (1.56)	-0.55 (0.79)	-0.30 (0.73)	0.38 (0.25)	0.52 (0.47)	0.20 (0.69)
Incompetency regarding SOGIE	0.26 (0.69)	-0.45 (0.71)	0.60 (0.58)	0.08 (0.22)	0.02 (0.45)	0.29 (0.65)	0.20 (0.29)	-0.26 (0.25)	0.06 (0.10)	0.04 (0.20)	-0.24 (0.30)
Counselors/doctors believe that SOGIE is the root cause of mental health issues	-0.62 (0.74)	-0.32 (0.80)	-0.79 (0.71)	-0.26 (0.24)	-0.61 (0.50)	-0.05 (0.68)	0.15 (0.34)	0.25 (0.28)	0.11 (0.11)	0.28 (0.22)	-0.00 (0.30)
Being diagnosed as having a pathological or abnormal SOGIE	-0.44 (0.76)	-0.62 (0.86)	0.30 (0.73)	-0.01 (0.26)	-1.12 (0.53)	-0.51 (0.79)	0.38 (0.35)	-0.13 (0.30)	0.07 (0.11)	0.38 (0.22)	0.10 (0.33)
Being encouraged, persuaded, provided, or coerced into conversion therapy	0.57 (0.75)	0.12 (0.75)	-0.40 (0.69)	0.00 (0.24)	0.32 (0.51)	-0.14 (0.72)	0.10 (0.32)	0.22 (0.28)	0.02 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.22)	-0.06 (0.32)
Persuaded to change SOGIE ^a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

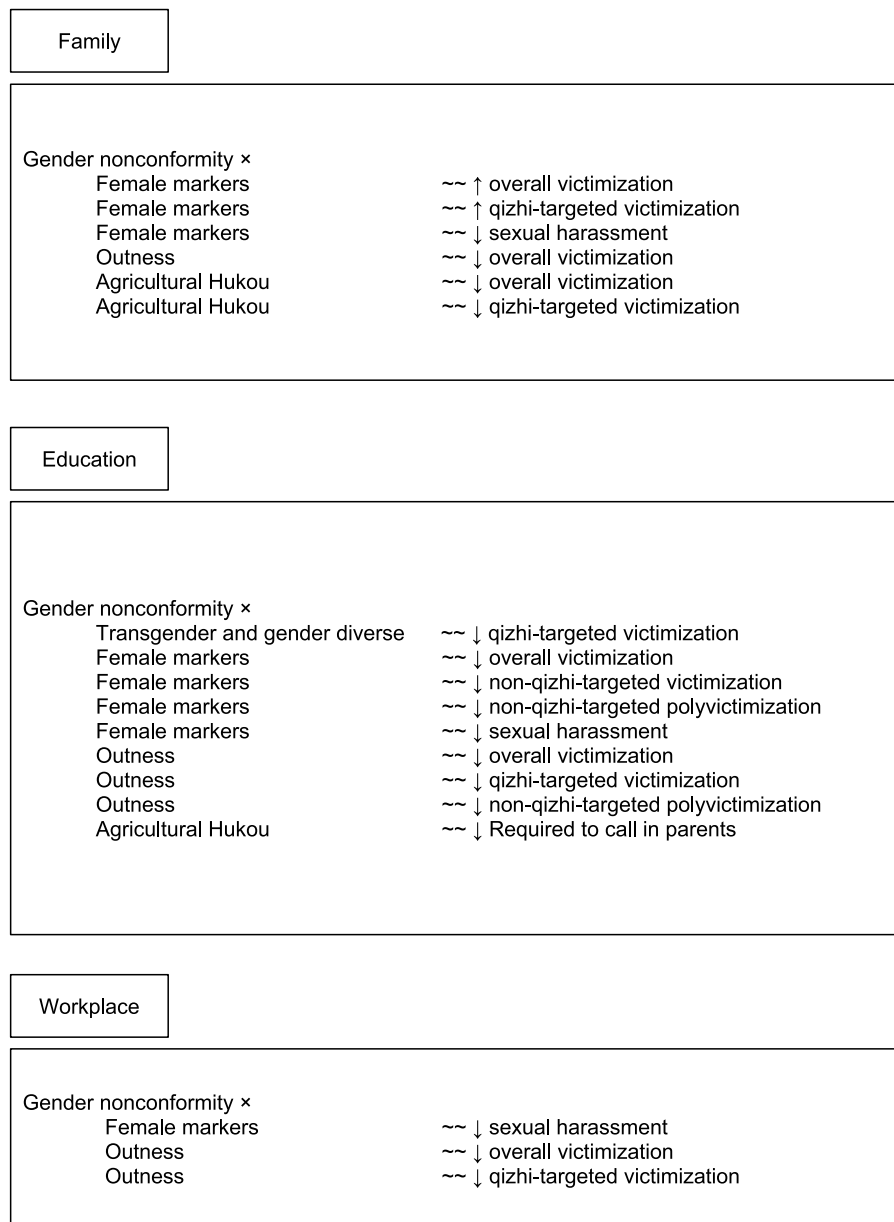
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Table 3 (continued)

Item	Main effects						Interaction terms: Gender nonconformity ×				
	Gender nonconformity	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type	Transgender and gender-diverse	ID gender	Self-restraint of gender expression	Outness	Hukou type
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Sexual harassment (unwanted sexual comments or actions such as sexual jokes or inappropriate touching)	-1.95 (2.04)	1.13 (1.86)	-2.51 (3.16)	-0.22 (0.70)	-2.11 (1.41)	13.32 (539.95)	0.51 (0.98)	1.23 (1.18)	0.18 (0.28)	0.71 (0.57)	-13.35 (539.95)
Other ^a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Public service											
Renting a home	-0.04 (0.06)	0.21 (0.06)*	-0.07 (0.06)	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Applying for household registration or identification/residence permits	-0.01 (0.04)	0.12 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Rights protection or litigation	-0.14 (0.14)	0.34 (0.12)	0.04 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.02)	0.06 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)
Social welfare and assistance	-0.20 (0.14)	0.27 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.15)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.02)	0.07 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)
Residing in elderly care facilities	-0.13 (0.18)	0.27 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.18)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.06)	0.12 (0.07)
Listing a partner as an insurance beneficiary	-0.21 (0.25)	-0.26 (0.21)	0.10 (0.23)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.19)	0.14 (0.11)	0.27 (0.10)	0.05 (0.04)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.10)
Accessing medical insurance benefits	-0.12 (0.07)	0.23 (0.08)*	-0.13 (0.07)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Receiving non-profit services for LGBTQ+ people	-0.24 (0.18)	-0.11 (0.16)	0.14 (0.17)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.24 (0.12)	0.07 (0.14)	0.15 (0.08)	0.08 (0.07)	0.05 (0.03)	0.09 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.07)
Participating in community organizations	-0.05 (0.06)	0.21 (0.06)*	-0.13 (0.05)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.05 (0.05)	0.00 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Using public restrooms	0.12 (0.05)	-0.13 (0.05)	-0.68 (0.05)*	0.04 (0.01)	0.02 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)	0.18 (0.03)*	0.36 (0.02)*	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)
Using public baths	0.11 (0.06)	-0.16 (0.07)	-0.72 (0.06)*	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	0.22 (0.03)*	0.39 (0.03)*	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)
Receiving re-employment services	-0.10 (0.11)	0.02 (0.10)	-0.17 (0.11)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.07)	0.04 (0.08)	0.09 (0.05)	0.10 (0.05)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)

Linear regression was used for public service items (coefficients representing changes in barrier mean scores); logistic regression was applied for other settings (coefficients representing changes in victimization odds). FDR-adjusted significance: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

^a Models could not be estimated due to singularity.



Arrows (↑/↓) indicate whether the interaction term was associated with a stronger or weaker positive association between gender nonconformity and specific victimization measures.

Fig. 2. Summary of interaction effects.

gender nonconformity from the models, the main effect of self-restraint reached significance on more victimization measures in family and education settings; meanwhile, the main effects of transgender and gender-diverse identity also reached significance on multiple measures in family, education, and workplace settings where they were previously not significant. Overall, the results suggested that the gender nonconformity measure (a) captured a distinct construct from self-restraint of gender expression, (b) exhibited robust associations across alternative model structures, (c) explained variance that would otherwise be attributed to related constructs such as self-restraint and transgender and gender-diverse identity.

7. Discussion

This study documented associations between gender nonconformity and diverse forms of SOGIE-attributed victimization, and examined how

these associations varied by sociodemographic characteristics within specific social settings among LGBTQ+ adults in China. In bivariate models, greater gender nonconformity was significantly associated with increased odds or levels of most victimization measures. After extensive adjustments for sociodemographic characteristics and covariates, with FDR correction, gender nonconformity itself no longer showed significant association with overall victimization in religion, medical care, mental health, or public service settings, but it remained significant in family, education, and workplace settings.

7.1. Methodological considerations and limitations

First, the cross-sectional design prohibits causal inferences. Bidirectional relationships may exist among gender nonconformity, self-restraint of gender expression, outness, and victimization, as each could plausibly serve as either cause or effect. Findings should be

Table 4
Main effects of primary independent variables in sensitivity analyses.

Victimization Measure	Main Analyses		First Sensitivity Analysis		Second Sensitivity Analysis (including gender nonconformity) Self-Restraint of Gender Expression		Third Sensitivity Analysis (excluding gender nonconformity) Self-Restraint of Gender Expression	
	β (SE)	OR [95% CI]	β (SE)	OR [95% CI]	β (SE)	OR [95% CI]	β (SE)	OR [95% CI]
Family								
At least one victimization	0.62 (0.08)***	1.87 [1.60, 2.17]	1.08 (0.18)***	2.96 [2.10, 4.17]	0.12 (0.03)***	1.13 [1.06, 1.21]	0.16 (0.02)***	1.18 [1.14, 1.23]
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	0.90 (0.08)***	2.46 [2.09, 2.90]	1.46 (0.17)***	4.31 [3.10, 5.99]	0.19 (0.04)***	1.20 [1.12, 1.30]	0.17 (0.02)***	1.18 [1.13, 1.23]
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.36 (0.07)***	1.43 [1.23, 1.65]	0.56 (0.16)***	1.75 [1.28, 2.38]	0.09 (0.03)*	1.09 [1.02, 1.17]	0.13 (0.02)***	1.14 [1.09, 1.19]
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted	0.67 (0.11)***	1.95 [1.57, 2.42]	1.13 (0.21)***	3.11 [2.05, 4.71]	0.10 (0.06)	1.11 [0.99, 1.23]	0.16 (0.04)***	1.17 [1.09, 1.26]
Item 1	0.86 (0.08)***	2.35 [2.00, 2.77]	1.34 (0.16)***	3.83 [2.79, 5.24]	0.16 (0.04)***	1.18 [1.09, 1.27]	0.16 (0.02)***	1.18 [1.13, 1.23]
Item 2	0.73 (0.10)***	2.07 [1.69, 2.54]	1.16 (0.19)***	3.20 [2.19, 4.66]	0.14 (0.05)*	1.15 [1.04, 1.27]	0.16 (0.03)***	1.18 [1.11, 1.25]
Item 3	0.36 (0.16)	1.43 [1.05, 1.96]	0.53 (0.32)	1.71 [0.91, 3.18]	0.12 (0.08)	1.13 [0.96, 1.32]	0.17 (0.05)*	1.18 [1.06, 1.31]
Item 4	1.20 (0.10)***	3.33 [2.72, 4.09]	1.93 (0.17)***	6.91 [4.94, 9.67]	0.22 (0.05)***	1.25 [1.13, 1.38]	0.16 (0.03)***	1.18 [1.12, 1.24]
Item 5	0.67 (0.25)*	1.96 [1.21, 3.17]	0.95 (0.46)	2.58 [1.05, 6.32]	-0.00 (0.13)	1.00 [0.78, 1.28]	0.08 (0.08)	1.08 [0.92, 1.27]
Item 6	1.02 (0.33)*	2.77 [1.46, 5.27]	1.92 (0.58)**	6.85 [2.18, 21.54]	0.27 (0.17)	1.31 [0.94, 1.83]	0.15 (0.11)	1.16 [0.93, 1.44]
Item 7	0.53 (0.10)***	1.71 [1.41, 2.06]	0.88 (0.19)***	2.42 [1.65, 3.53]	0.06 (0.05)	1.06 [0.97, 1.16]	0.10 (0.03)*	1.10 [1.04, 1.17]
Item 8	0.94 (0.30)*	2.57 [1.43, 4.62]	1.80 (0.53)**	6.05 [2.15, 17.05]	0.19 (0.15)	1.21 [0.91, 1.62]	0.15 (0.10)	1.16 [0.96, 1.40]
Item 9	0.01 (0.33)	1.01 [0.52, 1.94]	0.50 (0.72)	1.65 [0.40, 6.74]	0.06 (0.16)	1.06 [0.77, 1.46]	0.20 (0.11)	1.22 [0.98, 1.51]
Item 10	0.33 (0.17)	1.39 [0.99, 1.93]	0.65 (0.34)	1.91 [0.98, 3.72]	0.16 (0.09)	1.17 [0.99, 1.39]	0.14 (0.06)	1.15 [1.02, 1.31]
Item 11	0.15 (0.20)	1.17 [0.78, 1.74]	0.01 (0.43)	1.01 [0.43, 2.36]	0.02 (0.10)	1.02 [0.84, 1.24]	0.12 (0.07)	1.13 [0.99, 1.28]
Item 12	0.32 (0.17)	1.38 [0.98, 1.94]	0.32 (0.35)	1.38 [0.70, 2.74]	0.10 (0.09)	1.10 [0.93, 1.31]	0.10 (0.06)	1.11 [0.99, 1.25]
Other	-0.24 (0.16)	0.78 [0.57, 1.08]	-1.46 (0.48)**	0.23 [0.09, 0.60]	0.05 (0.07)	1.06 [0.92, 1.21]	0.05 (0.04)	1.05 [0.97, 1.15]
Education								
At least one victimization	0.86 (0.11)***	2.37 [1.92, 2.92]	1.38 (0.21)***	3.99 [2.62, 6.07]	0.10 (0.04)	1.11 [1.02, 1.21]	0.10 (0.03)*	1.11 [1.03, 1.19]
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	1.25 (0.14)***	3.50 [2.67, 4.58]	1.99 (0.24)***	7.28 [4.54, 11.69]	0.15 (0.06)	1.16 [1.04, 1.30]	0.14 (0.04)*	1.15 [1.05, 1.25]
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.69 (0.11)***	2.00 [1.60, 2.49]	1.02 (0.23)***	2.79 [1.78, 4.35]	0.09 (0.05)	1.09 [1.00, 1.20]	0.09 (0.04)	1.09 [1.02, 1.18]
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted	1.17 (0.18)***	3.21 [2.26, 4.56]	1.67 (0.32)***	5.33 [2.83, 10.04]	0.13 (0.07)	1.14 [0.99, 1.32]	0.18 (0.06)*	1.19 [1.07, 1.33]
Item 1	1.21 (0.14)***	3.35 [2.54, 4.42]	1.90 (0.25)***	6.66 [4.11, 10.80]	0.17 (0.06)*	1.18 [1.05, 1.33]	0.16 (0.05)**	1.17 [1.07, 1.28]
Item 2	0.84 (0.13)***	2.33 [1.82, 2.97]	1.28 (0.25)***	3.58 [2.20, 5.83]	0.09 (0.05)	1.09 [0.99, 1.21]	0.10 (0.04)	1.10 [1.02, 1.19]
Item 3	0.98 (0.19)***	2.65 [1.82, 3.86]	1.46 (0.35)***	4.32 [2.17, 8.59]	0.01 (0.08)	1.01 [0.86, 1.18]	0.09 (0.06)	1.10 [0.97, 1.24]
Item 4	1.25 (0.27)***	3.51 [2.07, 5.92]	1.99 (0.44)***	7.32 [3.09, 17.34]	0.05 (0.12)	1.05 [0.84, 1.33]	0.07 (0.09)	1.07 [0.89, 1.28]
Item 5	1.31 (0.36)***	3.69 [1.83, 7.47]	1.88 (0.61)**	6.58 [2.01, 21.58]	0.15 (0.14)	1.16 [0.88, 1.54]	0.22 (0.11)	1.24 [1.00, 1.54]
Item 6	1.93 (0.49)***	6.90 [2.62, 18.20]	2.16 (0.83)*	8.63 [1.69, 44.06]	0.38 (0.20)	1.46 [0.98, 2.18]	0.37 (0.16)	1.45 [1.05, 1.98]
Item 7	1.41 (0.62)	4.08 [1.21, 13.72]	1.67 (1.06)	5.32 [0.67, 42.20]	0.06 (0.25)	1.07 [0.65, 1.76]	0.10 (0.20)	1.11 [0.75, 1.64]
Item 8	1.98 (0.57)**	7.27 [2.38, 22.25]	2.71 (0.94)*	15.00 [2.37, 95.02]	0.13 (0.24)	1.14 [0.71, 1.85]	0.25 (0.19)	1.29 [0.89, 1.87]
Item 9	2.56 (0.61)***	12.88 [3.86, 42.99]	4.26 (1.02)***	70.67 [9.60, 520.18]	0.35 (0.25)	1.42 [0.87, 2.31]	0.17 (0.20)	1.18 [0.80, 1.75]
Item 10	1.38 (1.10)	3.97 [0.46, 34.52]	N/A	N/A	0.31 (0.44)	1.36 [0.57, 3.23]	0.38 (0.36)	1.46 [0.72, 2.95]
Item 11	1.97 (0.45)***	7.19 [2.95, 17.54]	2.73 (0.75)***	15.38 [3.50, 67.53]	0.30 (0.19)	1.36 [0.94, 1.96]	0.20 (0.15)	1.22 [0.90, 1.66]
Item 12	1.69 (0.65)*	5.45 [1.54, 19.30]	1.67 (1.25)	5.33 [0.46, 61.80]	-0.05 (0.29)	0.95 [0.54, 1.67]	-0.03 (0.23)	0.98 [0.63, 1.52]
Item 13	0.54 (0.24)	1.71 [1.07, 2.74]	0.24 (0.47)	1.27 [0.51, 3.15]	-0.00 (0.09)	1.00 [0.83, 1.20]	0.12 (0.07)	1.13 [0.98, 1.30]

(continued on next page)

Table 4 (continued)

Other	-0.85 (0.26)**	0.43 [0.26, 0.72]	-1.86 (0.61)**	0.16 [0.05, 0.52]	0.07 (0.11)	1.07 [0.86, 1.34]	0.08 (0.10)	1.08 [0.89, 1.31]
Workplace								
At least one victimization	0.99 (0.17)***	2.70 [1.96, 3.74]	1.71 (0.31)***	5.53 [3.01, 10.15]	0.07 (0.07)	1.07 [0.94, 1.22]	0.05 (0.05)	1.05 [0.95, 1.17]
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	1.45 (0.22)***	4.25 [2.74, 6.60]	2.22 (0.40)***	9.22 [4.25, 20.02]	0.02 (0.09)	1.02 [0.85, 1.23]	0.04 (0.07)	1.04 [0.91, 1.20]
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.77 (0.19)***	2.15 [1.49, 3.12]	1.31 (0.36)***	3.72 [1.83, 7.54]	0.09 (0.08)	1.10 [0.95, 1.27]	0.06 (0.06)	1.06 [0.94, 1.20]
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted	1.19 (0.36)**	3.28 [1.61, 6.70]	2.08 (0.66)*	8.01 [2.20, 29.10]	-0.07 (0.15)	0.93 [0.70, 1.24]	0.03 (0.11)	1.03 [0.83, 1.28]
Item 1	1.25 (0.24)***	3.50 [2.19, 5.57]	1.90 (0.42)***	6.69 [2.92, 15.31]	0.07 (0.10)	1.07 [0.88, 1.30]	0.10 (0.08)	1.10 [0.95, 1.28]
Item 2	1.06 (0.27)***	2.90 [1.69, 4.97]	1.59 (0.50)**	4.92 [1.84, 13.16]	-0.08 (0.11)	0.92 [0.74, 1.15]	-0.04 (0.09)	0.96 [0.82, 1.14]
Item 3	1.46 (0.46)*	4.29 [1.74, 10.57]	2.05 (0.86)	7.76 [1.43, 42.14]	0.08 (0.19)	1.08 [0.75, 1.56]	-0.02 (0.14)	0.98 [0.74, 1.29]
Item 4	2.00 (0.37)***	7.39 [3.61, 15.12]	3.33 (0.63)***	27.89 [8.15, 95.49]	-0.00 (0.16)	1.00 [0.73, 1.38]	-0.02 (0.12)	0.98 [0.77, 1.24]
Item 5	1.64 (1.06)	5.15 [0.65, 40.92]	2.13 (2.43)	8.41 [0.07, 983.93]	0.08 (0.38)	1.08 [0.51, 2.29]	-0.06 (0.31)	0.94 [0.51, 1.73]
Item 6	-2.18 (1.16)	0.11 [0.01, 1.09]	-7.11 (3.26)	0.00 [0.00, 0.49]	-0.36 (0.54)	0.70 [0.24, 1.99]	0.02 (0.43)	1.02 [0.44, 2.38]
Item 7	1.04 (0.91)	2.83 [0.48, 16.69]	0.20 (1.96)	1.22 [0.03, 57.24]	-0.46 (0.44)	0.63 [0.27, 1.50]	-0.23 (0.36)	0.80 [0.40, 1.60]
Item 8	-0.11 (0.58)	0.90 [0.29, 2.82]	-0.08 (1.20)	0.92 [0.09, 9.70]	-0.03 (0.24)	0.97 [0.61, 1.55]	0.05 (0.19)	1.06 [0.73, 1.52]
Item 9	1.25 (0.54)	3.47 [1.20, 10.05]	2.04 (1.13)	7.66 [0.83, 70.49]	0.21 (0.23)	1.23 [0.78, 1.94]	0.05 (0.18)	1.05 [0.73, 1.50]
Item 10	0.66 (0.71)	1.93 [0.48, 7.80]	0.70 (1.47)	2.02 [0.11, 35.89]	-0.30 (0.31)	0.74 [0.40, 1.37]	-0.06 (0.25)	0.94 [0.58, 1.52]
Item 11	0.76 (0.48)	2.14 [0.84, 5.46]	1.79 (0.88)	6.00 [1.07, 33.55]	-0.10 (0.20)	0.90 [0.61, 1.33]	-0.02 (0.15)	0.98 [0.73, 1.33]
Item 12	1.55 (0.47)**	4.71 [1.89, 11.77]	2.98 (0.83)***	19.65 [3.89, 99.26]	-0.07 (0.17)	0.93 [0.66, 1.31]	0.08 (0.14)	1.08 [0.82, 1.41]
Other	-0.19 (0.32)	0.83 [0.44, 1.56]	-0.53 (0.70)	0.59 [0.15, 2.30]	0.32 (0.14)	1.37 [1.03, 1.82]	0.24 (0.13)	1.28 [0.99, 1.64]
Religion								
At least one victimization	1.08 (0.38)	2.93 [1.40, 6.17]	1.39 (0.69)	4.03 [1.04, 15.69]	0.48 (0.16)	1.62 [1.18, 2.23]	0.16 (0.12)	1.17 [0.93, 1.48]
At least one qizhi-targeted victimization	1.77 (0.51)***	5.85 [2.17, 15.73]	2.63 (0.86)*	13.84 [2.57, 74.46]	0.50 (0.22)	1.65 [1.07, 2.54]	0.12 (0.16)	1.13 [0.83, 1.54]
At least one non-qizhi-targeted victimization	0.85 (0.46)	2.34 [0.96, 5.71]	0.97 (0.88)	2.65 [0.47, 14.80]	0.49 (0.19)	1.63 [1.12, 2.36]	0.20 (0.15)	1.22 [0.92, 1.63]
Polyvictimization non-qizhi-targeted	2.07 (0.97)	7.96 [1.19, 53.43]	N/A	N/A	0.38 (0.42)	1.46 [0.64, 3.35]	0.02 (0.29)	1.02 [0.57, 1.81]
Item 1	1.81 (0.52)*	6.09 [2.18, 16.97]	2.88 (0.89)*	17.87 [3.12, 102.50]	0.50 (0.23)	1.66 [1.06, 2.58]	0.14 (0.16)	1.16 [0.84, 1.59]
Item 2	0.90 (0.79)	2.46 [0.53, 11.53]	2.06 (1.42)	7.85 [0.48, 128.02]	0.22 (0.34)	1.25 [0.64, 2.44]	0.15 (0.25)	1.17 [0.71, 1.91]
Item 3	2.55 (1.01)	12.81 [1.78, 92.41]	3.45 (1.69)	31.45 [1.14, 869.02]	0.55 (0.42)	1.73 [0.77, 3.91]	0.21 (0.31)	1.24 [0.67, 2.27]
Item 4	1.51 (0.74)	4.52 [1.06, 19.23]	2.15 (1.37)	8.59 [0.59, 124.89]	0.05 (0.36)	1.05 [0.52, 2.13]	-0.29 (0.25)	0.74 [0.46, 1.22]
Item 5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Item 6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.47 (0.48)	1.61 [0.63, 4.11]	0.23 (0.35)	1.26 [0.63, 2.50]
Item 7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Item 8	2.14 (1.88)	8.50 [0.22, 335.31]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Other	0.03 (0.68)	1.03 [0.27, 3.93]	-1.11 (1.53)	0.33 [0.02, 6.63]	0.16 (0.31)	1.17 [0.64, 2.15]	0.08 (0.26)	1.08 [0.65, 1.81]
Medical Care								
At least one victimization	0.09 (0.44)	1.10 [0.47, 2.58]	0.62 (0.37)	1.86 [0.89, 3.86]	0.19 (0.08)	1.21 [1.03, 1.43]	0.17 (0.07)	1.19 [1.04, 1.36]
Item 1	3.00 (1.46)	20.11 [1.16, 349.24]	1.45 (1.39)	4.27 [0.28, 64.68]	-0.30 (0.29)	0.74 [0.42, 1.30]	-0.07 (0.24)	0.93 [0.59, 1.49]
Item 2	-0.22 (0.83)	0.80 [0.16, 4.10]	1.01 (0.79)	2.74 [0.58, 12.97]	0.13 (0.17)	1.14 [0.81, 1.60]	0.14 (0.14)	1.14 [0.87, 1.51]
Item 3	1.03 (1.08)	2.81 [0.34, 23.48]	0.35 (0.98)	1.42 [0.21, 9.73]	0.19 (0.24)	1.21 [0.76, 1.94]	0.34 (0.19)	1.40 [0.96, 2.05]
Item 4	1.69 (1.50)	5.41 [0.29, 101.62]	0.89 (1.89)	2.44 [0.06, 100.18]	-0.39 (0.39)	0.68 [0.31, 1.46]	N/A	N/A
Item 5	0.76 (1.26)	2.14 [0.18, 25.19]	0.78 (1.31)	2.19 [0.17, 28.54]	0.14 (0.28)	1.15 [0.66, 1.99]	0.17 (0.23)	1.19 [0.75, 1.88]
Item 6	-0.23 (1.20)	0.79 [0.08, 8.35]	-0.85 (1.26)	0.43 [0.04, 5.02]	0.34 (0.30)	1.41 [0.79, 2.52]	0.32 (0.25)	1.38 [0.85, 2.25]

(continued on next page)

Table 4 (continued)

Item 7	-3.28 (2.20)	0.04 [0.00, 2.84]	1.44 (1.95)	4.21 [0.09, 193.27]	0.04 (0.59)	1.04 [0.33, 3.32]	0.36 (0.47)	1.43 [0.56, 3.61]
Item 8	-0.31 (1.58)	0.74 [0.03, 16.28]	3.47 (1.46)*	32.30 [1.86, 562.00]	0.16 (0.36)	1.17 [0.58, 2.37]	-0.14 (0.30)	0.87 [0.49, 1.55]
Other	-0.01 (0.60)	0.99 [0.31, 3.20]	-0.06 (0.50)	0.94 [0.35, 2.51]	0.27 (0.11)	1.31 [1.05, 1.63]	0.22 (0.09)	1.25 [1.04, 1.50]
Mental Health								
At least one victimization	0.43 (0.47)	1.53 [0.61, 3.88]	0.61 (0.85)	1.83 [0.35, 9.64]	0.18 (0.19)	1.19 [0.83, 1.73]	0.10 (0.16)	1.10 [0.80, 1.52]
Item 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Item 2	0.99 (1.42)	2.70 [0.17, 43.39]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Item 3	N/A	N/A	0.44 (2.25)	1.55 [0.02, 126.76]	0.39 (0.49)	1.47 [0.56, 3.88]	0.06 (0.42)	1.06 [0.47, 2.41]
Item 4	-1.48 (1.51)	0.23 [0.01, 4.35]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Item 5	0.26 (0.69)	1.30 [0.34, 5.00]	0.02 (1.22)	1.02 [0.09, 11.27]	-0.18 (0.30)	0.83 [0.47, 1.49]	-0.14 (0.25)	0.87 [0.53, 1.42]
Item 6	-0.62 (0.74)	0.54 [0.13, 2.28]	-1.08 (1.39)	0.34 [0.02, 5.21]	0.22 (0.32)	1.25 [0.66, 2.36]	0.17 (0.28)	1.18 [0.69, 2.04]
Item 7	-0.44 (0.76)	0.65 [0.15, 2.86]	0.05 (1.30)	1.05 [0.08, 13.32]	0.35 (0.31)	1.42 [0.77, 2.62]	0.16 (0.27)	1.17 [0.69, 1.99]
Item 8	0.57 (0.75)	1.77 [0.40, 7.76]	1.06 (1.32)	2.89 [0.22, 38.22]	-0.10 (0.33)	0.91 [0.47, 1.73]	-0.07 (0.28)	0.94 [0.54, 1.63]
Item 9	N/A	N/A	-0.37 (1.20)	0.69 [0.07, 7.34]	0.16 (0.28)	1.17 [0.68, 2.02]	0.11 (0.24)	1.11 [0.69, 1.80]
Item 10	-1.95 (2.04)	0.14 [0.00, 7.79]	N/A	N/A	1.25 (0.95)	3.48 [0.54, 22.51]	1.12 (0.90)	3.06 [0.52, 18.03]
Other Public Services								
Item 1	-0.04 (0.06)	-	-0.10 (0.14)	-	0.07 (0.03)	-	0.08 (0.02)***	-
Item 2	-0.01 (0.04)	-	0.05 (0.09)	-	0.03 (0.02)	-	0.03 (0.01)	-
Item 3	-0.14 (0.14)	-	-0.07 (0.31)	-	0.07 (0.05)	-	0.11 (0.04)	-
Item 4	-0.20 (0.14)	-	-0.45 (0.32)	-	0.07 (0.05)	-	0.09 (0.05)	-
Item 5	-0.13 (0.18)	-	-0.06 (0.41)	-	0.07 (0.07)	-	0.08 (0.06)	-
Item 6	-0.21 (0.25)	-	-0.66 (0.55)	-	0.21 (0.09)	-	0.21 (0.08)	-
Item 7	-0.12 (0.07)	-	-0.08 (0.16)	-	0.08 (0.03)	-	0.09 (0.03)***	-
Item 8	-0.24 (0.18)	-	-0.29 (0.40)	-	0.22 (0.07)	-	0.22 (0.06)***	-
Item 9	-0.05 (0.06)	-	-0.09 (0.12)	-	0.05 (0.02)	-	0.06 (0.02)*	-
Item 10	0.12 (0.05)	-	0.44 (0.11)***	-	0.10 (0.02)***	-	0.05 (0.02)*	-
Item 11	0.11 (0.06)	-	0.40 (0.13)**	-	0.10 (0.02)***	-	0.06 (0.02)*	-
Item 12	-0.10 (0.11)	-	-0.01 (0.24)	-	0.12 (0.04)	-	0.13 (0.04)***	-

FDR-adjusted significance: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

interpreted as conditional associations rather than explanatory mechanisms. Second, the observed patterns may not reflect the “pure” effects – i.e., not theoretically nor empirically confounded with any other variable(s) – of general gender nonconformity or its interaction with sociodemographic characteristics. As social sanctions against gender nonconformity can be also driven by LGBTQ+ phobia (Adams et al., 2016), the observed nonconformity-victimization associations among LGBTQ+ individuals likely capture complex processes of social oppression targeting both nonconforming gender expressions and LGBTQ+ identities. Incorporating non-LGBTQ+ samples in future studies would help distinguish vulnerabilities related to general gender norm deviance itself from those amplified or mitigated by the intersection of gender nonconformity with LGBTQ+ identities. In addition, given the absence of sexual orientation variables for analysis, the potential confounding effects of sexual orientation remained unaccounted for, and the observed variation in associations may partially reflect differences across sexual orientation subgroups. Third, while sensitivity analyses supported the utility of the one-item assessment of gender nonconformity and aligned with the Chinese understanding of gender qizhi as a holistic impression, this single-item self-reported assessment remains a limited operationalization of a multidimensional construct. This single four-point score may not capture the full range of variation,

likely to attenuate observed associations and bias the estimates towards the null. Null findings in this study may not be directly interpreted as evidence of “no relationship”. Moreover, even though gender nonconformity showed some subgroup differences consistent with prior literature (e.g., higher in transgender and gender-diverse than cisgender, higher in documented female markers than male, and higher in urban than rural), the subjective interpretation of what constitutes conformity may differ systematically across some subgroups. Such differential effects may constrain the interpretability of subgroup interactions, as the observed interaction effects may also reflect differences in how the construct was understood across groups. Additionally, the sample is not fully representative of LGBTQ+ populations in China. Although it is the largest nationwide LGBTQ+ sample, participants were disproportionately young, urban, highly educated, which may lead to overestimation of gender nonconformity and its associations with victimization. Finally, given the large number of tests and large sample size, some significant results may still arise by chance despite FDR correction and should be interpreted with caution.

7.2. Setting-specific patterns and theoretical implications

The conditional and context-specific associations between gender

nonconformity and victimization observed in this study suggest a more nuanced understanding of [Mustaine's \(1997\)](#) Domain-Specific Victimization Model and provide exploratory insights that may inform future research. The findings showed that, for the same type of victimization within a given social domain, risk may vary by levels of gender nonconformity. Some variation in gender nonconformity-associated risk across sociodemographic characteristics was observed, providing descriptive insights into potential heterogeneity, such as a significantly different association for transgender vs. cisgender people. Moreover, although this study could not conduct cross-domain comparisons due to the different sample and measurement across settings, the patterns observed in each setting offer preliminary empirical grounds for future research to further examine variation across social contexts.

Results showed that compared with among cisgender individuals, the positive association between gender nonconformity and victimization was stronger when accessing public restrooms and baths among transgender and gender-diverse individuals, but it appeared weaker for qizhi-targeted victimization in family and education settings. Future research is needed to empirically investigate whether and how the intersection between transgender/gender-diverse identity and gender presentation operates differently across social situations, and to further explore contextual factors that may help account for these patterns, such as gatekeeping legitimized by institutional cisheteronormative segregation and entitlement fueled by relational power ([Anderson, 2020](#); [Vongvisitsin et al., 2025](#)).

The interaction between gender nonconformity and documented gender markers showed mixed patterns. Specifically, gender nonconformity was more strongly associated with sexual and physical violence in educational and workplace settings among individuals with male markers than among those with female markers, whereas it was more strongly associated with appearance- or behavior-targeted aggression in families among those with female markers than those with male markers. These are consistent with most previous studies that found nonconformity to expected masculinity may be seen as more threatening to gender order and provoke more severe social sanctions than nonconformity to femininity, especially overt peer violence, reflecting the hierarchical valuation of masculinity and femininity in patriarchal gender systems ([Hu et al., 2024](#)). Our finding of stronger association with qizhi-targeted victimization among people with female markers may be consistent with [Gordon and Meyer's \(2007\)](#) study that found more nonconformity-related discrimination among cisgender women than men, in which they include subtle everyday experiences in families. Future studies could further examine whether such differences in gender discipline between family and education exist.

Outness and self-restraint of gender expression can be strategies of visibility management and concealment, as well as potential responses to victimization, leaving temporal orders unclear. Outness was associated with increased exposure to victimization but with weaker gender nonconformity-victimization associations in family, education, and workplace settings, suggesting directions opposite to those anticipated in the Hypothesis 4. This aligned with prior findings indicating that, although disclosure can expose individuals to greater overall scrutiny, it can reflect protective factors ([Kosciw et al., 2015](#)). It may also reflect [Anderson's \(2020\)](#) findings that people may show tempered hostility toward nonconforming expression once an LGBTQ+ identity is known, whereas in contexts where queerness is presumed absent, people may be emboldened to voice and enact prejudicial beliefs. Higher levels of gender expression restraint was generally associated with greater victimization, but its interaction term did not show significant effects. This likely suggested that the measure captured more post-victimization gender expression restraints. Individuals' visibility management and its potential benefits and social costs in hostile environments need further examinations in future research.

The interaction with agricultural Hukou was associated with weaker associations between gender nonconformity and victimization in the family setting. This may be consistent with prior research showing that

compared with caregivers in Chinese rural families, urban caregivers maintain stricter appearance-behavioral expectations, closer monitoring, and more frequent performance microdiscipline, which may intensify the penalties for gender nonconformity ([Yan et al., 2025](#)).

The highest prevalence of qizhi-targeted victimization in family and its significant association with gender nonconformity may reflect the centrality of family as a site for enforcing gender discipline, often through relatively subtle forms of aggression and coercion to impose cisheteronormative appearance, speech, mannerisms, and behavior ([Mulyani et al., 2022](#)). In the Chinese context, cultural values such as Confucian filial piety, prioritizing family reputation, and the collectivist pursuit of harmony may intensify parents' perceived responsibility and authority to "correct" deviance ([Kwok and Wu, 2015](#)). Future studies can explore underlying mechanisms explaining such patterns and protective factors within Chinese families to shift from oppositional identity politics to cooperative collective engagement ([Wei and Yan, 2021](#)). In education and workplace settings, institution-level formal and informal norms are often imposed to directly prescribe gendered appearance and conduct, creating environments that enable close monitoring and harsh sanctions ([Li, 2025](#); [Sawyer and Thoroughgood, 2017](#); [Vantieghem, 2015](#)). By contrast, associations between gender nonconformity and victimization were not as pronounced in medical care, mental health, and public service settings. The absence of observed significance may partly reflect the presence of professionalized client-provider relationships and ethical standards that help restrict overt enforcement of gender norms, especially compared with other settings having more intense personal interactions and unbalanced power dynamics ([DuPree et al., 2011](#)). This implied a potentially weaker gender nonconformity-victimization association rather than absence of victimization in these settings. The absence of significance may also be partially attributable to the FDR correction ranking significance levels across settings and the inclusion of multiple interaction terms, potentially attenuating independent effects of gender nonconformity. Updated data that can present China's recent ideological shift toward national conservatism in gender and sexuality topics are also needed to understand contemporary experiences ([Chia, 2019](#)).

Although Chinese cultural factors may form specific conditions for gender nonconformity-related victimization, our cross-sectional findings do not address this causal question and should not be interpreted as evidence supporting an Orientalist account or essentialist cultural relativism, which portrays such victimization as a uniquely ingrained outcome of an essentialized 'Eastern' culture. Comparable enforcement of cisheteronormative expression has been documented across cultures, including parental policing of gender nonconformity for perception as 'good parents' in the U.S. and restraints of gender expression to avoid conflict in Europe, in the absence of Confucian family cultures or deep collectivist foundations ([Hennekam and Ladge, 2023](#); [Stephens, 2024](#)). To further explore underlying mechanisms in the cultural and institutional contexts examined in this study, future research might draw epistemologically on postmodernism and critical queer theory and investigate how culture is mobilized through institutional power and arrangements, such as modern urban family, education, medicine, and labor systems, to reproduce gender normativity and regulate queer bodies ([Basu et al., 2017](#); [Lugones, 2007](#); [Seidman, 1997](#)).

7.3. Implications for practice

The findings provide evidence supporting assessment of high-risk profiles and victimization types among LGBTQ+ individuals with nonconforming gender expressions in seven major social contexts. Family services may benefit from assessing microaggressions directed at nonconforming appearance and mannerisms. This may disproportionately affect individuals with profiles such as gender nonconforming, transgender, and expected to have feminine expressions, particularly in urban areas. In schools, workplaces, and religious institutions, the risk of harassment and discrimination faced by people with nonconforming

gender expressions should be assessed. Organizations addressing sexual violence may consider examining the risk among nonconforming individuals documented as male.

Ethical approval

This study was approved for exemption by the Institutional Review Board at Columbia University.

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CRediT authorship contribution statement

Shichang Yang: Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Supervision, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Aishworya Shrestha:** Conceptualization, Validation, Writing – review & editing. **Kelsey G. Reeder:** Writing – review & editing. **Daria Hurley:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Jimin Sung:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **Elwin Wu:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Supervision, Writing – review & editing. **Lijuan Wu:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – review & editing.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Data availability

The data analyzed in this study are available from UNDP, Peking University, and Beijing LGBT Center upon reasonable request. Further information can be found at <https://www.undp.org/china/publications/being-lgbti-china>. Access is subject to the approval of the original data providers.

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