

Appendix F

My Prof Doc Thesis – Codebook One

Nodes

Name	Files	References
Against Trans Ideology	3	5
Against Trans ideology history	1	1
Attacks on Pro Self-ID	1	2
Backlash	6	8
Biological essentialism	2	4
Biological sex	5	6
Black women and feminism	1	2
Blocklists	2	2
Brexit	6	9
Called names	8	9
Campaigns from Feminists attacked by TRAs	1	1
Children	6	11
Cisgender	5	5
Clashing of Rights	6	6
Commissioning services	2	3

Consequences of speaking out	9	34
Contact employer	5	8
Crime data	1	1
Defiance	5	9
Definitions	1	1
Denying reality	1	1
EA2010	14	23
Educating women	6	14
Equal Platform	1	1
Extreme TRAs	4	4
Fear	14	22
Female Erasure	1	1
Feminist Activism	12	16
Feminist links to the Far Right	4	4
Feminist view of trans people	9	13
Final thoughts	9	10
Funding	14	21
Gay rights movement	1	2
Gender Stereotyping	9	16
Genuine dysphoria	2	2
Government and politicians	27	50
Hate Crime	2	4

History of feminists against transgender ideology	1	1
Identify as Feminist	12	18
Identity Politics	2	4
Impact on female only space	23	41
Importance of female only space	19	33
Language	3	6
Lesbians	10	13
LGBT movement	7	10
Literal violence	2	2
Local Authorities	1	1
Male Predators	9	12
Male Violence	5	7
Medicalistaion	5	5
Middle Ground	23	39
Misogyny	6	6
Motivation for access to SSE	19	25
MRA	6	6
No Debate	8	10
Non-Binary	2	3
Offensive attacks by TRAs	1	1
Online debate	6	9
Online silencing	9	14

Opinions of transgender ideology	1	3
Other Cultures	1	1
Other similar campaign examples	9	12
Othering	3	4
Passing Privilege	1	1
Patriarchy	6	6
Paying for a GRC	1	1
Policy changes ahead of the law	10	15
Politicians	1	2
Prisons	5	5
Pro Self ID view on proposed changes	13	37
Pro Self-ID Activism	9	11
Pro Self-ID identify as feminist	13	21
Pro self-ID in VAW sector	6	20
Pro Self-ID using term TERF	9	14
Pro Sex Work lobby groups	5	6
Pronouns	2	4
Proposed changes	14	20
Queer	2	2
Queer Theory	2	3
Racism	1	1
Radical Feminism	3	4

Risk Assessments	1	1
Rolling back of women's rights	2	3
S.28	1	3
Schools of feminism	1	1
Self ID	16	29
Self ID race	3	4
Sex Offenders	7	11
Sex v gender	8	10
Sex-based oppression	7	8
Sexual Dimorphism	3	5
Sexual Fetish	5	8
Silenced in the VAW and womens sector	13	23
Silenced, shut down	20	37
Single Issue Feminism	3	5
Sports	5	8
SSE	7	24
Stonewall VAW research	6	31
Support self-ID	1	1
Tactics of Silencing	2	2
Targeted by TRAs	2	4
TERF, Bigot, Transphobe	15	29
The Left	9	18

Third Space	26	41
Thought Crime	1	1
Toilets	4	4
Trans Allies	4	9
Trans inclusive womens services	17	57
Trans lobby	12	21
Trans Opposing Self ID	0	0
Trans Umbrella	4	5
Transexual	2	2
Transgender victims of male violence	5	6
Transmen	5	5
Transphobia	6	9
TW are TW	4	4
TWAW	15	27
Twitter (2)	1	1
Understanding of proposed changes	1	1
Union member	3	4
Universal Human Rights	3	3
Universities	4	4
Validation	7	8
VAW orgs maintaining SSE	2	4
What about the men	4	5

What is a woman	30	51
Why campaign	17	32
Witches	3	4
Women not consulted	2	2
Women v Men Socialisation	3	3
Women's Aid and Rape Crisis	4	5
Women's Boundaries	3	4
Womens liberation	1	1
Working Class Women	2	3
WPUK	2	2

My Prof Doc Thesis – Codebook two

Nodes

Name	Description	Files	References
Feminism, Women's Rights and Activism	Feminism as a movement and the campaign for Women's Rights, both historically and currently. Differing thoughts and perceptions of feminism from both sides of the debate as well as the personal identification as a feminist and the examples of activism undertaken. Also includes the backlash and attempts at rolling back rights for women as a sex class.	30	162
Backlash	Identifying the proposed changes to the GRA and the campaigning around it as a backlash on women's rights and gains.	6	8
Black women and feminism	Experiences of black women in feminism.	1	2
Clashing of Rights	The clash between transgender and women's rights.	6	6
Defiance	Examples of feminist participants speaking up in defiance of the silencing tactics.	5	9
Feminist Activism	Examples of feminist activism, both present and in the past.	12	16
Feminist links to the Far Right	The assertion that a lot of feminists and feminists groups campaigning around the objection to self-ID are linked to the far right.	4	4

Feminist view of trans people	The views of feminist participants of trans people, what they think about them and their needs.	9	13
History of feminists against transgender ideology	Example of the fact that this clash between women's rights and transwomen's rights is not a new thing.	1	1
Identify as Feminist	Examples of feminist participants identifying as feminists and what schools or theories they follow within feminism and their thoughts around these issues.	12	18
Misogyny	Reference to the campaigns to support self-ID being nothing more than misogyny.	6	6
Patriarchy	The important aspect of a patriarchal society at play in this debate.	6	6
Pro Self-ID Activism	Examples of activism undertaken by pro self-ID participants, both past and present.	9	11
Pro Self-ID identify as feminist	Pro Self-ID participants descriptions of their identification as feminists.	13	21
Racism	Example of the other similar campaigns to be involved in around immigration.	1	1
Radical Feminism	References to radical feminism and its importance or response to theories around gender.	3	4
Rolling back of women's rights	The impact of self-ID policies are akin to the rolling back of women's hard fought for rights.	2	3
Schools of feminism	Differing schools of feminist theory.	1	1
Sex-based oppression	Reference to radical feminist view of women as a sex class. Particularly relevant to the male violence against women movement which was born out of radical feminism in the second wave.	7	8

Single Issue Feminism	Reference to women who only campaign against the transgender ideology and are not in the round feminists who join other campaigns.	3	5
Union member	Participants involved in trade unionism.	3	4
What about the men	A common question asked of feminists who work in the violence against women sector.	4	5
Women's Boundaries	A woman's boundaries and right to say 'no' are being taken away.	3	4
Womens liberation	Reference to the second wave feminist movement of the 1970s.	1	1
Working Class Women	Feminist working class women and the impact on them of the proposed changes.	2	3
WPUK	Reference to the grassroots feminist group A Woman's Place UK.	2	2
Middle Ground	Any ideas of a middle ground for both groups to come together?	30	94
Equal Platform	In order for there to be a way forward there needs to be an equal platform and playing field for both groups to be able to speak freely, particularly women.	1	1
Final thoughts	Participants summing up their thoughts at the end of the interviews.	9	10
Third Space	Could a third space like transgender women's refuge be a good solution to the issues for the VAW sector?	26	41
Universal Human Rights	A common denominator in this debate is basic universal human rights.	3	3
Motivation for access to SSE	Reasons or motivations of trans lobby or trans people to access spaces reserved for women.	26	64

Male Predators	References to male predators and what they will do to get to their victims. The essence of male predators is to be manipulative.	9	12
Sex Offenders	Similar to male predator node, the reference to sex offenders evidences the fear for women and the reason why single sex exemptions are so important.	7	11
Sexual Fetish	References to the idea that men dress as women to fulfill a sexual fetish.	5	8
Validation	The notion that the reason why transwomen need access to women's spaces is because they need validation that they are women.	7	8
Silencing	A deliberate attempt to prevent women from speaking and debating in relation to alternative or opposing views.	30	254
Attacks on Pro Self-ID	Examples of how participants who are pro Self-ID also experienced targeted attacks.	1	2
Blocklists	The use of blocklists is particular to twitter, it identifies the twitter user as someone who is deemed to be transphobic or a TERF.	2	2
Called names	Examples of the types of names people are called when entering into the debate around the proposed changes to the GRA.	8	9
Campaigns from Feminists attacked by TRAs	Specific campaigning for women targeted for not including transwomen.	1	1
Consequences of speaking out	Evidence of why women in particular do not speak out against the trans lobby groups and examples of the way they have been targeted.	9	34
Contact employer	Examples of when employers are contacted to prevent someone from speaking or to scare someone into silence.	5	8

Definitions	Reference to when very often on social media silencing occurs prior to anyone actually defining what they are talking about. Eg, 'what do you mean by self-ID, or transgender?'	1	1
Fear	Descriptions of whether or not participants have been fearful during campaigning or speaking up.	14	22
Literal violence	A term frequently used to claim that speaking against trans ideology is actual violence against trans people.	2	2
No Debate	#NoDebate is a slogan used by Stonewall and trans lobby groups to prevent any kind of debate or questioning of the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	8	10
Offensive attacks by TRAs	Offensive and upsetting attacks by Trans rights activists.	1	1
Online debate	Similar to online silencing. The views of how the debate is handled online, particularly on twitter.	6	9
Online silencing	Examples of attempts to silence debate online, particularly on twitter.	9	14
Other similar campaign examples	Other examples where the campaign has been so divisive and or toxic in nature with similar tactics used to silence dissent.	9	12
Pro Self-ID using term TERF	The view of the term TERF and its meanings from participants who are pro self-ID.	9	14
Pro Sex Work lobby groups	Specific examples of how the tactics of silencing are the same from pro sex worker lobby groups. Views that they are the same people. A lot of trans activists are pro sex work.	5	6
Silenced in the VAW and womens sector	Reasons why the Violence Against Women sector is so silent on the issue.	13	23
Silenced, shut down	General examples of the tactics and affects of silencing.	20	37
Tactics of Silencing	The tactics used to silence.	2	2

Targeted by TRAs	Examples of being targeted by Trans Rights Activists.	2	4
TERF, Bigot, Transphobe	Examples of the types of consistent name calling and targeting experienced by women who enter the debate or challenge the ideology.	15	29
Thought Crime	Not being able to think or discuss the topic. The act of this in itself is seen as a crime.	1	1
Twitter (2)	Reference to how the debate works on twitter. Clearly very polarised.	1	1
Universities	The role and responsibility of universities and academics to foster debate.	4	4
Witches	References to the similarity of this topic making women who speak up the modern day witch.	3	4
Women not consulted	Particular reference to the Transgender Equality Inquiry in 2015 and how women's groups were not consulted.	2	2
The proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act 2004	All references to the proposed changes to the GRA including the participants views on those changes and the way that government and political parties handled the debate.	30	217
Brexit	References to Brexit, either as an example of the similarities of polarised debate or the fact it was at the same time as the proposed changes to the GRA and therefore hindered progress in some way.	6	9
Government and politicians	Participants views on how government and politicians dealt with the consultation and the overall debate.	27	50
Medicalisation	References to the medicalisation of trans people and children.	5	5
Paying for a GRC	One of the proposed changes was to reduce the fee paid for a GRC. The reference here is to whether or not that should be something anyone pays for.	1	1

Politicians	References to politicians lack of action in the debate.	1	2
Prisons	Reference to the issues in prison and the way those issues have been raised.	5	5
Pro Self ID view on proposed changes	The view and understanding of pro self-participants on the proposed changes to the GRA.	13	37
Proposed changes	Feminist participants understanding and views of the proposed changes to the GRA.	14	20
Self ID	References to Self-ID as a concept and agreement/ disagreement with the idea of it.	16	29
Self ID race	Comparisons and references to people being able to self-ID into any racial group.	3	4
The Left	Particular reference to the political left and how they have responded to the debate as well as their contribution to the silencing of women.	9	18
Toilets	References to the debate around toilets which is one example of where single sex exemptions become most obvious to the general public. The logistics of the fact that transgender people have always used the toilet of their preferred gender.	4	4
Understanding of proposed changes	Understanding the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	1	1
Why campaign	Participants reasons for campaigning around the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	17	32
The violence against women sector	Overarching node to involve both the importance of the VAW sector and any impact Self-ID laws or policies would have on female only spaces. Includes the responses from the movement on both sides of the debate and their views on trans inclusive services. As well as specific reference to those organisations	30	311

	who were part of the stonewall research and presented as supportive of Self-ID and the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.		
Commissioning services	How services are commissioned in the VAW sector and the impact on female only spaces.	2	3
Crime data	How calling a male sex offender 'she' in the courts is impacting on crime data and on women.	1	1
EA2010	Equality Act 2010 and it's importance for female only spaces. Also includes the clash of Self-ID policies with the EA2010 and single sex spaces.	14	23
Educating women	Views on how women who do not believe transgender ideology eg that transwomen are women, particularly in refuges, should be 'educated'.	6	14
Funding	The effects of funding of services in the violence against women sector with regards to trans inclusion. Includes why the voice of the sector is so absent.	14	21
Impact on female only space	The impact on female only space for victims of male violence if self-ID is adopted in law and or policy.	23	41
Importance of female only space	Why female only spaces are important to women.	19	33
Local Authorities	Local authorities acting without due diligence in protecting women.	1	1
Male Violence	Why this issue is so important to debate in a backdrop of the pandemic of male violence against women.	5	7
Othering	The idea that if you do not allow transwomen into refuges then you are othering them, which is akin to racism.	3	4
Policy changes ahead of the law	Examples of policy changes being made ahead of any change in the law around Gender Recognition.	10	15

Pro self-ID in VAW sector	Examples of pro self-ID participants views in the VAW sector.	6	20
Risk Assessments	The notion that if you do risk assessments on transwomen accessing refuge spaces then you can prevent predators from abusing self-ID laws.	1	1
SSE	Single Sex Exemptions as laid out in the Equality Act 2010. The application of them in the VAW sector.	7	24
Stonewall VAW research	Participants who were part of the Stonewall VAW sector research and presented as having no issues with the proposed changes to the GRA in that research.	6	31
Trans inclusive womens services	Views of the workings of trans inclusive women's services in the VAW sector. How they work and what they do.	17	57
Transgender victims of male violence	Understanding the issues of transgender victims of male violence.	5	6
VAW orgs maintaining SSE	Impact on those organisations that are maintaining single sex exemptions in the VAW sector.	2	4
Women's Aid and Rape Crisis	Views on why the second tier organisations, particularly those set up in the second wave by feminist women are not speaking up and the impact this is having.	4	5
Transgender Rights movement	Descriptions of activism of the TRA movement. Including reasons behind their campaigns and feminists views of their motives. Additionally how the T fits in with the rest of the LGB+ campaigns.	26	130
Against Trans Ideology	Arguments and reasons against trans ideology.	3	5
Against Trans ideology history	The history of clashes against trans ideology.	1	1
Children	References to transgender lobbyists on children and young people.	6	11

Extreme TRAs	Extreme tactics used by some activists who believe in the trans agenda.	4	4
Gay rights movement	References to campaigns in the gay rights movement, prior to the focus on the trans agenda.	1	2
Genuine dysphoria	Thoughts on dysphoria, including an example from a transman.	2	2
Hate Crime	References to any dissent on transgender ideology being lodged as a hate crime.	2	4
Identity Politics	Identity politics sits largely with the left of centre and has become the norm in many political groups.	2	4
Lesbians	The impact on lesbian women of transgender ideology.	10	13
LGBT movement	The responses from the LGBT movement to transgender campaigning and lobbyists.	7	10
MRA	Men's rights activism. Many of the women who disagree with the trans agenda notice the comparisons of trans activists as mens rights activists.	6	6
Non-Binary	People who are non-binary are included under the trans umbrella and often forgotten as a group.	2	3
Opinions of transgender ideology	Feminist participants views on transgender ideology and how damaging it is.	1	3
Other Cultures	References to other cultures that accept a third gender or transgender ideology.	1	1
Passing Privilege	A reference to passing as the gender of their choice from a trans person who has transitioned.	1	1
Queer	Examples of being within or clashing with those who identify as 'queer'.	2	2
Queer Theory	References to queer theory and its place in this debate.	2	3

S.28	References to the campaign to repeal s.28.	1	3
Support self-ID	Examples of supporting self-ID as a concept.	1	1
Trans Allies	Supporters and allies of transgender people who campaign for the adoption of self-ID and the changes to the GRA.	4	9
Trans lobby	Trans lobby groups like Stonewall, Transgender Alliance who lobby government and statutory bodies on changing policies to adopt practices of self-ID.	12	21
Trans Umbrella	The wide definitions of what it means to be trans and what now comes under the transgender umbrella.	4	5
Transexual	The old terminology of transexual is now deemed outdated, but many transexuals do not agree with self-ID.	2	2
Transmen	Often forgotten in this debate are transmen. One participant in my research identifies as a transgender man.	5	5
Transphobia	The notion of transphobia and what it means.	6	9
What is a woman	The most important question in this whole debate, what is a woman?	30	151
Biological essentialism	Reference to the deterministic arguments of biology. For example if you are a man you are better at science and if you are a woman you naturally want to care for people. Biological essentialism is closely linked to patriarchal structures that keep women subordinate. Many pro self-ID see the argument against trans ideology as biological essentialism.	2	4
Biological sex	References to biological sex including the belief that biological sex is on a spectrum.	5	6
Cisgender		5	5
Denying reality	The idea that believing in the trans mantra's takes a person to deny reality.	1	1

Female Erasure	Erasing what it means to be female and a woman.	1	1
Gender Stereotyping	Reference to how gender stereotyping has a huge influence on the debate and supports transgender ideology.	9	16
Language		3	6
Pronouns	Transgender ideology insists that one respects a trans person's pronouns no matter their appearance or someone's belief in whether or not they are indeed a man or a woman. References to the changing of language needing to be adhered to.	2	4
Sex v gender	Sex and gender are two very different things with very different meanings.	8	10
Sexual Dimorphism		3	5
Sports	The relevance of the debate of transwomen in female sports and how the nature of this has highlighted the issues with self-ID.	5	8
TW are TW	As opposed to transwomen being actual women, many believe that transwomen are transwomen.	4	4
TWAW	'Trans women are women' is the famous slogan used by trans lobby groups and repeated by many.	15	27
Women v Men Socialisation	References to male socialisation being something that a transwoman cannot just shake off. The difference between being brought up male or female affects one's socialisation.	3	3

My Prof Doc Thesis - Codebook three

Nodes

Name	Description	Files	References
Feminism, Women's Rights and Activism	Feminism as a movement and the campaign for Women's Rights, both historically and currently. Differing thoughts and perceptions of feminism from both sides of the debate as well as the personal identification as a feminist and the examples of activism undertaken. Also includes the backlash and attempts at rolling back rights for women as a sex class.	30	162
Backlash	Identifying the proposed changes to the GRA and the campaigning around it as a backlash on women's rights and gains.	6	8
Black women and feminism	Experiences of black women in feminism.	1	2
Clashing of Rights	The clash between transgender and women's rights.	6	6
Defiance	Examples of feminist participants speaking up in defiance of the silencing tactics.	5	9
Feminist Activism	Examples of feminist activism, both present and in the past.	12	16
Feminist links to the Far Right	The assertion that a lot of feminists and feminist groups campaigning around the objection to self-ID are linked to the far right.	4	4
Feminist view of trans people	The views of feminist participants of trans people, what they think about them and their needs.	9	13

History of feminists against transgender ideology	Example of the fact that this clash between women's rights and transwomen's rights is not a new thing.	1	1
Identify as Feminist	Examples of feminist participants identifying as feminists and what schools or theories they follow within feminism and their thoughts around these issues.	12	18
Misogyny	Reference to the campaigns to support self-ID being nothing more than misogyny.	6	6
Patriarchy	The important aspect of a patriarchal society at play in this debate.	6	6
Pro Self-ID Activism	Examples of activism undertaken by pro self-ID participants, both past and present.	9	11
Pro Self-ID identify as feminist	Pro Self-ID participants description and views of their identification as feminists.	13	21
Racism	Example of the other similar campaigns to be involved in around immigration.	1	1
Radical Feminism	References to radical feminism and its importance or response to theories around gender.	3	4
Rolling back of women's rights	The impact of self-ID policies is akin to the rolling back of women's hard fought for rights.	2	3
Schools of feminism	Differing schools of feminist theory.	1	1
Sex-based oppression	Reference to radical feminist view of women as a sex class. Particularly relevant to the male violence against women movement which was born out of radical feminism in the second wave.	7	8
Single Issue Feminism	Reference to women who only campaign against the transgender ideology and are not in the round feminists who join other campaigns.	3	5

Union member	Participants involved in trade unionism.	3	4
What about the men	A common question asked of feminists who work in the violence against women sector.	4	5
Women's Boundaries	A woman's boundaries and right to say 'no' are being taken away.	3	4
Women's liberation	Reference to the second wave feminist movement of the 1970s.	1	1
Working Class Women	Feminist working class women and the impact on them of the proposed changes.	2	3
WPUK	Reference to the grassroots feminist group A Woman's Place UK.	2	2
Middle Ground	Any ideas of a middle ground for both groups to come together?	30	94
Equal Platform	A way forward needs to include an equal platform and playing field for both groups to be able to speak freely, particularly women.	1	1
Final thoughts	Participants summing up their thoughts at the end of the interviews.	9	10
Third Space	Could a third space like transgender women's refuge be a good solution to the issues for the VAW sector?	26	41
Universal Human Rights	A common denominator in this debate is basic universal human rights.	3	3
Motivation for access to SSE	Reasons or motivations of trans lobby or trans people to access spaces reserved for women.	26	64
Male Predators	References to male predators and what they will do to get to their victims. The essence of male predators is to be manipulative.	9	12

Sex Offenders	The reference to sex offenders evidences the fear for women and the reason why single sex exemptions are so important.	7	11
Sexual Fetish	References to the idea that men dress as women as a result of a sexual fetish.	5	8
Validation	The notion that the reason why transwomen need access to women's spaces is because they need validation that they are women.	7	8
Silencing	A deliberate attempt to prevent women from speaking and debating in relation to alternative or opposing views.	30	254
Attacks on Pro Self-ID	Examples of how participants who are pro Self-ID also experienced targeted attacks.	1	2
Blocklists	The use of blocklists is particular to twitter, it identifies the twitter user as someone who is deemed to be transphobic or a TERF.	2	2
Called names	Examples of the types of names people are called when entering the debate around the proposed changes to the GRA.	8	9
Campaigns from Feminists attacked by TRAs	Specific campaigning for women targeted for not including transwomen.	1	1
Consequences of speaking out	Evidence of why women do not speak out against the trans lobby groups and examples of the way they have been targeted.	9	34
Contact employer	Examples of when employers are contacted to prevent someone from speaking or to scare someone into silence.	5	8
Definitions	Reference to when very often on social media silencing occurs prior to anyone defining what they are talking about. Eg. 'what do you mean by self-ID, or transgender?'	1	1
Fear	Descriptions of whether participants have been fearful during campaigning or speaking up.	14	22

Literal violence	A term frequently used to claim that speaking against trans ideology is actual violence against trans people.	2	2
No Debate	#NoDebate is a slogan used by Stonewall and trans lobby groups to prevent any kind of debate or questioning of the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	8	10
Offensive attacks by TRAs	Offensive and upsetting attacks by Trans rights activists.	1	1
Online debate	The views of how the debate is handled online, particularly on twitter.	6	9
Online silencing	Examples of attempts to silence debate online, particularly on twitter.	9	14
Other similar campaign examples	Other examples where the campaign has been so divisive and or toxic in nature with similar tactics used to silence dissent.	9	12
Pro Self-ID using term TERF	The view of the term TERF and its meanings from participants who are pro self-ID.	9	14
Pro Sex Work lobby groups	Specific examples of how the tactics of silencing are the same from pro sex worker lobby groups. Views that they are the same people. A lot of trans activists are pro sex work.	5	6
Silenced in the VAW and women's sector	Reasons why the Violence Against Women sector is so silent on the issue.	13	23
Silenced, shut down	General examples of the tactics and effects of silencing.	20	37
Tactics of Silencing	The tactics used to silence.	2	2
Targeted by TRAs	Examples of being targeted by Trans Rights Activists.	2	4
TERF, Bigot, Transphobe	Examples of the types of consistent name calling and targeting experienced by women who enter the debate or challenge the ideology.	15	29

Thought Crime	Not being able to think or discuss the topic. The act of questioning transgender ideology is seen as a crime.	1	1
Twitter (2)	Reference to how the debate works on twitter. Clearly very polarised.	1	1
Universities	The role and responsibility of universities and academics to foster debate.	4	4
Witches	References to the similarity of this topic making women who speak up the modern-day witch.	3	4
Women not consulted	Reference to the Transgender Equality Inquiry in 2015 and how women's groups were not consulted.	2	2
The proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act 2004	All references to the proposed changes to the GRA including the participants views on those changes and the way that government and political parties handled the debate.	30	217
Brexit	References to Brexit, either as an example of the similarities of polarised debate or the fact it was at the same time as the proposed changes to the GRA and therefore hindered progress in some way.	6	9
Government and politicians	Participants views on how government and politicians dealt with the consultation and the overall debate.	27	50
Medicalisation	References to the medicalisation of trans people and children.	5	5
Paying for a GRC	One of the proposed changes was to reduce the fee paid for a GRC. The reference here is to whether that should be something anyone pays for.	1	1
Politicians	References to politicians' lack of action in the debate.	1	2
Prisons	Reference to the issues in prison and the way those issues have been raised.	5	5

Pro Self ID view on proposed changes	The view and understanding of pro self-participants on the proposed changes to the GRA.	13	37
Proposed changes	Feminist participants understanding and views of the proposed changes to the GRA.	14	20
Self ID	References to Self-ID as a concept and agreement/disagreement with the idea of it.	16	29
Self ID race	Comparisons and references to people being able to self-ID into any racial group.	3	4
The Left	Reference to the political left and how they responded to the debate as well as their contribution to the silencing of women.	9	18
Toilets	References to the debate around toilets which is one example of where single sex exemptions become most obvious to the general public. The logistics of the fact that transgender people have always used the toilet of their preferred gender.	4	4
Understanding of proposed changes	Understanding the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	1	1
Why campaign	Participants reasons for campaigning around the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	17	32
The violence against women sector	Overarching node to involve both the importance of the VAW sector and any impact Self-ID laws or policies would have on female only spaces. Includes the responses from the movement on both sides of the debate and their views on trans inclusive services. As well as specific reference to those organisations who were part of the stonewall research and presented as supportive of Self-ID and the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	30	311
Commissioning services	How services are commissioned in the VAW sector and the impact on female only spaces.	2	3

Crime data	How calling a male sex offender 'she' in the courts is impacting on crime data and on women.	1	1
EA2010	Equality Act 2010 and its importance for female only spaces. Also includes the clash of Self-ID policies with the EA2010 and single sex spaces.	14	23
Educating women	Views on how women who do not believe transgender ideology Eg. that transwomen are women, particularly in refuges, should be 'educated'.	6	14
Funding	The effects of funding of services in the violence against women sector with regards to trans inclusion. Includes why the voice of the sector is so absent.	14	21
Impact on female only space	The impact on female only space for victims of male violence if self-ID is adopted in law and or policy.	23	41
Importance of female only space	Why female only spaces are important to women.	19	33
Local Authorities	Local authorities acting without due diligence in protecting women.	1	1
Male Violence	Why this issue is so important to debate in a backdrop of the pandemic of male violence against women.	5	7
Othering	The idea that if you do not allow transwomen into refuges then you are othering them, which is akin to racism.	3	4
Policy changes ahead of the law	Examples of policy changes being made ahead of any change in the law around Gender Recognition.	10	15
Pro self-ID in VAW sector	Examples of pro self-ID participants views in the VAW sector.	6	20
Risk Assessments	The notion that if you do risk assessments on transwomen accessing refuge spaces then you can prevent predators from abusing self-ID laws.	1	1

SSE	Single Sex Exemptions as laid out in the Equality Act 2010. The application of them in the VAW sector.	7	24
Stonewall VAW research	Participants who were part of the Stonewall VAW sector research and presented as having no issues with the proposed changes to the GRA in that research.	6	31
Trans inclusive women's services	Views of the workings of trans inclusive women's services in the VAW sector. How they work and what they do.	17	57
Transgender victims of male violence	Understanding the issues of transgender victims of male violence.	5	6
VAW orgs maintaining SSE	Impact on those organisations that are maintaining single sex exemptions in the VAW sector.	2	4
Women's Aid and Rape Crisis	Views on why the second-tier organisations, particularly those set up in the second wave by feminist women are not speaking up and the impact this is having.	4	5
Transgender Rights movement	Descriptions of activism of the TRA movement. Including reasons behind their campaigns and feminist's views of their motives. Additionally, how the T fits in with the rest of the LGB+ campaigns.	26	130
Against Trans Ideology	Arguments and reasons against trans ideology.	3	5
Against Trans ideology history	The history of clashes against trans ideology.	1	1
Children	References to transgender lobbyists on children and young people.	6	11
Extreme TRAs	Extreme tactics used by some activists who believe in the trans agenda.	4	4
Gay rights movement	References to campaigns in the gay rights movement, prior to the focus on the trans agenda.	1	2
Genuine dysphoria	Thoughts on dysphoria, including an example from a transman.	2	2

Hate Crime	References to any dissent on transgender ideology being lodged as a hate crime.	2	4
Identity Politics	Identity politics sits largely with the left of centre and has become the norm in many political groups.	2	4
Lesbians	The impact on lesbian women of transgender ideology.	10	13
LGBT movement	The responses from the LGBT movement to transgender campaigning and lobbyists.	7	10
MRA	Men's rights activism. Many of the women who disagree with the trans agenda notice the comparisons of trans activists as men's rights activists.	6	6
Non-Binary	People who are non-binary are included under the trans umbrella and often forgotten as a group.	2	3
Opinions of transgender ideology	Feminist participants views on transgender ideology and how damaging it is.	1	3
Other Cultures	References to other cultures that accept a third gender or transgender ideology.	1	1
Passing Privilege	A reference to passing as the gender of their choice from a trans person who has transitioned.	1	1
Queer	Examples of being within or clashing with those who identify as 'queer'.	2	2
Queer Theory	References to queer theory and its place in this debate.	2	3
S.28	References to the campaign to repeal s.28.	1	3
Support self-ID	Examples of supporting self-ID as a concept.	1	1
Trans Allies	Supporters and allies of transgender people who campaign for the adoption of self-ID and the changes to the GRA.	4	9

Trans lobby	Trans lobby groups like Stonewall, Transgender Alliance who lobby government and statutory bodies on changing policies to adopt practices of self-ID.	12	21
Trans Umbrella	The wide definitions of what it means to be trans and what now comes under the transgender umbrella.	4	5
Transmen	Often forgotten in this debate are transmen. One participant in my research identifies as a transgender man.	5	5
Transphobia	The notion of transphobia and what it means.	6	9
Transsexual	The old terminology of transsexual is now deemed outdated, but many transsexuals do not agree with self-ID.	2	2
What is a woman	The most important question in this whole debate, what is a woman?	30	151
Biological essentialism	Reference to the deterministic arguments of biology. For example, if you are a man you are better at science and if you are a woman you naturally want to care for people. Biological essentialism is closely linked to patriarchal structures that keep women subordinate. Many pro self-ID see the argument against trans ideology as biological essentialism.	2	4
Biological sex	References to biological sex including the belief that biological sex is on a spectrum.	5	6
Cisgender	A term adopted by the trans rights movement to mean 'not trans'. Cisgender or 'cis' equates to aligning with the gender assigned at birth.	5	5
Denying reality	The idea that believing in the trans mantra's takes a person to deny reality.	1	1
Female Erasure	Erasing what it means to be female and a woman.	1	1

Gender Stereotyping	Reference to how gender stereotyping has a huge influence on the debate and supports transgender ideology.	9	16
Language	References to language being changed to adopt trans inclusive terminology and the impact of this.	3	6
Pronouns	Transgender ideology insists that one respects a trans persons pronouns no matter their appearance or someone's belief in whether they are indeed a man or a woman. References to the changing of language needing to be adhered too.	2	4
Sex v gender	Sex and gender are two very different things with very different meanings.	8	10
Sexual Dimorphism	Disordered sexual development, also referred to as Intersex.	3	5
Sports	The relevance of the debate of transwomen in female sports and how the nature of this has highlighted the issues with self-ID.	5	8
TW are TW	As opposed to transwomen being actual women, many believe that transwomen are transwomen.	4	4
TWAW	'Trans women are women' is the famous slogan used by trans lobby groups and repeated by many.	15	27
Women v Men Socialisation	References to male socialisation being something that a transwoman cannot just shake off. The difference between being brought up male or female affects one's socialisation.	3	3

My Prof Doc Thesis – Codebook Four

Nodes

Name	Description
Feminism, Women's Rights and Activism	Feminism as a movement and the campaign for Women's Rights, both historically and currently. Differing thoughts and perceptions of feminism from both sides of the debate as well as the personal identification as a feminist and the examples of activism undertaken. Also includes the backlash and attempts at rolling back rights for women as a sex class.
Backlash	Identifying the proposed changes to the GRA and the campaigning around it as a backlash on women's rights and gains.
Black women and feminism	Experiences of black women in feminism.
Clashing of Rights	The clash between transgender and women's rights.
Defiance	Examples of feminist participants speaking up in defiance of the silencing tactics.
Feminist Activism	Examples of feminist activism, both present and in the past.
Feminist links to the Far Right	The assertion that a lot of feminists and feminist groups campaigning around the objection to self-ID are linked to the far right.
Feminist view of trans people	The views of feminist participants of trans people, what they think about them and their needs.
History of feminists against transgender ideology	Example of the fact that this clash between women's rights and transwomen's rights is not a new thing.
Identify as Feminist	Examples of feminist participants identifying as feminists and what schools or theories they follow within feminism and their thoughts around these issues.
Misogyny	Reference to the campaigns to support self-ID being nothing more than misogyny.

Patriarchy	The important aspect of a patriarchal society at play in this debate.
Pro Self-ID Activism	Examples of activism undertaken by pro self-ID participants, both past and present.
Pro Self-ID identify as feminist	Pro Self-ID participants description and views of their identification as feminists.
Radical Feminism	References to radical feminism and its importance or response to theories around gender.
Rolling back of women's rights	The impact of self-ID policies is akin to the rolling back of women's hard fought for rights.
Sex-based oppression	Reference to radical feminist view of women as a sex class. Particularly relevant to the male violence against women movement which was born out of radical feminism in the second wave.
Single Issue Feminism	Reference to women who only campaign against the transgender ideology and are not in the round feminists who join other campaigns.
Union member	Participants involved in trade unionism.
What about the men	A common question asked of feminists who work in the violence against women sector.
Women's Boundaries	A woman's boundaries and right to say 'no' are being taken away.
Working Class Women	Feminist working class women and the impact on them of the proposed changes.
WPUK	Reference to the grassroots feminist group A Woman's Place UK.
Middle Ground	Any ideas of a middle ground for both groups to come together?
Equal Platform	A way forward needs to include an equal platform and playing field for both groups to be able to speak freely, particularly women.
Final thoughts	Participants summing up their thoughts at the end of the interviews.
Third Space	Could a third space like transgender women's refuge be a good solution to the issues for the VAW sector?
Universal Human Rights	A common denominator in this debate is basic universal human rights.
Motivation for access to SSE	Reasons or motivations of trans lobby or trans people to access spaces reserved for women.

Male Predators	References to male predators and what they will do to get to their victims. The essence of male predators is to be manipulative.
Sex Offenders	The reference to sex offenders evidences the fear for women and the reason why single sex exemptions are so important.
Sexual Fetish	References to the idea that men dress as women as a result of a sexual fetish.
Validation	The notion that the reason why transwomen need access to women's spaces is because they need validation that they are women.
Silencing	A deliberate attempt to prevent women from speaking and debating in relation to alternative or opposing views.
Attacks on Pro Self-ID	Examples of how participants who are pro Self-ID also experienced targeted attacks.
Blocklists	The use of blocklists is particular to twitter, it identifies the twitter user as someone who is deemed to be transphobic or a TERF.
Called names	Examples of the types of names people are called when entering the debate around the proposed changes to the GRA.
Consequences of speaking out	Evidence of why women do not speak out against the trans lobby groups and examples of the way they have been targeted.
Contact employer	Examples of when employers are contacted to prevent someone from speaking or to scare someone into silence.
Fear	Descriptions of whether participants have been fearful during campaigning or speaking up.
Literal violence	A term frequently used to claim that speaking against trans ideology is actual violence against trans people.
No Debate	#NoDebate is a slogan used by Stonewall and trans lobby groups to prevent any kind of debate or questioning of the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.
Online silencing	Examples of attempts to silence debate online, particularly on twitter.
Other similar campaign examples	Other examples where the campaign has been so divisive and or toxic in nature with similar tactics used to silence dissent.

Pro Self-ID using term TERF	The view of the term TERF and its meanings from participants who are pro self-ID.
Pro Sex Work lobby groups	Specific examples of how the tactics of silencing are the same from pro sex worker lobby groups. Views that they are the same people. A lot of trans activists are pro sex work.
Silenced in the VAW and women's sector	Reasons why the Violence Against Women sector is so silent on the issue.
Silenced, shut down	General examples of the tactics and effects of silencing.
Targeted by TRAs	Examples of being targeted by Trans Rights Activists.
TERF, Bigot, Transphobe	Examples of the types of consistent name calling and targeting experienced by women who enter the debate or challenge the ideology.
Universities	The role and responsibility of universities and academics to foster debate.
Witches	References to the similarity of this topic making women who speak up the modern-day witch.
Women not consulted	Reference to the Transgender Equality Inquiry in 2015 and how women's groups were not consulted.
The proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act 2004	All references to the proposed changes to the GRA including the participants views on those changes and the way that government and political parties handled the debate.
Brexit	References to Brexit, either as an example of the similarities of polarised debate or the fact it was at the same time as the proposed changes to the GRA and therefore hindered progress in some way.
Government and politicians	Participants views on how government and politicians dealt with the consultation and the overall debate.
Medicalisation	References to the medicalisation of trans people and children.
Prisons	Reference to the issues in prison and the way those issues have been raised.
Pro Self ID view on proposed changes	The view and understanding of pro self-participants on the proposed changes to the GRA.

Proposed changes	Feminist participants understanding and views of the proposed changes to the GRA.
Self ID	References to Self-ID as a concept and agreement/ disagreement with the idea of it.
Self ID race	Comparisons and references to people being able to self-ID into any racial group.
The Left	Reference to the political left and how they responded to the debate as well as their contribution to the silencing of women.
Toilets	References to the debate around toilets which is one example of where single sex exemptions become most obvious to the general public. The logistics of the fact that transgender people have always used the toilet of their preferred gender.
Why campaign	Participants reasons for campaigning around the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.
The violence against women sector	Overarching node to involve both the importance of the VAW sector and any impact Self-ID laws or policies would have on female only spaces. Includes the responses from the movement on both sides of the debate and their views on trans inclusive services. As well as specific reference to those organisations who were part of the stonewall research and presented as supportive of Self-ID and the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.
Commissioning services	How services are commissioned in the VAW sector and the impact on female only spaces.
EA2010	Equality Act 2010 and its importance for female only spaces. Also includes the clash of Self-ID policies with the EA2010 and single sex spaces.
Educating women	Views on how women who do not believe transgender ideology Eg. that transwomen are women, particularly in refuges, should be 'educated'.
Funding	The effects of funding of services in the violence against women sector with regards to trans inclusion. Includes why the voice of the sector is so absent.
Impact on female only space	The impact on female only space for victims of male violence if self-ID is adopted in law and or policy.
Importance of female only space	Why female only spaces are important to women.
Male Violence	Why this issue is so important to debate in a backdrop of the pandemic of male violence against women.

Othering	The idea that if you do not allow transwomen into refuges then you are othering them, which is akin to racism.
Policy changes ahead of the law	Examples of policy changes being made ahead of any change in the law around Gender Recognition.
Pro self-ID in VAW sector	Examples of pro self-ID participants views in the VAW sector.
SSE	Single Sex Exemptions as laid out in the Equality Act 2010. The application of them in the VAW sector.
Stonewall VAW research	Participants who were part of the Stonewall VAW sector research and presented as having no issues with the proposed changes to the GRA in that research.
Trans inclusive women's services	Views of the workings of trans inclusive women's services in the VAW sector. How they work and what they do.
Transgender victims of male violence	Understanding the issues of transgender victims of male violence.
VAW orgs maintaining SSE	Impact on those organisations that are maintaining single sex exemptions in the VAW sector.
Women's Aid and Rape Crisis	Views on why the second-tier organisations, particularly those set up in the second wave by feminist women are not speaking up and the impact this is having.
Transgender Rights movement	Descriptions of activism of the TRA movement. Including reasons behind their campaigns and feminist's views of their motives. Additionally, how the T fits in with the rest of the LGB+ campaigns.
Against Trans Ideology	Arguments and reasons against trans ideology.
Children	References to transgender lobbyists on children and young people.
Extreme TRAs	Extreme tactics used by some activists who believe in the trans agenda.
Gay rights movement	References to campaigns in the gay rights movement, prior to the focus on the trans agenda.
Genuine dysphoria	Thoughts on dysphoria, including an example from a transman.

Hate Crime	References to any dissent on transgender ideology being lodged as a hate crime.
Identity Politics	Identity politics sits largely with the left of centre and has become the norm in many political groups.
Lesbians	The impact on lesbian women of transgender ideology.
LGBT movement	The responses from the LGBT movement to transgender campaigning and lobbyists.
MRA	Men's rights activism. Many of the women who disagree with the trans agenda notice the comparisons of trans activists as men's rights activists.
Non-Binary	People who are non-binary are included under the trans umbrella and often forgotten as a group.
Opinions of transgender ideology	Feminist participants views on transgender ideology and how damaging it is.
Other Cultures	References to other cultures that accept a third gender or transgender ideology.
Passing Privilege	A reference to passing as the gender of their choice from a trans person who has transitioned.
Queer	Examples of being within or clashing with those who identify as 'queer'.
Queer Theory	References to queer theory and its place in this debate.
S.28	References to the campaign to repeal s.28.
Support self-ID	Examples of supporting self-ID as a concept.
Trans Allies	Supporters and allies of transgender people who campaign for the adoption of self-ID and the changes to the GRA.
Trans lobby	Trans lobby groups like Stonewall, Transgender Alliance who lobby government and statutory bodies on changing policies to adopt practices of self-ID.
Trans Umbrella	The wide definitions of what it means to be trans and what now comes under the transgender umbrella.
Transmen	Often forgotten in this debate are transmen. One participant in my research identifies as a transgender man.

Transphobia	The notion of transphobia and what it means.
Transsexual	The old terminology of transsexual is now deemed outdated, but many transsexuals do not agree with self-ID.
What is a woman	The most important question in this whole debate, what is a woman?
Biological essentialism	Reference to the deterministic arguments of biology. For example, if you are a man you are better at science and if you are a woman you naturally want to care for people. Biological essentialism is closely linked to patriarchal structures that keep women subordinate. Many pro self-ID see the argument against trans ideology as biological essentialism.
Biological sex	References to biological sex including the belief that biological sex is on a spectrum.
Cisgender	A term adopted by the trans rights movement to mean 'not trans'. Cisgender or 'cis' equates to aligning with the gender assigned at birth.
Denying reality	The idea that believing in the trans mantra's takes a person to deny reality.
Female Erasure	Erasing what it means to be female and a woman.
Gender Stereotyping	Reference to how gender stereotyping has a huge influence on the debate and supports transgender ideology.
Language	References to language being changed to adopt trans inclusive terminology and the impact of this.
Pronouns	Transgender ideology insists that one respects a trans persons pronouns no matter their appearance or someone's belief in whether they are indeed a man or a woman. References to the changing of language needing to be adhered too.
Sex v gender	Sex and gender are two very different things with very different meanings.
Sexual Dimorphism	Disordered sexual development, also referred to as Intersex.
Sports	The relevance of the debate of transwomen in female sports and how the nature of this has highlighted the issues with self-ID.

TW are TW	As opposed to transwomen being actual women, many believe that transwomen are transwomen.
TWAW	'Trans women are women' is the famous slogan used by trans lobby groups and repeated by many.
Women v Men Socialisation	References to male socialisation being something that a transwoman cannot just shake off. The difference between being brought up male or female affects one's socialisation.
What Is A Woman Question	
Adult Human Female	
Bio	
Feels like a woman	
Female	
Identifies as a woman	
Woman is gender	
Woman is perception	

My Prof Doc Thesis – Codebook Five

Nodes

Name	Description	Files	References
Feminism, Women's Rights and Activism	Feminism as a movement and the campaign for Women's Rights, both historically and currently. Differing thoughts and perceptions of feminism from both sides of the debate as well as the personal identification as a feminist and the examples of activism undertaken. Also includes the backlash and attempts at rolling back rights for women as a sex class.	31	164
Backlash	Identifying the proposed changes to the GRA and the campaigning around it as a backlash on women's rights and gains.	6	8
Black women and feminism	Experiences of black women in feminism.	1	2
Clashing of Rights	The clash between transgender and women's rights.	6	6
Defiance	Examples of feminist participants speaking up in defiance of the silencing tactics.	6	12
Feminist Activism	Examples of feminist activism, both present and in the past.	12	16
Feminist links to the Far Right	The assertion that a lot of feminists and feminist groups campaigning around the objection to self-ID are linked to the far right.	4	4
Feminist view of trans people	The views of feminist participants of trans people, what they think about them and their needs.	9	13

History of feminists against transgender ideology	Example of the fact that this clash between women's rights and transwomen's rights is not a new thing.	1	1
Identify as Feminist	Examples of feminist participants identifying as feminists and what schools or theories they follow within feminism and their thoughts around these issues.	13	19
Misogyny	Reference to the campaigns to support self-ID being nothing more than misogyny.	6	6
Patriarchy	The important aspect of a patriarchal society at play in this debate.	6	6
Pro Self-ID Activism	Examples of activism undertaken by pro self-ID participants, both past and present.	9	11
Pro Self-ID identify as feminist	Pro Self-ID participants description and views of their identification as feminists.	13	21
Radical Feminism	References to radical feminism and its importance or response to theories around gender.	3	4
Rolling back of women's rights	The impact of self-ID policies is akin to the rolling back of women's hard fought for rights.	3	4
Sex-based oppression	Reference to radical feminist view of women as a sex class. Particularly relevant to the male violence against women movement which was born out of radical feminism in the second wave.	7	8
Single Issue Feminism	Reference to women who only campaign against the transgender ideology and are not in the round feminists who join other campaigns.	3	5
Union member	Participants involved in trade unionism.	3	4
What about the men	A common question asked of feminists who work in the violence against women sector.	4	5

Women's Boundaries	A woman's boundaries and right to say 'no' are being taken away.	3	4
Working Class Women	Feminist working class women and the impact on them of the proposed changes.	2	3
WPUK	Reference to the grassroots feminist group A Woman's Place UK.	2	2
Hashtags	Hashtags of tweeted dataset.	1	123
Autogynephilia		1	1
BBCLibDemDebate		1	1
BradfordPride		1	1
BreakfastClub		1	1
DawnButler		1	1
developmenttwitter		1	1
DirectProvision		1	1
diversityandinclusion		1	1
EconPride		1	1
ExpelMe		1	8
ExpelThem		1	2
FairCopJR		1	1
FiLiA		1	1
FuckTerfs		1	1
gender		1	1
genderfree		1	6

GetTheLOut		1	3
GirlDick4Life		1	1
GRA		1	1
HeartbreakRPG		1	1
Homelessness		1	1
ideasworthfightingfor		1	1
identity		1	1
independence		1	1
istandwithmaya		1	1
JoinJo		1	1
Lab19		1	1
LabourLosingWomen		1	1
LabourManifesto		1	1
LesbianDayOfVisibility		1	1
Lesbians		1	1
LesbianVisibilityDay		1	1
LGBAlliance		1	1
LGBTHM20		1	1
LGBTVoices		1	1
LibDemLeadership		1	1
Libdems		1	1
magdalenberns		1	2

ManchesterPride		1	1
MayaForstater		1	1
MayaForstaterCase2019		1	1
MeghanMurphy		1	1
MRKHvoice		1	1
newsnight		1	1
NormalizeGirlDick		1	1
NSPCC		1	1
peaktrans		1	1
Pride		1	3
pronounsday		1	1
R4Today		1	2
RapeCulture		1	1
RestInPeace		1	1
sensefree		1	1
sex		1	1
sexmatters		1	1
sexnotgender		1	4
SkyPapers		1	1
SorryNotSorry		1	1
StockholmSyndrome		1	1
Stonewall		1	1

SwanseaPride		1	1
tdov		1	1
TDOV19		1	1
TERF		1	2
terfisaslur		1	1
TERFs		1	7
TERFsAreBigots		1	1
Thread		1	1
TransDayOfVisibility		1	1
transdayofvisibility		1	3
transgender		1	1
transphobic		1	1
TransPride		1	1
TransWomenAreWomen		1	1
tw19		1	1
UK		1	1
WarOnWomen		1	2
whatisawomanRdg		1	1
WokeStasi		1	1
Woman		1	1
Women		1	2
WomensLib2020		1	1

WomensLiberation2020		1	1
WPUK		1	1
WPUKLab19		1	5
WPUKLondon		1	1
Mentions	Mentions of pertinent tweets that relate to nodes on themes.	1	1941
Anon 1		1	1
Anon 2		1	3
Anon 3		1	1
Anon 4		1	1
Anon 5		1	2
Anon 6		1	1
Anon 7		1	1
Anon 8		1	1
Anon 9		1	1
Anon 10		1	1
Anon 11		1	1
Anon 12		1	3
AccentureUK		1	1
ACLU		1	5
Anon 13		1	1
adamsmithtimes		1	2
Anon 14		1	8

Anon 15		1	2
Anon 16		1	1
Anon 17		1	1
Anon 18		1	1
Anon 19		1	1
Anon 20		1	1
Anon 21		1	11
Anon 22		1	1
ALLIANCELGB		1	3
Anon 23		1	1
Always		1	3
Anon 24		1	1
Amnestyusa		1	2
Anon 25		1	1
Anon 26		1	1
Anon 27		1	1
Anon 28		1	1
Anon 29		1	1
Anon 30		1	9
Anon 31		1	2
Anon 32		1	1
Anon 33		1	2

Anon 34		1	1
Anon 35		1	1
Anon 36		1	3
Anon 37		1	15
Anon 38		1	1
Anon 39		1	1
Anon 40		1	1
Anon 41		1	1
Anon 42		1	1
Anon 43		1	1
Anon 44		1	1
Anon 45		1	2
Anon 46		1	4
Anon 47		1	1
Anon 48		1	1
Anon 49		1	14
Anon 50		1	1
BBCNews		1	2
BBCNewsnight		1	1
BBCr4today		1	2
BBCRadioScot		1	1
BBCWeekendGMS		1	1

Anon 51		1	1
Anon 52		1	1
Anon 53		1	1
Anon 54		1	1
Anon 55		1	1
Anon 56		1	6
Anon 57		1	1
Anon 58		1	1
Anon 59		1	1
Anon 60		1	1
Anon 61		1	1
Anon 62		1	9
Anon 63		1	1
Anon 64		1	2
Anon 65		1	14
Anon 66		1	1
Anon 67		1	2
Anon 68		1	1
Anon 69		1	5
Anon 70		1	5
Anon 71		1	1
Anon 72		1	1

Anon 73		1	1
Anon 74		1	1
Anon 75		1	15
Anon 76		1	1
BrightonPolice		1	1
Anon 77		1	2
Anon 78		1	2
Anon 79		1	1
Anon 80		1	1
Anon 81		1	1
Anon 82		1	1
Anon 83		1	1
Anon 84		1	1
Anon 85		1	1
Anon 86		1	1
Anon 87		1	1
Anon 88		1	1
Anon 89		1	2
Anon 90		1	1
Anon 91		1	1
Anon 92		1	7
cbcnewsbc		1	1

Anon 93		1	3
Anon 94		1	1
Channel4News		1	1
Anon 95		1	1
Anon 96		1	14
Anon 97		1	1
ChtyCommission		1	1
cityoflondon		1	1
Anon 98		1	1
Anon 99		1	2
Anon 100		1	2
ClickOffOrg		1	3
Anon 101		1	6
Anon 102		1	1
Anon 103		1	1
Anon 104		1	1
Commonswomequ		1	4
Anon 105		1	2
Anon 106		1	1
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Middle Ground	Any ideas of a middle ground for both groups to come together?	30	94
Equal Platform	A way forward needs to include an equal platform and playing field for both groups to be able to speak freely, particularly women.	1	1
Final thoughts	Participants summing up their thoughts at the end of the interviews.	9	10
Third Space	Could a third space like transgender women's refuge be a good solution to the issues for the VAW sector?	26	41

Universal Human Rights	A common denominator in this debate is basic universal human rights.	3	3
Motivation for access to SSE	Reasons or motivations of trans lobby or trans people to access spaces reserved for women.	27	68
Male Predators	References to male predators and what they will do to get to their victims. The essence of male predators is to be manipulative.	10	15
Sex Offenders	The reference to sex offenders evidences the fear for women and the reason why single sex exemptions are so important.	8	12
Sexual Fetish	References to the idea that men dress as women as a result of a sexual fetish.	5	8
Validation	The notion that the reason why transwomen need access to women's spaces is because they need validation that they are women.	7	8
Silencing	A deliberate attempt to prevent women from speaking and debating in relation to alternative or opposing views.	31	289
Attacks on Pro Self-ID	Examples of how participants who are pro Self-ID also experienced targeted attacks.	1	2
Blocklists	The use of blocklists is particular to twitter, it identifies the twitter user as someone who is deemed to be transphobic or a TERF.	2	2
Called names	Examples of the types of names people are called when entering the debate around the proposed changes to the GRA.	8	9
Consequences of speaking out	Evidence of why women do not speak out against the trans lobby groups and examples of the way they have been targeted.	10	38
Contact employer	Examples of when employers are contacted to prevent someone from speaking or to scare someone into silence.	5	8

Fear	Descriptions of whether participants have been fearful during campaigning or speaking up.	15	28
Literal violence	A term frequently used to claim that speaking against trans ideology is actual violence against trans people.	2	2
No Debate	#NoDebate is a slogan used by Stonewall and trans lobby groups to prevent any kind of debate or questioning of the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	9	11
Online silencing	Examples of attempts to silence debate online, particularly on twitter.	14	33
Other similar campaign examples	Other examples where the campaign has been so divisive and or toxic in nature with similar tactics used to silence dissent.	10	13
Pro Self-ID using term TERF	The view of the term TERF and its meanings from participants who are pro self-ID.	9	14
Pro Sex Work lobby groups	Specific examples of how the tactics of silencing are the same from pro sex worker lobby groups. Views that they are the same people. A lot of trans activists are pro sex work.	5	6
Silenced in the VAW and women's sector	Reasons why the Violence Against Women sector is so silent on the issue.	13	23
Silenced, shut down	General examples of the tactics and effects of silencing.	22	43
Targeted by TRAs	Examples of being targeted by Trans Rights Activists.	2	4
TERF, Bigot, Transphobe	Examples of the types of consistent name calling and targeting experienced by women who enter the debate or challenge the ideology.	16	41
Universities	The role and responsibility of universities and academics to foster debate.	4	4
Witches	References to the similarity of this topic making women who speak up the modern-day witch.	4	5

Women not consulted	Reference to the Transgender Equality Inquiry in 2015 and how women's groups were not consulted.	3	3
The proposed changes to the Gender Recognition Act 2004	All references to the proposed changes to the GRA including the participants views on those changes and the way that government and political parties handled the debate.	31	251
Brexit	References to Brexit, either as an example of the similarities of polarised debate or the fact it was at the same time as the proposed changes to the GRA and therefore hindered progress in some way.	6	9
Government and politicians	Participants views on how government and politicians dealt with the consultation and the overall debate.	27	52
Medicalisation	References to the medicalisation of trans people and children.	5	5
Prisons	Reference to the issues in prison and the way those issues have been raised.	5	5
Pro Self ID view on proposed changes	The view and understanding of pro self-participants on the proposed changes to the GRA.	13	38
Proposed changes	Feminist participants understanding and views of the proposed changes to the GRA.	14	20
Self ID	References to Self-ID as a concept and agreement/ disagreement with the idea of it.	17	32
Self ID race	Comparisons and references to people being able to self-ID into any racial group.	3	4
The Left	Reference to the political left and how they responded to the debate as well as their contribution to the silencing of women.	10	50
Toilets	References to the debate around toilets which is one example of where single sex exemptions become most obvious to the	4	4

	general public. The logistics of the fact that transgender people have always used the toilet of their preferred gender.		
Why campaign	Participants reasons for campaigning around the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	17	32
The violence against women sector	Overarching node to involve both the importance of the VAW sector and any impact Self-ID laws or policies would have on female only spaces. Includes the responses from the movement on both sides of the debate and their views on trans inclusive services. As well as specific reference to those organisations who were part of the stonewall research and presented as supportive of Self-ID and the proposed changes to the GRA 2004.	31	316
Commissioning services	How services are commissioned in the VAW sector and the impact on female only spaces.	3	4
EA2010	Equality Act 2010 and its importance for female only spaces. Also includes the clash of Self-ID policies with the EA2010 and single sex spaces.	15	25
Educating women	Views on how women who do not believe transgender ideology Eg. that transwomen are women, particularly in refuges, should be 'educated'.	6	14
Funding	The effects of funding of services in the violence against women sector with regards to trans inclusion. Includes why the voice of the sector is so absent.	14	21
Impact on female only space	The impact on female only space for victims of male violence if self-ID is adopted in law and or policy.	23	41
Importance of female only space	Why female only spaces are important to women.	19	33
Male Violence	Why this issue is so important to debate in a backdrop of the pandemic of male violence against women.	5	7

Othering	The idea that if you do not allow transwomen into refuges then you are othering them, which is akin to racism.	3	4
Policy changes ahead of the law	Examples of policy changes being made ahead of any change in the law around Gender Recognition.	10	16
Pro self-ID in VAW sector	Examples of pro self-ID participants views in the VAW sector.	6	20
SSE	Single Sex Exemptions as laid out in the Equality Act 2010. The application of them in the VAW sector.	8	26
Stonewall VAW research	Participants who were part of the Stonewall VAW sector research and presented as having no issues with the proposed changes to the GRA in that research.	6	31
Trans inclusive women's services	Views of the workings of trans inclusive women's services in the VAW sector. How they work and what they do.	17	58
Transgender victims of male violence	Understanding the issues of transgender victims of male violence.	5	6
VAW orgs maintaining SSE	Impact on those organisations that are maintaining single sex exemptions in the VAW sector.	2	4
Women's Aid and Rape Crisis	Views on why the second-tier organisations, particularly those set up in the second wave by feminist women are not speaking up and the impact this is having.	5	6
Transgender Rights movement	Descriptions of activism of the TRA movement. Including reasons behind their campaigns and feminist's views of their motives. Additionally, how the T fits in with the rest of the LGB+ campaigns.	28	140
Against Trans Ideology	Arguments and reasons against trans ideology.	3	5
Children	References to transgender lobbyists on children and young people.	6	11

Extreme TRAs	Extreme tactics used by some activists who believe in the trans agenda.	4	4
Gay rights movement	References to campaigns in the gay rights movement, prior to the focus on the trans agenda.	1	2
Genuine dysphoria	Thoughts on dysphoria, including an example from a transman.	2	2
Hate Crime	References to any dissent on transgender ideology being lodged as a hate crime.	2	4
Identity Politics	Identity politics sits largely with the left of centre and has become the norm in many political groups.	2	4
Lesbians	The impact on lesbian women of transgender ideology.	11	19
LGBT movement	The responses from the LGBT movement to transgender campaigning and lobbyists.	8	11
MRA	Men's rights activism. Many of the women who disagree with the trans agenda notice the comparisons of trans activists as men's rights activists.	6	6
Non-Binary	People who are non-binary are included under the trans umbrella and often forgotten as a group.	2	3
Opinions of transgender ideology	Feminist participants views on transgender ideology and how damaging it is.	1	3
Other Cultures	References to other cultures that accept a third gender or transgender ideology.	1	1
Passing Privilege	A reference to passing as the gender of their choice from a trans person who has transitioned.	1	1
Queer	Examples of being within or clashing with those who identify as 'queer'.	2	2
Queer Theory	References to queer theory and its place in this debate.	2	3

S.28	References to the campaign to repeal s.28.	1	3
Support self-ID	Examples of supporting self-ID as a concept.	1	1
Trans Allies	Supporters and allies of transgender people who campaign for the adoption of self-ID and the changes to the GRA.	5	10
Trans lobby	Trans lobby groups like Stonewall, Transgender Alliance who lobby government and statutory bodies on changing policies to adopt practices of self-ID.	14	23
Trans Umbrella	The wide definitions of what it means to be trans and what now comes under the transgender umbrella.	4	5
Transmen	Often forgotten in this debate are transmen. One participant in my research identifies as a transgender man.	5	5
Transphobia	The notion of transphobia and what it means.	7	10
Transsexual	The old terminology of transsexual is now deemed outdated, but many transsexuals do not agree with self-ID.	2	2
What is a woman	The most important question in this whole debate, what is a woman?	31	158
Biological essentialism	Reference to the deterministic arguments of biology. For example, if you are a man you are better at science and if you are a woman you naturally want to care for people. Biological essentialism is closely linked to patriarchal structures that keep women subordinate. Many pro self-ID see the argument against trans ideology as biological essentialism.	2	4
Biological sex	References to biological sex including the belief that biological sex is on a spectrum.	5	6
Cisgender	A term adopted by the trans rights movement to mean 'not trans'. Cisgender or 'cis' equates to aligning with the gender assigned at birth.	5	5

Denying reality	The idea that believing in the trans mantra's takes a person to deny reality.	1	1
Female Erasure	Erasing what it means to be female and a woman.	1	1
Gender Stereotyping	Reference to how gender stereotyping has a huge influence on the debate and supports transgender ideology.	9	16
Language	References to language being changed to adopt trans inclusive terminology and the impact of this.	4	7
Pronouns	Transgender ideology insists that one respects a trans persons pronouns no matter their appearance or someone's belief in whether they are indeed a man or a woman. References to the changing of language needing to be adhered too.	2	4
Sex v gender	Sex and gender are two very different things with very different meanings.	8	10
Sexual Dimorphism	Disordered sexual development, also referred to as Intersex.	3	5
Sports	The relevance of the debate of transwomen in female sports and how the nature of this has highlighted the issues with self-ID.	5	8
TW are TW	As opposed to transwomen being actual women, many believe that transwomen are transwomen.	4	4
TWAW	'Trans women are women' is the famous slogan used by trans lobby groups and repeated by many.	16	32
Women v Men Socialisation	References to male socialisation being something that a transwoman cannot just shake off. The difference between being brought up male or female affects one's socialisation.	3	3
What Is A Woman Question		31	43
Adult Human Female		13	15

Bio		5	6
Feels like a woman		4	5
Female		3	4
Identifies as a woman		3	3
Woman is gender		2	3
Woman is perception		1	1

