CREATING A THREAT: NARRATIVES OF TRANSGENDER PEOPLE IN UK MAINSTREAM NEWSPAPERS FOLLOWING THE APRIL 2025 SUPREME COURT RULING.

By Eden Edge

Abstract

The April 2025 Supreme Court ruling, For Women Scotland vs The Scottish Ministers, determined that the terms 'woman' and 'sex' referred to biological sex. Demonstratively, this was a significant moment for the ongoing political and cultural argument of transgender rights within the UK and press coverage was extremely high. However, there is a gap in understanding how mainstream newspapers framed this ruling and the ongoing implications for transgender and gender-diverse people. This dissertation addresses that gap and uses latent thematic analysis to look at 84 articles across seven newspaper publications – all written in a four-week period surrounding the ruling. It draws upon media and sociology theories like Stanley Cohen's moral panics, Todd Gitlin's media framing and Julia Serano's ideas of transmisogyny and archetypes. Three dominant themes were identified, being: transgender inclusion as a threat to safety, the ruling as part of a wider culture war, and biological sex as being the commonsense reality. Working together, these themes construct a singular narrative arc which demonstrates how newspapers contribute towards the erasure of transsexual and transgender people.

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Introduction

Throughout the 2020s, transgender rights have become an increasingly debated topic by politicians and the media. These debates reached a breaking-point in the UK when For Women Scotland, a gender-critical group, sued the Scottish Government over clarification of whether the terms “man”, “woman” and “sex” referred to biological sex or included transgender people who hold a GRC (Gender Recognition Certificate) in the UK Equality Act. Statistics from 2025 suggest that 10,000 people in the UK hold a GRC, and the supreme court unanimously ruled on April 16, 2025, that these individuals have not legally changed their sex for the purposes of the Equality Act. In February 2026, it was revealed that the Scottish Government paid £392,000 to FWS to settle their legal fees, bringing the total costs for the Scottish Government to £766,000.

Prior to the ruling, the UK had seen an increase in anti-transgender politics, with a major development being that gender-critical opinions could be seen as protected philosophical beliefs under the Equality Act 2010 (Brione, 2022). Furthermore, YouGov (2025) discovered that scepticism toward transgender rights has grown majorly in the past years, with 48% of Britons now believing that transgender people should not be able to change their legal gender, an 11-point increase since 2022. Most of the British public also now do not believe that gender affirming surgery or hormones should be available on the NHS (YouGov, 2025).

The UK Government framed the ruling as bringing administrative clarity for service providers, with Prime Minister Sir Keir Starmer saying ‘I welcome the court’s decision and ruling. I think it’s very important that we now have real clarity, which is going to be really helpful for … everybody going forward’ (Sky News, 2025). However, the Supreme Court’s decision essentially reinforced a binary, birth-assigned definition of sex and gender – allowing charities, companies, sporting associations and other single-sex spaces to fundamentally ban transgender people.

Unsurprisingly, there was a plethora of press coverage of the ruling, despite this, a critical gap is still present in understanding how exactly the media framed the ruling. This dissertation, therefore, looks at over 80 articles across seven publications to uncover the latent themes and archetypes used to construct certain narratives during such a pivotal legal moment in the UK.

Building on this, the primary aim of this research is to deconstruct the themes present in these articles and the framing of the 2025 Supreme Court ruling. Therefore, the study will aim to answer these following questions:

1. What are the dominant narratives used by different mainstream publications to interpret the Supreme Court ruling?
2. How are themes and archetypes used to moralise the regression of transgender rights in the UK press?

Literature Review

Mainstream newspapers play a central role in shaping how debates such as transgender rights are understood by the public, not only through reporting, but also through how these issues are framed by the media and what voices are amplified above others. As mentioned, the April 2025 Supreme Court ruling on the definition of sex within the Equality Act 2010 caused press coverage to amplify and highlighted the ways in which transgender people are framed within these newspaper's narratives.

This literature review establishes the theoretical, political, social and media context of these debates – which is necessary to examine newspaper coverage of transgender people during this vital moment. It draws from media theories of moral panic and framing, trans and queer studies on representation, and gender-critical literature to understand how these arguments have influenced public debate. This review will also consider the existing research on stereotypical depictions of transgender people, as well as guidance on how these representations could be improved. Combining all these theories will provide the framework for successfully analysing which narratives are most frequently apparent throughout press coverage surrounding the ruling, and how these narratives contribute to stereotypical depictions of transgender people.

To fully understand media representations of transgender people, clarity is required surrounding the difference between sex and gender. Whether purposefully during public discourse or on accident, these terms can be often misconstrued to one another. Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1999) challenges gender essentialist assumptions about this relationship, arguing if "gender is the cultural meanings that the sexed body assumes, then a gender cannot be said to follow from a sex in any one way." (Butler, 1999, p11). Rather than viewing gender as an extension of biological sex, Butler destabilises the idea sex and gender exist in a fixed relationship. Therefore, their work is particularly relevant when analysing media narratives that suggest that gender is biologically connected and unchangeable. This study will explore whether bioessentialism language in mainstream newspapers position transgender individuals as deviations from a presumed hegemonic norm. Therefore, this framework is essential for acknowledging the difference between these two terms and understanding how to identify when newspapers use these bio-essentialist framings.

It is also important to consider the definition of transphobia, which is not just singular acts of prejudice, but something that is embedded structurally within institutions and the media. In Whipping Girl, Serano (2007) defines this phenomenon as a "irrational fear of, or aversion to, or discrimination against people whose gendered identities, appearances, or behaviours deviate from social norms". This bias is further evidenced

by how transgender people are “systematically pathologized by the medical and psychological establishment” and “sensationalized and ridiculed by the media” (Serano, 2007, p15). Newspapers play an essential role in amplifying these dynamics, as they are often one of the main ways the public encounter transgender issues – if they are framed as a deviation or controversial, this can further influence public perception. Serano also identifies that media depictions of trans women often fall into two main archetypes: the “deceptive transsexual” and the “pathetic transsexual” (Serano, 2007). The deceptive stereotype characterises transgender people who successfully pass as a woman as being sexual deviants, predators or villains. In contrast, the “pathetic transsexual” is often portrayed as someone who fails to depict herself as a woman in any meaningful way – so much so that their female identity is laughable and reinforces the assumption that they are just disillusioned men. This introduces the idea of transmisogyny, a form of bigotry where trans women are not just ridiculed by transphobia, but by their expression of femininity (Serano, 2007).

Building on this, a key framework required to understand the way transgender individuals can be framed by mainstream newspaper coverage is Stanley Cohen’s (1972) theory of Folk Devil’s and Moral Panics (1972), which outlines how the media can construct minority groups as threats and manipulate the public into “taking some things too seriously and other things not seriously enough”.

Cohen explores this process through his analysis of the Mods and Rockers subcultures, demonstrating how the media used sensationalist language like ‘orgy of destruction’, ‘attack’ and ‘siege’ to dramatise rather minor incidents (Cohen, 1972, p26). These groups were constructed as folk devils, which are figures positioned as threats to societal values and interests and represented in a “stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media” (Cohen, 1972, p.1). Importantly, Cohen emphasises that these moral panics are not confined to youth subcultures but reoccur whenever groups are perceived to challenge hegemonic norms.

This framework is directly applicable to contemporary coverage of transgender issues, where mainstream newspapers have frequently framed trans people as threats to the nuclear family, women’s spaces, or child safeguarding. By adapting Cohen’s theory to this context, it is essential to consider when looking at the newspaper narratives surrounding the April 2025 Supreme Court ruling, and whether they exhibit similar patterns of exaggeration, stereotyping, and threat construction.

Similarly to Cohen’s work, Todd Gitlin (1980) analyses the specific framing devices used by the mainstream press to demonise those it finds a threat to a presumed hegemonic order. In contrast, however, Gitlin specifically looks at the characterisation and attempted delegitimization of the American New Left during the Vietnam-Era of protests. Despite this, The Whole World is Watching is still essential literature to consider, particularly due to the framing devices described being applicable to most progressive movements, including trans rights. Gitlin describes the earliest framing devices seen as being: trivialisation (making light of the movement), polarisation

(emphasising counter protests and describing as extremist), emphasis on internal dissension, marginalisation (making people out to be un-representative of the movement), disparagement of effectiveness, reliance on statements by government officials and authorities, emphasis on violence and attention to right-wing opposition (Gitlin, 1980, p27-28).

It is essential to consider how the representation in the British Press for transgender individuals has undergone significant changes over the last decade. Research commissioned by IPSO (Mediatique Limited, 2020), an independent press regulator, identifies three phases of development on the reporting of transgender issues. A "disrespectful" phase, in which mocking and pejorative language is used, a "human interest phase" which focus on famous celebrities and 'transgender scandals' and the current "policy" phase – which focuses on the reporting of complex legal issues, such as the one this dissertation is focused on. IPSO notes that there has been an improvement on the use of language over the past decade and improved usage of correct pronouns, however they also acknowledge that it has caused "wide and fierce debate" (Mediatique, 2020, p1) which may suggest "tangibly worsening standards" (Mediatique, 2020, p2) or increased hostility towards transgender individuals.

Transgender-related stories were historically seen more in broadsheet papers, but now, half of these stories are seen in tabloids (Mediatique, 2020). Baker (2014) highlights in his critical discourse analysis on representations of transgender people that tabloids typically use essentialising language, frequently using 'transsexual' as a noun to reduce individuals to a singular trait. Baker also identifies that a narrative of being "prone to take offence" (Baker, 2014, p230) is often used by mainstream newspapers – a narrative strategy used to dismiss transgender rights as unserious and transphobia as being "offended over trivialities" (Baker, 2014, p222).

Despite improvements in language, sensationalism is still very present at the heart of UK reporting. Drawing on the work of Julia Serano, Humphrey (2016) highlights how the media continues to rely on the transphobic and trans-misogynistic stereotypes of the 'pathetic' and 'deceptive' transsexuals. There is also a focus on sensationalist stories, especially those regarding crime, in which misgendering is usually more likely (Baker, 2014).

More complex transgender identities are also often completely ignored in modern newspaper representations. According to Humphrey (2016, p8) "nonbinary research participants felt their lives were excluded completely from media coverage", as journalists tend to prioritise stories that fit into the gender binary. Media professionals can also reportedly struggle with non-gendered language, with concerns that readers will find preferred plural pronouns difficult to grasp (Mediatique, 2020).

Another important trans theorist to consider is Vivian Namaste and her work in Invisible Lives. To preface, Namaste draws a distinct difference between the terms transsexual and transgender both politically and as a descriptor. While "transgendered" is

sometimes used as a broader descriptive term, she specifically uses “transsexual” to refer to people who are directly affected by legal issues, medical changes and institutional bureaucracy (Namaste, 2005).

Throughout the text Namaste explores the erasure of transsexuals socially, culturally and institutionally. She argues that dominant policies purposefully exclude trans people, stating that “a gendered knowledge of violence – one that presupposes men’s bodies – ignores and excludes the bodies and experiences of transexual and transgendered people.” (Namaste, p.155, 2000). She further argues that policy discourse fails to account for the vulnerabilities of transgender people, from employment and healthcare to legal papers (Namaste, 2000).

If the erasure of transsexuals is a systematic process, Namaste’s work is crucial to consider when analysing the ways in which mainstream media may replicate these institutional biases. It’s essential to acknowledge whether there are themes of erasure through seeing whose stories are centered.

Alongside trans scholarship, gender critical literature can be seen as having an influence on public debate and mainstream newspaper narratives. Gender-critical scholars like Sheila Jeffreys characterise “transgenderism” as “but one way in which ‘gender’ hurts people and societies” (Jeffreys, 2014, p.10). Whilst Jeffreys argues for the abolition of gender as a hierarchy, she also states that the “campaign for transgender rights” has led to a “clash of rights” where the inclusion of “men who transgender” into female spaces like prisons and bathrooms transgresses the hard-fought rights of women (Jeffreys, 2014, p.20). Within Jeffreys’ theories, the inclusion of trans women in spaces traditionally designated for women, like prisons, bathrooms, or sports, becomes presented as a challenge to feminist ideals. These arguments regarding protecting the gains of women’s rights have become highly visible within contemporary public discourse and frequently appear in newspaper commentary and opinion coverage.

Furthermore, the narrative of transgender people being a social contagion and threat, especially amongst youth, can be seen as having been bolstered by the work of Abigail Shirer in ‘Irreversible Damage’ (2020). Shirer describes a “transgender craze”, where teenage girls with “no history of dysphoria” are being steeped in “radical gender ideology taught in schools or found on the internet”. Shirer describes this as causing “rapid onset gender dysphoria” where adolescent girls transition to fit in socially. According to Shirer, this has led to the eradication of lesbians, with masculinepresenting girls being “cornered into a trans identity” rather than coming out as lesbian (Shirer, 2020, p35).

By framing the increase in trans identification as being a social craze or pitting lesbians and cis women against transgender people in a “clash of rights”, both texts include the specific vocabulary designed to create a moral panic (Cohen, 1972), and are clearly utilising the framing devices that Gitlin describes, such as ‘polarisation’ and ‘marginalisation’ (Gitlin, 1980).

To further understand how specific editorial choices may come across as harmful to the transgender community, it is essential to be aware of what journalistic practices advocacy groups find controversial. Trans Media Watch (2026) provide a list of "Approaches to Avoid", which will serve as a benchmark for this study. A notable inclusion in the TMW list is an "inappropriate use of inverted commas" around names or pronouns (e.g. calling a trans man a "he"). This practice undermines the identity of a transgender person and implies that they are deluded or incorrect. Furthermore, the guidance also warns against a gratuitous focus on surgery or appearance, as this reduces someone's transgender identity to their ability to pass or whether they've had 'sex-changing surgery', mirroring the bio-essentialist framing discussed by Butler (1999). Other harms like "deadnaming" and "gratuitous use of trans status" are also identified, where a trans identity will be attached to things like crimes or minor achievements. Overall, for this dissertation, the TMW guidance will provide a strong framework to measure whether newspaper coverage adheres to professional standards.

In summary, existing literature and research suggests that reporting on transgender issues and rights has become much more politicised, despite improvements in professionalism. By combining the deconstruction of bio-essentialism by Butler (1999), Serano's (2007) archetypes and 'transmisogyny' terminology and Cohen's (1972) theories on Moral Panics, it becomes clear that transgender people can be seen as being constructed to be "folk devils" to protect hegemonic gender orders. Despite this, most research conducted on representations and framings of transgender people in the UK press has been generalised and not specific to any major legal or cultural moments. Therefore, there is a clear opening to analyse the specific thematic methods used by the mainstream press during a monumental legal change, such as the April 2025 Supreme Court ruling. Using the aforementioned theories this dissertation will analyse how exactly the UK press created narratives around transgender people during this moment.

Methodology

This study employs the use of social constructionism, inspired by the work of Burr (2015), to understand how the media doesn't just merely report on reality but actively constructs it. In this way, news is not a true indication of reality, but a product that has been shaped by social, cultural and political factors. This is achieved through the specific selection of narratives, language, voices and archetypes. Through deeply analysing the mainstream press reaction to the Supreme Court's ruling on biological sex in April 2025, this research aims to uncover the ways in which certain narratives were favoured and how this was manufactured.

The chosen method for this research was Thematic Analysis which closely followed the framework of Braun and **Clarke (2006). This** framework **involved familiarisation with the data, generating initial codes**, grouping into themes, reviewing those themes, defining the specifics of the themes and finally creating the analysis. Due to the nature of the text being analysed, a latent approach was found to be most suitable. This allowed for a much deeper exploration into the underlying meanings present – such as the types of archetypes being created and the absence of certain groups being discussed.

It was essential to create a 'full map' of the UK's mainstream press; therefore, purposive sampling was used to select a range of newspaper publications across different formats and political inclinations. Despite this, the analysis does focus on publications where there is the heaviest thematic material.
These publications were researched through NexusUni's database, a research platform with various sources and the ability to narrowly filter searches to find applicable data.
To create a fair spectrum of data publications were grouped into the following (fig 1.)

Name of Publication	**Format of Publication**	**Political Leaning**
The Guardian	Broadsheet	Left
The Independent	Broadsheet	Left
The Times	Broadsheet	Right
The Daily Telegraph	Broadsheet	Right
The Daily Mail	Tabloid	Right
The Mirror	Tabloid	Left
The Evening Standard	Local Tabloid (London)	Centre

(Figure 1)

Using Nexus Uni, the search was filtered to the keywords "Supreme Court" and "transgender" and the time window was set for a period of 4 weeks – two weeks preceding and following the Supreme Court ruling on April 16th, 2025. This timeframe was chosen to give a broad look at the anticipation and discussions occurring leading up to the ruling, and then the aftermath, whilst remaining specific.

It was important to ensure analytical depth whilst still obtaining a set of data which would be manageable. Therefore, the first twelve articles were selected when sorting by Nexus Uni's relevancy filter. After removing duplicates, this left a sample set of 84 articles, these are further detailed in Appendix A. It was observed that after twelve articles, the themes and subject matter were often repetitive, hence this number was chosen.
Moving onto the coding procedure, this was conducted through NVivo 14, a qualitative data analysis software. NVivo was extremely helpful and allowed for an easily managed, systematic tracking of codes. In deductive Thematic Analysis, the researcher is "positioned as active in the research process" (Braun and Clarke, p.269, 2021), and it is

up to the researcher to interpret themes from the data. Therefore, the following starting codes were observed, inspired by the existing theoretical constructs observed previously. This can be seen further in Appendix B:

The Threat of Safety
- Single-Sex Spaces
- Safeguarding Children
- Fairness in Sports

Culture War
- Social Progression vs Tradition
- Captured Institutions

Erasure of Equal Rights
- Marginalisation
- Institutional Bias
- Regression of Human Rights

Return to Reality
- Absence of Transmen
- Bioessentialism
- Clarifying linguistics
- Return to commonsense

From these codes, certain archetypes were deduced which became their own set of codes. These represented the type of narrative characters the media constructed which are typically microcosms of larger political ideologies. These included:

- **A Commonsense Judge:** A figure which represented legal or another form of authority, usually used by the press in both right-wing and left-wing papers to frame the ruling as fact and bioessentialism as the 'correct' ideology.
- **The Vulnerable Minority:** Separated by 'Cis Woman' and 'Trans Victim' this archetype typically either framed Cis Women as people who needed to be protected from transgender people, or in left-wing publications viewed trans people as being victims of marginalisation.
- **The Folk Devil:** Using the work of Cohen (1972), this was usually found in tabloids and would personify a 'threat' through referencing specific criminal cases to justify the regression of rights.
- **Pathetic Transsexual and Deceptive Transsexual:** Inspired by Julia Serano (2007), these codes were used to look at the descriptions and narrative depictions of trans women. The "deceptive" code often framed trans women who hold a GRC and pass as being predators and infiltrating women's spaces. Alternatively, the "pathetic" code referred to those who do not pass and are simply men unsuccessfully attempting to be women.

- **Innocent Child:** This archetype was frequently utilized when discussing the safeguarding of children and usually positioned children as victims of radical gender ideology – clearly drawing from the arguments of TERFs (trans exclusionary radical feminists) like Shirer (2020).

Reflexivity involves "critically interrogating what we do, how and why we do it, and the impacts and influences of this on our research." (Braun and Clarke, p.5, 2021). According to Braun and Clarke (p.270, 2021) it is essential to "reflect on the prior knowledge and assumptions you bring into the research and how these might shape your interpretation of your data". Therefore, it is important to state that I approach this research from the positioner of an insider to the topic, my own personal experience being someone who identifies as transgender has provided me with a deep understanding of the terminology, controversies and impact of the court case in which this study revolves around. In thematic analysis, the role of the researcher is to be the interpreter of meaning or a "subjective storyteller" (Braun and Clarke, p.6, 2021) in which subjectivity is highly valued if reflexively engaged in.

Consequentially, this positioning as an insider should both be interrogated and viewed as an asset to the study. As someone who has experienced judgement and systematic oppression for my identity, I am aware of specific "dog-whistle" methods and language used to marginalise people like me. For example, the weaponisation of the idea of "seeking clarity" from this court case. This subjectivity is productive to the research and allowed me to map the narratives found in the 84 articles. This approach also acknowledges that I am documenting and researching a topic that had and will have a direct impact on my own legal identity and future, allowing me to much deeply interpret the themes found and how they may seek to render trans people as non-existent.

Analysis

In this analysis, I will use the subjective storytelling (Braun and Clarke, 2021) discussed during my methodology to deconstruct three primary themes discovered from the aforementioned codes. This section will use a latent thematic analysis of the 84 newspaper articles to examine how the April 2025 Supreme Court ruling (For Women Scotland vs The Scottish Ministers) was constructed in the UK press. As established, the study will build on the theoretical and methodological frameworks discussed in previous sections and will use the social constructionist lens to understand news as a product shaped through discourse and framing. For example, concepts such as moral panics, newspaper framings, bio-essentialism and transphobic archetypes are clearly drawn from the theoretical insights of scholars discussed previously.
The aim of this analysis is to truly interrogate how meaning is produced surrounding transgender people, and how specific narratives and archetypes do this.

From the established codes three major themes were identified as being the typical narratives used by the mainstream press. These being: The Threat of Safety, Culture War, and a Return to Reality or Common Sense. More minor themes work alongside these, which will be discussed as and when they are applicable. These key themes also work in collaboration with each other regularly, not just in isolated incidents. In line with Braun and Clarke's thoughts on what makes exemplary thematic analysis, this analysis will deeply look at the latent meanings embedded within the text and narratives. This will be achieved through looking at language, framing devices and the construction of archetypes.

1: The Construction of Threat

One of the most dominant themes across the sample set of newspaper articles is the construction of transgender inclusion and equality as being a question of safety or threat to other marginalised groups. This usually involved exaggeration or emphasis on controversy and violence, a technique central to Stanley Cohen's (1972) theory of moral panic. The most common framing of this was of transgender people being a threat to women's spaces, children or fairness (such as in sports).

Before analysing this theme, an important absence must be highlighted. A notable pattern in the data is the disproportionate focus on transgender women and transfeminism in comparison to transgender men and trans-masculinism. For example, as seen in Appendix C, references to "trans women" and "transgender women" appeared 239 times across the seven publications. By contrast, the terms "trans men" and "transgender men" only appeared 11 times. This is extremely significant to consider throughout the analysis, as it suggests a non-neutral distribution of coverage, and links to the work of Vivian Namaste (2000) who argues that institutions will erase transsexual experience that do not align with dominant narratives. In line with the latent thematic approach discussed by Braun and Clarke (2021), this imbalance will be looked at beyond these quantitative figures.

The dominance of trans women is directly linked to the theme of a threat of safety, as it aligns perfectly with Serano's (2007) concepts of trans-misogyny, in which transgender women are not only judged for their transness but also for their femininity. This allows the media to construct a singular folk devil (Cohen, 1972) and to focus on anxieties around male violence and cis women as vulnerable.

This is primarily achieved in tabloid articles such as The Daily Mail by framing the Supreme Court ruling as a necessary barrier to stop biological men from intruding on women's spaces.

For example, in The Daily Mail article titled "A win for realism and respect at last", published two days after the ruling on April 18th, 2025, the author states "give trans

people their own toilets and changing rooms" and includes reader comments where individuals say statements like:

"Perhaps now we can get ladies' toilets and female hospital wards and changing rooms back to how they should be. What a strange world we live in when women must go to court to have judges decide who they are." (*The Daily Mail*, 2025)

The reference to "real women" constructs a distinction between cisgender and transgender women, suggesting that trans women are inauthentic of their femininity. This is clear demonstration of the archetypes regarding transexuals discussed by Julia Serano (EMPTY) where the "deceptive transsexual" narrative is clearly implied and that trans women are deceptively occupying female spaces rather than being recognised as women. By demanding separate spaces, The Daily Mail enforces the marginalisation of transgender people, essentially segregating them from either gender. This is a clear attempt to other transgender women, stripping them from their womanhood and classifying them as a threat.

This is also an example of the polarisation device described by Gitlin (1980) used by the media to discredit progressive movements. This framework allows the publication to construct transgender inclusion as extremist (Gitlin, 1980) and in opposition to women's rights, and the framing of the ruling to return to "how things should be" constructs a narrative of a nostalgic, hegemonic reality where inclusion is seen as unnatural.

Furthermore, this also relies on bio-essentialism, as described by Judith Butler as a method of creating a strict gender binary. The author suggests that womanhood is a fixed, biological fact rather than a socially constructed or performed identity (Butler, 1999). Using the social constructionist lens, this realism is therefore not portrayed as a neutral fact, but as a way the press can erase gender diversity and use the law to justify marginalisation.

The theme of the construction of threat is further intensified when looking at the narrative of the impact on children. In The Daily Mail, this is seen through evoking an archetype of an innocent child being exposed to what Shirer describes as the transgender social contagion or craze (Shirer, EMPTY). In an article discussing a Lush store putting transgender information leaflets in children's party bags, the author includes an interview with a mother who calls the leaflets:

"fully propaganda in tone." (McGuigan, 2025)

The inclusion of this interview, as well as the specific language is extremely significant. The use of the term "propaganda" implies a deliberate attempt to manipulate children rather than just neutrally educate them on a subject they may not know about. By framing the leaflet this way, the article constructs a narrative of a threat to safety by suggesting that transgender individuals are influencing children rather than just existing

in the real world. Once again, the idea of the social constructionist lens (Burr, 2015) is extremely important to consider when....

The same interviewee also states:

'Pretty sure nobody is handing these out to little boys at football parties.'

The comparison here to "little boys at football parties" creates the idea of a masculine space that is free from transgender influence, which itself seems to suggest that young girls are the most susceptible to 'transgender influence'. This directly mirrors the theories of gender-critical scholar Abigail Shirer, who argues that adolescent girls are susceptible to a social contagion effect of transgenderism.

This framing is not just isolated to tabloids but is reproduced across more 'professional' forms of journalism, such as broadsheets, albeit in a less obvious way. In The Telegraph for example, similar concerns about a threat to safety are presented in a more legalistic way rather than emotive. In an article which discusses the impact on single-sex spaces, Conservative politician Lord Arbuthnot is quoted as saying:

"If someone who is a natal man is sent to a female prison, a rapist is sent to a female prison, I think that is a real problem." (Gibbons, 2025)

On the surface, the statement talks about a hypothetical scenario of the risk of having transgender people in single-sex spaces. However, the use of the phrases "natal man" alongside "rapist" implies that there is a similarity between transgender women and sexual violence.

This aligns with Cohen's (1972) theories on Moral Panic, in which the media exaggerates perceived threats of minority groups. This hypothetical trans rapist becomes the archetypal folk devil, where the complexities of the Supreme Court's ruling is reduced to a single figure of threat. Furthermore, this also reflects Gitlin's (EMPTY) argument that the media prioritises statements from officials to discredit movements and focuses on violence. The reliance on a politician's voice in this article, and no statements from transgender people or activists attempts to produce a narrative of legal neutrality, where the exclusion of transgender people is a form of risk management. Moreover, this also further reinforces Namaste's (2000) arguments of the institutional erasure of trans voices.

This also relates to the thematic archetypes discussed previously, with the idea of Commonsense Judge who is the authority voice on the interpretation of this ruling bringing clarity and reducing the risk of threat to women. This also relies on the archetype of the vulnerable cis woman who needs to be protected from a "deceptive transsexual" (Serano, 2007) threat.

Also seen in right-leaning press like The Telegraph is a primary focus on the impact of fairness in sports, which is another keyway that the theme of threat is portrayed. Unlike safeguarding children, sports coverage often frames transgender exclusion as something that must occur to ensure fairness – often relying on the ideas of bioessentialism to create a sense of threat.

In one article which discusses the impact of the supreme court on transgender inclusion, the author states:

"For too long, this dangerous delusion has inflicted myriad outrages upon the nation's women, from a male in the Cambridge University women's Boat Race squad, to an allmale women's pool final, to a 17-year-old girl finding herself banned from six football matches for asking a male opponent, "Are you a man?" (Brown, 2025)

The structure of this sentence is extremely significant to consider, as the list format rapidly escalates examples and creates the idea of a broader systematic issue. This mirrors Cohen's (1972) ideas of moral panic, where small, isolated incidents are framed as larger incidents and exaggerated to create this idea of social threat. Realistically, transgender inclusion in sports is an extremely complicated issue – as not every trans person is on the same stage of medical transition. However, rather than framing it as complex or nuanced, The Telegraph creates a pattern of invasiveness and a threat to competitive fairness.

Furthermore, the deliberate use of the phrase "male opponent" instead of trans woman, or even just opponent, is extremely revealing as it implies the bio-essentialist views critiqued by Butler (1999) - where sex is an unchangeable truth that determines identity and purpose. Specifically, the insistence on biological categorisation reflects Butler's argument that: "the univocity of sex, the internal coherence of gender, and the binary framework for both sex and gender are… regulatory fictions that consolidate and naturalize the convergent power regimes of masculine and heterosexist oppression" (Butler, p.44, 1999). By reducing trans women to men to discuss the impact of the supreme court's ruling on sports, The Telegraph mirrors what Butler refers to as the "tactical production of the discrete and binary categorization of sex," (Butler, 1999, p.31.). This seeks to make anyone who identifies outside of these norms as non-existent and invisible, synthesising with Namaste's (2000) theories on how "erasure is a defining condition of how transsexuality is managed in culture and institutions, a condition that ultimately inscribes transsexuality as impossible" (Namaste, 2000, p.4.)

In contrast, more liberal leaning broadsheets like The Guardian produce a different, more nuanced interpretation of the theme of threat. In an article format like The Daily Mail one, a cisgender female reader states:

"Having experienced discrimination, abuse, sexual assault, violence and harassment from men because I am a woman, I do not wish anyone to experience such behaviour… I

understand that trans women may not wish to access male spaces, so I suggest that the trans community campaign for safe transgender spaces." (The Guardian, 2025)

At first, this appears to be a legitimate argument grounded in the reader's experience of male violence and harassment. However, the vulnerability of this cisgender woman is used to justify creating a separate space for transgender people. This argument frames segregating transgender people away from their desired gender expression to be compassionate and beneficial. The argument can be seen in the work of gender-critical scholars like Sheila Jeffreys who state that the "entry of male-bodied persons into women's toilets… subjects women to the potential for a range of sexually harassing behaviour by men". (Jeffreys, 2014) Moreover, this also mirrors Jeffrey's arguments that the inclusion of trans women in female spaces "threatens the gains feminists have fought for in the creation of women-only services and spaces." (Jeffreys, 2014, p.201).

Looking at this further, this argument is significant because it demonstrates how the theme of threat can be created by the press without the heavy emotive sensationalism seen in the likes of The Daily Mail. Here, The Guardian attempts to present the narrative of exclusion as being a reasonable, helpful response to mitigate a supposed issue of safety. This also synthesises with Serano's concepts of transmisogyny. Despite the quote not being overly hostile in tone, it ultimately does suggest that trans women are incompatible with being in female spaces due to them having the capability for male violence and therefore still being a threat to cisgender women due to their "expressions of femaleness or femininity" (Serano, 2007, p.17).

At the same time, The Guardian does also provide counter-framings of the theme of threat in which transgender people are positioned as the vulnerable subjects. In a different response, a trans woman writes that:

"With my hairstyle and general appearance, I would be an obvious misfit in the gents, inviting name-calling or worse… I feel significantly less safe today than I did before the judgment."

Here, The Guardian reverses the dominant narrative of cisgender women being at threat by making the trans woman the person who is at risk at having to enter her nonpreferred gendered space. This reflects the Trans Victim code of the Vulnerable Woman archetype discussed earlier and aligns with Namaste's (2000) argument of the institutional erasure of the transsexual experience due to the failure to account for solutions like the confusion of which single-sex space to use.

Overall, this theme of threat shows how the UK press framed the supreme court ruling, transforming it from a complex legal clarification into a broader societal and cultural issue. Across this theme, transgender inclusion was repeatedly represented as being a risk – whether to women's spaces, children or fairness in sports. This is mainly achieved through the creation of a singular folk devil (Cohen, 1972) in the form of transgender women, realised in tabloids, like The Daily Mail, by using sensationalist and emotive

language. Broadsheets, like The Telegraph, instead reproduced similar effects through more legalistic framings – often relying upon the archetype of the commonsense judge. Even in more left-leaning publications, like The Guardian, transgender inclusion was portrayed as something that needs to be met with compromise or segregation.

2: Culture War

Alongside the narrative of transgender people and inclusion being a threat to safety, another dominant theme identified throughout the sample was the framing of the Supreme Court ruling, and more widely transgender rights, as being indicative of a larger 'culture war'. By doing this, many newspapers positioned the ruling as being part of a conflict between social progression and more traditional, conservative views. This narrative mirrors Gitlin's (1980) theories on how the media portrays progressive movements, often relying on polarisation and trivialisation to delegitimise protests that oppose a hegemonic social order. Within the following examples, transgender rights are not framed as a legal, serious question but instead as evidence of institutions becoming 'captured' by radical activism and policies.

Once again, using the social constructionist view established earlier (Burr, 2015), this analysis will demonstrate how UK mainstream newspapers constructed the ruling as a political warzone rather than neutrally reporting on the legal and human rights implications that followed.

This theme was most obvious in right-leaning papers such as The Times, where in one paper discussing the Scottish Government's response to the ruling, Scottish Conservative Leader Russel Findlay is quoted as saying:

"The SNP's harmful gender ideology must now be rooted out of our entire public sector. Far too much time and taxpayers' money has been wasted on this nonsense. The country needs to move on." (Sanderson and Boothman, 2025)

By foregrounding this statement from Findlay, the article amplifies a culture war rhetoric. Emotive language like "rooted out" implies contamination or contagion, framing transgender inclusion as something that has been embedded within institutions. Gitlin's (1980) suggestions on disempowering progressive movements through a focus on opposition and statements from 'official' sources is extremely crucial here. Rather than including a statement from a trans-rights activism group, The Times chooses to accentuate the anti-trans beliefs of the Conservatives and imply that trans inclusion has 'corrupted' the government.

Building on this, the same article refers to ‘gender ideology’ and ‘transgender policies’ multiple times, suggesting that transgender identity is part of a political doctrine rather than an actual lived experience and a matter of equal rights. Looking deeper, this article frames the political support of transgender rights as cowardly, with For Women Scotland accusing First Minister Nicola Sturgeon of "moral cowardice", having “turned tail and fled" and needing to “apologise to vulnerable women”. Cohen (1972) argues that the “allocation of blame is intrinsic to moral panics” because the public’s perception of a perceived social risk is "intimately tied to the question of who is perceived to be responsible for causing the hazard or damage.” (Cohen, 1972, p.33) In this case, this is Sturgeon and the SNP government for adopting progressive policies. Therefore, the ruling is not just portrayed as a legal judgement but as a moral victory for the archetypal ‘vulnerable woman’ against the political elite and captured institutions.

Whilst The Times’ constructs the culture war theme through a focus on institutional corruption and with a legalistic register, The Daily Mail’s interpretation is much more populist and antagonistic. This is mostly clearly illustrated in the headline:

“Will the woke mob accept this defeat?” (*The Daily Mail*, 2025)

This framing directly constructs transgender individuals, and their supporters, as being a “mob”. Per the primary definition of the word, this is: “A disorderly or riotous crowd, a rabble.” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2025). The specific use of this noun positions the mob as opposing the supposed majority consensus that comes with the Supreme Court ruling “defeat”, and evokes imagery of erratic, collective behaviour. This is a clear example of the emphasis on violence described by Gitlin (1980) and the “melodramatic vocabulary” described by Cohen (1972, p.26) to create an “emotionally charged climate”.

The use of the lexical “defeat” also creates the narrative that the Supreme Court ruling was a victory for a cultural or political fight rather than a legal determination of the Eqaulity Act. Beyond the surface level, this grants legitimacy to the ruling as ‘a be all end all’ when it comes to transgender inclusion, and that those who question it beyond this are disorderly and resistant. The shift in tone from The Times to The Daily Mail is blatant, with the ‘opposing sides’ narrative intensified by collectivising critics of the ruling as this “woke mob”.

Alternatively, to both The Daily Mail and The Times, The Independent frames the culture war narrative through situating it in political discourse rather than the overtly populist or institutional lens seen in the other publications.

This is clearly demonstrated using what Gitlin (1980) describes as certification, where the media decides who is noteworthy enough to speak into the microphone (Gitlin, 1980). In one article, a quote from David Tennant against JK Rowling describes transgender inclusion as:

“This kind of political football” (O’Connor, 2025)

By quoting this statement, the publication relies on human interest and celebrity personification of the debate rather than addressing the underlying social conditions of the movement. This metaphor is significant as it facilitates a "decontextualization of experience" (Gitlin, 1980), reframing transgender rights away from legalistic and human rights concerns and drawing attention to the fact that it is used as a method of debate between opposing sides. By doing this, The Independent reduces the ruling in this article to a dramatic celebrity argument, simplifying and fragmenting the actual issue (in to “single grievances which the system… can change without altercating fundamental social relations” (Gitlin, p.35, 1980).

Overall, this theme is starkly different from the already discussed construction of threat, as it demonstrates how mainstream newspapers framed transgender rights not only as a risk, but the Supreme Court ruling as part of a wider political battleground and culture war. Using methods like oppositional language, celebrity personification and descriptions of institutional capture, the UK mainstream press constructed the ruling as a victory in the war between progressivism and conservatism.

3: A Return to Reality and Commonsense

Alongside the already mentioned themes, a third dominant theme was the narrative of the ruling as being a restoration of reality, clarity or commonsense. This theme is apparent less through conflict, but more through the assumption that the hegemonic interpretations of sex and gender are the correct, neutral and unarguable truths. In doing this, these newspapers rely on bio-essentialism (Butler, 1999) and give credence to the social constructionist lens (Burr, 2015) that some truths in the media are purposefully constructed.

In one The Telegraph article that discusses the complexities of the ruling on passports the author states that:

"It follows the Supreme Court's historic ruling that only biological women are women, ending years of confusion over trans people's access to single-sex spaces."

The phrase "only biological women are women" is inherently bio-essentialist, completely erasing any space for gender expression and enforces legal sex into a fixed truth (Butler, 1999).

Furthermore, the reliance on commonsense language renders transgender lives completely invisible. Here, the framing of the ruling as "ending years of confusion" creates the sentiment that transgender inclusion was just a delusion, and that now it can return to a true reality where "transsexuals do not and cannot exist from a legal standpoint" (Namaste, 2000, p.263.).

Through this theme, one could view the idea of seeking clarity as becoming a euphemism for the restoration of the gender binary and the complete othering of transgender people. Through the social constructional lens, they construct the truth on what the Supreme Court ruling means rather than just merely reporting on the truth (Burr, 2015). Most importantly, this theme symbolises the final step in the process of framing the ruling, having established the threat and the conflict, it is possible to now completely erase any social progress, justifying it as being a return to order.

Discussion

This research demonstrates there is a clear narrative structure across the mainstream press when interpreting the Supreme Court ruling and its implications for the regression of transgender rights. When the three themes are viewed as a collective, they form one, distinct narrative story of media framing around the two weeks preceding and following the ruling. A folk devil is established (Cohen, 1972), specifically targeting transgender women in single-sex spaces, the safeguarding of children, or the impact on sports. This

fearmongering then leads to a wider discussion on an apparent culture war, where legal rights are pitted against 'woke' activism and institutions are accused of being ideologically captured. Finally, this leads to the resolution, where the ruling is celebrated as a victory for commonsense – othering the transgender community and institutionally erasing them.

One of the most striking findings from the research is the absence of transmen across all publications and themes. This result highlights a transmisogynistic (Serano, 2007) bias in the UK mainstream press, with the media focusing on transwomen as folk devils (Cohen, 1972) above any other gender-diverse identity. A potential justification for this is that the idea of this folk devil relies on male-born people 'trespassing' into women's spaces – which the existence of transgender men throws into complete disarray. Since they carry no apparent threat, especially to the patriarchy, they become completely invisible. This is in complete agreement with Namaste's (2000) ideas on transsexual erasure, if an institution has no use for them, they are simply rendered impossible.

Overall, the final findings of this analysis are that the UK mainstream press have not acted as an observer and reported neutrally on the Supreme Court ruling of April 2025 but instead have actively constructed a narrative through specific thematic choices that aim to justify regressing transgender rights. Right-leaning publications tended to attack transgender people much more aggressively, emotively referring to ideas that can be seen repeated in gender-critical literature. However, even in left-leaning publications, the dominant ideas of mitigating a supposed threat were still actively apparent.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation aimed to examine how the UK mainstream press framed the April 2025 Supreme Court ruling, For Women Scotland vs The Scottish Ministers, and what dominant narratives were used to moralise the regression of transgender rights that followed and may still follow. Through a latent thematic analysis of 84 articles, this research has proved that the UK mainstream press used bio-essentialist and moral panic frameworks to justify the regression of transgender rights and to contribute to the ongoing erasure of gender-diverse individuals in the UK.

However, this research is not without its limitations. For brevity's sake, the research is limited to a 4-week window, and a multitude of developments have happened in the year since the ruling which this research does not acknowledge. Moreover, with a focus on mainstream online and print news, this dissertation does not include any queerfocused independent media outlets like PinkNews, or more leftist publications like Novara Media.

Appendix A

The Telegraph	Transgender runners can compete in London Marathon as women	Ben Rumsby	23/04/2025
The Telegraph	JK Rowling accuses trans activist of 'low blow' over Wayne Couzens jibe	Craig Simpson	25/04/2025
The Telegraph	Transgender women now banned from pool's female category	Ben Rumsby	23/04/2025
The Telegraph	Doctors brand Supreme Court trans ruling 'scientifically illiterate'	Michael Searles	28/04/2025
The Telegraph	Supreme Court message for sport is clear – transgender inclusion lunacy must end	Oliver Brown	17/04/2025
The Telegraph	What does the transgender rights ruling mean?	Janet Eastham	16/04/2025
The Telegraph	Labour voters support trans ruling, first poll reveals	Charles Hymas	29/04/2025
The Telegraph	JK Rowling 'hates men', claims Boy George in trans row	Craig Simpson	27/04/2025
The Telegraph	New Zealand could follow Britain in defining sex as biological	Foreign Staff	22/04/2025
The Telegraph	Scotland bans transgender footballers in women's game	Ben Rumsby	29/04/2025
The Telegraph	BBC could change style guide after trans ruling	Craig Simpson	28/04/2025
The Telegraph	Transgender rules 'making passports unreliable'	Amy Gibbons	18/04/2025
The Independent	Badenoch suggests transgender people use disabled toilets	Helen Corbett	28/04/2025
The Independent	Transgender women unable to compete in women's football in Scotland next season	Jamie Gardner	29/04/2025
The Independent	David Tennant addresses JK Rowling dispute over transgender rights	Roisin O'Connor	27/04/2025
The Independent	Badenoch steps up attack on Labour over transgender row	David Hughes	23/04/2025
The Independent	Transgender women banned from female pool category after Supreme Court ruling	Sports Staff	24/04/2025

The Independent	FA 'carefully reviewing' transgender inclusion policy after Supreme Court ruling	Jamie Gardner	30/04/2025

The Independent	Badenoch backs medical supervision over transgender self-identification	Rob Freeman	27/04/2025
The Independent	Transgender people could be treated in private NHS rooms, Wes Streeting says	Jane Kirby	24/04/2025
The Independent	Eurovision star Nemo takes action after UK court ruling on transgender women	Hilary Fox	29/04/2025
The Independent	UK court ruling just the latest global move to limit transgender recognition	AP Correspondent	16/04/2025
The Independent	A look at recent global actions limiting legal recognitions for transgender people	AP Correspondent	16/04/2025
The Guardian	UK ministers face questions over supreme court gender ruling repercussions	Peter Walker	22/04/2025
The Guardian	Pedro Pascal calls JK Rowling a ‘heinous loser’ in wake of supreme court gender ruling	Catherine Shoard	25/04/2025
The Guardian	What does the UK supreme court’s ruling on definition of ‘women’ mean?	David Batty	16/04/2025
The Guardian	Judicial ruling on legal definition of ‘woman’ will have UK politicians sighing with relief	Peter Walker	16/04/2025
The Guardian	JK Rowling’s journey from Harry Potter creator to gender-critical campaigner	Caroline Davies	18/04/2025
The Guardian	Supreme court ruling on legal definition of a woman divides opinion	The Guardian	18/04/2025
The Guardian	This is a very tough day for trans people – with a long legal road ahead to right this wrong	Robin Moria White	17/04/2025
The Guardian	UK supreme court to rule on legal definition of a woman	Severin Carrel and Libby Brooks	16/04/2025
The Guardian	How UK court definition of ‘woman’ could affect sexbased rights	Libby Brooks	16/04/2025
The Guardian	SFA to ban transgender women from playing in women’s football	Paul MacInnes	29/04/2025
The Guardian	UK’s first trans judge appeals to European court over supreme court ruling	Libby Brooks	29/05/2025

The Guardian	Keir Starmer urges MPs to 'lower the temperature' in debate on gender ruling	Peter Walker	23/04/2025
The Mirror	BREAKING: Keir Starmer responds to landmark trans ruling for first time -'really pleased'	Dave Burke	22/04/2025
The Mirror	Nicola Coughlan raises £100k for trans charity as she urges fans to boycott Harry Potter	Lucretia Munro	20/04/2025

The Mirror	Kellie Maloney warns of danger to transgender community after court ruling by 'old farts'	Matthew Young	17/04/2025
The Mirror	Sam Smith issues powerful response to Supreme Court ruling on definition of a woman	Mia O'Hare	18/04/2025
The Mirror	Thousands of trans activists launch 'emergency protest' after Supreme Court gender rulings	Benjamin Lynch	19/04/2025
The Mirror	Harry Potter star furiously compares 'bigot' JK Rowling to Andrew Tate	Daniel Bird	22/04/2025
The Mirror	Supreme Court ruling could have huge impact on trans people -what it means	Dave Burke	16/04/2025
The Mirror	Minister struggles to say how trans women are affected by landmark court ruling	Dave Burke	17/04/2025
The Mirror	Pedro Pascal brands JK Rowling a 'heinous loser' after Supreme Court's transgender ruling	Anita Markoff	24/04/2025
The Mirror	Were you surprised by Keir Starmer's response to the Supreme Court's transgender ruling? Take our poll and have your say	Ben Allenby	22/04/2025
The Mirror	Big Brother star 'terrified' as she fights tears over feeling forced to leave the UK	Lauren Morris	25/04/2025
The Mirror	Keir Starmer no longer believes trans women are women, No10 says	Sophie Huskisson	22/04/2025
The Daily Mail	A win for realism and respect at last	Daily Mail	18/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Finally a victory for common sense, writes HEATHER DEWAR, as SFA prepare to ban transgender women from competing in women's football	Heather Dewar	29/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Graham Linehan hails Supreme Court transgender ruling... and reveals his hopes for comedy comeback	Chris Matthews	18/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Kemi: PM doesn't have the balls to back women; He's savaged in Commons after gender flip-flop	Martin Beckford	24/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Let trans people use disabled loo, says Kemi	Martin Beckford	29/04/2025
The Daily Mail	London Marathon makes decision on transgender women competing at the famous race after landmark UK Supreme Court ruling	David Coverdale	23/04/2025

The Daily Mail	Lush puts transgender 'propaganda' leaflets in birthday party bags for girls as young as seven - claiming there is a global conspiracy against trans people	Shannon McGuigan	30/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Revealed: The 'shameful' NHS trusts and local councils DEFYING Supreme Court on landmark transgender ruling	Chris Matthews	28/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Trans activists proudly show themselves off in female toilets despite Supreme Court ruling saying they are NOT women	Katherine Lawton	20/04/2025

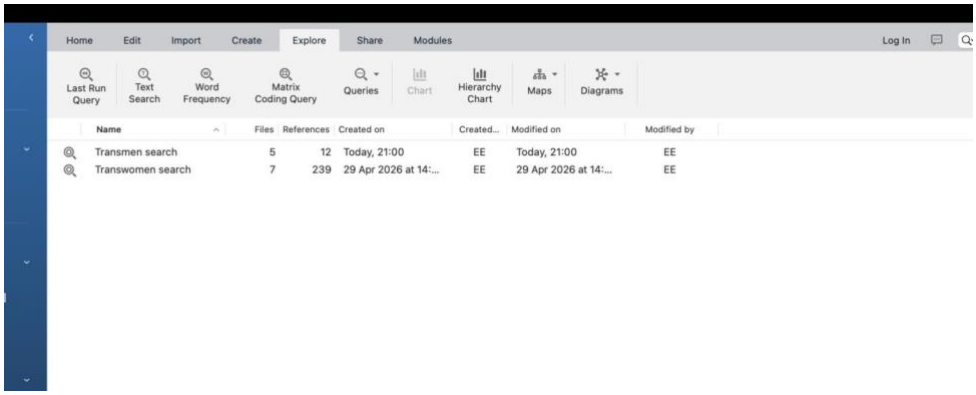
The Daily Mail	Trans judge's challenge to 'nonsense' gender ruling	Sam Merriman	30/04/2025
The Daily Mail	Will the woke mob accept this defeat?	Daily Mail	22/04/2025
The Daily Mail	You MUST follow the new rules, NHS told; LABOUR TRANS TURMOIL .. and we'll take action if you do nothing, warns equalities chief	Shaun Wooller	18/04/2025
The Standard	Sir Keir Starmer's route to 'common sense position' on transgender policy	Caitlin Doherty	16/04/2025
The Standard	Gender ruling will not result in 'toilet police', senior minister says	David Lynch	27/04/2025
The Standard	Badenoch suggests transgender people use disabled toilets	Helen Corbett	28/04/2025
The Standard	Badenoch backs medical supervision over transgender self-identification	Rob Freeman	27/04/2025
The Standard	Badenoch steps up attack on Labour over transgender row	David Hughes	23/04/2025
The Standard	Police continue to analyse transgender rights protest footage after banner claim	Margaret Davis	23/04/2025
The Standard	Supreme Court ruling on women 'paints target' on back of transgender people, says cyclist Emily Bridges	Es Reporters	23/04/2025
The Standard	Gender ruling could 'gravely affect very vulnerable prisoners' - solicitor	Jordan Reynolds	17/04/2025
The Standard	JK Rowling welcomes Supreme Court ruling on transgender women saying it 'protected rights of women and girls'	Es Reporters	16/04/2025
The Standard	Pedro Pascal supports transgender rights with 'iconic' move at Thunderbolts premiere after UK gender ruling	Ekin Karasin	23/04/2025
The Standard	Transgender women are not 'women' under equalities law, Supreme Court judges rule	Tristan Kirk	15/04/2025

The Times	Doctors call legal definition of woman 'scientifically illiterate'	Eleanor Hayward	29/04/2025
The Times	Huge bill to remove mixed-sex toilets	Daniel Sanderson	25/04/2025
The Times	Trans people who self-identify as women face singlesex space ban	Geraldine Scott	14/04/2025
The Times	Starmer no longer believes that trans women are women	Aubrey Allergretti	23/04/2025
The Times	BMA 'destroying trust in medicine with stance on sex'	Eleanor Hayward	30/04/2025
The Times	Forward Thinking; After the Supreme Court judgment defending the right of women to single-sex spaces, the effects of gender ideology in institutions must be reversed	The Times	18/04/2025
The Times	Sturgeon sticks to views despite trans ruling	Mark McLaughlin	28/04/2025
The Times	Trans judge challenges 'woman' ruling in European rights court	Jonathan Ames	30/04/2025
The Times	Trans runners in Parkrun 'not fair to women'	Sanchez Manning	19/04/2025
The Times	Coward' Sturgeon avoids response to transgender ruling	Daniel Sanderson	23/04/2025
The Times	Forcing trans women to use male spaces is distressing	Natasha Radmehr	21/04/2025
The Times	Doctors condemn court's ruling on women as 'biological nonsense'	Eleanor Hayward	29/04/2025

Appendix B

Folder	Name	Description	Sources	References
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes		7	220
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Commonsense Judge		7	51
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Deceptive Transsexual	Focus on 'passing' individuals, infiltrating, hiding	5	9
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Folk Devil		6	44
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Gender-Critical establishment		5	23
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Innocent Child	At risk of the trans agenda	4	11
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Pathetic Transexual	Failed transition, mockery	4	11
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Vulnerable Woman		7	71
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Vulnerable Woman\Cis Woman		7	34
Codes\\Archetypes [Who]	Archetypes\Vulnerable Woman\Trans victim		4	27
Codes\\Linguistics	Emotive Language		6	31
Codes\\Linguistics	Metaphors		1	8
Codes\\Linguistics	Naming Conventions		1	10

Appendix C


Home
Edit
Import
Create
Explore
Share
Modules
Log In
Last Run Query
Text Search
Word Frequency
Matrix Coding Query
Queries
Chart
Hierarchy Chart
Maps
Diagrams
Name
Files
References
Created on
Created...
Modified on
Modified by
Transmen search
5
12
Today, 21:00
EE
Today, 21:00
EE
Transwomen search
7
239
29 Apr 2026 at 14:...
EE
29 Apr 2026 at 14:...
EE

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