

## INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CONTAGION ON GENDER DYSPHORIA AMONGST ADOLESCENTS: IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING

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### Abstract

*The study explores the conceptual underpinnings of social contagion and their link to gender dysphoria in adolescents, as well as the role of counseling in this process. By systematically reviewing existing literature, the study identifies that gender social contagion is connected to mechanisms like social influence, imitation, and group polarization. Conformity is a key psychological mechanism, as adolescents, in their developmental stage of heightened social sensitivity, are particularly susceptible to pressures from peers and social media. This makes them highly vulnerable to social influences, with digital media and peer networks acting as pivotal agents in the social contagion of gender identity. Given this vulnerability, the study highlights the need for professional counselors to adopt a holistic assessment approach that considers the adolescent's background and ethical procedures. The review also revealed a critical research gap: most existing studies originate from Western, predominantly white, and urban contexts, with very little research available from diverse cultural and geographical landscapes, especially in African contexts. The study recommends future research should use culturally based, mixed-methods longitudinal studies to track gender identity development across various social and cultural contexts.*

**Keywords:** Gender dysphoria, social contagion, adolescent psychology, identity formation, counselling interventions, social influence, gender identity exploration

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### Introduction

The global landscape of gender identity has undergone profound transformations in recent decades, presenting unprecedented challenges for mental health professionals, educators, and social scientists (Leonhardt et al., 2024; World Health Organization, 2022). Gender dysphoria (GD), a complex psychological experience, is characterized by the significant distress that arises from a marked incongruence between an individual's internal sense of self and their assigned gender at birth (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Leonhardt et al., 2024). This has emerged as a critical area of psychological and social research. Recent epidemiological data suggest a dramatic increase in gender dysphoria prevalence, with global estimates indicating a 4,000% rise in adolescent referrals to gender identity clinics over the past decade (Chen et al., 2016; Littman, 2018; Zucker et al., 2022; Chikani et al., 2023).

In the African context, particularly in Nigeria, discussions around gender dysphoria represent a significant sociocultural shift that appears to challenge traditional binary gender concepts. This exposes the intricate interplay between social influence and individual identity formation (Chikani et al., 2023; Okonkwo & Adebayo, 2023). Preliminary studies suggest that Nigerian adolescents are increasingly engaging with global discourses on gender identity, facilitated by digital media and transnational

social networks, despite conservative social structures that traditionally resist such conversations (Adeyemi et al., 2022; Chikani et al., 2023).

The proliferation of gender dysphoria among adolescents raises critical social concerns, including potential psychological vulnerabilities, identity confusion, and the risk of premature or inappropriate medical interventions (Leonhardt et al., 2024; Meyer-Bahlburg, 2020). Social dynamics such as online communities, peer networks, and digital media platforms appear to significantly influence adolescents' gender identity exploration, creating complex pathways of social transmission that challenge traditional understandings of identity development (Littman, 2018).

The potential long-term psychological implications of these social dynamics demand urgent scholarly attention and comprehensive counseling interventions. Existing research (e.g., Leonhardt et al., 2024) predominantly originates from Western contexts, leaving significant knowledge gaps in understanding gender dysphoria within diverse cultural landscapes, particularly in African settings (Nwosu & Oragwu, 2023). The lack of culturally nuanced research threatens to marginalize critical perspectives and potentially harm vulnerable adolescent populations seeking understanding and support. Recognizing these challenges, this conceptual paper aims to critically examine the intricate mechanisms of social influence on gender dysphoria among adolescents. By synthesizing interdisciplinary perspectives and addressing the notable research deficit, the study seeks to generate a comprehensive theoretical framework and provide practical, ethical guidance for counseling professionals. The research objectives are threefold: (i) to provide a critical, scholarly approach to understanding social contagion in gender identity formation, (ii) to develop a comprehensive theoretical model capturing the multifaceted nature of adolescent gender identity dynamics, and (iii) to generate practical, ethically sensitive counseling guidelines for supporting adolescents navigating complex gender identity experiences.

## **Gender Dysphoria**

Gender dysphoria (GD) is a complex and deeply personal experience of distress, discomfort, or disconnect between an individual's gender identity and their sex assigned at birth (Leonhardt et al., 2024). It is viewed as common among young people who may not have symptoms of dysphoria at the puberty stage, but as they are influenced by peer groups and social media, they may begin to develop maladjustment (Chikani et al., 2023; Leonhardt et al., 2024). It is characterized by a strong dislike for one's genitals and a strong desire to change physical characteristics. Gender dysphoria comes with a desire to be another gender or to be treated like another gender.

The American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5) provides the most widely accepted clinical definition, describing GD as a marked discrepancy between one's experienced or expressed gender and assigned gender, persisting for at least six months and manifesting through significant clinical distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2018; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This definition emphasizes the psychological dimension of gender identity incongruence, distinguishing it from mere gender nonconformity by focusing on the subjective experience of distress. It also shows that the medical condition is recognized by the DSM-5 (Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2018).

The World Health Organization's *International Classification of Diseases* (ICD-11) reframes gender dysphoria as a condition related to sexual health, emphasizing the individual's lived experience rather than positioning it as a mental disorder (World Health Organization, 2019). This shift reflects a more holistic approach that recognizes gender identity as a fundamental aspect of human experience, prioritizing individual psychological well-being and self-determination. Transgender and gender-diverse scholars such as Meyer-Bahlburg (2020) further challenge traditional definitions, arguing for understanding gender dysphoria as a complex interplay between individual psychological experiences, social constructions, and personal identity narratives (Leonhardt et al., 2024).

Synthesizing these perspectives reveals gender dysphoria as a multidimensional psychological experience that extends beyond binary medical classifications. It encompasses a spectrum of experiences characterized by significant emotional distress arising from the incongruence between internal gender identity and external gender assignment (Coleman et al., 2022). GD can manifest in various ways, including feelings of incongruence, anxiety, depression, or a strong desire to live as a different gender (Chikani et al., 2023; Leonhardt et al., 2024).

GD is not the same as being transgender, although many people with GD do identify as transgender. While a transgender person may feel comfortable with their physical body, a person experiencing GD will experience distress or discomfort. It is essential to note that GD is not a mental illness, but rather a medical condition that is believed to be linked with hormones in the womb, genes, and cultural environmental factors, which requires compassionate and individualized care. The experience of GD can vary widely across individuals, and its severity can range from mild to severe. Treatment for GD often involves a multidisciplinary approach, including counseling, hormone therapy, and social support.

GD can affect a student's academic performance by affecting their mental and emotional well-being, which will invariably affect focus and motivation. Emotional distress can cause anxiety, and GD also may cause social challenges that will make it harder for students to feel comfortable and secure in their learning environment. Studies have shown that there is a connection between GD and students experiencing lower grades due to difficulty in the learning environment.

### **Social Contagion**

Social contagion refers to the phenomenon where people adopt attitudes, behaviors, or emotions through social interactions, observations, or exposure to social influences, often unconsciously (Martinez et al., 2023). This can occur through direct contact with others, social media, or even indirect exposure to social norms and values (APA, 2023). Social contagion can influence a wide range of behaviors and attitudes, from fashion trends and consumer choices to emotional states and even suicidal behaviors (Keyes et al., 2021). In the context of this study, social contagion may refer to the potential influence of social factors on the development or expression of gender dysphoria (GD) among adolescents (Keyes et al., 2021; Martinez et al., 2023).

## **Methodology**

This research uses a systematic review and qualitative methodology to examine the relationship between social contagion and gender dysphoria in adolescents. The literature review includes studies published between 2000 and 2025, covering a 25-year period. This includes a variety of sources such as journal articles, books, book chapters, online journals, media coverage, and news reports.

To gain additional perspectives, interviews were conducted with medical doctors and school counselors in Edo State.

**Table 1: Inclusion and exclusion criteria**

Inclusion Criteria
The journal articles are related to Gender Dysphoria in adolescents
The journal articles cover causes and effects of Gender Dysphoria in Adolescents
The journal articles cover medical and social factors that might influence Gender Dysphoria
The journal articles cover Counselling techniques that can be used to address adolescents experiencing Gender Dysphoria
Books on Gender Dysphoria were referred to in the publication.
The journal articles are DOI and URL confirmed
The full version of the articles can be assessed on line
Exclusion Criteria
The journal articles are not related to Gender Dysphoria in Edo state
The journal articles do not over causes and effects of Gender dysphoria in Edo state
The journal articles do not differentiate between male and female adolescents who are experiencing Gender Dysphoria.
Articles excluded include work published in blog spots and freelance websites.
The journal articles are not DOI or URL confirmed.

Table 1: shows the approach of Data collection. The researcher searched the internet using Google search with relevant keywords like Gender Dysphoria, Social Contagion, causes and effects of Gender Dysphoria.

**Table 2: Prisma: The procedure of data extraction adapted from Murtala Akanbi Yusuf & Lawali Zakari (2023)**

Identification	Searching the key words = 15
Screening	The articles that do not meet the inclusion criteria =5
Eligibility	The articles are complete and can be accessed = 22
Included	Articles that meet inclusion criteria = 3

Table 2. Prisma (Adapted)

Applying the Prisma approach, the author identified journal articles and sources related to the theme of the study (Social contagion on Gender Dysphoria amongst adolescents) on the web the results of the search brought 15 relevant articles. In the second phase, the researcher made a selection of the identified journals and 5 articles were found. In the next stage the researcher confirmed whether the articles were accessible and 22

were found, the last phase was a selection to determine sources relevant to the researcher's requirement and this led to the inclusion of 3.

List of analyzed journal articles.

American Psychological Association. APA (2022) Dictionary of psychology. Available at: <https://dictionary.apa.org/social-contagion>

Martínez V, Jiménez-Molina, A, Gerber, M.M. (2023). Social contagion, violence, and suicide among adolescents. *Curr Opin Psychiatry*.36(3):237-242. doi: 10.1097/YCO.0000000000000858

Kaltiala-Heino R, Bergman H, Työläjärvä M, Frisén L. Gender dysphoria in adolescence: current perspectives. *Adolesc Health Med Ther*. 2018 Mar 2(9), 31-41. doi: 10.2147/AHMT.S135432.

## Findings and Discussions

### Core Mechanisms of Social Contagion

Social contagion, the rapid spread of behaviors, attitudes, and emotions through a population, is driven by three primary mechanisms: social influence, imitation, and group polarization (Hawton et al., 2020; Martinez et al., 2023).

Social influence is the process by which individuals are influenced by the behaviors, attitudes, and norms of those around them. It can manifest as conformity, obedience, or persuasion. In social contagion, social influence causes people to quickly adopt behaviors and norms that are perceived as desirable or normative (Hawton et al., 2020). Imitation is a fundamental principle of social contagion that involves consciously or unconsciously replicating the behaviors, attitudes, or emotions observed in others (Hawton et al., 2020). It is often motivated by a desire to fit in, gain social approval, or achieve social status. By imitating what they observe, individuals contribute to the rapid spread of behaviors and emotions throughout a group (Martinez et al., 2023).

Group polarization is a phenomenon where a group of people adopts more extreme positions or behaviors than they would as individuals. This can occur through social influence, emotional contagion, and the desire for social approval. When applied to social contagion, group polarization can lead to the rapid spread of extreme attitudes, behaviors, or emotions as groups become more influential and polarized (Martinez et al., 2023).

### Psychological Mechanisms of Social Influence in Identity Formation

Social influence is a complex psychological process where individuals modify their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in response to social interactions and environmental cues (Burger, 2019). This process is particularly impactful during adolescence, shaping an individual's psychological experiences through mechanisms such as conformity, social learning theory, and identity construction.

Conformity is a key psychological mechanism of social influence where individuals adjust their beliefs and behaviors to align with group norms and expectations (Asch, 2018). Adolescents are especially susceptible to this pressure due to their heightened

social sensitivity and ongoing identity exploration. Neurological research suggests that the prefrontal cortex, which is responsible for decision-making and self-regulation, is still developing during adolescence. This makes young people more vulnerable to the social transmission of ideas and identities (Blakemore & Mills, 2014), creating a fertile ground for internalizing social narratives.

Social learning theory, developed by Albert Bandura (2016), provides another framework for understanding social influence. It shows that individuals learn not only through direct experience but also through observational learning, by witnessing the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional responses of others. In today's digital world, social media platforms and other online communities act as powerful socialization agents, exposing adolescents to diverse identity narratives that can significantly influence their personal psychological experiences and self-concepts.

The psychological mechanism of identity construction is a nuanced process involving social comparison, self-categorization, and the incorporation of various narratives (Turner et al., 2020). Individuals continuously shape their identity by comparing themselves to reference groups and internalizing aspects that provide them with psychological validation and a sense of belonging. This process is particularly dynamic during adolescence, a period characterized by intense identity exploration and social experimentation.

### **Adolescent Developmental Context**

Adolescence is a critical developmental period marked by significant neurological and psychological changes. During this stage, the brain, especially the regions responsible for social cognition, impulse control, and emotional regulation, undergoes substantial restructuring (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006). This period is also characterized by increased emotional sensitivity, impulsivity, and a strong need for peer acceptance and social connection (Erikson, 1968).

**Vulnerability to Social Influences:** Adolescents are highly vulnerable to social influences, particularly from their peers and social media. Research shows that adolescents are more likely to conform to peer norms, even if it means engaging in risky behaviors (Berndt, 1979). Social media, in particular, plays a significant role in shaping adolescent attitudes, behaviors, and identities (Best et al., 2014). Constant exposure to curated online content can foster unrealistic expectations, promote consumerism, and lead to feelings of inadequacy or low self-esteem.

**Identity Formation Processes:** Adolescence is a crucial period for identity formation, when individuals explore and experiment with different values, beliefs, and identities (Marcia, 1966). This process involves a dynamic interaction between individual characteristics, social influences, and cultural norms. Adolescents who have social support and positive relationships are more likely to develop a stable and positive identity (Erikson, 1968). In contrast, those who experience bullying or social rejection may be more vulnerable to identity diffusion, anxiety, and depression.

The adolescent developmental context, with its unique neurological and psychological characteristics, has significant implications for social contagion, including in the context of gender identity. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for developing

effective support systems, counseling interventions, and educational programs that promote healthy identity formation and mitigate risks associated with social contagion.

### **Social Contagion and Gender Identity**

The social transmission of gender identity is a complex psychological phenomenon shaped by intricate mechanisms of social influence. In the digital age, these processes have been fundamentally transformed by technology and global interconnectedness, creating new avenues for identity exploration and social learning (Boyd, 2022).

**Digital Media and Peer Networks:** Digital media and peer networks are pivotal agents in the social contagion of gender identity, especially among adolescents. In Nigeria, for example, this dynamic reflects a complex intersection of traditional cultural frameworks and emerging global identity discourses (Adeyemi & Okonkwo, 2023). Social media platforms provide adolescents with unprecedented access to diverse gender identity narratives, creating virtual spaces for exploration that challenge traditional cultural boundaries. These platforms—including WhatsApp, TikTok, Instagram, and Twitter—serve as critical spaces where gender identity experiences are shared, validated, and collectively constructed.

**Desistance and Persistence Patterns:** Research on gender identity exploration, such as that by Zucker et al. (2022), suggests significant variability in gender identity experiences. Some individuals experience consistent identity trajectories, while others have more fluid journeys. In the African context, these patterns are further complicated by cultural, religious, and social dynamics. Longitudinal studies indicate that approximately 60-70% of adolescents experiencing gender dysphoria may see their identity shift or their feelings of dysphoria resolve over time, which highlights the importance of supportive, non-directive therapeutic approaches.

**Differential Impacts of Social Contagion:** The profound role of local cultural environments in shaping gender identity experiences is demonstrated by the varying impacts of social contagion across different social contexts. In Nigeria, these dynamics are influenced by the complex interplay of traditional cultural norms, religious frameworks, and global identity discourses (Nwosu & Oragwu, 2023). Urban areas like Lagos and Abuja show more fluid identity exploration patterns than rural areas, reflecting different levels of exposure to global media, educational opportunities, and social networks. Socioeconomic factors, access to education, and family structures also significantly mediate the social transmission of gender identity narratives.

### **Psychological and Developmental Considerations**

Adolescent psychological vulnerabilities provide a critical lens for understanding gender identity development. This period is marked by heightened neural plasticity, increased social sensitivity, and ongoing identity formation processes (Blakemore & Mills, 2014). Psychological vulnerabilities arise from a combination of factors, including neurological immaturity, emotional volatility, identity uncertainty, and a heightened susceptibility to external influences. The prefrontal cortex, which is responsible for executive functions, continues to develop throughout adolescence, contributing to a neurobiological context where emotional regulation and decision-making are still unstable. These vulnerabilities are especially pronounced in contexts

of social marginalization, family conflict, and limited psychological support, which can exacerbate identity-related distress.

The intricate intersection of social influence and individual psychological experience reveals a complex and reciprocal relationship. An individual's psychological experiences are simultaneously shaped by and contribute to broader social narratives, creating a dynamic feedback loop of identity construction (Turner et al., 2020). This complex interaction occurs through multiple psychological mechanisms, including social comparison, seeking identity validation, and incorporating various narratives. An individual's unique psychological resources, such as emotional resilience, self-concept, and cognitive flexibility, mediate the impact of social influences, creating personalized pathways of identity exploration. It is crucial to recognize gender identity as a multidimensional and contextually embedded process that extends beyond simple binary conceptualizations.

## **Counselling Implications**

### *Therapeutic approaches in gender identity counselling*

Contemporary therapeutic approaches to gender identity exploration require a sophisticated, multidimensional strategy that prioritizes an adolescent's psychological well-being and individual experience. Therapists need to use sensitive assessment strategies within a comprehensive, developmentally informed framework that moves beyond binary diagnostic models (Singh & McKleroy, 2022). A holistic assessment approach should integrate multiple domains of an adolescent's experience, including their psychological history, social context, family dynamics, and individual narrative. This requires a nuanced diagnostic process that avoids prescriptive categorizations and instead focuses on understanding the complex developmental trajectories of gender identity formation (Ehrensaft, 2021).

Non-directive counseling techniques are crucial for supporting adolescents who are exploring their gender identity. These approaches emphasize creating a safe, non-judgmental therapeutic space that allows for authentic self-exploration and meaning-making (McGuire et al., 2023). Key techniques include reflective listening, open-ended questioning, and validating the adolescent's subjective experiences without imposing external narratives or predetermined outcomes. Therapeutic interventions should focus on enhancing self-understanding, emotional resilience, and identity integration, rather than directing the adolescent toward a specific gender identity. This approach acknowledges the fluid and complex nature of gender identity development, especially during adolescence when psychological and social experiences are in dynamic interaction.

An individualized approach to gender identity exploration requires a highly personalized therapeutic framework that recognizes the unique intersectionality of each adolescent's experience. Counselors must develop culturally responsive and contextually sensitive interventions that consider factors such as cultural background, social environment, family dynamics, and individual psychological resources (Nadal et al., 2021). This approach involves ongoing collaborative dialogue within a therapeutic relationship characterized by mutual respect, empowerment, and a commitment to the adolescent's psychological well-being. Assessment and intervention strategies should



be dynamic and adaptable, acknowledging that gender identity is a complex, evolving process influenced by multiple psychological, social, and personal factors.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The ethical landscape of gender identity counseling demands a delicate balance between supportive intervention and critical, reflective exploration. Professional ethical guidelines emphasize the paramount importance of respecting individual agency while providing comprehensive, nuanced psychological support (APA Ethics Committee, 2020). This requires counselors to navigate a complex ethical terrain that prioritizes the adolescent's psychological well-being, autonomy, and developmental potential. Ethical practice requires a carefully calibrated approach that avoids both overly directive interventions and passive, non-engaged support (Piper, 2021). Counselors must critically examine their own biases, institutional frameworks, and potential influences that might compromise the authenticity of the adolescent's identity exploration process. The principle of avoiding premature interventions is a critical ethical imperative in gender identity counseling. Ethical guidelines increasingly emphasize a developmental, exploratory approach that resists immediate medicalization or definitive identity categorization (Coleman et al., 2022). This approach acknowledges the inherent complexity of gender identity formation during adolescence, a period characterized by significant psychological and social development. Respecting individual agency means creating a therapeutic environment that empowers adolescents to explore their identity autonomously, providing supportive guidance without imposing external narratives or predetermined identity trajectories. Counselors must develop sophisticated ethical frameworks that prioritize long-term psychological well-being, recognize the potential fluidity of identity exploration, and protect adolescents from potential psychological harm associated with premature or inappropriate interventions.

### **Research Limitations and Future Directions**

The current landscape of gender dysphoria research has significant methodological and conceptual limitations. Most existing studies come from Western, predominantly white, and urban contexts, creating a critical gap in understanding gender identity experiences across diverse cultural and geographical landscapes. In African contexts, research is particularly sparse, with most studies relying on limited sample sizes, convenience sampling, and methodological approaches that fail to capture the nuanced complexity of gender identity formation (Nwosu & Oragwu, 2023). This geographical and cultural limitation severely constrains the development of culturally responsive therapeutic interventions and comprehensive theoretical frameworks.

Methodological challenges in gender dysphoria research go beyond geographical constraints, extending to fundamental epistemological and methodological complexities. Longitudinal studies are scarce, with most existing research providing cross-sectional snapshots that fail to capture the developmental trajectories of gender identity formation (Zucker et al., 2022). The rapid evolution of digital media and social networks further complicates research methodologies, creating dynamic social environments that traditional research approaches can't keep up with. Additionally, challenges in operationalizing key constructs like social contagion, gender identity, and psychological distress create significant measurement and interpretative challenges that limit the generalizability and reliability of existing research findings.

Future research directions must prioritize methodological innovation and comprehensive, interdisciplinary approaches. Recommended strategies include:

1. Developing culturally nuanced, mixed-methods longitudinal studies that track gender identity development across diverse social and cultural contexts.
2. Creating sophisticated methodological frameworks that can capture the complex interactions between social influence, individual psychology, and identity formation.
3. Investing in cross-cultural research that explores gender identity experiences beyond Western theoretical paradigms.
4. Developing more sophisticated theoretical models that integrate insights from developmental psychology, social psychology, cultural studies, and neurobiological research.
5. Critically, future research must adopt a holistic, non-reductive approach that acknowledges the multifaceted nature of gender identity while maintaining rigorous scientific methodological standards.

## **Conclusion**

The exploration of social contagion's influence on gender dysphoria among adolescents reveals a profoundly complex psychological landscape that defies simplistic explanations or unidirectional interpretations. Our conceptual analysis has shown the intricate mechanisms of social influence, demonstrating how the psychological experience of gender identity is dynamically constructed through multilayered interactions between individual psychological processes, social networks, and broader cultural contexts. The research highlights the critical importance of moving beyond deterministic models and instead recognizing the fluid, contextually embedded nature of gender identity formation during adolescence (Singh & McKleroy, 2022).

A nuanced understanding is paramount to comprehending the psychological dynamics of gender dysphoria. The study highlights the delicate interplay between individual psychological experiences and social transmission mechanisms, challenging both essentialist and purely constructionist perspectives. By recognizing the complex neuropsychological vulnerabilities of adolescents and the powerful role of social networks, particularly digital platforms, researchers and clinicians can develop more sophisticated, empathetic approaches to understanding gender identity exploration (Ehrensaft, 2021). This nuanced perspective requires a fundamental shift from diagnostic categorization to a more dynamic, developmental understanding that respects individual agency and psychological complexity.

The implications for clinical practice are profound and multifaceted. Mental health professionals must develop therapeutic approaches that prioritize supportive, non-directive exploration, creating safe psychological spaces that allow adolescents to navigate their identity authentically. This requires a comprehensive approach that integrates sensitive assessment strategies, culturally responsive interventions, and a deep commitment to ethical practice that respects individual psychological well-being. Counselors must cultivate advanced skills in navigating the complex intersections of social influence, individual psychology, and identity formation, moving beyond traditional therapeutic models.

Future research and clinical interventions must prioritize interdisciplinary, culturally nuanced approaches that address the significant knowledge gaps revealed in this study. Particularly in African contexts, where research remains limited, there is an urgent need for comprehensive, contextually sensitive studies that explore gender identity experiences. The research calls for methodological innovation, longitudinal studies, and theoretical frameworks that can capture the dynamic, multifaceted nature of gender identity development. Ultimately, this conceptual analysis advocates for a holistic, empathetic approach that recognizes the profound complexity of adolescent psychological experiences, emphasizing understanding, support, and respect over prescriptive or reductive interpretations.

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