

**Understanding the Housing Experiences of Trans\* and Non-Binary College Students**

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### **Introduction**

While it is well known that the United States has a problem with high rates of homelessness and housing insecurity, the specific housing experiences of transgender college students is an under-explored topic. Existing studies suggest that a significant subset of youth experience housing insecurity during their years as college students; research also indicates that LGBTQ and specifically trans\* youth experience disproportionately high rates of homelessness and housing insecurity. As such, it is important to capture the stories of those who fall into both of these categories. This interview-based study with trans\* college students, including students who have experienced housing insecurity and homelessness during college, begins to fill the gap in our knowledge about this population. This research begins to shine light on the particular housing experiences of trans\* college students with a goal of shaping policy that might better serve the needs to this population.

### **Literature Review**

This study of trans college student experiences with housing, including housing insecurity, is informed by three areas of existing scholarship: studies of college student homelessness; studies of trans youth homelessness; and studies of college climate for trans students. In the following sections I review relevant findings from each of these areas.

### **College Student Housing Insecurity**

In the United States, homelessness and housing insecurity are problems that many college students face; research from the University of Massachusetts at Boston demonstrates that 5.4% of students faced homelessness, and 45% faced housing insecurity in 2017 (Silva et al., 2017). Another study from The City University of New York (CUNY) shows that 40% of students

experienced housing instability in 2010 (Tsui et al., 2011). Unfortunately, these numbers could be even higher, as rates of college student housing insecurity are not tracked nationally (Hallett & Crutchfield, 2018). Accordingly, it is possible for just under half the population of students at a University to be navigating both being a student and struggling with housing insecurity at the same time. Thus, this reality is the reflection of a systematic problem; college students are unable to afford reasonable housing and must make dramatic sacrifices to receive an education due to a number of structural problems (Hallett & Crutchfield, 2018). This leads to negative educational outcomes, as homelessness is an obstacle to academic success (Klitzman, 2018).

A study conducted by researchers of the Wisconsin Hope Lab in 2015 demonstrates that students are likely unable to find affordable housing due factors beyond students' control. First and foremost, the cost of attending college has been increasing steadily; for example, from the year 2000 to 2015, the cost of attending a community college increased by 28% (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015). This drastic increase in the cost of college attendance has not only affected individuals' ability to go to school, but also the ability of financial aid to adequately cover the cost of college. In 1970, a Pell Grant would completely cover the cost of attending college. Today, a Pell Grant typically covers only 60% of one's attendance cost, the rest of which must be covered with loans, scholarships, or out-of-pocket (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015). For students from low-income backgrounds who would be eligible for a Pell Grant, the price of compensating the cost could be up to 40% of a student's family's income if they are in the lowest income quartile. Lastly, among these housing insecure students in Goldrick-Rab's study, only 19% of them were able to receive a housing voucher, live in public housing, or be in a utility assistance program, and three in every five participants borrowed money to pay their bills or sought out free meals. These coping mechanisms are often temporary fixes to long-term, structural problems.

The lack of adequate funding for college attendance means that many students must take up a job to support themselves while at school. However, students often face an “opportunity cost” while they are at school, which means that as workers they sacrifice wages for the time they spend on schoolwork (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015; Hallet & Crutchfield, 2018; Klitzman, 2018). Work-Study programs often pay minimum wage and offer limited hours because there is not adequate funding to meet student needs. Off-campus opportunities allow for more hours and potentially higher wages, but the student then sacrifices time they may be available to do schoolwork (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015). The economic hardships that many students face likely “touch down” in the area of housing, given that 72% of the total cost of college attendance at a 2-year public college in 2015 was housing (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2015). Economic hardship can affect the amount of effort a student is able to contribute to schoolwork, which may negatively affect one’s academic performance. This is exacerbated if the student is unable to comfortably afford their housing.

A recent body of research demonstrates that students who face economic and housing insecurity face a number of roadblocks to being successful in school. Firstly, economic and housing insecurity causes trauma among students, with concerns for personal financial security topping the charts (Bowers & O’Neill, 2019). The frequent moves, scramble to find a couch or bed to sleep on, and inability to trust strangers leaves students feeling overwhelmed on top of balancing school. One student in Crutchfield’s study (2012) recalls that “It’s not easy [being housing insecure] because along with the things you have to do with college and the way that college is evolving, you have to deal with your own personal situation.” The second roadblock that housing and economically disadvantaged students face is having to sacrifice school to make basic choices like how to eat, manage multiple jobs, and find a place to sleep, something called a

“priority hierarchy” (Bowers & O’Neill, 2019). Uncertainty surrounding one’s basic needs can make it difficult to devote time and focus to one’s studies, as keeping oneself alive and well comes before devoting time to school.

Although existing studies document the challenges that economically disadvantaged, housing insecure students face, these same students often view higher education as a way out of homelessness and poverty (Bowers & O’Neill, 2019). Along with the promise of a brighter future linked to educational attainment, schools sometimes offer resources which aid economically stressed and/or housing disadvantaged students while they are in college. For example, some campuses have a food pantry to relieve some of the burden of finding a meal, or will offer campus housing for free during school breaks (Bowers & O’Neill, 2019). Campus activities can also provide some relief to students who are housing insecure, as events are often a place where people “could forget about their problems for a moment” (Hallett & Freas, 2017).

Overall, students who are homeless face a number of challenges to succeeding in school, and often struggle to stay afloat. However, there is some hope for housing and economically insecure students, as school can provide resources and an escape from the day-to-day challenges of juggling the challenges of their lives. The literature in this body of knowledge has a deep focus on the general experience and nuances of navigating homelessness as a college student, however, there is little research in this area which focuses on the intersections of the student population and other groups that are vulnerable to homelessness, particularly transgender individuals.

### **Trans\*<sup>1</sup> Youth Homelessness**

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<sup>1</sup> Trans\* with an asterisk is an umbrella term that refers to all trans identities, such as genderqueer, agender, or trans man or woman.

Information on the prevalence of American youth homelessness is limited, given that there are significant challenges to collecting data from this population. The most accurate estimates of this population range between several hundred thousand homeless youths up to 1.6 million homeless youths (Anthony & Fischer, 2016). Among this population, studies suggest that lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people are represented disproportionately (Shelton & Bond, 2017; Shelton 2015; Cochran et al. 2002); 20 to 40% of the homeless youth population identifies as LGBTQ, with about 5 to 10% identifying as transgender in particular (Shelton & Bond, 2017). Considering this data, it is reasonable to infer that there is a larger structural problem creating the reality of LGBTQ youth homelessness; these things do not usually happen by chance. In understanding this problem, it is important to define *cisgenderism*, a prejudicial ideology that reinforces binary notions of sex/gender, and pathologizes and delegitimizes one's own understanding of their gender and turns it into systemic oppression, given that it is upheld by institutions (Ansara & Hegarty, 2012). Additionally, cisgenderism even plays-out *within* research about LGBTQ homelessness, as trans\* individuals are often lumped into groups with lesbians, gays, and bisexuals, despite the fact that transgender people face their own unique forms of discrimination (Shelton, 2015). As such, cisgenderism can provide a framework for understanding the experiences of transgender individuals facing homelessness and housing insecurity.

Among the pathways leading to homelessness for LGBTQ people, family rejection is the most often reported (Robinson, 2018; Ream & Forge, 2016; Schmitz & Tyler, 2016; Shelton & Bond, 2017). In a study of trans\* individuals' experiences with homelessness, 18 out of 27 participants reported that they were ejected from their homes following coming out as transgender (Shelton & Bond, 2017). For one individual named Jay, her mother kicked her out

after inquiring about gender-confirmation treatments, “I’d spoken to my mother about wanting to make the change, and she flipped. Long sob story later, got kicked out of there.” Other participants reported stories similar to Jay’s, ranging from being forcefully pushed away to coming home with all the locks changed on the doors and their belongings on the curb. Only a small number of participants—two—were kicked out of the home for reasons tangentially related or unrelated to being trans\*, such as acting-out because one is uncomfortable in their body, or having pre-existing problems in the home (Shelton & Bond, 2017). In the same study, there was a notable pattern regarding the demographics; the participants largely came from families that were already economically disadvantaged and socially disadvantaged as people of color (Shelton & Bond, 2017). This means that it is possible for pre-existing socioeconomic stress to create strained family ties when yet another layer of oppression is added, such as coming out as trans\* (Robinson, 2018; Glick et al., 2019). This also means that trans\* youth homelessness is a socioeconomic and racialized problem.

Once one ends up homeless, there are significant health risks that LGBTQ youths face. LGBTQ adolescents are already more vulnerable to mental health struggles than heterosexual youths, as they have increased exposure to parental abuse and substance abusers (Cochran et al., 2002; Grossman & D’Augelli, 2009). This exposure can become exacerbated on the street, as being homeless increases the risk of being robbed, raped, or assaulted, as well as instances of initiating or escalating substance abuse. For example, in their study comparing homeless LGBTQ vs heterosexual youth, Cochran et al. (2002) found that LGBTQ youth experienced higher levels of victimization on the street—particularly sexual victimization—than their homeless heterosexual counterparts. LGBTQ youth also used drugs more frequently than the heterosexual group, and reported higher levels of depression and anxiety. Cochran et al. theorized that these

increased negative outcomes for homeless LGBTQ youths are the result of homophobia perpetrated by other homeless individuals, as well as programs that inadequately serve the LGBTQ population.

When observing how programs cater to homeless youths in need, it is clear that transgender individuals are often left out of the picture and face significant structural barriers to receiving services (Grossman & D'Augelli, 2009; Shelton, 2015). Because Western cultures assume a binary structure of gender, programs for homeless individuals—including LGBTQ-specific programs—are often structured around that assumption and may not take into consideration the specific needs of transgender individuals (Shelton, 2015). For example, a large number of shelters are sex-segregated, have gendered dress codes and program rules, and fail to recognize the self-identifying genders and pronouns of their residents (Herman, 2013). As such, navigating these gendered spaces can cause significant stress for a homeless transgender person, who may be deterred from seeking programming altogether as a result (Shelton, 2015). In their study assessing the needs to homeless transgender youth, Shelton (2015) found that safety, privacy, feeling understood, and acquiring the proper healthcare and identification documents were the needs identified by the homeless trans\* youth as the most important services a shelter could offer (Shelton, 2015). While some of these needs are applicable to all young homeless individuals, many reflect trans\* specific needs related to discrimination and oppression grounded in cisgenderism.

As demonstrated, transgender youth homelessness is a serious problem rooted in transphobia, cisgenderism, and economic inequality. Most often, transgender individuals are kicked out of their homes following coming out to a family that already struggles with marginalization, which can cause serious mental and physical health problems (Robinson 2018;

Schmitz & Tyler, 2016; Shelton & Bond, 2017). Once on the street, shelters fail to adequately service transgender individuals, as most programs adhere to the assumption of cisgenderism—that all sheltered individuals identify as their assigned binary sex category (Ansara & Hegarty, 2012; Grossman & D’Augelli, 2009; Shelton, 2015). This causes a vicious cycle where homeless transgender individuals are chronically homeless because they have lost faith in a system that fails to serve them in a world that pushes them to the margins.

### **Campus Climate for Trans\* and LGBTQ Students**

The campus climate for LGBTQ and trans\* students refers to the sets of policies and practices that can make these students feel welcomed and safe, as well as help them succeed in academia. When discussing campus climate, it is important to regard that “climate” operates within spaces: classes, residence halls, and public accommodations such as quads, gyms, offices, or even bathrooms. Accordingly, studies show that space has an impact on one’s sense of wellbeing, and can influence a student’s academic outcomes such as grades, quality of education, and chances of graduating (Rankin et al., 2010; Woodford & Kulick, 2014). A national study of LGBTQ college students from 2010 demonstrates that LGBTQ college students face negative campus climates: 25% reported being harassed on-campus for their identities, 30% felt uncomfortable with the overall campus climate, and 30% seriously contemplated leaving their institutions (Rankin et al., 2010). Additionally, those who reported navigating a negative campus climate also disclosed that their grades suffered as a result of feeling unwelcome and unsafe (Rankin et al., 2010). Considering this information, it is crucial to discuss the scope of campus climate’s effect on LGBTQ college students, as going to school is one way students seek to escape homelessness (Bowers & O’Neill, 2019).

Residence halls are where residential students spend most of their time, meaning that this environment has a profound effect on one's college experience (Fanucce & Taub, 2010). Residence halls can impact students in the areas of values, attitudes, moral judgements, persistence, and community, and living on-campus is consistently related to a student's likelihood that they will be engaged in social, cultural, and extracurriculars that the university has to offer (Fanucce & Taub, 2010). However, LGBTQ students face difficulties in their dormitories that make it difficult to thrive—similarly to the discrimination trans\* individuals face in shelter programs. LGBTQ students may face blatant instances of homophobia and transphobia in their dorms such as verbal or physical harassment, causing these students to fear for their safety and isolate themselves or hide their identities (Fanucce & Taub, 2010). This establishes a strong sense of separation between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ populations in a dorm, which makes it difficult for LGBTQ students to get along with other hall residents. When this happens, LGBTQ students are less likely to be engaged with dorm activities that allow strong community bonds to be formed (Fanucce & Taub, 2010). When nothing is done to combat this, it becomes a structural issue that can damage a student's college experience and academic performance, which might lead to leaving school (Fanucce & Taub, 2010).

Bathrooms are another space within universities that matter to LGBTQ students, but particularly the trans\* community. Among surveys that document trans\* peoples' experiences at college, respondents reported that access to bathrooms is one of the most serious challenges related to college climate (Bilodeau, 2007; Herman, 2013; Seelman, 2016). Negative bathroom experiences include being stared at, being questioned about if one belongs in the bathroom, being asked to leave, and being denied access (Bilodeau, 2007). In addition to these realities, trans\* individuals report feeling that they need to "pass" as the gender listed on the bathroom sign in

order to access the space without harassment, something that is not always a goal for trans\* people (Seelman, 2016). While navigating these multiple standards, Seelman's 2016 study suggests that trans\* students who were denied access to a school bathroom or other gendered facility are 1.45 times more likely to attempt suicide at some point in time compared to those who are not denied access to a school bathroom. The significance of this statistic is that if one is routinely denied access to a space—which is correlated with increased chances of committing suicide—this is a sign of poor mental health, which will ultimately result in negative academic outcomes for trans\* students (Seelman, 2016; Woodford & Kulick, 2014).

Classrooms are another setting that influence the campus climate for LGBTQ individuals both in terms of how LGBTQ people are treated in the classroom, and also how LGBTQ issues are taught. Studies show that teaching LGBTQ issues in the classroom can increase tolerance, which may create a more welcoming learning environment for LGBTQ students overall (Case et al., 2009; Fletcher & Russell, 2001). Additionally, it is important to teach LGBTQ issues in the classroom because for students who plan to enter a field working with the public, they will be better able to provide services to this population (Fletcher & Russell, 2001). Unfortunately, there are many barriers that prevent institutions from teaching about LGBTQ individuals (Kuvulanka et al., 2013), and there is even less support for teaching about trans\* issues in particular, separate from the whole LGBTQ community (Case et al., 2009). Some of these barriers include resistance from students who may face their own ignorance or discomfort, hiring educators who are not knowledgeable about LGBTQ issues, or simply attending a university that only passively supports LGBTQ people (Kuvulanka et al., 2013). These barriers can make LGBTQ individuals feel marginalized within the classroom, even if inadvertently, which affects performance and participation (Kuvulanka et al., 2013).

A final important issue regarding campus climate for trans\* individuals is the standard use of pronouns, which can happen in any of the aforementioned settings. Pronouns are the words that are used to replace a proper noun such as one's name when referring to an individual. For transgender people, having others use their proper pronouns is extremely important for their emotional wellbeing and sense of belonging, and institutions that operate without regard to pronouns promote negative impacts for this community (Parks & Straka, 2018). In a case study at Elon University—a college that made it standard practice to ask for students' pronouns in classes, on forms, rosters, and attendance sheets—a gender-fluid student named James spoke up about the impact this had on him, "The university has been a big help to me identifying myself. Just the faculty/staff community is really supportive" (Parks & Straka, 2018). James' input reflects the impact that asking for pronouns can have on a student; he was better able to feel comfortable with himself when others affirmed his pronouns, he/him, and felt comfortable in his academic environment due to support from others. This is the hope for universities across the world.

### **Synthesis: The Need to Study Trans\* College Student Housing**

In the previous sections, I've reviewed and summarized existing scholarship in three areas: studies of college student homelessness and housing insecurity; LGBTQ/trans campus climate studies; and studies of trans\* youth homelessness. Studies of college student homelessness and housing insecurity identify a problem of serious scale, where a significant subset of college students experience homelessness or housing insecurity; this body of research also demonstrates the effects of homelessness and housing insecurity on college students and the many housing-related issues particular to college students. These studies, however, fail to

examine the particular case of LGBTQ/trans\* college students. Conversely, while campus climate studies identify many factors that contribute positively or negatively to LGBTQ/trans\* students' experiences, these studies rarely consider the way that LGBTQ/trans\* student homelessness or housing insecurity may interact with the factors more typically included in campus climate studies. That studies of college student homelessness/housing insecurity on the one hand *and* LGBTQ/trans\* campus climate studies on the other *both* fail to consider LGBTQ/trans\* student homelessness/housing insecurity adequately is all the more surprising given the third body of literature reviewed here – studies of trans\* youth homelessness – which demonstrates that trans\* youth disproportionately experience homelessness and housing insecurity. It follows that college student homelessness and housing insecurity very likely affects LGBTQ/trans\* students disproportionately, and that homelessness/housing insecurity may thus be an important factor to include when examining campus climate. Yet, as already discussed, scant attention in the existing literature has been paid specifically to LGBTQ/trans\* college student homelessness and housing insecurity. This study begins to fill these gaps by trying to understand the particular housing experiences of trans\* college students as they relate to managing homelessness and housing insecurity, with an eye to the ways that universities can develop new policies or improve existing ones to better serve this population.

### **Methods**

This qualitative, interview-based study consisted of ten trans\* and nonbinary college students from the Northeast. The interviews focused on housing-related issues, college life, and family life. The study went through IRB review and was granted exempt status.

### **Sampling**

Individuals were eligible to participate if they self-identify as transgender, non-binary, and/or non-cis, were 18 of age or older, and were a student during the Spring 2020 semester. Sampling occurred in multiple rounds; I began by soliciting participants within my own social networks, and then used snowball sampling with interviewees recommending other possible participants. These methods of generating a sample resulted in a total of ten participants. The table below describes characteristics of each participant.

Name <sup>2</sup>	Age	Race	School	Year <sup>3</sup>	Class	Assigned Sex	Gender ID	Housing Status
Slater	23	White/ Asian	Public	Senior (graduated)	Middle	F	Trans-masculine	Secure
Morgan	19	White	Public	Freshman	Upper-middle	M	Trans woman	Secure
Roy	21	White	Public	Senior (graduated)	Lower-middle	M	Agender/gender-fluid	Secure
Warren	22	White	Public	Senior (graduated)	Middle	F	Non-binary	Secure
Felix	19	White	Public	Freshman	Upper-middle	F	Trans man	Secure
Norah	21	Latina	Private	Senior (graduated)	Middle	M	Trans woman	Secure
Nico	23	White	Public	Senior	Working	F	Gender fluid	Insecure
Victoria	20	Latina	Private	Senior (graduated)	Upper-middle	M	Trans woman/non-binary	Secure
Zeek	21	Asian/ Latinx	public	Senior	Lower	F	Non-binary	Homeless
Joey	22	White	public	Senior	Upper-middle	F	Non-binary	Insecure

### Methods of Data Collection

Data for this research consisted of semi-structured, recorded interviews, which I conducted with participants over Skype or phone. Interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview schedule was developed to capture information in my areas of interest, including

<sup>2</sup> All names are pseudonyms.

<sup>3</sup> Year in college as of Spring 2020

basic demographic information; housing experiences throughout the life course; and experiences as a college student (for the full interview schedule, see Appendix A). After each interview, I immediately wrote follow-up notes which were about two to three pages in length and consisted of bullet points and notes that summarized responses, body language and tone, as well as important points or insights to return to. Through several subsequent reviews of each interview, I created time-stamped field notes that provided a “roadmap” to the interview responses and documented my observations. Targeted portions of the interviews covering sections of particular interest were later transcribed. In addition, I listened to each interview (both portions and in full) multiple times as I reviewed and interpreted data.

### **Methods of Analysis**

The first steps of my systematic analysis included listening to the interviews multiple times, selectively transcribing important segments of interviews, and returning to time stamps from my field notes. While I reviewed this information, I free wrote about experiences participants had in common, and where they differed. This process was repeated until I was able to identify themes; “passing” emerged as the most central theme in my analysis. “Passing” is a concept closely tied to cisgenderism, which operates such that trans\* individuals’ outward expression is characterized by others in a binary gender category, regardless of how the individual identifies. “Passing” affected the participants in nearly every aspect of their lives: social life, residence, work, and school.

Generating a sample of housing insecure/homeless students was an especially difficult task. This is because individuals in this category sometimes live unpredictable lives, and often have many moving parts to juggle in order to survive. One student to whom I reached out met

the criteria of housing insecurity, and would have contributed a great deal of knowledge to this study, but was unable to participate because her free time was limited, as well as feeling unprepared for the emotions my study might bring up. Thankfully, I was still able to make observations about homelessness and housing insecurity, given that my participants came from a wide range of backgrounds.

### **Findings**

After analyzing the data, the foremost theme that emerged was participants' experiences with "passing." Passing is crucial to understanding students' experiences with housing, but students also reported that passing affects many other aspects of their lives such as going to class, being social, and using the bathroom. In the following sections, I begin by exploring my participants' experiences with passing, followed by a discussion of housing experiences and related issues that they faced.

### **Passing**

#### ***Introduction***

Passing in the context of gender is when one is unconsciously perceived as a cisgender identity rather than their true gender identity. It is also known as "blending" because it describes the degree to which a trans\* person blends into our taken-for-granted binary gender system. The 10 participants in my study had a wide range of experiences with "passing," and identify in many places on the gender spectrum—agender, non-binary, gender-fluid, and trans men and women—and sometimes expressed their gender in ways that both align with and/or defy gendered expectations. This also means that "passing" is situational; while two participants—Morgan and

Felix—believed that they passed as their true gender identity 100 percent of the time, the remaining eight participants had mixed experiences with passing. Lastly, passing is not always necessarily a goal for the trans\* individual—it may happen on its own by means of one’s transition goals.

Within the broad category of “passing,” there are a few experiences that they all shared. Every participant preferred a gender-neutral bathroom option over a binary option—even those who felt safe or affirmed in a binary bathroom. This is because while existing in a binary space, my participants feared violence, embarrassment, or feeling like an imposter. Gender-neutral bathrooms get rid of those threats altogether. In classrooms, each student reported feeling uncomfortable while in a space being educated about trans\* identity politics; having one’s own experience lectured back to them makes them feel powerless or like a living example of the material to other students. Moreover, sometimes students in these spaces are learning about trans\* people for the first time, and may ask uncomfortable questions or make mistaken assumptions.

### *Students who pass as the gender with which they identify*

To pass as the gender with which one identifies means that other people correctly and unconsciously categorize that individual as their true identity. For example, my participant Felix identifies as a trans man, and others read him in the world as a man. All study participants who reported experiences passing as their identifying gender (N=3) identify in a *binary*—man or woman, and report the most positive life and housing experiences out of all others in this study. Two participants in particular—Felix and Morgan—regarded their privileges in comparison to

their trans\* peers in understanding why they live comfortable lives. Slater, on the other hand, recalled his complicated relationship to “passing” over time.

Both Felix and Morgan come from upper-middle class backgrounds, are both white, both transitioned before college—meaning that they had the opportunity to meet new people while feeling like the most complete version of themselves—and both have religious families (Christian and Roman Catholic). Both individuals’ parents went through a time where they wrestled with their faith versus accepting their children, an era in their lives marked as tumultuous, stressful, depressive, and full of anxiety. Thankfully, each of their parents came around to accept and love their trans\* children, and even went so far as to educate themselves about trans issues. This hopeful scenario is rare among my participants, and Felix and Morgan mutually recognized their privileges.

Another student included in this analysis, Slater, believes that he passes in the eyes of others *most* of the time, but does not believe that he passes in his own eyes. This student is of mixed Asian and White descent, is situated in the middle-class, transitioned during college, has a poor relationship with his mother, and an “okay” relationship with his father. Slater’s experience is unique because, unlike Morgan and Felix, he did not get a “fresh plate” per se in regards to forming relationships with new people upon arriving to college. When Slater came out, it came with the additional labor of notifying friends, professors, and other peers of those changes. This labor can be exhausting, as well as a reminder that some will always remember the individual as their previous identity.

In school, each of these participants reported positive experiences in classes, meaning that they were able to participate as unmarked members of the class. To be an “unmarked member” means that an individual does not stand out or receive unwanted attention solely for

their marginalized identity, and that they had the choice to disclose their trans\* identities to others. Choice becomes a power in this scenario because it protects the individual from potentially uncomfortable or dangerous situations.

When these students *did* disclose their trans\* identities to others, they were generally always believed and only had to reiterate their pronouns and names once for them to stick. This saves the student the emotional labor of having to explain or reiterate oneself, which makes participating in class easier. Although, an exception to this it is that both Felix and Slater, two trans men, stopped participating as often in class. This is due to their self-awareness of how others perceive them as cisgender men, and how they desire to give space for others in the room with less privilege. The last thing Felix and Slater wanted was to be perceived as the man who thinks he knows everything.

#### ***Students who pass as a gender with which they do not identify***

Those who pass as a gender with which they do not identify experienced more troubling life experiences than those who have experiences with passing as the gender with which they identify; 8 out of 10 of my participants reported that they do not “pass” as a gender with which they identify, and these individuals generally identify outside of the gender binary. For example, my participant Roy identifies as agender, but others perceive them in the world as a man, or their gender assigned at birth.

In classroom scenarios, those who have experiences not “passing” as the gender with which they identify (N=8) commented that they have introduced their pronouns and to their peers in hopes of being addressed properly. Unfortunately, these 8 students had to assert their identities multiple times to others, causing unnecessary stress and embarrassment, as it singles-out and/or

Commented [KB1]: It's not that they don't pass, it's that they pass as a gender w/ which they don't identify.

“outs” the individual seeking proper treatment. This re-assertion of identity did not guarantee they would be respected, either. Accordingly, sometimes participants took another approach and did not mention their pronouns or gender identities to their peers because they noted that it requires less mental and physical exhaustion than asserting oneself without guarantee of earning respect. Classrooms where social justice was a key learning outcome tended to be places where students felt more comfortable opening up about their identities, and trust that they would be respected (Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies and Sociology classes, generally). The opposite is true for classes where social justice was not necessarily a core learning outcome, and interviewees were more likely to stay “in the closet” in those environments (Nursing, English, and STEM classes were among those included in this category).

Attending class also means being exposed to normative conceptualizations of gender through language and classroom materials, or sometimes even debates about transgender issues. One participant named Zeek recalls feeling frustrated anytime the term “ladies and gentlemen” was used in the Sociology classes they took, as they felt it contradicted the lessons they were learning about gender. Additionally, this student regarded that it is difficult to be lectured about oppression that concerns their identity as a queer person of color, given that it opens the floor for questions and comments by other students who may be less understanding. This was a sentiment generally shared by other participants, who also felt that learning about their own identities in class put immense attention on them as living examples.

Using campus facilities such as the bathrooms is another relevant part about going to class. Each of the 8 participants who did not pass as their identifying gender reported that they feel the most safe and comfortable using a gender-neutral bathroom; unfortunately, there are not nearly enough gender-neutral bathrooms to accommodate the demand for them, and sometimes

cisgender and able-bodied people use them, forcing gender non-conforming students to use the binary bathrooms.

Slater's experience in classes is unique because he transitioned during college, so people are aware that he is trans, even though he reports that he passes in most scenarios. This means that earlier in his transition, he received the confusion and odd looks from others who did not understand, which is not something that happens much anymore since he has undergone medical treatments and operations that align him more with himself.

## **Housing Experiences**

### ***Introduction***

Not passing as the gender with which one identifies in one's living situation can cause a host of unpleasant scenarios for the misgendered individual. In the following sections, I discuss both on-campus living and off-campus living, as distinctions between these two shaped trans\* college students' experiences. While each participant's living situation looks different, they all share a few things in common: all ten participants reported that they have specific concerns when it comes to finding roommates and a place to live. The participants valued being able to have privacy, living with individuals who affirm their gender identity or who are queer/trans, and having access to an appropriate bathroom.

Both students who self-reported either "passing" or not "passing" make special considerations for where they will live, which bathrooms they will use, and even which institution they chose to go to college. It is important to these students to live with individuals who are either like-minded or (at least) tolerant of their identities, as it is an emotional and

physical wellbeing/safety concern. It is also important that these students have access to bathrooms where they will not be at-risk for being outed, harassed, or assaulted.

*On campus*

In regards to those who have had experiences with “passing” while living in on-campus housing, both Felix and Morgan lived on-campus in the same living-learning community, and Slater lived in a dorm not affiliated with a living-learning community. What all three individuals share in common is the desire to live with people who are queer-friendly or who are queer, and having access to gender-affirming bathrooms. Morgan was the only one who expressed a desire to live in co-ed housing, and both Felix and Slater felt indifferent to co-ed housing. For Felix and Morgan, their decisions to be a part of the living-learning community—which was geared towards the LGBTQ community—was driven by these desires.

As first-year students, Felix and Morgan’s experiences in their dorm hall were full of community events for freshmen, as well as events through their community. The living-learning community functions like a “neighborhood,” where each person in the hall gets to know one another and become close friends. Everyone in their “neighborhood” identified in the LGBTQ spectrum. Both Felix and Morgan report that individuals in their living-learning communities became “cliquey” and “gatekeepy” at times, which deterred them from engaging in community events. Because of their “passing” privileges within the community, others often expressed jealousy because of their access to affirming medical treatments, which caused some tension among others in the community.

For those who have roomed with another transgender individual—Slater and Morgan—they reported positive experiences regarding not feeling like they had to hide themselves when

around their roommates. In other words, rooming with another transgender individual allows one to feel comfortable in their identity because they can be fully vulnerable (i.e. not binding, wearing makeup, or tucking) around the other person. However, Slater and Morgan both report that if one has a bad dysphoria day, it may amplify the other person's dysphoria, which is difficult to wrestle with.

In on-campus scenarios, those who pass as a gender with which they do not identify generally found their living situation more difficult to cope with than those participants who passed as the gender they identified with (see above) as well as participants who lived off-campus. One individual, Zeek, was a Resident Assistant (RA) for a year and told many stories of their unique perspective on Residence Life; another participant, Warren, was a member of a living-learning community for two years that catered to trans and queer students. For another two individuals in this study-- Victoria and Norah who attended the private Northeastern university-- on-campus living was mandatory for the first year. Aside from these two participants, the remaining participants electively lived on campus for at least a year. Two participants, Joey and Slater, were not yet "out" during their on-campus stays, even though they were each remotely aware of their identities.

For students who lived on-campus—not in a living-learning community—and did not "pass," there were overwhelming reports of difficult circumstances. In particular, students had to navigate their identities in a space where they were exposed to people who were less accepting, where bathrooms were less accessible, and where their privacy to explore themselves was mitigated. Slater recalls an experience where his roommate was on a facetime call with her boyfriend. After introducing Slater and his friend to her boyfriend, the boyfriend said, "Who are

those faggots?” The roommate slammed her laptop closed and profusely apologized. This left a lasting mark on Slater, and made him feel like he could not be himself around his roommate.

Zeek, who worked as a Residence Assistant (RA) for a year, shared their unique perspective on dorm living. As an RA, students take up extra responsibilities to keep the dorm hall running, such as manning the front desk, facilitating events, and being “on call” 24/7. While being an RA gave Zeek many social connections and resources that aided their status as a homeless person, it was harmful for their identity as a non-binary person of color. For instance, being “on-call” 24/7 made it difficult to separate their work life from their personal life; their privacy could be invaded upon at any given moment, which is crucial for the exploration of one’s gender identity. In addition to privacy issues, Zeek experienced behavior on behalf of other Residence Life staff that was merely performative of supporting trans people; there is an emphasis on sharing pronouns, but when Zeek shares their pronouns (they/them), they report others rolling their eyes or ignoring them altogether. Lastly, when Zeek tried to move to an all male dorm hall, they had to jump through numerous gatekeeping hoops and have others advocate for them. This was a large hurdle in Zeek’s college experience that left them feeling tired and upset.

While on-campus living was generally difficult for the participants in this study, there are some aspects to on-campus living that are comforting. Warren, who was a member of the LGBTQ living-learning community for two years, recalls that their hall’s RA was accommodating of the specific needs of trans individuals, such as having an alternative door tag available for those who were not “out” to their families while visiting. Other perks to on-campus living are the meal plans available. Students do not have to take the time or planning out of their day to feed themselves, which gives the student more time to dedicate to their studies. And

lastly, on-campus living can be productive when students feel they have supportive peers around them. Some participants, such as Warren, were able to live with people who affirmed their identity and made them feel safe.

### *Off Campus*

Off-campus living offers certain freedoms not afforded to those who live on-campus, which can make living more comfortable. Those who live off-campus are more likely to find housing that suits their needs, such as the option to live alone or with people, or having a private bathroom. The 7 participants who lived off-campus were able to live with a group of friends of their choosing who were trusted to be respectful of their identities. A few participants referred to this group of friends as their “family,” and shared close bonds.

There are, however, some downsides to off-campus living. Landlords posed a large obstacle to accessing housing, and affected living conditions and ongoing tenant experiences. Landlords often require identity documents when applying for housing. For Slater, this meant that he was “outed” against his will to his landlord when he presented his identity documents. For others such as Nico, Joey, Warren, and Roy, presenting identity documents only affirmed their landlord’s assumptions about their identities, such as being assumed to be their assigned sex. Nico’s experience with one of his landlords was such that he was able to gain housing because women are “more clean” than men. He would often stop by Nico’s house to yell at Nico and their housemates for forgetting to hang up the door mat in the rain, or for not keeping the yard tidy. He often acted more like a father than a landlord, policing the way his tenants lived on the property.

Slater reported that his experiences with landlords have been less than ideal in terms of his “passing” status. As he reports, landlords often assume that he is a cisgender male when he is looking for places to live. He has encountered scenarios where when he applies for housing, he must use his legal name, which gives away the fact that he is not a cis male. This creates discomfort and anxiety on behalf of Slater, and confusion on behalf of the landlord.

### *Being Perceived by Others as Trans in Residence: Going Home*

To be perceived by others as trans means that an individual is readable by others as someone who is not cisgender. This happens by means of “coming out,” or by non-verbal cues such as the way one dresses or presents themselves, such as wearing trans flags and symbols or being androgynous. “Passing” does have an effect on interactions, such as how one is treated and addressed before—and after—others are aware of their trans identity.

Being perceived as trans in residence operates differently depending on if one lives with their family or friends, are on- or off-campus, and are “out” as trans. Something that all of these students have in common is “code switching,” or changing the language they use around people who are not queer or trans. This occurs because much of the language used by queer and trans individuals does not translate the same to those who do not share the same identity, as well as not wanting to give cisgender people the impression that it is okay for them to use the same language when it is not created for them.

Students reported complicated relationships with visiting their families while being “out” as trans. The majority of participants—6 out of 10—recalled that visiting their families is uncomfortable and not preferred. Sometimes, even after “coming out,” participants’ families will continue to deadname them and use the incorrect pronouns, causing great emotional distress.

**Commented [KB2]:** Let's discuss how to link this more closely to the thesis topic. We'll do that throughout the findings.

**Commented [HM3]:** I have a section called “being perceived as trans\* in residence” that I put under the more broad “housing” category. So I think here is an opportunity to just discuss being perceived as trans in classrooms/social situations/work if applicable

**Commented [KB4]:** Let's talk about the best way to characterize this; I think there might be better ways of getting at what you're saying here.

**Commented [HM5]:** I thought adding this might clarify what I meant, but maybe, again, there's a better way of phrasing this?

**Commented [KB6]:** I don't think this is completely clear, and you rrrf more in this intro; in the intro to other similar sections of the thesis you mentioned things about people in your sample, but that's missing here. I think there's more discssion to be had as well. We'll talk.

**Commented [HM7R6]:** Let me know if my edits made it more clear/less redundant

One student's parents, Zeek, were so unaccepting of their child's identity that they cut off all support to the student, leaving them homeless.

One individual, Victoria, is not yet out to her family at all. At school, she is "out" to her friends who address her properly, and lives in an apartment near her school year-round. She visits home approximately once a month or during holidays. During her stays at home, she is expected to act and dress "like a man," which makes her feel like she lives a double-life. A similar scenario happens with Norah, whose family is remotely aware of her gender identity, but nonetheless still expect her to present her gender as a "man."

For a few students—Felix, Morgan, Warren, and Joey—going home was not necessarily an uncomfortable or unfavorable experience, yet still feel a complicated relationship to going home. Individuals in this group have families who have worked hard to understand the identities of their children, and even some who are activists themselves. Yet still, these participants avoid going home if they can due to the fatigue of "code switching" and missing the ease of communication with friends/chosen families.

### ***Students Experiencing Housing Insecurity/Homelessness***

Among my 10 participants, 2 students identified experiences with housing insecurity, Nico and Joey, and 1 student identified as homeless, Zeek. Housing insecurity in this study is defined as having to move around frequently due to economic or social problems, or experiencing periods of time living in a precarious housing scenario between opportunities, such as out of one's car or on a friend's couch. Homelessness is defined as having trouble accessing stable housing altogether, and either living out of shelters, on the street, or other emergency accommodations. What all three students shared in common was a tenuous relationship to their

parents, and Zeek and Nico came from poorer families. Joey comes from an upper-middle class family.

Zeek identifies as a non-binary (they/them), queer person of color, and highlighted the fact that their trans identity, Asian/Latinx identities, and mental health influenced their experiences with homelessness. Zeek became homeless shortly after coming out to their parents as non-binary, and shortly after needing hospitalization for an eating disorder. Their parents did not try to understand them or aid in their recovery, and cut off all forms of support and communication while they were at school. Since then, Zeek has been able to access housing for short periods of time while at school, such as through being a Resident Assistant in their dorm hall. However, living in that dorm hall meant that Zeek had to deal with students who were not versed in trans identity politics or those who hold prejudices for their racial identities. Zeek also reported that they would occasionally sleep on the street or on a friend's couch when living in a dorm hall was not an option. At the time of being interviewed, Zeek was living in an off-campus housing situation, but was having trouble cohabitating with their white roommate, who flaunted her privilege and made questionable comments about social justice movements.

Another student, Joey, who identifies as non-binary (they/he) and White, lived out of his car, and occasionally on a friend's couch, for a month following the termination of his lease. Joey had the option to go home to their parents during this month-long gap between housing opportunities, but decided that living in their car gave them a better quality of life than going home to their parents. Joey commented that his parents do *try* to understand his identity, but that the transition has been difficult for them, and they end up using the incorrect pronouns and name when talking to Joey. This has caused him to feel a large amount of stress and anxiety when going home that living out of his car did not give him.

Nico, who identifies as gender-fluid (any pronouns) and White, moved around multiple times while completing their undergraduate degree for both financial and personal reasons. Nico's first experience with housing insecurity happened when his parents kicked him out of the house for doing drugs. During that time, Nico began living with a friend in a dorm hall on a blow-up mattress, which lasted for three months, and complicated her relationship with that friend and their roommate. The next place Nico lived was a house that they could not afford, and ended up taking out extra loans to be able to stay there, something Nico knew would affect them in the future. At this time, Nico began to experiment with their gender identity, which complicated their relationship to landlords. One landlord allowed Nico to live in a house solely because he thought Nico was a woman, and believed that women were "cleaner." After his expectations did not meet reality, he grew frustrated and micromanaged Nico and his housemates. Nico eventually moved out because of their frustration with the landlord and the discomfort of interacting with the landlord in such a gendered way. Even though Nico was kicked out of her house when she was starting college, she commented that she would be welcome to stay with her parents for short periods of time between housing opportunities. He does not feel comfortable doing this because of his political differences with his parents, as well as the fact that they only ever refer to him with she/her pronouns.

Considering these stories, it is apparent that while finances affect students' access to housing, it does not fully explain the phenomenon for trans\* people. On top of these students' stories, 6 out of 10 of my participants reported that they did not feel comfortable going home for holidays or short periods, and 9 out of 10 said that they avoid going home to their parents for longer stays, sometimes at all costs—such as stable housing. Ultimately, Felix's experience stood out because he is the only student who reported that he felt comfortable going home for

both short and long stays, and felt no discomfort going home. What distinguished Felix from all other participants is the fact that his parents, and especially his mother, use the correct pronouns, and hold themselves accountable when they misgender their child. Felix's mom also went so far as to read books on trans\* identities, and put in the work to be a supportive parent. No other participant reported the same case-scenario in terms of parental support.

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

As previously mentioned, the housing experiences of trans\* and non-binary college students is an understudied area. It is important to study this topic first and foremost because trans\* college students are most likely over-represented among homeless and housing insecure college students. Trans\* youth are more likely than their cisgender peers to be homeless or housing insecure; college can be a pathway to housing security, including providing housing opportunities and other services while trans\* youth are students. Further, we know that campus climate affects LGBTQ+ and specifically trans\* students likelihood of remaining and succeeding in college. This means that for schools who do not create a supportive environment for its trans\* and gender non-conforming students, those individuals may be at a higher risk of becoming—or staying—homeless or housing insecure at a time when LGBTQ youth already make up as high as 20 to 40 percent of the American homeless youth population.

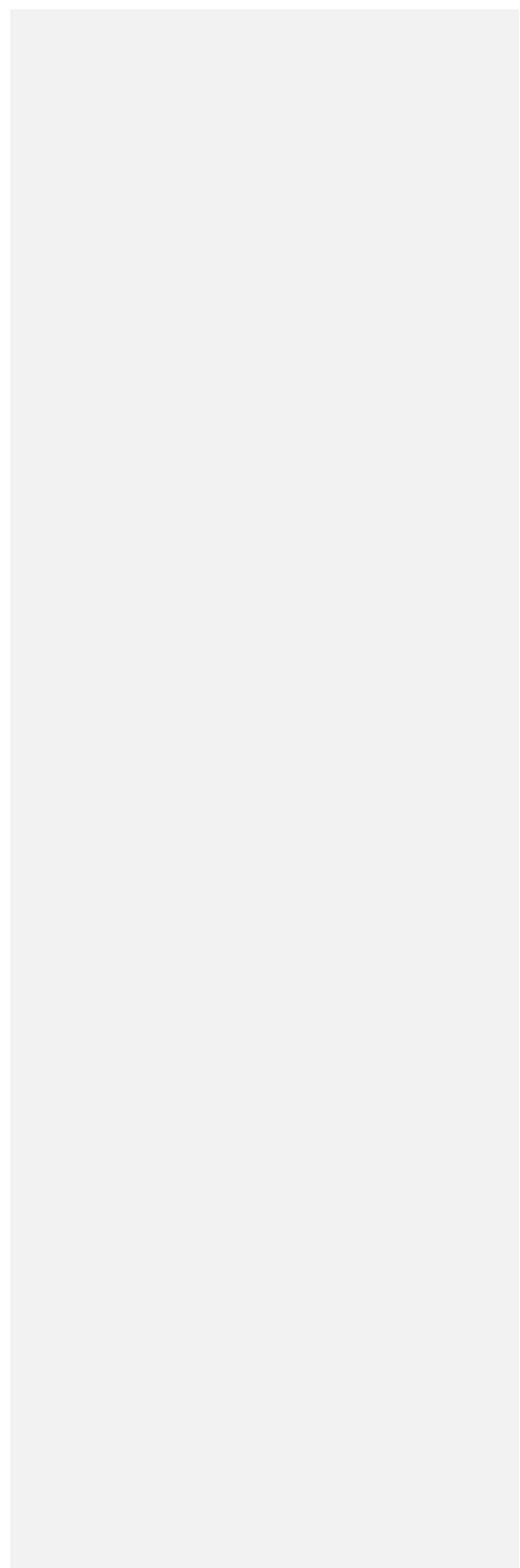
My research demonstrates that precarious living conditions for trans\* students are exacerbated by financial precarity, familial rejection, and a lack of institutional support for the needs of trans\* people. Many students did report that their names and pronouns were respected in some instances, but respecting names and pronouns are not enough to make trans people feel safe and welcome in the academic institution. We need more gender neutral bathrooms, a no-

tolerance policy for misgendering, deadnaming, or harassment, and especially more accommodating housing options that are modeled after the LGBTQ living-learning communities.

“Understanding the Housing Experiences of Trans\* and Non-Binary College Students” is only the first step in understanding trans\* students’ experiences in their residences and at their universities. There is still a need for more research regarding the housing experiences of trans\* college students on a larger scale. Suggestions for future research include replicating this study with more participants, comparing the housing experiences of cisgender and trans\* college students, or solely understanding the experiences of homeless/housing insecure trans\* college students.

Commented [HM8]: I have no clue if these are actually good suggestions, but I tried my best! Maybe we can talk about that.

Commented [KB9R8]: These are great!



**Appendix A****[SECTION 1: BACKGROUND QUESTIONS]**

So, like I said before, I'm going to ask you questions about several topics, including growing up, where you've lived, and your experiences with college life. We'll start with some basic informational questions.

1. Where were you born?
2. How old are you now?
3. In this last school year, 2019-2020, what year were you in college? [if senior, ask if they've graduated]
4. What college or university did you attend in 2019-2020?
5. Have you gone to any other colleges or universities? If so, which ones?
6. What's your major?
7. Are you the first person in your family to go to college?
8. How do you identify in terms of your race?
9. What sex were you assigned at birth?
10. How would you describe your current gender identity? [probe: what pronouns do you use]
11. And as far as finances go, how do you support yourself in terms of both living and educational expenses? Are you solely responsible for your expenses, does your family or someone else provide support, or do you have other forms of support? [Probe for scholarships, other forms of support, etc.]

12. What kinds of paid employment have you had while you've been a college student?  
About how many hours a week have you typically worked while taking classes? What about during breaks from classes?

**[SECTION 2: FAMILY]**

So now I wanted to ask you a few questions about your experiences growing up in your family, whoever that may have been, and a little about your experiences and relationships with family now.

13. Tell me about what it was like growing up. First, who was in the household when you were growing up?
14. What kind of house(s) or apartment(s) did you live in? Did you move around much while you were growing up? Did your parents/relatives [or other persons you lived with] own or rent the places where you lived?
15. What class background would you say you come from? What was your family's main source of income? Was money ever a problem in your family that you knew of when you were growing up? [If yes: Do you mind telling me more about that?]
16. Was uncertainty about housing ever an issue that you were aware of for your family when you were growing up?
17. Was your family ever homeless when you were growing up. [If yes, for how long and how did they become homeless?]
18. What kind of relationship do you have with your family now?
19. What kinds of support does your family provide you? (probe: emotional, financial, etc.)
20. Do you visit your family on breaks and/or live there during summer or other school breaks? [if Yes: What have been the biggest challenges about "returning home"]

21. Is your family supportive of you in terms of your gender identity or expression? How or how not? [Probe for changes over time; “have they always felt that way” “have they always treated you that way”]

**[SECTION 3: HOUSING]**

Now I wanted to move to some questions about the time since you moved away from the family we’ve been talking about.

22. How old were you when you moved away from home? Under what circumstances did you leave? Where did you live immediately upon leaving home?
23. I wanted to go over the places you’ve lived since then: whether you’ve lived in a dorm, apartment, house; who you lived with in terms of whether it was roommates, a partner or partners, family, etc.. So can we start from when you first moved away from home, and can you go through the different places that you’ve lived since then? [probe to ask if this person has ever lived with another non-cis person]

*[specific prompts once they get to spring 2020 semester follow]*

24. In terms of housing, did the move to online instruction in the spring 2020 semester affect your housing situation? Did you have to move?
25. Where have you lived since March 2020 when schools made the switch to online instruction? [if more than one place, ask about each move and the circumstances that surrounded it]
26. During the pandemic, have you ever been uncertain about where you’d be able to live?
27. Has the pandemic affected your living situation, or how you feel about your living situation, in any other ways?
28. Before the pandemic, had there ever been times when you were uncertain about where

you'd be able to live? [probe for what they did in those situations]

29. In all the time since you first moved away from home, have you ever moved because of some difficult circumstance – trouble with roommates, financial troubles, eviction, or other things like that?
30. If you suddenly had to move from where you are living now, would you have any acceptable housing options? What do you think those options would be? [NOTE: need to word this a little differently; given current realities, this would probably be a problem for many people, but that's not quite what we want to know about]
31. Where do you think you'll be living after this summer? Are you anxious or worried at all about your housing options? [probe to describe the emotions]
32. [for people who will be students in the fall] If you already knew that all classes would be online this coming fall, would that alter your housing plans in any way? [Probe: Why? How?]
33. Do you ever worry about being or becoming homeless? [If yes, probe: What kinds of things do you worry about? When you think about this, how would you see yourself becoming homeless? Etc.]
34. If you had a financial emergency and could not afford living necessities, where would you turn for help?

#### [SECTION 4: COLLEGE LIFE]

I know we've been spending some time talking about housing. I wanted to ask you just a couple more questions about housing that are specific to the time you've been a college student, then we'll move to other aspects of your experiences with college life.

35. When you think about the places that you've lived as a college student, in what ways has your gender identity and expression affected your housing experiences? [possible probes: finding housing, choices about where to live and about roommates, experiences with roommates, etc.]

36. [for people who lived in on campus] What were your experiences like specifically living on campus? [probe: "what about with residence life staff?"]
37. What does the term "passing" mean to you? How do you feel "passing" applies to you? How does "passing" affect how you feel about your living situation? Social situation?
38. Ok, let's move to other aspects of college life. What about your classes? As a [trans/nb] student, what experiences – bad, good, or neutral – have you had in classes you've taken?
39. Have you taken any classes that were especially good in terms of being supportive of you as a [trans/nb] student? Any that were especially bad?
40. Have you ever hidden your gender identity from an instructor or from other students? [If Yes: Can you tell me about that?]
41. What about campus social life? What have your experiences been outside of classes and formal academics?
42. Do you consider yourself part of any campus "Trans," "Queer," or "LGBTQ+" communities? If so, which communities? What have your experiences been like there?
43. Do you think of yourself as a member of any other "community" at your campus?
44. Have you participated in any campus Clubs? Which ones? Why did you join? What has your experience been like?
45. Are you a member of any support groups on your campus? Which ones? Why did you join? What has your experience been like?
46. Has the actual physical institution in terms of buildings and such -- bathrooms, athletic/fitness facilities, dorms, etc. – proven to be a welcoming place for you as a [trans/nb] student?
47. I'd like to ask about your experiences with a few different services that many campuses

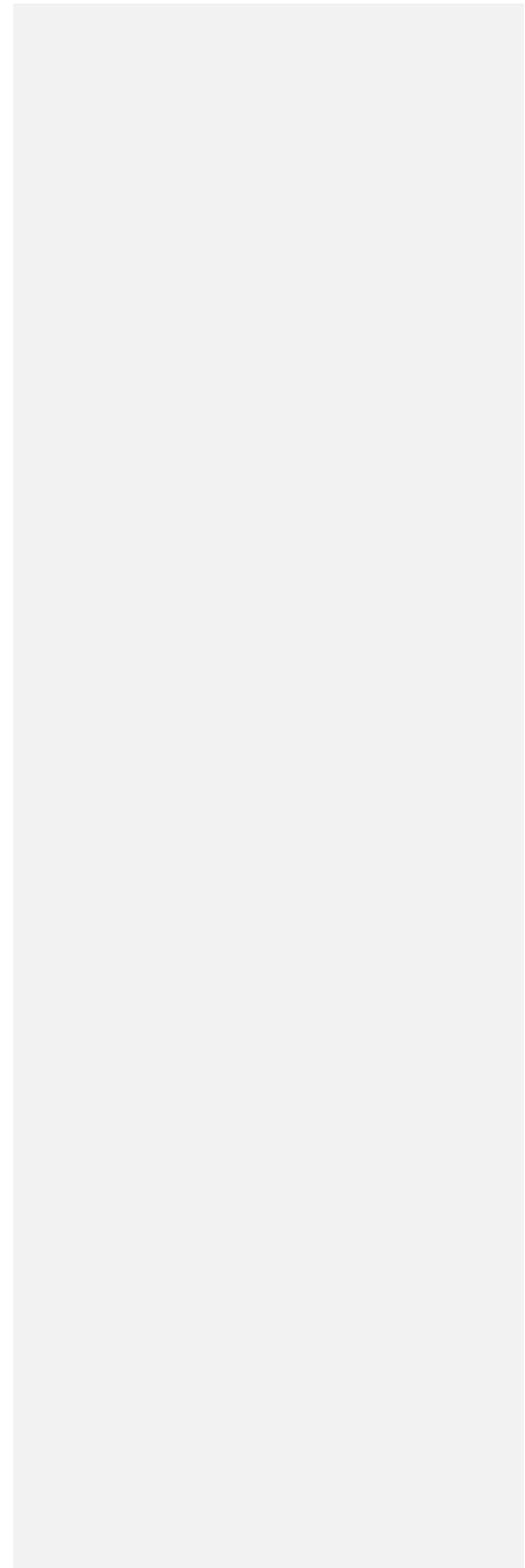
often offer. Have you ever used your campus's

- a. Health Center? What were your experiences like?
  - b. Psychological Counseling Center? What were your experiences like?
  - c. LGBTQ Coordinator Office or Queer Center, if your campus has one? What were your experiences like?
  - d. Career Center? What were your experiences like?
  - e. Campus Food Pantry or other services for students who are experiencing financial difficulties?
  - f. Are there any other campus services that you've used while you've been a student? What were your experiences like?
48. As a [trans/nb] student, have you ever experienced unfair treatment or harassment on your campus or in the community that we haven't already discussed? [if yes: Do you mind telling me what happened?]
49. Have you ever thought about leaving or quitting school? [If Yes: Can you tell me about that? What made you decide to stay?]
50. If there were things that you could change at your school that would help make your experience there better, what would you change?
51. When you think about your college campus as a whole, including academic, student life, social aspects, how would you describe the overall environment for trans and nonbinary students? What about for students of color? What about for undocumented students? What about for students from poor and working class backgrounds?
52. While you've been a college student, have you had any particularly good experiences as a [trans/nb] student you'd like to tell me about? Any particularly bad experiences?

53. When you think about the future, after you finish college, what comes to mind?

54. Is there anything else you'd like to let me know about life as a college student today that I haven't asked about?

55. Do you have any questions for me?



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