RESPONSES TO NORMATIVE DISRUPTION OF THE GENDER BINARY THROUGH THE CREATION OF GENDER INCLUSIVE HOUSING

by

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ABSTRACT

RESPONSES TO NORMATIVE DISRUPTION OF THE GENDER BINARY THROUGH THE CREATION OF GENDER INCLUSIVE HOUSING

Maria Alana Anderson-Long

This study, a multisite qualitative case study, examines the responses of three institutions of higher education to normative disruption of the gender binary. Normative disruption, or the challenging of the social status quo, occurs when power structures in society are pushed back against. Central to this study is the use of open systems theory, which positions higher education as a subsystem of American society, and therefore responsive to changes in the environment external of the institution. This study investigates how, if at all, these case sites employed Gender Inclusive Housing (GIH) policies as an institutional response to changes in how gender was conceptualized on their campus. Specifically, this study addresses: 1. how changes in societal norms around the gender binary influence colleges and universities, 2. in what ways institutions respond to such changes, 3. what ways institutions reestablish

organizational homeostasis around an expanded concept of gender, and 4. how institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses.

Out of the findings of this study emerged the Model of Normative Disruption, a mechanism that can be utilized to understand institutional decision-making responses to normative disruption. The findings of this study suggest: 1. various societal and institutional factors influence the ways in which normative disruption manifests at a college or university, 2. institutional characteristics and culture impact all responses to normative disruption, and can either support or hinder change, 3. GIH is one mechanism of responding to normative disruption, but, depending on institutional characteristics, may not be sufficient enough change to reestablish organizational homeostasis, and 4. if the institutional culture is not an amenable environment to such changes, organizational homeostasis is difficult to reestablish.

This study concludes with implications for theory, research, and practice. Importantly, I suggest that GIH policies might serve as an opportunity for administrators to begin the necessary conversations of understanding the myriad cisgenderist policies, practices, and culture that exist within systems of higher education.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

On March 26, 2017, the headline on *Time's* cover read, "Beyond he or she: How a new generation is redefining the meaning of gender" (Steinmetz, 2017). The article goes on to describe how "[t]he erosion of these [gender] binaries could, over time, have profound implications for the many systems that prop up the two-gender reality [to which] most people are accustomed" (Steinmetz, 2017, p. 50). Steinmetz is signaling a disruption of the gender binary that our society has long held as the norm. Steinmetz points out that there are ramifications for how social systems respond to such normative disruption.

Normative disruption, such as of the gender binary, has occurred throughout our history. These disruptions tend to center on the rights of marginalized individuals, and often, lead to legislation. While instances of normative disruption and legislative or policy response do not mean that issues such as institutionalized racism or sexism have been resolved, they do signal to a shift in society. The following section reviews several instances of such responses to normative disruption.

In 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)* decision desegregated public schools (Mumper, Gladieux, King, & Corrigan, 2016). One way of understanding this case is as a response to increasing national attention and pressure to address racial inequity in the United States. In 1969, what we now refer to as the Stonewall Riots, seen as a catalyst of the LGBT rights movement, occurred at a bar in Manhattan (Carter, 2005). These movements center on the disruption of social norms that privilege some individuals based on social identities. As norms are disrupted, the ripple effect can be seen in social institutions throughout our society: in the legally mandated racial desegregation of public schools (Kluger, 2011) and with the right for Gay Straight Alliances to be founded in all public schools with co-curricular activities (Mayo, 2008; Renn, 2010).

Just as public K-12 schools, institutions of higher education are understood as systems that exist within our society. One of the purposes of higher education in American society is to address social issues (Bastedo, Altbach, & Gumport, 2016). Higher education is in a unique position as a subsystem of the rest of society and as a source of knowledge creation to respond to normative disruption. As seen in the previous examples, such responses might be policy creation. As Steinmetz (2017) describes in *Time's* article, we can see instances of normative disruption of the gender binary currently occurring, and that college-aged students are at the epicenter of this disruption.

My study, a multi-site qualitative case study, examined how, if at all, colleges and universities address such disruption to the gender binary, specifically through the

creation and implementation of Gender-Inclusive Housing policies. Further, my study explored how the decision-making processes in regards to such policy development might differ based on institutional characteristics. College housing serves as an appropriate microcosm for understanding institutional responses to normative disruption due for two reasons. Firstly, according to Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs theory, housing is one of the physiological requirements for human survival. Secondly, housing, as I will discuss later, housing offices were one of the first areas of college campuses to respond to the needs of trans* students. Examining GIH policies therefore provides an opportunity to understand some of the earliest institutional responses to supporting trans* students.

In their preeminent article examining the national landscape of Gender-Inclusive Housing policies, Willoughby, Larsen, and Carroll (2012) wrote that they "believe that the advent of gender-neutral housing may represent a new wave of change coming to college housing" (p. 2). This shift in collegiate housing indicates that the larger social conversations around gender might influence how university administrators approach institutional policy making. It is therefore feasible to examine normative disruption of the gender binary at colleges and universities from an open systems framework which I employed in my study. This chapter provides an overview of my study, my theoretical framework, as well as a summary of extant literature on this topic, and the following section provides definitions of key concepts employed throughout my study.

Problem Statement

My dissertation addressed the gap in literature examining the degree to which the social phenomenon of normative disruption impacts colleges and universities, using normative disruption of the gender binary as a case. Specifically, there is a gap in the literature in understanding how normative disruption within society influences institutional decision-making. While there is a growing body of research that examines trans* inclusive policies (Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Dugan et al., 2012; Krum et al., 2013; Nakamura, 1998; Negrete, 2008; Nicolazzo, 2017; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015), these studies often approach the topic from a queer theory or student development lens, leaving a gap in studying such policies from an organizational theory perspective. My study addressed these gaps by examining college and university responses to normative disruption via GIH policies from an organizational theory lens.

Gender-Inclusive Housing policies began to emerge on college campuses, in part as a response to increasing awareness of the needs of trans* students in college (Beemyn, 2005a; Beemyn, Curtis, Davis, & Tubbs, 2005; Krum, Davis, & Galupo, 2013). These policies are still relatively new to college and university campuses, with some of the oldest policies dating back to the early 2000's (Beemyn, n.d.). Therefore, a cogent body of research both on trans* student support as well as GIH policies is still in its infancy. Many studies address GIH policies as part of a larger body of conceptual literature aimed at providing student affairs professionals with suggestions of how to support trans* students (Beemyn, 2005b; Beemyn et al., 2005; Carter, 2000) or how to

assess campus climate for trans* students (Beemyn, 2005a; Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, & Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Draughn, 2002; Rankin, 2005, 2006).

In the last decade, researchers have begun to shift the research on GIH policies to include empirical studies, examining the sense of belonging (Todd, 2016), resilience (Nicolazzo, 2017), and ability to navigate institutional climate (Pryor, Ta, & Hart, 2016) among trans* students. Still, studies focused on understanding GIH policies from an institutional, or organizational, perspective are still emerging (Chave, 2013). While it is crucial for administrators to understand how GIH impacts, and hopefully supports, trans* students' college experiences (Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015), it is also important to examine GIH policies as one aspect of an institution's larger shifts to address normative disruption of the gender binary.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative multi-site case study was to understand the degree to which a GIH policy could be used as an institutional response to normative disruption of the gender binary. In the context of higher education, there is increasing national attention being placed on support services for trans* students. Trans* students, while often included with Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual (LGB) students, face separate and unique issues related to their gender identity that services geared towards LGB students do not fully encompass.

Often, policies that aim to provide trans* students with greater support and inclusion might also disrupt institutionalized norms predicated on the gender binary. In the last decade, colleges and universities across the country have begun to create more inclusive housing policies, many of which require evaluation of how the use of gendered facilities and language must shift in order to accommodate and include trans* students. It is therefore possible to examine the creation of Gender-Inclusive Housing (GIH) policies as a means of better understanding how institutions of higher education might respond to such instances of normative disruption. Further, I examined how the responses to such disruption might vary based on institutional characteristics, and therefore create variance in GIH policies across colleges and universities. In order to address these issues, the following section provides an overview of instances of normative disruption within higher education.

Definitions of Key Concepts

In order to explore the concept of normative disruption within my study, it is necessary to examine how such disruptions of the gender binary have occurred within our society to date. In order to do this, I will first define several key concepts to my study: normative disruption; sex assigned at birth; gender; gender binary; Gender-Inclusive Housing; and Transgender students.

Normative Disruption

The term *normative* is defined as "based on what is considered to be the usual or correct way to do something" and "conforming to or based on norms" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). "Norms" therefore are defined as "standards of proper or acceptable behavior" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Thus, to disrupt normative behavior is to interrupt, change, or challenge socially accepted ways of behaving. The concepts of normative and behavior disruption are central to the literature on gender and gender theory.

One such example of normative disruption is that of the gender binary. Scholars have discussed the emergence of the trans* community in American society as a shift (Nicolazzo, 2017; Stryker, 2008). This shift indicates a change occurring in preconceived societal understandings of gender, as the binary is problematized and more gender identities are realized. For the purposes of this study, normative disruption will refer to this phenomenon, in which the existence of a gender binary is challenged.

Sex Assigned at Birth

Sex assigned at birth is a term that refers to a person's sex designation by a medical professional at the time of birth. This term differs in praxis as emphasis is placed on the assignment of this identity, instead of it being chosen (Bilodeau & Renn, 2005; Currah, 2002). *Sex assigned at birth* will be used in this study to refer to the sex designation assigned to an individual at birth and is not synonymous with one's gender.

Gender/Gender Identity

The term *gender* refers to one's innate sense of being male, female, neither of these, both of these, or another identity (Currah & Moore, 2009; TSER, n.d). Importantly, gender and gender identity do not necessarily refer to physical characteristics of an individual. *Gender identity* is commonly understood in Western culture as encompassing of how an individual feels and conceptualizes one's sense of self with regard to gender (Bilodeau & Renn, 2005; Sherif, 1982; Wilchins, 2002). *Gender* and *gender identity* in this study will refer to one's innate sense of gender and is not synonymous with sex assigned at birth.

Gender Binary

Much of the gendered norms of our culture subscribe to the existence of a gender binary (Dugan, Kusel, & Simounet, 2012; Newhouse, 2013; Nicolazzo, 2016). This binary is understood to be male/female or man/woman (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Finger, 2010; Knight & Kerfoot, 2004; Lennon & Mistler, 2010). Importantly, the gender binary is understood to be oppressive and exclusive of transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals (Dugan et al., 2012; Lennon & Mistler; Newhouse, 2013; Nicolazzo, 2016; Woolley, 2015). This study employs the term *gender binary* to refer to a social construction of gender as a dichotomous category of man/woman or male/female.

Cisgender, Cisgenderism/Trans Oppression

The term *cisgender* is defined as the opposite of transgender, or in reference to a person whose gender identity aligns with his/her sex assigned at birth (Steinmetz, 2014). *Cisgenderism* is therefore a term similar to racism or sexism, in that it discriminates or excludes individuals who are not cisgender (Ansara & Hegerty, 2012). Importantly, cisgenderism differs from transphobia, as transphobia, the irrational fear of trans* people, is a symptom of the institutional oppression perpetrated by cisgenderism. *Cisgenderism*, similar to racism, indicates a systemic and prejudicial ideology, instead of an individual bias. Ansara and Hegerty (2012) further define *cisgenderism* as the act of othering individuals who are not cisgender. Other scholars employ the term *trans oppression* (Nicolazzo, 2017) to refer to the systematic othering and discrimination often experienced by trans* individuals. This study uses the term *cisgender* to refer to individuals whose gender identity aligns with the sex they were assigned at birth.

Transgender and Trans*

Categorizing and counting transgender individuals is a burgeoning area of discussion as researchers continue to grapple with the intersection of identity politics and data (Hanssmann, 2009; Ingraham, Pratt, & Gorton, 2015; Reisner et al., 2015). Language is therefore important (Nicolazzo, 2017). *Transgender* is defined as a person whose gender identity is not the same as their sex assigned at birth (Dugan et al., 2012;

Sausa, 2002). Importantly, some individuals who identify as transgender understand gender not as a binary but as falling along a continuum (Bilodeau, 2009; Dugan et al., 2012; Sausa, 2002; Stryker, 2008).

Within my study I employ the shorthand term *trans** to refer to all individuals who are not cisgender. There is much debate within the trans* community with regard to the use of the asterisk (Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015; Tompkins, 2014a, 2014b; TSER, n.d.). Its use is traced to the computer search function of *trans-* (Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015) and is consistent with current research (Nicolazzo, 2016, 2017; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015; Seelman, 2016; Wentling, 2015; Woodford, Joslin, Pitcher, & Renn, 2017). Tompkins (2014b) outlines its use as a symbol of inclusion beyond those gender identities prefixed with *trans,* such as transman or transwoman,[1] and signals inclusion of individuals including those who identify as genderqueer, genderfluid, or agender.[2] The asterisk is also thought to signal a deeper meaning, notably to signify the inclusion of genders outside of the binary. Therefore, within this study, the term *trans** serves as an umbrella term for all transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals.

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[1]The terms *transman* and *transwoman* are commonly understood as an individual who was assigned female at birth who identifies as a man (*transman)* and an individual assigned male at birth who identifies as a woman (*transwoman)* (TSER, n.d.). It is important to note that these terms are personal, and meaning may vary by person.

[2]As discussed, there are a multitude of terms that individuals use to describe their gender identities. Some include: *genderqueer*, "An identity commonly used by people who do not identify or express their gender within the gender binary" (TSER, n.d.); *genderfluid*, having a gender identity that is changing; or *agender*, an umbrella term used for individuals who do not have a gender (TSER, n.d.).

Pronouns in Use

Pronouns are the words that are used to refer to individuals instead of by their names. Pronouns are a way that individuals represent their gender identity to others. There are a multitude of options of pronouns, including she/her/hers, he/him/his, they/them/theirs, ze/zir/zirs, and others (Nicolazzo, 2017). Some individuals might also utilize any or all pronouns, including one participant in my study at SU. In alignment with other research, I therefore employ any pronoun to refer to this participant (Nicolazzo, 2017). Lastly, though sometimes the term "preferred gender pronouns" might be used, I employ the term "pronouns in use" because to imply that a person's pronouns are preferred is to imply that they are optional. Properly gendering someone is a matter of dignity and respect, and I reflect the pronouns that participants used to identify themselves throughout this study.

Operationalizing Gender-Inclusive Housing

Gender-inclusive. National trends demonstrate that the most prevalent name choice for policies housing students regardless of gender identity is "Gender Neutral Housing" (Taub, Johnson, & Reynolds, 2016). As a researcher, I instead refer to all policies which aim to serve trans* students as "Gender-Inclusive Housing" (GIH) policies. This choice is deliberate as I believe that selecting the term "inclusive" instead of "neutral" demonstrates a commitment to building policies that are actively inclusive of trans* students, as opposed to the erasure of their identities.

Further, in using the term “gender neutral” it is possible that practitioners are negating the importance of gender in the development of students. To neutralize gender is to make a statement that gender is unimportant, not considered, or irrelevant. However, in the support and development of trans* students, understanding and embracing gender identity, whatever that means for the individual student, is of the utmost importance (Beemyn, 2005b; Bilodeau, 2005).

Gender-inclusive housing. The Campus Pride Trans Policy Clearinghouse lists 46 institutions which implemented GIH prior to 2009 (Beemyn, n.d.). Table X is a summary of selected policy definitions of those institutions. One policy is presented for each year from 2001-2009. For years in which multiple institutions implemented GIH, the sample policy was selected at random. As evidenced, policy names vary across institutions, and include names such as gender-neutral housing, gender-inclusive housing, all-gender housing, and open housing. Policy definitions also vary by institution. Some include information about who is eligible (Wesleyan University), how students opt in (Montclair State University), and where GIH is located (University of Maryland, College Park). Others focus on defining what gender-inclusive means, using phrases such as “students who do not identify as male or female” (Lewis & Clark College), “regardless of the students’ sex, gender, gender identity or gender expression” (Northeastern University), and “does not conform to the gender binary of male or female” (University of Oregon). Each institution’s definition of GIH varies, just as each policy does.

Table 1

Gender-Inclusive Housing. Presented by year of policy adoption

Institution	Year	Policy Name	Policy Definition
Swarthmore College, PA	2001	Gender-neutral housing	"A mixture of class years live in each residence hall. About 90 percent of residence hall areas are designated as gender-neutral housing either by floor, section, or building" (Swarthmore University, n.d.).
Montclair State University, NJ	2002	Gender-inclusive housing	"1. To live in a [GIH] apartment, all residents must sign and abide by the terms of the …Living Agreement. 2. In apartments where double bedrooms exist, only residents of the same gender may be assigned to a space in that specific bedroom" (Montclair State University, n.d.).
Wesleyan University, CT	2003	Gender-neutral housing & Open House	"Gender neutral housing is available in all student residences, and after the first year, students are able to select who they want to live with regardless of legal sex" (Wesleyan University, n.d.).
Sarah Lawrence College, NY	2004	All-gender housing	"In place at Sarah Lawrence College since 2004, all-gender housing is designed to allow two or more students to share bedroom and/or bathroom spaces regardless of gender identity. All-gender housing is available within most on-campus residence halls to allow students to select the housing that best fits their lifestyle without concern for gender restrictions. It benefits every student to be able to choose a roommate with whom they are most comfortable" (Sarah Lawrence College, n.d.).

Institution	Year	Policy Name	Policy Definition
Lewis & Clark College, OR	2005	Gender-inclusive housing	"Gender Inclusive Housing is a housing system in which male and female students can choose to room together, rather than in the traditional male-male or female-female roommate pairings. Gender Inclusive Housing exists to accommodate for the housing needs of students who do not identify as male or female" (Lewis & Clark College, n.d.).
University of Michigan, MI	2006	Gender-inclusive living experience	"The Gender Inclusive Living Experience (GILE) is one of several gender-inclusive housing options offered at the University of Michigan. GILE is intended for students who are interested in having a safe, inclusive, comfortable and supportive community living experience for people of all gender identities and expressions. This community supports students who identify as transgender and gender non-conforming in choosing (or being placed with) a roommate of any gender" (University of Michigan, n.d.).
Carnegie Mellon University, PA	2007	Gender-inclusive housing	"Gender inclusive housing permits upper-class students (inclusive of all genders, gender identities and gender expressions) to reside in the same room. This is an inclusive living option, where roommates of any gender may sign up to live with each other as roommates" (Carnegie Mellon University, n.d.).

Institution	Year	Policy Name	Policy Definition
University of Maryland, College Park, MD	2008	Mixed-Gender and Gender-Inclusive Housing	"Gender inclusive housing in semi-suites, suites and apartments is a housing option where students, regardless of sex, gender, or gender identity, share the same bedroom. Gender inclusive semi-suites have a private bathroom" (University of Maryland, College Park, n.d.).
University of Oregon, OR	2009	Gender Equity Hall	"A community for students who want to live with others who are committed to gender inclusion and equity. It is created for students who would feel more comfortable living in a hall that does not conform to the gender binary of male or female. Residents in this community can choose to share a room with a student of any gender identity or biological sex. Residents who choose this community will have varied understandings of gender, gender identities, and gender expressions" (University of Oregon, n.d.)."

Despite the diversity in policy language and definitions, it is practical to offer a definition of what Gender-Inclusive Housing will mean for the purposes of this study. In aligning with the choice of default policy name to GIH, I define Gender-Inclusive Housing as any housing policy that allows students to cohabitate in the same room regardless of sex assigned at birth or gender identity. Therefore, regardless of policy name, each case in my study will have a GIH policy which allows students to reside together without restrictions based sex assigned at birth or gender identity.

Normative Disruption of the Gender Binary

As defined in the earlier section, normative disruption refers to the interruption or challenge of socially accepted behaviors or concepts. This phenomenon has been observed throughout our culture, as social norms around identities such as gender and race have evolved. Further, we can trace normative disruption of the gender binary within sociological research to the 1960s. The following section reviews the impact that normative disruption of the gender binary has had on the social conceptualization of gender in society.

In 1967, Harold Garfinkel published his text, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Within this book, Garfinkel wrote about a case study of a transwoman[2] named Agnes,

[2] Garfinkel (1967) did not utilize the term "transwoman" in reference to Agnes, as such terminology was not popularized until the 1990s, with scholars crediting the initial variation of such a term to Virginia Prince, who referred to herself in 1969 as "transgenderal" (Ekins & King, 2005). However, scholars who have since analyzed Garfinkel's case of Agnes have employed such terminology (Connell, 2010; West &

and her goal of “produc[ing] configurations of behavior that would be by others seen as normative gender behavior" (p. 134). In this quote, Garfinkel acknowledges the existence of prescribed gender characteristics and employs them to understand the behavior of an individual who is challenging the gender binary.

In their article, “Doing Gender,” West and Zimmerman (1987) reinterpret the case of Agnes in order to elucidate their theory that gender differences are sustained through social interactions. This connection between gender, behavior, and control serves to propel their study of gender away from solely innate and latent characteristics previously associated with biology, a binary system. West and Zimmerman (1987) discuss how "[a]n understanding of how gender [is] produced in social situations” (p. 147) can serve to either perpetuate or disrupt gender. Schilt and Westbrook (2009) describe this connection between society and gender as “[p]eople who make these social transitions—often termed “transgender” people—disrupt cultural expectations that gender identity is an immutable derivation of biology” (p. 441). It therefore becomes important to examine the social construct of gender as it exists to demonstrate a maintained social order (Blackburn, 2002; Connell, 2009; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Maltrey & Tucker, 2002; Miller, 1972; Miller, 2011; Reay, 2001). Compliance becomes implicit if the social order is not interrogated, and compliance legitimates the system (Miller, 1972). Therefore, “[t]he study of disruption reflects interest in change” (Miller, 1972, p. 139).

Zimmerman, 1987). Utilizing similar language allows me to situate Agnes’ case within current trans* scholarship.

The reconceptualization of the gender binary has gained increasing attention as instances of disruption have emerged. This attention has increasingly brought trans* issues into the media and national consciousness. A Google Trends search in November of 2016 of the term “transgender” indicates an overall increase in the popularity of the search term since 2011. In 2015, Barack Obama made history when he became the first president to say the word “transgender” in a State of the Union address (Steinmetz, 2015). Later in 2015, GLAAD, the nation's lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LBGT) media advocacy organization, released a study which found that the number of Americans who say they know someone who identifies as trans* has doubled in the last seven years (Adam & Goodman, 2015). As national attention continues to turn towards trans* individuals, we have also seen shifts in state and federal laws.

There are currently only 20 states and Washington D.C. which have employment non-discrimination laws including gender identity (Transgender Law Center, n.d.). There are also three states which currently have laws preventing the passage or enforcement of laws to protect against discrimination based on gender identity, of which North Carolina’s Public Facilities Privacy and Security Act, or HB 2, became the most well-known. HB 2 was a bill passed on March 23, 2016, and repealed on March 30, 2017, by the General Assembly and signed by then-North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory. Part of the bill stated that trans* individuals who had not legally changed their gender designation on their birth certificates or undergone surgery are prohibited from using bathrooms in accordance with their gender identity (Glazier, 2016).

It is possible for normative disruption of the gender binary to result in positive changes or negative backlash for trans* individuals. Further, this bill is a clear example of how policies and laws external to higher education can have direct impact on colleges and universities. Following the passage of HB 2, it became unclear as to the degree to which publicly funded colleges and universities in North Carolina were required to uphold the law (Folt, Dean, Crisp, & Washington, 2016). An official statement from UNC's Chancellor on April 8, 2016 stated that while the University of North Carolina system had released guidance on HB 2, the law included no mechanisms of enforcement, and therefore the university would continue to employ gender-neutral bathroom signage (Folt et al., 2016). On August 26, 2016, U.S. District Judge Thomas Schroeder prohibited the University of North Carolina system from enforcing HB 2 against trans* individuals on their campuses (Blinder, 2016).

HB 2 exemplifies the importance of studying normative disruption in society and its impact on colleges and universities. As society continues to grapple with the concept of gender, higher education institutions will also. As the conceptualization of gender continues to shift, policies, procedures, and laws will continue to emerge in order to create social order. It is therefore necessary to understand the impact of normative disruption of the gender binary on social understanding of gender identity. As mentioned, normative disruption has the potential to yield positive change for trans* individuals, and challenging the gender binary in society should have a positive impact on how institutions of higher education conceptualize gender and create policies to reflect their expanded understanding. The following section will summarize the current

problem my study aims to address in regard to normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education.

Examples of Normative Disruption within Higher Education

Institutions of higher education often adhere to policies and procedures that perpetuate the social construction of a gender binary and further preclude the full integration of trans* students into the campus community (Beemyn, 2005b; Beemyn et al., 2005; Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Negrete 2008). It is through the continued implementation of such essentialist policies that cisgenderism becomes systematically integrated into the fabric of an institution. Thus institutionalized cisgenderism serves to limit opportunities for trans* students, both within and outside of the classroom (Martinez-San Miguel, & Tobias, 2016).

Disruption of social norms, here also referred to as normative disruption, has occurred at various times across college campuses. Instances of public influence on institutional operating praxis can be found throughout the history of higher education in the United States. One primary example would be institutions who voluntarily integrated their campuses prior to the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)* decision (Mumper et al., 2016). In this example, institutions that began admitting African American students prior to government regulations did so as a response to shifting discourse around race and education in the United States.

Another instance of normative disruption can be found in institutions such as Oberlin College, which became the first to admit women to higher education (Geiger,

2016). The impact of such admissions decisions likely rippled throughout the colleges and universities, as policies and practices within the institution adapted to this shift in student demographics. These are cases of normative disruption, in which an institution's decision to admit certain students went against social norms of the time.

This study therefore examined the concept of normative disruption of the gender binary, through a multi-site qualitative case study of Gender-Inclusive Housing policies. In doing so, I explored how organizational change was impacted by the need to adapt to a shifting social norm and how societal norms impact organizations and their subsystems. This became important because it elucidates the permeability of organizational boundaries to the rest of society. The challenging of social norms, in or outside of an institution, can impact how an organization functions or operates. In this particular study, Gender-Inclusive Housing policies disrupted the norm of the gender binary, and the process by which an institution chose to respond demonstrated the myriad of issues and challenges organizations must assume when confronted with efforts of increasing inclusivity.

Open Systems Theory

In order to examine such organizational change around normative disruption, I employed a theoretical framework of Birnbaum's open systems theory and Models of Organizational Functioning (1988) as well as Katz and Kahn's open systems theory (1966). As colleges and universities recognize and respond to the normative disruption of gender in society, policies need to change or be adapted in order to best serve

students under a more inclusive understanding of gender. Therefore, Gender-Inclusive Housing Policies can be used as case studies for understanding institutional response to normative disruption. By employing open systems theory and Models of Organizational Functioning, I was able to understand the processes of how institutions have responded to such disruption.

Figure 1 depicts a college or university in its varying parts related to an open system. The permeated oval indicates the boundaries of the institution, separating it from larger society and its geographic location. The gears and box within the oval represent the cycle of events that occurs within an open system. In the context of my study, the external environment to a college or university is larger society, as well as the geographic area that the institution is located.

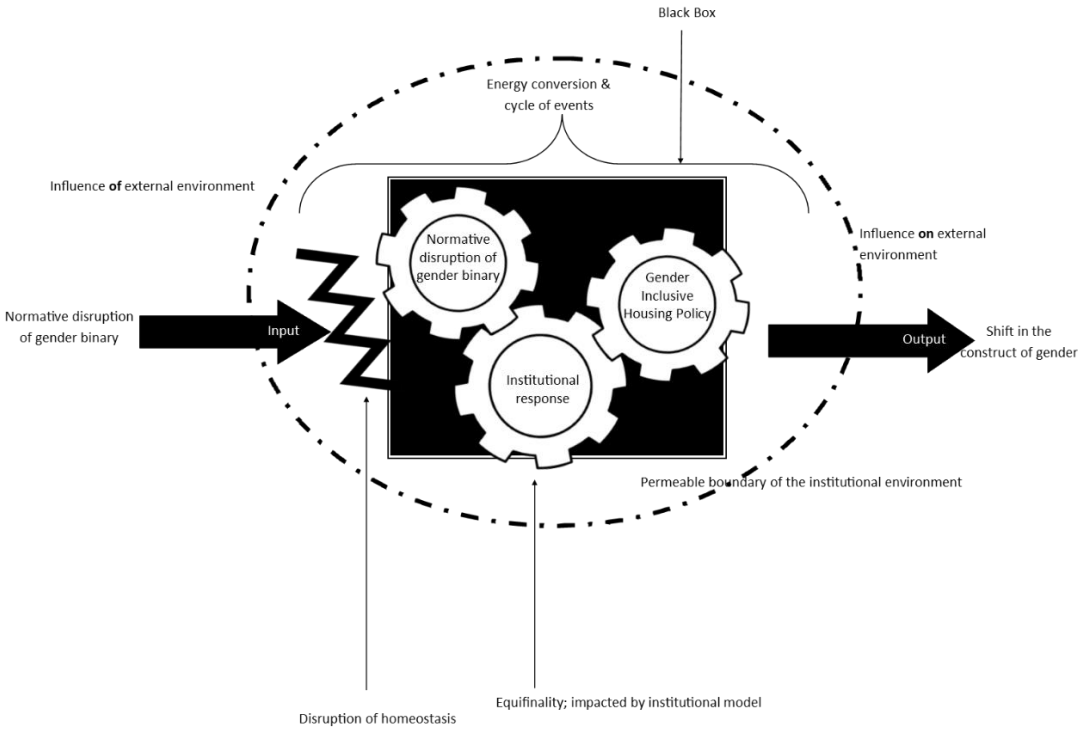

Figure 1
Theoretical Framework. Visual depiction of normative disruption within open systems.

Beginning at the left of Figure 1, energy enters into the institution from the environment as normative disruption of the gender binary (input). This input sets off a cycle of events as it disrupts the homeostasis (Katz & Kahn, 1966), or equilibrium, of how the organization conceptualizes the gender binary (Gear 1). Birnbaum (1988) employs the concept of the black box to acknowledge the sometimes unclear mechanisms and technologies that take part in energy conversion, or problem solving, within an institution. As the institution begins to develop a response (Gear 2), the decisions that can be made are described as equifinality (Katz & Kahn, 1966), indicating that the same outcome is likely, but the process of reaching this outcome can vary. This variance is understood through the institution's Model of Organizational Functioning (Birnbaum, 1988).[3] Finally, the institution develops a GIH policy (Gear 3) and has reestablished institutional homeostasis. At this point, the energy is returned to the environment as a shift in the construct of gender (output). My research questions addressed the phases of normative disruption depicted in Figure 1 by Gears 1-3 and are presented in the following section.

[3] Birnbaum's (1988) Models of Organizational Functioning is a framework that can be used to understand the key components, decision-making processes, organizational structure, and leadership type of an organization. Birnbaum describes five models: collegial, bureaucratic, political, anarchical, and cybernetic. Each of these models contains the core organizational aspects of boundaries, coupling, and subsystems, but differs in regard to how these parts interact. Importantly, Birnbaum (1988) notes that these models are abstractions which provide a reflection of what typically occur within complex organizations such as colleges and universities (p. 83).

Research Questions

In order to better understand the relationship between normative disruption and policies of inclusivity on college campuses, I examined the Gender-Inclusive Housing policies currently in existence at multiple institutions located in the same geographic region of the country, within 100 miles of one another. In doing so, I aimed to answer the following questions, which were informed by my theoretical framework, as well as extant literature on trans* student support policies and normative disruption of the gender binary:

1. How, if at all, are institutions influenced by changes in societal norms around the gender binary?
    a. To what extent does this lead or motivate college or university administrators to create a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy?
    b. How, if at all, do institutions respond to these changing norms?
2. How, if at all, do institutions of higher education utilize Gender-Inclusive Housing policies to respond to the disruption of the gender binary?
    a. What steps are taken to reestablish organizational homeostasis as related to this expanded concept of gender?
    b. To what extent is organizational homeostasis reestablished?
    c. How, if at all, do institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses?

By answering these questions, I was able to better understand how select institutions have grappled with the disruption to the social norm of the gender binary in

order to not only provide more inclusive housing options for trans* students, but to also return the institution to a state of homeostasis, in which the disruption has been resolved. Understanding how these institutions responded to a shift in a social norm provided insight into how institutions of higher education are influenced by changes in society, and therefore how they might, as a bounded set of systems and subsystems, respond.

Overview of Study

The following section will outline the research design and the sampling strategies employed in this study. A more detailed review of my research design can be found in Chapter III. My study employed multi-site qualitative case study (Merriam, 1998) in order to address the gap in current literature examining Gender-Inclusive Housing policies (GIH) from a systems theory framework (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966). I utilized Merriam's (1998) approach to case study research in education, due to her focus on defining a qualitative case study by its most distinctive quality: boundaries. This definition aligns with both Stake's (1995) and Miles and Huberman's (1994) understandings that a case study is a combination of the phenomenon of interest which lies within specific limits. Additionally, Merriam (1988) defines a multi-site case study as "one comprised of multiple subcases, each with distinct boundaries, nested within" (p. 40). Therefore, conducting a multi-site case study allows me to examine how several colleges or universities, bounded within a similar geographic area, created GIH policies and the degree to which their policies were in response to normative disruption.

Three institutions within the same geographic area comprised my study sample. Sampling for this study occurred at multiple levels: geographic; institutional; and participants. I used a different form of purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990) at each level. Patton (1990) defines purposeful sampling as a strategy for selecting information-rich cases that illuminate the research questions. I describe the sampling strategies for my study in greater detail in Chapter III.

Homogenous sampling, the selection of a small homogenous subset (Patton, 1990), was employed in order to select a single geographic area, specifically a city and its surrounding suburbs, which provided the outermost boundaries of my case study. Within this geographic region, I employed maximum variation sampling in order to select institutions that vary from one another based on institutional type, size, and control. Researchers use maximum variation sampling, in contrast to homogenous sampling, to capture the most variation within a subset in order to capture themes or experiences that are central across a diverse sample (Patton, 1990).

Within each institution, at the participant level, I used operational construct sampling through interviews and focus groups. This sampling method operationalizes a central theory or concept (Patton, 1990), here human effort and equifinality (referred to later as institutional response) outlined within my theoretical framework by Katz and Kahn (1966), in order to manifest the theoretical construct within the persons being sampled. Open systems theory views individuals involved in the system as part of the transformation of energy. Equifinality is understood as variance in energy conversion based on decisions made by individuals involved, but all resulting in a similar outcome.

Interviewing and conducting focus groups of participants involved in GIH creation or implementation operationalized these concepts within my study, which I review in the following section.

Rationale and Significance of Study

The shift in society's understanding of gender has influenced how colleges and universities have begun to reconceptualize gendered policies in an effort to be more inclusive of trans* students. As part of this, there is a small but growing number of institutions that have begun to offer Gender-Inclusive Housing (GIH) or some form of housing that is not adherent to assignments based on sex assigned at birth but rather gender identity (Beemyn, 2005a; Seelman, 2014). Gender-Inclusive Housing policies can therefore be studied as examples of college and university responses to normative disruption of gender.

Further, Gender-Inclusive Housing policies are still relatively new to college campuses. While no exhaustive list of all GIH policies exists (Willoughby et al., 2012), Campus Pride maintains a list of institutions with GIH (Beemyn, n.d.). Several trends emerge as a result of examining this list. Firstly, of the 266 institutions currently listed, only 48 policies were established prior to 2010, demonstrating substantial growth in GIH policies over the last seven years. The oldest policy indicated is at Hampshire College in Massachusetts, dating back to 1970. According to Campus Pride, there was a 30-year gap before other institutions implement GIH. This list also indicates that policies vary in

several ways: policy name, location(s) on campus, student eligibility, and housing requirements. These categories are summative of many of the issues associated with implementing a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy. This variance makes it possible to examine GIH policies from an organizational theory lens.

Current literature demonstrates that there is a gap in understanding GIH policies from a qualitative perspective (Todd, 2016), as well as in examining how institutional characteristics influence policy development, such as geographic location (Willoughby et al., 2012), housing style, roommate selection processes, and student input (Krum et al., 2013). My study therefore fills a gap in the literature in how GIH policies are researched. My study approached GIH policies as a case study of a potential solution for institutional administrators grappling with the normative disruption of the gender binary on their campuses. Open systems theory therefore provided a framework in which to understand how GIH might fit into the larger campus climate and politics, and how decision-making around GIH policies might vary based on these characteristics.

I hope that my study makes a positive contribution to the growing body of literature on GIH policies and on trans* student support structures. Specifically, my hope is that in examining GIH policies from an open systems framework my study may be used (1) to help current administrators in understanding some of the tangible barriers to GIH policy implementation; (2) to assist current administrators in thinking about how institutional factors might impact GIH policy creation; and (3) to provide future researchers with an example of how GIH policies can be approached from an organizational perspective. Most broadly, I hope that my study helps to elucidate some

of the decisions and factors of consideration that administrators must grapple with when implementing a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy.

Chapter II

OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the previous chapter I provided an overview of my dissertation, which focuses on understanding institutional responses to normative disruption of the gender binary, through the case of Gender-Inclusive Housing policies. In order to contextualize the problem that my study addresses, this chapter will provide a summary of important literature. The following chapter reviews existing literature on 1) normative disruption within American society 2) higher education responses to normative disruption 3) normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education; 4) campus-wide support services and policies for trans* students; and 5) Gender-Inclusive Housing policy creation and implementation. I then summarize what is known within the literature and identify limitations of the current research.

Normative Disruption within American Society

It is possible to see instances of normative disruption throughout the history of the United States. Many of these disruptions revolve around social identities, and are often labeled as movements in hindsight. These movements, or disruptions, serve to bring greater visibility to marginalized individuals, and as consequence of such disruptions, policy change can occur. It is worth noting that policy change does not immediately correct the initially oppressive cultural beliefs, but through normative disruption it is possible to understand these policies as responses to an interruption of these unjust systems. In this manner, it is possible to view several such instances of normative disruption in our society over the last century: the women's suffrage movement, the Chicanx movement, the Civil Rights movement, the LGBT rights movement, and the Black Lives Matter movement.

I employ these examples to highlight movements within American society that have fought to disrupt existing norms which privilege majority identities (i.e., White, male, cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied). Within these movements, marginalized individuals have sought among other rights, equity and justice. It is possible to understand these movements through the framework of normative disruption, and therefore of how resistance of White supremacy, heteronormativity,[1] sexism - have led

[1]*Heteronormativity* is defined within literature as "culturally hegemonic heterosexuality" (Jones, 2006, p. 451). Explained further, it is understood as "how heterosexuality is normalized and invested with the power to define all other sexualities as marginal and abnormal in contemporary Western culture" (Dwyer, 2011, p. 204).

to changes such as the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990. Each of these resultant legislative changes has had far reaching implications for American society and its subsystems. Employing open systems theory, it is possible to see higher education as a subsystem of larger society, and thus as responsive to disruptions that occur in its environment. The following section will discuss two such instances of higher education response to normative disruption of sexism and of heteronormativity.

Higher Education Responses to Normative Disruption

As discussed, we have seen instances of normative disruption throughout larger society. Because colleges and universities are social systems embedded within the fabric of society, according to open systems theory (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966), they are permeable, or influenced by disruptions and changes that occur in their external environments. While my study focused specifically on normative disruption of the gender binary and institutional response through policy creation, instances of disruption of other social norms have impacted higher education. This section describes two such disruptions and higher education responses: establishing gender equity in college sports and the creation of LGBT centers on college campuses.

Gender Equity in Education

Title IX has become ubiquitous with gender parity[2] in athletics since its passage in 1972 (Anderson, Cheslock, & Ehrenberg, 2006). This legislation "prohibits discrimination by gender in any federally funded educational activity" (Anderson et al., 2006, p. 225). Yet, while federally mandated, the practice of creating gender parity in all educational institutions has been a complicated process, mired in resistance (Anderson et al., 2006; Staurowsky, 2003; Straubel, 1996). Title IX, the legal response to the normative disruption of sexism, is thus an example of how responses to such disruption can be slow to actualization.

This tension is exemplified by Straubel (1996), who states, "the words 'gender equity' and 'Title IX' have become fighting words [in college athletics]" (p. 1039). Straubel (1996) continues, "[t]he courtroom battles over Title IX…. have produced an interpretation of Title IX… that works much like a blunt instrument, rather than a sharp knife, to go through the cancerous discrimination in college athletic programs" (p. 1041). Title IX served as a legal response to, in part, the normative disruption caused by the Women's Rights Movement of the 1960's, which drew visibility to systemic sexism. While Title IX has far reaching implications for many social institutions, its influence on higher education is palpable (Anderson et al., 2006). Still, it is clear that the rollout of change has been stymied over time. From an open systems theory perspective, colleges

[2] For the purposes of this section, terms such as *gender equity* and *gender parity* operate on the false presumption of the existence of the gender binary, as the binary is fundamental to the arguments and legislation of Title IX.

and universities experienced the normative disruption of sexism, and were also required to adopt the resulting federal regulations. Title IX therefore serves as an example of how changes in society, represented in the Women's Rights Movement, resulted in normative disruption, and subsequent legislation, impacts higher education via its permeable boundaries. The next section discusses a similar pattern of events, that of the LGBT rights movement and development of LGBT centers on college campuses.

Establishment of LGBT Centers on College Campuses

In Chapter I, I briefly discussed the Stonewall Riots, which represent an impetus for the LGBT rights movement. Renn (2010) connects this social movement to higher education, stating that "higher education research on LGBT issues [cannot] be fully understood devoid of its social context" (p. 133). Thus, as visibility for LGBT individuals increased in society, it also increased within colleges and universities (Poyntner & Washington, 2005). Rankin (2005) summarizes how this change has impacted campuses, and that "several institutions have initiated structural changes, such as creating LGBT resource centers" (p. 20). Thus, as a response to the normative disruption of societal heteronormativity, many colleges and universities have begun to examine policies and, with increasing pressure from campus constituents, established LGBT resource centers (Marine & Nicolazzo, 2014; Ritchie & Banning, 2001; Sanlo, 2000).

LGBT centers aspire at serving LGBTQ students, by aiming to provide a safe space for them, as well as serving as a space for programming, advocacy, and education (Damschroder, 2015). Several authors detail the contentious and sometimes difficult

task of instituting such centers on college campuses (Fine, 2012; Marine & Nicolazzo, 2014; Rankin, 2005; Ritchie & Banning, 2001). Ritchie and Banning (2001) found that of the centers they studied, most employed strategies for change that were focused on being low-profile and methodical. This demonstrates that institutional response to normative disruption can take on many different forms, and sometimes, the process is not quick or simple.

The previous sections have discussed instances of normative disruption of various social identities and resultant policy or legislative change, both at the societal and higher education levels. My study focused on understanding normative disruption of the gender binary within college and universities, and subsequent policy response, through the example of Gender-Inclusive Housing. The following section describes the current status of normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education.

Normative Disruption of the Gender Binary within Higher Education

As discussed in Chapter I, normative disruption of the gender binary challenges socially accepted understandings of gender as a dichotomous system. There are examples, such as those documented by Garfinkel (1967) and later analyzed by West and Zimmerman (1987) that point to the beginning of a social shift in understanding gender. Nicolazzo (2017) writes that "[t]rans* identities have entered the mainstream in many ways" (p. 15) and that "[t]he marginalization of trans* individuals has been widely demonstrated in the research literature" (p.15). As visibility increases for trans*

individuals within society, researchers have explored how the previous social reliance on the gender binary has marginalized trans* individuals.

Dugan et al., (2012) discussed the limitations of Western culture's reliance of interchanging sex assigned at birth with gender, thereby creating a dichotomy of identity. Other researchers discussed the problems that therefore arise for trans* individuals, and specifically trans* students, as a result of this conflation (Beemyn, 2005b, 2005a; Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Hobson, 2014; Negrete, 2008; Renn & Bilodeau, 2005). Parallels of gender binary disruption in larger society can be found in how higher education operationalizes gender and related policy creation (Carter, 2000). These parallels reflect the open system relationship that institutions of higher education have with society (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966). Several authors, in framing their arguments for improved and continued support of trans* students pointed to genderist (Hill, 2002) or gender oppressive policies (Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Dugan et al., 2012; Krum et al., 2013; Nakamura, 1998; Negrete, 2008; Nicolazzo, 2017; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015).

Numerous authors employed a variation of the idea of normative disruption in order to rationalize the necessity of creating policies and support services for trans* students. Negrete (2008) summarized the influence of societal gender norms on higher education by stating, "[c]ollege campuses are not exempt from being genderized (and gender politicized) environments…Gender identity is not just a 'trans issue,' but rather, everyone's issue, as gender is constructed by society as a whole" (p. 29). Nakamura (1998) utilized this idea of gender as a social construct that must be shifted by offering

suggestions to college administrators of how to change policies and institutional structures that rely on the gender binary. This study examines housing policies specifically, yet instances of normative disruption can be seen in various offices and policies throughout an institution. The following section will review literature on other college and university responses to normative disruption.

Institutional Support for Trans* Students

While this study focused specifically on how college housing might mediate the normative disruption of the gender binary for trans* students, it is understood that the housing office does not exist as a distinct entity from the rest of the institution. According to open systems theory, the various offices and departments that comprise an institution work together as a total system (Katz & Kahn, 1966). Therefore, it is necessary to understand how the housing department might be connected to various other offices, as well as how the institutional culture might infiltrate or influence the culture within housing (Birnbaum, 1988). Several researchers have examined other departments or services within an institution and the policies and support structures that might need to exist or shift in order to meet the needs of trans* students. The following section will briefly review literature that examines counseling and mental health services, registrar and name change policies, and bathroom, and locker room access.

Research on Gender-Inclusive Housing can largely be found as a part of different studies focused on policies aimed at addressing trans* student needs (Beemyn, 2005b; Beemyn et al., 2005a; Brown et al., 2004; Nicolazzo, 2017; Negrete, 2008; Perdue, 2015; Rankin, 2005; Seelman, 2014a). Many of these studies focus on the total experience of trans* students in higher education, of which housing is an important component. Thus, these studies situate housing on college campuses within the broader student experience, and therefore as one of the many areas of a college campus that may need to adapt in order to reestablish homeostasis following normative disruption.

Counseling and Mental Health Services

In examining the holistic experience of trans* students on college campuses, several studies focused on campus climate (Beemyn et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2004; Rankin, 2006). Research demonstrates that, as part of studies examining trans* student experiences, trans* students often experience instances of marginalization or othering (Beemyn, 2005b; Beemyn et al., 2005; Effrig, Bieschke, & Locke, 2011; McKinney, 2005; Seelman, 2014). These experiences are often exacerbated by absent or unsupportive counseling and mental health services on college campuses (Goodrich, 2012; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007; Sanlo, 2004; Singh, Meng, & Hansen, 2013).

Grossman and D'Augelli (2007) found in their study that over half of the trans* youth they interviewed had attempted death by suicide. Still other authors have correlated the impact of suicidality on academic and cocurricular success in college (Goodrich, 2012; Sanlo, 2004). Two other studies found trans* students to have twice

the rate of suicidality in comparison to cisgender students (Kisch, Leino, & Silverman, 2005) and to be twice as likely as female cisgender students to have a mental health condition (Oswalt & Lederer, 2017).

Researchers also found that trans* students often interact with mental healthcare providers at their institutions who are not appropriately versed in supporting trans* students and their needs (Singh et al., 2013). This presents an enormous issue for colleges and universities as national attention continues to turn towards mental health broadly on campuses. Yet, several studies have found that trans* individuals demonstrate remarkable levels of resilience (Grossman, D'Augelli, & Frank, 2011; Nicolazzo, 2016, 2017). Receiving appropriate care can therefore better support students through grappling with their gender identity (Grossman et al., 2011).

One of the largest issues surrounding mental health care for trans* students is in the lack of counselors who are trained in and supportive of their needs (Beemyn, 2005a). Relatedly, campus counselors often have little knowledge of care providers within the surrounding community (McKinney, 2005). Similarly, trans* students might not want to even seek out counseling services because of fear that the counselors will not be properly trained (Yorgason, Linville, & Zitzman, 2008). Counseling offices need to work to combat this fear, by making it known to students that they have inclusive and trained staff (Lennon & Mistler, 2010).

As open systems theory demonstrates, no department on a college campus exists in a silo (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966). Thus, these campus counseling centers are permeable to the campus culture as a whole (Lennon & Mistler, 2010). If this

culture is cisgenderist, or does not include gender identity in a non-discrimination statement, then the counseling center needs to work against this culture to be sure trans* students feel the center is a safe space for them (Beemyn, 2005a; Lennon & Mistler, 2010). Counselors also need to have an understanding of the ways that the counseling office might interface with other offices on campus and work with the trans* students they see to update any institutional records if the student might wish to do so.

Registrar and Name Change Policies

The ability to change educational records and documents is important, legally and personally, to trans* college students (Beemyn, 2005b; Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Perdue, 2015; Sausa, 2002). Such records populate institutional systems utilized throughout the college or university, and thereby have the potential of misnaming, misgendering, or outing trans* students (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015).

Literature on trans* student record keeping addresses two issues: name changes (Beemyn, Domingue, Pettit, & Smith, 2005b; Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Hope, 2016; Miner, 2009); and gender marker changes (Beemyn et al., 2005b; Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Hope, 2016; Miner, 2009; Parks & Edwards, 2014). Central to these studies is the use of technology. One study examined how database systems utilized by University of Vermont and University of Michigan were appended to allow trans* students to update their chosen names and, in UVM's case, to indicate pronouns in use (Beemyn, & Brauer, 2015). This study demonstrates the limitations that sometimes exist when technologies in use still ascribe to the gender binary.

Name changes. Legally changing one's name presents several barriers to trans* students (Beemyn et al., 2005b; Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Miner, 2009). Beemyn and Brauer (2015) discuss financial limitations of such a change that may restrict a student's ability to change their name legally. Some trans* students are not only financially dependent upon their parents or guardians but they might not be out to them. Other trans* students may be estranged from familial financial support after coming out. Coupled with the financial burden of paying legal fees to assist in changing their name, such a change might be financially infeasible. Nevertheless, changing one's name can be an important step for a trans* student, as their name appears on everything from classroom rosters to transcripts.

Several articles offer policy solutions for institutional administrators to enact in order to support trans* students in using a name other than their legal name (Beemyn et al., 2005b; Hope, 2016; Miner, 2009). These suggestions include advertising both state and college policies on name changes, as well as college administrators who can assist in this process (Beemyn et al., 2005b; Miner, 2009). These articles also suggest allowing name changes regardless of whether the change has occurred legally and to streamline the process so that various offices are updated simultaneously.

Gender marker changes. Changing one's gender marker on college records can sometimes prove to be more difficult based on institutional policies and external documentation (Miner, 2009). Two researchers who conducted interviews with two trans* students found the "bureaucracy" (p. 14) of institutional requirements cumbersome to navigate (Parks & Edwards, 2014). Yet, research on college records

encourages administrators to develop policies that allow students to alter their gender marker and to provide guidance on the steps to do so (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Perdue, 2015). Further, researchers recommend that such policies not be made contingent upon confirmation of gender affirmation surgeries (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015) and to also consider the complexities of requiring a birth certificate change (Miner, 2009). Some states do not allow birth certificates to be edited, while some states do not indicate gender at all (Miner, 2009). Such state and federal policy intricacies can be cumbersome for students to navigate in order to change their gender marker within their college records (Perdue, 2015).

Bathroom and Locker Access

Bathroom and locker room access has increasingly entered into public discourse due to various state bills, including HB 2 in North Carolina (Glazier, 2016) and SB 6, The Texas Privacy Act (Balingit, 2017) as well as *Grimm v. Gloucester County Schools, 2016* and *Whitaker v. Kenosha Unified School District, 2016*. These cases and bills center on barring trans* individuals from using bathrooms and locker rooms that align with their gender identities. Similar discussions around access continue to occur on college campuses (Beemyn et al., 2005a; Beemyn et al., 2005b; Nakamura, 1998; Sausa, 2002; Seelman, 2014; Singh et al., 2013). Underlying these conversations are the issues of essentializing gender to a biological binary (Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Finger, 2010; Seelman, 2014a).

As supporting evidence for the creation of gender-inclusive bathrooms and locker rooms, several researchers focused on the fear for personal safety that many trans* students experience when using gendered facilities (Beemyn et al., 2005a; Beemyn et al., 2005b; Finger, 2010; Seelman, 2014; Singh, et al., 2013). One phenomenological study found that trans* students viewed campus maps of gender-inclusive bathrooms as useful in order for them to feel safe (Singh et al., 2013). Another study, focusing on 18 trans* students, found that common concerns surrounded fears of bathroom stalls not locking or other dangers within restrooms (Finger, 2010). A quantitative study utilized data from the National Transgender Discrimination Survey from 2009 and found that of respondents who had attended college, just under one-quarter, or 23.9%, indicated that they had at some point been denied access to appropriate bathrooms (Seelman, 2014a).

Researchers therefore encourage college and university administrators to examine ways that bathroom and locker room access can be improved for trans* students (Beemyn et al., 2005a; Beemyn et al., 2005b; Nakamura, 1998; Sausa, 2002; Singh et al., 2013). Some recommendations include creating maps of bathrooms and locker rooms (Beemyn et al., 2005a), converting single-stall restrooms into gender-inclusive ones, and increasing private spaces for changing and showering in locker rooms (Beemyn et al., 2005b).

Bathroom access is also discussed within the literature on Gender-Inclusive Housing, because often housing location(s) are contingent upon access to bathrooms that trans* students feel safe using (Krum et al., 2013; Pryor et al., 2013;

Seelman, 2014). Bathrooms therefore become part of the implementation strategies that administrators use when creating GIH policies.

Gender-Inclusive Housing

Nicolazzo and Marine (2015) posit that "trans* students and their concerns are ... becoming more visible, as evidenced by the recent increase in the number of colleges and universities that are offering trans*-inclusive housing options" (p. 161). As the attention of higher education administrators turns to trans* students, researchers have begun to examine Gender-Inclusive Housing policies and their efficacy. The following section will review current studies of GIH and literature that focuses in part on GIH policies, and will conclude with the limitations of this existing body of research.

As discussed in Chapter I, research on GIH is still emerging within the larger body of research on supporting trans* college students. While many studies on trans* students' needs include issues of housing (Bilodeau, 2005; Finger, 2010; Perdue, 2015; Pomerleau, 2012; Schneider, 2015; Woodford et al., 2017), few center on GIH policies (Chave, 2014; Taub et al., 2016).

In 2017, I performed a Google Scholar search of terms including "*gender neutral housing*," "*gender-inclusive housing*," *higher education* "*gender-neutral housing*," and *college* "*gender-neutral housing*," which returned ten studies with research focused on GIH. I then utilized the same search terms through Columbia University's Library system, CLIO, and located three additional studies. Finally, I performed the same search through

the journal archives JSTOR and ProQuest, limiting results to scholarly journals and dissertations and theses, and added the additional search term *gender neutral housing college* in order to expand search results. In total, 14 studies were found, ranging in publication date from 2004 to 2016.

While several researchers stated that studies of GIH were often qualitative (Seelman, 2014; Taub et al., 2016), of the 14 studies found, seven were quantitative, five were case studies, and two were integrative literature reviews. Additionally, of these studies, five were dissertations or theses (Bleiberg, 2004; Chave, 2014; Finger, 2010; Gintoli, 2008; Todd, 2016).

Four main themes link the current research on GIH policies: support of trans* students (Gintoli, 2008; Krum et al., 2013; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015; Pryor et al., 2016; Seelman, 2014a; Todd, 2016); persuasion of campus administrators (Bleiberg, 2004; Gintoli, 2008; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015; Pomerantz, 2009; Seelman, 2014); national prevalence of GIH (Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby, et al., 2012); and GIH policy implementation strategies (Chave, 2014; Hobson, 2014; Kirchner & Hong, 2010; Krum et al., 2013).

Support of Trans* Students

Some studies examined how GIH impacts trans* students' social interactions (Pryor et al., 2016), sense of belonging (Todd, 2016), and personal agency (Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015). Pryor et al., (2016) found that four themes emerged related to how trans* students negotiate social interactions within their residence halls: navigating

gender expression, consequences of genderism, coping and carrying on, and institutional genderism. Throughout this study's interviews, trans* students discussed interactions with campus administrators who were unequipped to appropriately assist with their needs for appropriate housing and bathroom access. The researchers pointed to these instances as markers of "reinforced heterogendered norms" (Pryor et al., 2016, p. 54) and of institutional genderism.

Persuasion of Campus Administrators

Building upon arguments for supporting trans* students, several researchers utilized their findings to implore student affairs administrators to consider creating Gender-Inclusive Housing policies at their institutions (Bleiberg, 2004; Gintoli, 2008; Pomerantz, 2009). These arguments were rooted in problematizing the gendered nature of college housing assignments (Bleiberg, 2004) and providing rationale for how current housing practices exclude trans* students (Pomerantz, 2009). These studies focused on building an argument for why housing assignments based on sex assigned at birth is problematic and marginalizing for trans* students (Bleiberg, 2004; Pomerantz, 2009). It is noteworthy that these three studies were also the earliest of the 14 reviewed in this section, perhaps pointing to researcher positionality during the emerging stages of GIH nationally.

National Prevalence of GIH

Two studies have begun to examine the trends associated with GIH policies from a national scale (Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby, et al., 2012). Both studies utilized survey data, but had different research designs. Willoughby et al. (2012) examined the prevalence of GIH policies at the 100 largest institutions as well as rationale for policy development at a smaller sample of 48 institutions with GIH, not included in the first sample. This study found that while GIH was not yet a common policy, almost half of the largest institutions in the country were engaging in conversations about creating GIH policies. Additionally, they found that geographically, 50% of institutions with GIH were located in the Northeast, and the rest of institutions with GIH were located in the Midwest and West coast. Taub et al. (2016) found similar geographic trends four years later, from their sample of 343 Association of College and University Housing Officers, International (ACUHO-I) institutions. Both studies indicated that conversations around GIH were occurring in all regions of the country, though policies were not as prevalent at institutions in the South.

The study conducted by Taub et al. (2016) drew parallels between GIH policy development and coeducational housing policies in the late 1960's and 1970's, demonstrating that while there was a point in time when coeducational housing was uncommon, by 2009 90% of college housing was coed. This background supports one finding of the study, which indicated that some institutions might utilize GIH as a mechanism for educating the campus community about trans* student issues and the necessity to expand housing options beyond coed.

While these two studies provide foundational work for understanding the national landscape of GIH policies, there is much researchers still do not know about what obstacles might prevent some institutions from offering GIH. Taub et al. (2016) found five barriers they attribute to implementation: lack of appropriate facilities; parental concern; public relations concern; lack of support from administration; and lack of student interest.

GIH Policy Implementation Strategies

Three studies examined different implementation strategies for GIH (Chave, 2014; Hobson, 2014; Kircher & Hong, 2010). Kircher and Hong (2010) examined policies at nine different institutions, varying by Carnegie Classification, geographic location, undergraduate enrollment size, and religious affiliation. Through interviews, Kircher and Hong (2010) found that policies were most often developed via grassroots efforts by students. Further, in order to address some of the barriers that Taub et al. (2016) found, Kircher and Hong (2010) recommended conducting a pilot program initially, rolling out the full GIH policy over time, and being intentional and open to campus stakeholders throughout the process. While the sample was small, none of the nine institutions reported backlash as a result of implementing GIH.

Chave's (2014) study found that the impetus for GIH development at the site institution was student advocacy and then moved to a committee, while Hobson (2014) found that Ohio University's policy emerged from a task force within the Department of Residential Housing. Both studies focused on implementation successes and missteps,

finding that communication with the campus community and institutional constituents was a key factor to success (Chave, 2014; Hobson, 2014). Additionally, Hobson (2014) indicated several logistical decisions that administrators needed to make regarding GIH, including location of and security within building, bathroom access, costs of remodeling, staffing, and room types and availability. Chave (2014) also found that access for first-years became a barrier. In sum, these studies indicate that when institutions begin to develop GIH policies, they do so in related ways, face similar concerns, and responses might vary based on institutional differences.

Summary of Literature

As discussed in Chapter I, there are two gaps within the current literature which my study aimed to address: normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education and understanding GIH from an organizational theory perspective. This chapter reviewed literature on normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education, institutional support for trans* students, and Gender-Inclusive Housing. This next section will discuss emergent themes as well as summarize the limitations of this literature as related to my study.

Emergent Themes

The literature reviewed demonstrates that, while many institutions and administrators are making changes to current policies, much of higher education remains gendered based on the gender binary (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Dugan et al., 2012; Krum et al., 2013; Nakamura, 1998; Negrete, 2008; Nicolazzo, 2016, 2017; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015; Perdue, 2015; Willoughby et al., 2012). This creates obstacles and marginalizes trans* students within various aspects of campus life, including from accessing bathrooms, locker rooms (Beemyn et al., 2005a; Beemyn et al., 2005b; Nakamura, 1998; Sausa, 2002; Seelman, 2014; Singh et al., 2013), and mental health services (Goodrich, 2012; Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007; Sanlo, 2004; Singh, Meng, & Hansen, 2013). Genderism of policies also impacts trans* students' abilities to maintain educational records in their chosen name (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015; Beemyn et al., 2005b; Hope, 2016; Miner, 2009; Parks & Edwards, 2014).

Studies specifically examining GIH policies found that many are developed to support trans* students (Gintoli, 2008; Krum et al., 2013; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015; Pryor et al., 2016; Seelman, 2014; Todd, 2016) and that more research is necessary to understand how institutions create such policies (Taub, et al., 2016). Importantly, two national studies demonstrated that GIH policies vary across institutional type (Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby et al., 2012). Other case studies found that implementation strategies also differ across institutions (Chave, 2014; Hobson, 2014; Kircher & Hong, 2010). This shows that further research is needed to better understand this variance.

My research study will examine in part how, if at all, institutions in close geographical proximity, vary in GIH implementation and execution strategies.

In sum, the literature on normative disruption and GIH demonstrate that we know that policies within higher education are often gendered, which marginalize trans* students. Further, the literature shows that because of the reliance on the gender binary, many areas of college and university life must shift in order to be more inclusive of trans* students. Housing is one area of the institution in which normative disruption of the gender binary might lead to policy change, as administrators begin conversations of creating GIH policies at their campuses (Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby et al., 2012). There are also limitations to this literature, which will be discussed in the following section.

Limitations of Literature

Earlier in this chapter I discussed the relatively small number of studies that focus on either normative disruption or GIH. Other researchers have also pointed to this as both a limitation of the literature and also as a call to conduct more empirical studies on these topics (Chave, 2014; Taub et al., 2016; Todd, 2016). As a growing body of literature, limitations are inherent to the relative amount of research in existence.

Thus there are limitations to the small body of literature on GIH. One problem that emerges from the literature is the variance in language. As described in Chapter I, my study employs the term *Gender-Inclusive Housing* intentionally. Other studies have used terms such as *mixed-sex* (Bleiberg, 2004), *gender-neutral housing* (Gintoli, 2008;

Hobson, 2014; Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby et al., 2012), *trans*-inclusive housing* (Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015) and *mixed-gender* (Kircher & Hong, 2010). The terminological differences within the literature are important to examine, as they may refer to different types of housing. Changes in language might also point to shifts over time, as varying terms become outdated.

Another limitation of the GIH research is the lack of focus on understanding implementation strategies across institutions. While there are studies which examine individual college or university policies (Chave, 2014; Hobson, 2014), only one compares multiple policies (Kircher & Hong, 2010). There are therefore limits to what is known about how institutional characteristics might influence policy making decisions for trans* students, and specifically, within GIH.

This limit is connected to a lack of literature on GIH that employs organizational theory as a framework for understanding policy development. One study was identified which utilized organizational theory, specifically organizational change theory (Chave, 2014). However, while this study employed Bolman and Deal's (2003) frames in tandem with Birnbaum's (1988) frames, Chave utilized all eight frames independently of one another, and in this way, did not situate the institution within a particular model of organizational functioning. Further research is needed which uses organizational theory as a framework for understanding policy making. My study will employ Katz and Kahn's (1966) and Birnbaum's (1988) open systems theories as a conceptual framework to understand normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education.

Lastly, few of the studies reviewed in this chapter frame normative disruption of the gender binary as an action that could lead to policy change. Instead, these studies largely focus on the genderist or genderized status of much of higher education as a rationale for creating more trans* inclusive policies (Bilodeau, 2005; Carter, 2000; Dugan et al., 2012; Krum et al., 2013; Nakamura, 1998; Negrete, 2008; Nicolazzo, 2017; Nicolazzo & Marine, 2015). This demonstrates a gap in the literature in understanding how normative disruption within society influences institutional decision-making. My study aims to address this gap by examining normative disruption of the gender binary and GIH as a potential institutional response mechanism.

This chapter provided a review of literature on 1) normative disruption within American society 2) higher education responses to normative disruption 3) normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education; 4) campus-wide support services and policies for trans* students; and 5) Gender-Inclusive Housing policy creation and implementation. A summary of this literature as related to my study was provided. Current literature shows that there is a problem with the genderism within higher education, and that GIH is emerging nationally, although no study claims to have a comprehensive data set of all policies. The literature also depicts variance in GIH policies across institutions, although robust policy analyses are lacking. The next chapter will draw upon the gaps in the current literature and detail the method, sampling, data collection, and data analysis of my study that was discussed in Chapter I.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

The previous two chapters presented the problem that my dissertation addresses and literature on normative disruption within American society, higher education, and support services for trans* students. These two chapters laid the foundation for the purpose of my dissertation: to understand the degree to which a GIH policy might be utilized as a response mechanism to normative disruption of the gender binary. In this next chapter I review the methodology that I employed in order to understand how three different institutions responded to normative disruption of the gender binary through the creation of GIH policies. My dissertation used a multi-site case study design comprised of three college or university cases. The following chapter will review my methodology for this study, including my research questions, sampling strategies, and methods for data collection and analysis.

My study utilized Merriam's (1998) approach to qualitative case study research in education. Qualitative research is typically utilized by researchers "interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed" (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). Qualitative research can also reveal how parts of a problem fit together. Within qualitative

education research, Merriam delineates three different types: positivist, interpretivist, and critical (1998). As guided by my conceptual framework of open systems theory discussed in Chapter I, my study approached educational research from an interpretive perspective. Within interpretive case studies, researchers "develop conceptual categories or...illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held" (Merriam, 1998, p. 38). This type of case study design utilizes inductive analysis methods, such as the constant comparative method, which I will discuss later in this chapter. Thus, my study employed Merriam's interpretive qualitative research approach in order to understand the processes my case sites went through when responding to normative disruption of the gender binary.

Merriam (1998) presents case study research as "one type of qualitative research" (p. 26) which, within education research allows for "processes, problems, and programs [to] be examined to bring about understanding that in turn can affect and perhaps even improve practice" (p. 41). Other researchers offer varying definitions, which makes it important to define how case study research will serve as a research method in my study. Merriam's definition of case study (1998) differs from her first publication in 1988. In the new edition of her book, she details that "the single most defining characteristic of case study research lies in delimiting the object of study, the case" (p. 27). Further, she describes a case as a single entity with distinct boundaries, or a circle with a heart in the center. The heart represents the focus of the study and the circle indicates the boundaries of the case. Merriam (1998) emphasizes the necessity for a case to have a distinct perimeter. For my study, the boundaries of each case

institution will be defined by the physical campus area, separating the institution from the neighborhood and greater society it is located within.

Finally, my study was a multi-site case study. Building upon Merriam's (1998) definition of a case, multi-site case studies, or multiple case studies, collect data from several distinct cases and compare this data both within each case and across cases. Multi-site case studies therefore can be used to strengthen validity, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Information Needed

Recall from Chapter I, the research questions for my study are:

1. How, if at all, are institutions influenced by changes in societal norms around the gender binary?
    a. To what extent does this lead or motivate college or university administrators to create a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy?
    b. How, if at all, do institutions respond to these changing norms?
2. How, if at all, do institutions of higher education utilize Gender-Inclusive Housing policies to respond to the disruption of the gender binary?
    a. What steps are taken to reestablish organizational homeostasis as related to this expanded concept of gender?
    b. To what extent is organizational homeostasis reestablished?

c. How, if at all, do institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses?

To respond to my study's research questions, data was collected from the following sources: semi-structured participant interviews; focus group; researcher field notes; documents. Information needed to answer my research questions is derived from my theoretical framework, outlined in Chapter I Figure 1: normative disruption of the binary; institutional response; policy development. The following table outlines the sources of data as related to each research question and information type.

Table 2 depicts which data sources provide information that I used to answer each of my research questions. Data from interviews with current administrators, both in housing and in adjacent offices within student affairs was used. I used interviews with administrators who worked on the GIH policy but have since left the institution, depending on availability. I also conducted a focus group comprised of students currently or formerly residing in GIH as well as student leaders in LGBTQ clubs or leadership positions on campus. Lastly, an admissions-led campus tour, institutional documents, and field notes and observations served as triangulating data (Yin, 2014).

Table 2

Information Needed by Data Source and Research Question

Information Needed	Data Source				
	Interviews with Current (C) and Former (F) Administrators	**Focus Group**	**Field Notes & Observations**	**Documents**	**Campus Tour**
Normative Disruption of the Gender Binary					
1. What leads or motivates college or university administrators to create a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy?	C F			X	
1a. How, if at all, are institutions influenced by changes in societal norms around the gender binary?	C F	X			X
Institutional Response					
1b. How, if at all, do institutions respond to these changing norms?	C F			X	
2a. What steps are taken to reestablish organizational homeostasis as related to this expanded concept of gender?	C	X	X		
2c. How, if at all, do institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses?	C F			X	

Policy Development 2. How, if at all, do institutions of higher education utilize Gender-Inclusive Housing policies to respond to the disruption of the gender binary?	C F			X	X
2b. To what extent is organizational homeostasis reestablished?	C F	X	X		

Data triangulation, defined by Yin (2014) is an evaluative measure employed by researchers in order to "collect information from multiple sources but aimed at corroborating the same finding" (p. 120-121). Table 2 indicates how I will use multiple data sources to address similar findings. The following section will describe my sampling strategies for my data sources, as well as my data collection methods in greater detail.

Methods of Data Collection

This section describes the methods employed to collect and analyze data for my study. My multi-site case study was comprised of three institutions. First, I discuss the sampling strategies I used for selecting both my case sites as well as interview and focus group participants. I then review my data collection methods, as discussed briefly in the previous section.

Sampling Strategies

As discussed in Chapter I, I conducted sampling at three levels: geographic; institutional; and participant. A different form of purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990) was used at each level, where purposeful sampling is understood as a strategy for selecting information-rich cases that illuminate the research questions.

Geographic region sampling. Homogenous sampling was utilized at the geographic level of sampling. This type of sampling is defined as selecting a small, similar, group in order to investigate in-depth. As discussed in Chapter II, relatively few studies have been conducted that examine GIH policy development and also the role of normative disruption of the gender binary. Additionally, as open systems theory (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966) indicates, systems of higher education have boundaries which are permeable to the external environment. Therefore, I decided to select institutions which share the same social milieu. Doing so allowed for comparisons across case sites based on other defining institutional characteristics.

In order to select a geographic area for selecting case sites, I first assembled a list of all known institutions with GIH. This information was gathered from several sources, including Campus Pride's Trans Policy Clearinghouse (Beemyn, n.d.) and Human Resource Campaign (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.). In total, I generated a list of 244 institutions. I then imported this list into Google Maps to create a visual representation of where these institutions are located.

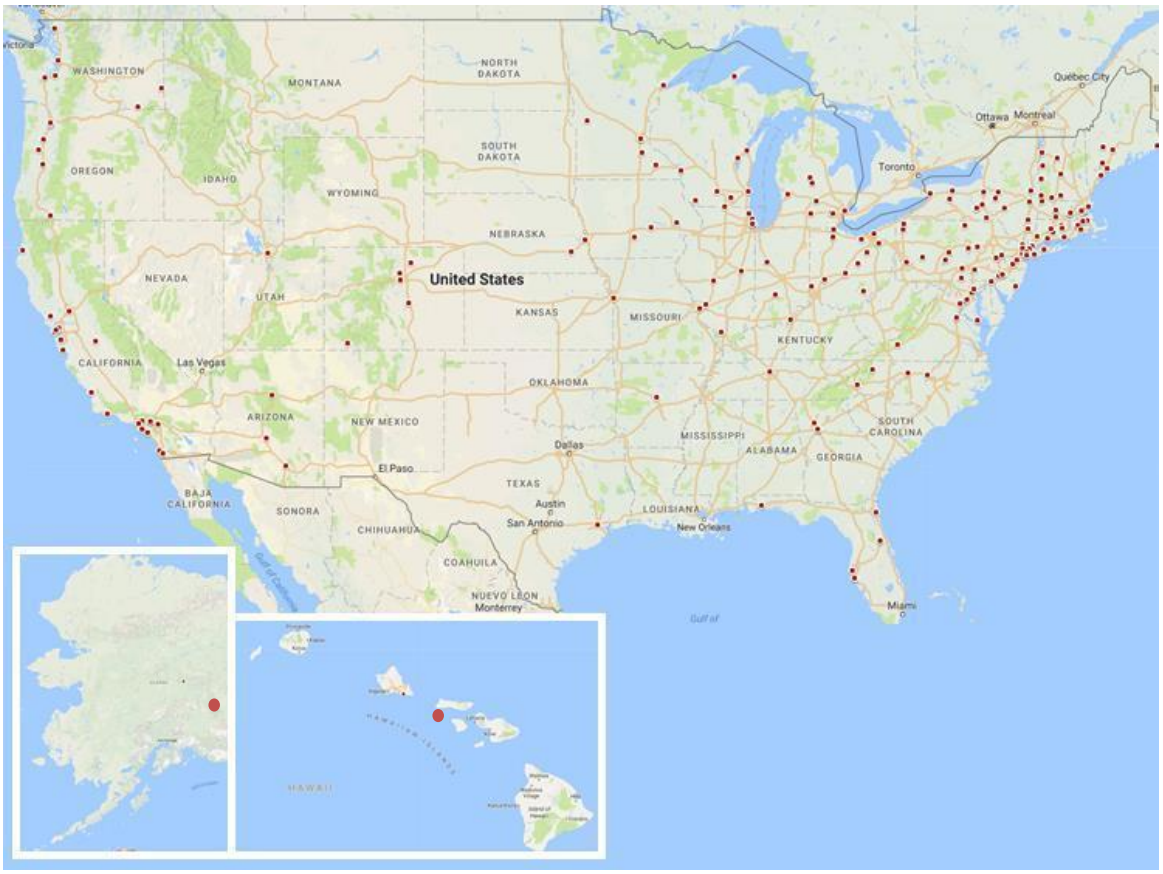

Figure 2
Map of Gender-Inclusive Housing, as of June, 2017

Using the map, I then located nine geographic clusters spanning fewer than 100 miles that included at least four institutions with GIH (See Figure 3 below). Consistent with findings from other research (Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby et al., 2012), these clusters were located primarily on the east and west coasts, as well as major cities in the Midwest.

Institution site sampling. Maximum variation sampling was used to sample at the institutional level, in tandem with homogeneous sampling at the geographic level. Because a similar external environment of the case institutions was to be selected, I

wanted to select case sites with the most variation possible. Thus, maximum variation sampling, a strategy that purposefully selects cases that vary widely around a phenomenon of interest (Patton, 1990), was utilized to ensure that the case sites would vary across institutional characteristics. This decision draws upon literature which suggested that there is variance between institutional characteristics such as type, control, and size across institutions with GIH (Kircher & Hong; Taub et al., 2016; Willoughby et al., 2012).

I then created a list of each institution located within a geographic cluster. Figure 3 depicts the nine identified geographic clusters in comparison to the Figure 2 which shows all known institutions with GIH policies. The maps above are a closer view of the West Coast clusters (bottom left) and East Coast clusters (bottom right).

Using Carnegie Classifications, I then recorded the Basic Classification type, control, size and setting, and student population for each institution. *Size and setting* is defined by Carnegie Classifications as a composite description of an institution's student population and residential character (The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, n.d.). This information is based on Carnegie Classifications' 2013-2014 data set.

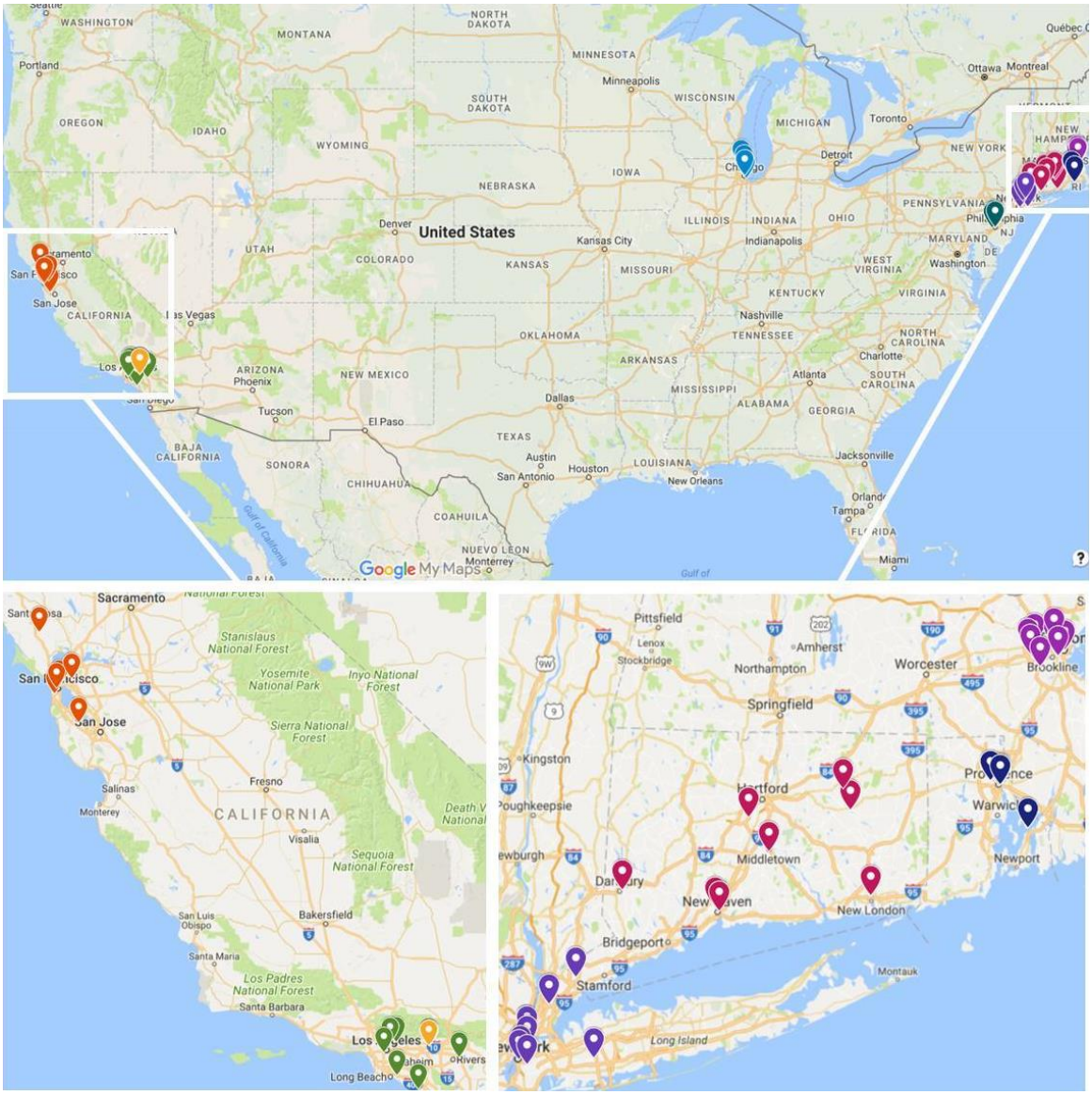

Figure 3
Map of Gender-Inclusive Housing by Geographic Cluster, as of June, 2017

Table 3

Sampling GIH Clusters

Geographic Cluster	Inst. Code	Carnegie Classification	Control	Size and Setting	First Year of GIH
East Coast 1	EC1-A	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Public	medium, primarily nonresidential	2010
East Coast 1	EC1-B	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2009
East Coast 1	EC1-C	Master's Colleges & Universities: Small Programs	Public	medium, highly residential	
East Coast 1	EC1-D	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Public	medium, primarily residential	
East Coast 1	EC1-E	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Public	large, highly residential	2007
East Coast 1	EC1-F	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	medium, highly residential	1993
East Coast 1	EC1-G	Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Program	Public	medium, primarily residential	
East Coast 1	EC1-H	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2010
East Coast 2	EC2-A	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Private	medium, highly residential	
East Coast 2	EC2-B	Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools	Private	medium, primarily nonresidential	
East Coast 2	EC2-C	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2013
East Coast 2	EC2-D	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	medium, highly residential	2009

Geographic Cluster	Inst. Code	Carnegie Classification	Control	Size and Setting	First Year of GIH
East Coast 2	EC2-E	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Private	medium, highly residential	2010
East Coast 2	EC2-F	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2008
East Coast 2	EC2-F	Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Program	Private	small, highly residential	
East Coast 2	EC2-G	Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools	Public	small, primarily residential	
East Coast 2	EC2-H	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2015
East Coast 2	EC2-I	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	
East Coast 2	EC2-J	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2009
East Coast 2	EC2-K	Doctoral Universities: Higher Research Activity	Private	medium, primarily nonresidential	
East Coast 2	EC2-L	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	
East Coast 2	EC2-M	Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Program	Private	medium, primarily residential	
East Coast 3	EC3-A	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	
East Coast 3	EC3-B	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2011
East Coast 3	EC3-C	Doctoral Universities: Higher Research Activity	Private	medium, primarily residential	2012

Geographic Cluster	Inst. Code	Carnegie Classification	Control	Size and Setting	First Year of GIH
East Coast 3	EC3-D	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, primarily residential	2010
East Coast 3	EC3-E	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2007
East Coast 3	EC3-F	Doctoral Universities: Higher Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2012
East Coast 3	EC3-G	Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools	Private	medium, highly residential	
East Coast 3	EC3-H	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2004
East Coast 3	EC3-I	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Public	medium, highly residential	2011
East Coast 4	EC4-A	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	medium, highly residential	2004
East Coast 4	EC4-B	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Private	medium, primarily residential	2011-2012
East Coast 4	EC4-C	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Public	medium, primarily nonresidential	2014
East Coast 4	EC4-D	Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools	Private	small, highly residential	2010-2011
East Coast 4	EC4-E	Master's Colleges & Universities: Medium Program	Private	medium, highly residential	
Mid-Atlantic 1	MA1-A	Doctoral Universities: Higher Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	
Mid-Atlantic 1	MA1-B	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2000

Geographic Cluster	Inst. Code	Carnegie Classification	Control	Size and Setting	First Year of GIH
Mid-Atlantic 1	MA1-C	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2001
Mid-Atlantic 1	MA1-D	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2005
Midwest 1	MW1-A	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2009
Midwest 1	MW1-B	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2010
Midwest 1	MW1-C	Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools	Private	medium, primarily nonresidential	
Midwest 1	MW1-D	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2009
Midwest 1	MW1-E	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Public	large, primarily nonresidential	
West Coast 1	WC1-A	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	small, primarily residential	
West Coast 1	WC1-B	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Public	large, primarily nonresidential	
West Coast 1	WC1-C	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2009
West Coast 1	WC1-D	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Public	large, primarily residential	2009
West Coast 1	WC1-E	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Public	large, primarily residential	2005
West Coast 1	WC1-F	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2015

Geographic Cluster	Inst. Code	Carnegie Classification	Control	Size and Setting	First Year of GIH
West Coast 2	WC2-A	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2011
West Coast 2	WC2-B	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	very small, highly residential	
West Coast 2	WC2-C	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2008
West Coast 2	WC2-D	Baccalaureate Colleges: Arts & Sciences Focus	Private	small, highly residential	2010
West Coast 3	WC3-A	Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design Schools	Private	very small, primarily residential	
West Coast 3	WC3-B	Doctoral Universities: Moderate Research Activity	Public	large, primarily nonresidential	
West Coast 3	WC3-C	Master's Colleges & Universities: Larger Programs	Public	medium, primarily residential	
West Coast 3	WC3-D	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Private	large, highly residential	2008
West Coast 3	WC3-E	Doctoral Universities: Highest Research Activity	Public	large, primarily residential	2008
West Coast 3	WC3-F	Doctoral Universities: Moderate Research Activity	Private	large, primarily residential	2015

Table 3 details the institutions that I considered within my institution sampling. After comparing the institutional characteristics within each of the nine geographic clusters, I eliminated two due to the low number of institutions in the cluster (Mid-

Atlantic 1, West Coast 2). I then eliminated three due to lack of variation in institutional characteristics and small sample size (East Coast 1, Midwest 1, West Coast 3). This left three clusters comprised of six to 14 institutions. Two clusters were located on the east coast (East Coast 2, East Coast 3), and one on the west (West Coast 1).

As a researcher living on the east coast, I decided to eliminate the west coast cluster as it offered no greater variation in institutional characteristics than the two east coast clusters. Utilizing Patton's (1990) method of selecting a small sample of great diversity, I chose the east coast cluster with 14 institutions (East Coast 2), in order to provide both the maximum diversity possible within a homogeneous geographic area, and for the most opportunity in gaining institutional participation.

Securing participants. In order to secure sites within East Coast 2, I then created a list of the Chief Housing Officer (CHO) at each institution. I emailed each CHO a request to participate in my study. After an initial email, I secured the participation of two sites, EC2-G, a small public special focus four-year arts, music, and design (Pseudonym - Newell Arts College, NAC), and EC2-D, a medium private doctoral highest research activity university (Pseudonym - Sachar University, SU). After a follow up email, I secured the participation of a third institution, EC2-A, a medium private master's college (Pseudonym - Lindsay University, LU).

Participant level sampling. In order to select participants for interviews and focus groups, I employed operational construct sampling. As discussed in Chapter I, this sampling method allowed me to operationalize concepts from my theoretical framework: human effort and equifinality (referred to later as institutional response).

Open systems theory views individuals within the system as mechanisms for energy transformation. Therefore, in gathering information on institutional response to normative disruption, participants were selected within each case that worked with GIH, assisted in creating GIH, or worked at the institution in proximity to GIH and/or trans* students. Examples of these individuals were residential life staff, Deans of Students, and Title IX coordinators. At one institution, Sachar University, some of the staff members central to GIH creation had since moved on to other institutions or other employment. I was able to include these individuals in my participant interviews.

Snowball sampling was employed in selecting participants for focus groups. Snowball sampling is understood as a method in which participants in your study refer other participants to you (Patton, 1990). This is a common method of purposeful sampling, and one well-suited to identifying and gaining participation of students within a marginalized community (Merriam, 1998). At each case site, I conducted at least one focus group of students who had or currently lived in GIH, or who served as a leader within the campus LGBTQ community, either formally or informally. I asked staff members participating in interviews to identify potential student participants, and then asked those identified students for other recommendations of possible students to participate in the focus group.

Securing participants. At Newell Arts College, student participants were solicited by the Residence Life Director, via email to several LGBTQ listservs. At Sachar University, the Hall Director for the first year area emailed all residents living in GIH. After receiving email confirmations from several students, I also invited them to invite their friends or

floormates who fit the interview criteria. At Lindsay University, the Associate Director for Housing sent emails to students living in GIH and coordinated interview times.

Data Collection

I employed five methods of data collection in my study: semi-structured interviews; focus group; field notes and observations; documents; and campus tours. The following section will describe each of these methods. Data were collected from October 2017-February 2018.

Semi-structured interviews. Interviews served as an integral part of my data collection methods, because I was partially interested in past events which I can no longer observe, and because I aimed to understand how individuals who were key to the creation and implementation of GIH conceptualize this policy and its adoption process. Merriam (1998) discusses multiple types of interviews. For the purposes of my study, I conducted semi-structured interviews, which are defined as a mix of highly structured, predetermined wording, and open-ended, conversation style interview questions.

I utilized an interview protocol, which contained structured demographic and general background questions, as well as more open-ended questions. My protocol contained several different types of questions that I was able to choose from, depending on answers participants give to other questions. For my interview protocol, please see Appendices A-E. All interviews were recorded with the written consent of

each participant, and transcribed using a transcription service. I then reviewed each transcription with the recording to correct for errors.

As detailed in Table 2, interviews were conducted with current administrators at each institution. Since some of my research questions focused on understanding the process of GIH implementation, I also sought interviews with administrators who directly assisted in the adoption of GIH. This required reaching out to administrators who had since left the case institution and are working elsewhere for Sachar University.

The number of interviews varied by site. At Lindsay University, I interviewed 8 staff members, or 50% of the Residence Life staff. At Sachar University, I interviewed 8 staff members, or 89% of the current Residence Life staff and 2 former staff members in Residence Life. At Newell Arts College, I interviewed 5 staff members, or 100% of the Residence Life staff. All interviews, with the exception of the interview with the 2 former staff members at SU, occurred in conference rooms in the Residence Life office at each institution. The interview with the former staff members at Sachar University was conducted via phone.

Focus groups. As discussed in the previous section, I also utilized a focus group of students at each case institution. Yin (2014) defines a focus group as a procedure in which you "recruit and convene a small group of persons… [and you] moderate a discussion about some aspect of your case study, deliberately trying to surface the views of each person in the group" (p. 112). Within my study, I used focus groups to understand the current campus climate from a student perspective, as well as to what

extent, if at all, organizational homeostasis has been reestablished as related to the disruption of the gender binary.

As mentioned in my sampling strategy, I conducted a focus group of students at each case site. At NAC, I conducted one interview with two students and another with one student. At SU, I conducted one interview with two Resident Assistants and one interview with four students. At LU, I conducted three focus groups, comprised of two to seven students. The scheduling of these focus groups resulted based on student availability during my on-campus visits. At each institution, some or most students lived in GIH. At LU, student leaders from the LGBT organization also participated. As outlined by Table 2, the information I hoped to gain from the focus groups centered on campus climate and how, if at all, GIH has served to reestablish institutional homeostasis related to the normative disruption of the gender binary.

Focus group sizes varied by institutions. Participation in the focus groups was coordinated by staff members in Residence Life at all three sites. At LU, the student focus groups occurred in 4 groups totaling 11 students: the first was with six students living in GIH; the second was with two students living in GIH; the third was with two students in the LGBTQ club; the fourth was with one student in the LGBTQ club. These interviews were grouped based on students' schedules. At SU I interviewed six students, including two Resident Advisors. The student focus groups occurred in two groups: one with the two RAs, and the next with four students living in GIH. At NAC, the student interviews were in two groups: one with two students and the next with one student.

Field notes and observations. As Merriam (1998) discusses, field notes are written accounts of researcher's observations and become raw data of the study. They serve, in combination with interviews and documents, to provide a "holistic interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated" (p. 111). Thus, observations must be recorded in as much detail as possible, as soon after the observation is made, and be focused on being substantive rather than verbatim. Throughout my visits at each case institution, I took detailed notes of my observations, and spent time immediately following each visit detailing all that I observed throughout the day. Merriam (1998) recommends organizing notes so that they include the date, time, place, participants, and purpose of each observation. These notes served as my field journal, which was utilized in data triangulation.

My field notes included three content areas: descriptions of the setting and milieu of each visit; quotations or substantive summaries of interactions; and comments on these two content areas. I took care to indicate the difference between my observations and my interpretations of the observations. Because case study research employs an inductive data analysis process, it is important to distinguish between written memos and analysis.

At LU, I was on campus for a total of 14 hours, which occurred over two days of visits. At SU, I was on campus for a total of 15 hours, over three different visits. At NAC, I was on campus for 12 hours over three different visits. These visits were coordinated based on participants' availability and occurred from Fall 2017-Spring 2018.

Documents. I used of several different types of documents in my study. Merriam (1998) defines documents as materials, artifacts, and symbols in existence prior to the research beginning. Documents may therefore include public records, personal documents, and physical materials. Such artifacts can "ground an investigation in the context of the problem being investigated" (Merriam, 1998, p. 126).

I used documents from each institution to illuminate information found in other collection methods. I used public documents, including the institution's website, any publicly available policy language, as well as school newspaper articles related to GIH and/or trans* students on campus. Additionally, I utilized documents made available by research participants, including internal policy development documents, draft policies, and GIH policy proposals.

At LU, I utilized 24 documents. These documents included three articles from the student newspaper, 12 documents of information from the LU website, and nine reports and organizational charts available on LU's website. At SU, I utilized 57 documents. These included 25 articles from SU's student newspapers, 16 from SU's website, seven from national newspapers, four SU reports available publicly, four articles from a peer institution's newspaper, and one document of the state's plumbing code. At NAC, I utilized 22 documents. These included 13 from NAC's website, four publicly available accreditation and other reports, one from the CCC's website, two from national newspapers, and the original GIH draft made available by the director of Residence Life.

Campus tours. At each institution I attended an admissions-led campus tour. As the literature indicates, campus climate and environmental factors impact how, if at all,

trans* students are supported (Brown et al., 2004; Rankin, 2005; Rankin et al., 2010; Renn, 2010). Additionally, the physical location(s) of GIH on campus can influence the success of the policy. Peter M. Magolda (2000) describes campus tours as rituals that transmit "the ways" of the institution (p. 25). Attending a campus tour allowed me to gain a sense of the campus geographically, as well as the ethos that the institution wishes to impart upon visitors. On each campus tour we also visited residence halls, many of which included GIH options.

Data Management

In order to organize my data, I utilized the software NVivo, which is a software system that allows researchers to organize qualitative data. With NVivo I coded all of my data, from interviews, field notes, and documents, using one coding scheme. After synthesizing and organizing my data in NVivo I was then be able to code and analyze for emergent themes. The following section describes the analysis process I employed.

Data security. I utilized several tactics to manage the security of my data, both in print and electronic. Any printed or physical materials were kept in a locked drawer in my locked office. Any electronic materials were uploaded and stored on my computer which is password-protected. This included recordings of any interviews. The memory card from the voice recorder that I used for my data collection was locked in my office drawer. These steps should secure my data from unauthorized access.

Data Analysis

The following section describes my use of constant comparative method to analyze my data. I employed a system of open coding, which supports the inductive nature of case study research (Merriam, 1998).

Levels of Analysis

Because I conducted a multi-site case study, I conducted analysis at, and across, different levels. The first level was within-case analysis, in order to examine each college or university's process of constructing GIH and grappling with normative disruption from an open systems perspective. I also analyzed data across cases, so as to draw comparisons between GIH development processes, and to understand how institutions reacted to normative disruption differently based on institutional characteristics. I used these levels of analysis in the construction of categories of my data, which is discussed in the next section.

Category Construction

I constructed categories through the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This means that data are constantly compared to one another in order to cull out emergent themes. What constitutes the data are observations, field notes, and interview and focus group conversations (Merriam, 1998). In order to construct a

category, or subcategory, from these data, Lincoln and Guba (1985, as cited in Merriam, 1998) cite two criteria: the data must be heuristic, that it should represent information that is important to the study; and it must be the smallest interpretable piece of information, absent of any context.

Merriam (1998) then details how heuristic, identifiable data are then compared to construct categories. Integral to constant comparative analysis is that analysis is conducted simultaneously with data collection. In order to do so, I began my analysis following the first case site visit. I employed the process outlined by Merriam (1998). First, each interview, field note, and other data was read and annotated. After doing so, I then began to group these annotations into categories. Subsequently, I read the next piece of data and made notes. I then compared these notes to the first list of categories, and then began to cluster categories and create subcategories. I continued this process for every piece of data. The next section discusses how I then named each category.

Naming categories. Category names should come from one of three origins: the researcher, the participants, or the literature (Merriam, 1998). Merriam (1998) provides five criteria to use when naming categories: 1) categories should answer the research questions; 2) categories should be exhaustive of all relevant data; 3) categories should be mutually exclusive, so data only fit within one category; 4) category names should evoke the essence of the data within; and 5) categories should be conceptually congruent so that data are categorized at the same level. I used NVivo in order to categorize and name my data. NVivo allowed me to place pieces of data within a category or subcategory and easily track where the data is from.

My coding was both inductive and deductive, though I developed more inductive codes (indicated below in Tables 5-7). This was due to the nature of my research questions, and the extant literature on trans* students and GIH. Further, the literature on normative disruption and open systems has not yet been applied to the topic of trans* students in higher education. As anticipated, some a priori codes emerged from the literature on trans* students and on Gender-Inclusive Housing. These included the findings of Kircher and Hong (2010) related to implementation strategies and the barriers to GIH creation that Taub et al. (2016) outlined.

Alignment of Data and Research Questions

The data used to answer each question can be found in Table 4 below. This table is similar to Table 2, presented earlier, with two changes: it indicates data sources by case site, and collapses my research questions into two categories: normative disruption and institutional response. This decision was made during the coding of my data, as my open systems framework depicts two stages within the cycle, not three. It is also summarized as follows.

- *Research Question 1 (Normative Disruption): How, if at all, are institutions influenced by changes in societal norms around the gender binary?* In order to address this question, I used data from four sources: (1) interviews with administrators at Lindsay University, Newell Arts College, and Sachar University;

(2) interviews with student employees at SU; (3) student focus group responses at LU, NAC, and SU; (4) and documents from LU, NAC, and SU.

- *Research Question 1a (Normative Disruption): To what extent does this lead or motivate college or university administrators to create a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy?* Data from (1) interviews with administrators at LU, NAC, and SU; (2) interviews with student employees at SU; and (3) student focus group responses at LU, NAC, and SU were used.
- *Research Question 1b (Normative Disruption): How, if at all, do institutions respond to these changing norms?* In order to address this question, I utilized data from sources: (1) interviews with administrators at Lindsay University, Newell Arts College, and Sachar University; (2) interviews with student employees at SU; (3) documents from LU, NAC, and SU; (4) and observational notes from campus tours at LU, NAC, and SU.
- *Research Question 2 (Institutional Response): How, if at all, do institutions of higher education utilize Gender-Inclusive Housing policies to respond to the disruption of the gender binary?* In order to answer this question, I used three data sources: (1) interviews with administrators at Lindsay University, Newell Arts College, and Sachar University; (2) student focus group responses at LU, NAC, and SU; (3) and researcher observations and field notes.
- *Research Question 2a (Institutional Response): What steps are taken to reestablish organizational homeostasis as related to this expanded concept of gender?* In order to address this question, I utilized four data sources: (1)

interviews with administrators at Lindsay University, Newell Arts College, and Sachar University; (2) interviews with student employees at SU; (3) student focus group responses at LU, NAC, and SU; (4) and observational notes from campus tours at LU, NAC, and SU.

- *Research Question 2b (Institutional Response): To what extent is organizational homeostasis reestablished?* To address this question I used three sources of data: (1) student focus group responses at LU, NAC, and SU; (2) researcher observations and field notes; (3) and documents from LU, NAC, and SU.
- *Research Question 2c (Institutional Response): How, if at all, do institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses?* In order to address this question, I used data from three sources: (1) interviews with administrators at Lindsay University, Newell Arts College, and Sachar University; (2) interviews with student employees at SU; (3) and documents from LU, NAC, and SU.

Table 4

Alignment of Data Sources and Research Questions

Research Question	**Data Source**				
	Interviews with Administrators & Student Employees	**Focus Group**	**Field Notes & Observations**	**Docs**	**Campus Tour**
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION 1. How, if at all, are institutions influenced by changes in societal norms	LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU		LU NAC SU	

Research Question	Data Source				
	Interviews with Administrators & Student Employees	**Focus Group**	**Field Notes & Observations**	**Docs**	**Campus Tour**
around the gender binary?					
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION 1a. To what extent does this lead or motivate college or university administrators to create a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy?	LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU			
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION 1b. How, if at all, do institutions respond to these changing norms?	LU NAC SU			LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE 2. How, if at all, do institutions of higher education utilize Gender-Inclusive Housing policies to respond to the disruption of the gender binary?	LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU		

Research Question	Data Source				
	Interviews with Administrators & Student Employees	**Focus Group**	**Field Notes & Observations**	**Docs**	**Campus Tour**
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE 2a. What steps are taken to reestablish organizational homeostasis as related to this expanded concept of gender?	LU NAC SU SU			LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE 2b. To what extent is organizational homeostasis reestablished?		LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU	LU NAC SU	
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE 2c. How, if at all, do institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses?	LU NAC SU SU			LU NAC SU	

Interview Protocol Design and Structure

In addition to aligning my research questions with my data sources, I also designed my interview protocols in coordination with my research questions. the

alignment between my research questions and the questions asked in my participant interviews and focus group. The full interview protocol used at each institution can be found in Appendices A-E. Each question is identified as either one addressing experiencing normative disruption, or institutional response to the disruption. The protocols include those used for interviews with administrators at all three institutions, for student focus groups at all three institutions, and for student employee interviews at Sachar University.

Coding Definitions and Alignment with Research Questions

After each document and interview were coded, I then organized the codes based on my research questions. The following tables show these themes, organized by research question 1 (normative disruption) and research question 2 (institutional response). Several codes emerged from research questions and were found across all three institutions. These include: administrative decision-making, campus culture, expanded concept of gender, external environment characteristics, housing, institutional characteristics, normative disruption, and organizational homeostasis. Subcodes within these codes emerged as well, many of which varied by institution. The following tables indicate each code as either an inductive (I) or deductive (D) code.

Table 5

Lindsay University Codes Organized by Research Question

Lindsay University	
RQ 1: Normative Disruption	RQ 2: Institutional Response
Campus Culture (D) ● Business culture (I) ● Chilling effect (I) ● Conservative campus culture (I) ● Culture for queer students (I) ● Student population (I) ○ Gender binary (I)	Administrative Decision Making (I) ● Future goals (I) ● Preparing students for the real world (I) ● Support initiated by staff (I)
External Environment Characteristics (D) ● Keeping up with national trends (D) ● Parents (I)	Housing (I) ● Cis students (I) ● Filling vacancies (I) ● Gender-Inclusive Housing (D)
Hot Topics on Campus (I)	
Institutional Characteristics (D) ● LU Values (I) ● President (I)	Normative Disruption (D) ● Bathrooms (I) ● Counseling (I) ● Health & Wellness (I) ● Name policy (I)
	Organizational Homeostasis (D)

Table 6

Sachar University Codes Organized by Research Question

Sachar University	
RQ 1: Normative Disruption	RQ 2: Institutional Response
Campus Culture (D) ● Culture for queer students (I) ● Student population (I) ● Students challenging the status quo (I) ● Supporting marginalized students (I)	Administrative Decision Making (I) ● GIH Implementation (I) ● Staff training (I)

Sachar University	
RQ 1: Normative Disruption	RQ 2: Institutional Response
Expanded Concept of Gender (I)	Housing (I) ● GIH (D) ○ Peer institution GIH backlash (I) ○ Problems with GIH (I) ● Mixed gender (I) ● Single gender housing (I)
External Environment Characteristics (D) ● Parents (I) ● State politics (I) ● Proximity to city (I)	Normative Disruption (D) ● Bathrooms (I) ● Name policy (I) ● Pronouns(I)
Gender Binary (I) ● Gender roles within sects of Judaism (I)	Organizational Homeostasis (D)
Hot Topics on Campus (I)	Staff Training (I)
Institutional Characteristics (D)	

Table 7

Newell Arts College Codes Organized by Research Question

Newell Arts College	
RQ 1: Normative Disruption	RQ 2: Institutional Response
Campus Culture (D) ● Culture for queer students (I) ● Student population (I)	Administrative Decision Making (I) ● Policy development process (I)
Expanded Concept of Gender (I)	Housing (I) ● Co-ed housing (I) ● GIH (D) ○ Changes to GIH (I) ● Institutional benchmarking (I)
External Environment Characteristics (D) ● Parents (I)	Normative Disruption (D) ● Name policy (I) ● Orientation (I) ● Pronouns (I) ● Work place (I)

Newell Arts College	
RQ 1: Normative Disruption	RQ 2: Institutional Response
Institutional Characteristics (D) ● Arts school (I) ● Consortium (I) ● Public institution (I) ● Small school (I)	Organizational Homeostasis (D)
Race & Ethnicity (I)	

Code Book

After aligning each case's codes with my research questions I then developed definitions for each code. While many codes appeared across all three cases, definitions varied slightly based on descriptors particular to each institution. In the following section I will define each code and provide an example. Codes for each institution are labeled as either normative disruption codes or institutional response codes. Normative disruption codes are those which align with research question 1. These codes include instances of normative disruption, the campus culture, external environment influences, and events on campus that represent points of disruption. Institutional response codes are codes which address administrative decision-making, policy development, and institutional characteristics as a result of experienced normative disruption and align with research question 2. My complete codebook can be found in Appendix F.

Emergent Themes

Based on the inductive and deductive codes across all three cases, I found several emergent themes. In alignment with my theoretical framework, I organized these themes as either instances of normative disruption of the gender binary, or as part of the institutional response and process to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. Recall the following figure from Chapter I. This version depicts an additional layer of the two major analytic categories, with the red oval encompassing the part of the process related to *normative disruption*, and the blue oval including the steps of *institutional response*.

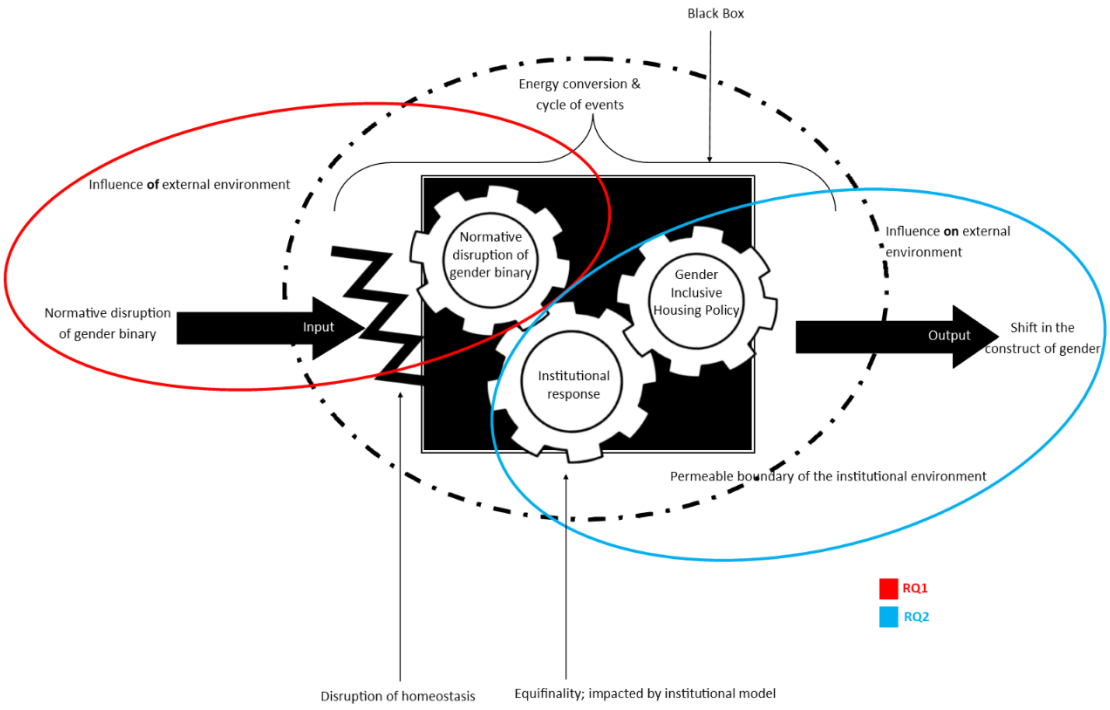

Figure 4
Theoretical Framework with Emergent Themes

Within the Theme of *normative disruption*, two subcategories emerged: *societal influence* and *institutional influence*. *Societal influence* includes the following codes: the gender binary; the external environment; the role of parents; and the role of peer institutions. *Institutional influence* includes the following codes: campus culture; hot topics; and institutional characteristics. Within the theme of *institutional response*, the following codes are included: administrative decision-making; GIH development; and steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. Additional subcategories, which emerged as codes specific to each institution, are included in the following table, which summarizes the analytic categories by case. I will first present a summary table which includes the codes for all institutions, organized by emergent themes in order to demonstrate which themes appeared across institutions. The gray rows indicate a major theme.

Table 8

Summary of Emergent Themes by Institution and Type of Code, as Aligned with Theoretical Framework

	Lindsay University	Sachar University	Newell Arts College
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION			
Societal Influence			
External Environment Influences	X	X	X
Consortium			X
Keeping up with national trends	X		
Parents	X	X	X
Expanded Concept of Gender		X	X
Gender Binary	X	X	
Gender Roles within Sects of Judaism		X	

	Lindsay University	Sachar University	Newell Arts College
Peer Institution Benchmarking		X	X
Race and Ethnicity			X
Institutional Influence			
Campus Culture	X	X	X
Business culture	X		
Chilling effect	X		
Conservative campus culture	X		
Culture for queer students	X	X	X
Student population	X	X	X
Students challenging status quo		X	
Supporting marginalized students		X	
Hot topics on campus	X	X	
Institutional Characteristics	X	X	X
Art school			X
LU values	X		
Public institution			X
President	X		
Small school			X
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE			
Administrative Decision Making			
Future Goals	X		
GIH Implementation		X	
Policy Development Process			X
Preparing Students for the Real World	X		
Staff Training		X	
Support Initiated by Staff	X		
GIH Development			
Changes to GIH			X
Cis students	X		
Coed housing			X
Filling vacancies	X		
Mixed gender vs single gender		X	
Problems with GIH		X	
Steps to Reestablishing Homeostasis			
Bathrooms	X	X	
Counseling	X		

	Lindsay University	Sachar University	Newell Arts College
Health and Wellness	X		
Name Policy	X	X	X
Orientation			X
Pronouns		X	X
Work place			X

As evidenced in Table 8, several themes emerged across cases. The codes that emerged across all institutions were: external environment influences, parents, campus culture, culture for queer students, student population, institutional characteristics, and name policy. Several other codes appeared at least two case sites. The following tables summarize the codes that emerged at each institution, as aligned with my theoretical framework. Each table (10-12) is organized by major *themes normative disruption* and *institutional response*.

Table 9

Lindsay University Emergent Themes as Aligned with Theoretical Framework

Lindsay University	
Normative Disruption	Institutional Response
Societal Influence ● External Environment Influences ○ Keeping up with national trends ○ Parents ● Gender binary	Administrative Decision Making ● Future goals ● Preparing students for the real world ● Support initiated by staff ●
Institutional Influence ● Campus Culture ○ Business culture ○ Chilling effect ○ Conservative campus culture ○ Culture for queer students ○ Student population	GIH Development ● Housing ○ Cis students ○ Filling vacancies

Lindsay University	
Normative Disruption	Institutional Response
● Hot Topics on Campus ● Institutional Characteristics ○ LU values ○ President	
	Steps to Reestablishing Organizational Homeostasis ● Policy creation & institutional practice ○ Bathrooms ○ Counseling ○ Health and wellness ○ Name policy

Table 10

Sachar University Emergent Themes as Aligned with Theoretical Framework

Sachar University	
Normative Disruption	Institutional Response
Societal Influence ● Expanded Concept of Gender ● External Environment Influences ○ Parents ● Gender Binary ● Peer institution GIH benchmarking ● Gender Roles within Sects of Judaism	Administrative Decision Making ● GIH Implementation ● Staff Training
Institutional Influence ● Campus Culture ● Culture for queer students ● Student population ● Students challenging the status quo ● Supporting marginalized students ● Hot topics on Campus ● Institutional Characteristics	GIH Development ● Mixed gender vs single gender housing ● Problems with GIH
	Steps to Reestablishing Organizational Homeostasis ● Policy creation & institutional practice

Sachar University	
Normative Disruption	Institutional Response
	○ Bathrooms ○ Name policy ○ Pronouns

Table 11

Newell Arts College Emergent Themes as Aligned with Theoretical Framework

Newell Arts College	
Normative Disruption	Institutional Response
Societal Influence ● External Environment Influences ○ Consortium ○ Parents ● Expanded Concept of Gender ● Race and Ethnicity ● Peer institution benchmarking	Administrative Decision Making ● Policy development process
Institutional Influence ● Campus Culture ○ Student population ○ Culture for queer students ● Institutional Characteristics ○ Art school ○ Public institution ○ Small school	GIH Development ● Co-ed housing ● Changes to GIH
	Steps to Reestablishing Organizational Homeostasis ● Policy creation & institutional practice ○ Name policy ○ Orientation ○ Pronouns ○ Work place

Case Description Development

After I coded my data and collapsed these codes into emergent themes, I then constructed a case description for each institution in my study. I employed Stake's (1995) method of developing a case report, in which I developed descriptions which encompass the major components of each case, guided by my research questions. I utilized the same organizational structure for each case, which is outlined below:

1. Institutional Overview and Context
    a. Roots and Mission
    b. Undergraduate Demographics
    c. Campus Culture and Student Body
2. Case Participants and Institution
    a. Participants
    b. Organizational Structure of Student Affairs
    c. Residence Life Overview
3. Gender-Inclusive Housing and Other Responses to Normative Disruption
    a. History of GIH; Current GIH Policy
    b. Other Policies and Practices

I then concluded each case description with a summary of the prior three sections.

In order to convert the several types of data I had collected into case descriptions, I first audited the data, including field notes, documents, and interviews,

from each case. I then reviewed the codes for each case. Next, I developed the aforementioned case outline, based on codes that emerged across all cases. Finally, I selected direct quotes from documents and interviews which serve to center the voices of the participants and institutions in my study. The goal of the case descriptions is to provide a rich review of all of the coded data in order to contextualize my analysis of each case.

Study Limitations

Despite best efforts, there are limitations to what I was able to learn in this study. The following section will review the measures I have taken to ensure internal validity, dependability, and generalizability of my study. I will also discuss my positionality as a researcher.

Internal Validity

In order to assess the internal validity of my study, that is the degree to which my findings match reality, I employed the six strategies outlined by Merriam (1998): triangulation; member checks; long-term observation; peer examination; participatory modes of research; and researcher biases. The next section explains my approaches in employing four of these strategies in order to support the validity of my findings.

Triangulation. I have discussed how my data collection methods assisted in triangulating my data throughout this chapter. As outlined by Merriam (1998), I drew upon multiple data sources in order to create a holistic understanding of each case site. I used data from interviews, focus groups, document analysis, campus tours, and field notes in order to gain a more total understanding of how each institution reacts to normative disruption of the gender binary.

Member checks. Member checks involve taking the data back to the participants from which it was derived in order to gain a sense of whether the results appear plausible. As I analyzed my data as it became available, I also sent transcriptions of each interview to my participants. I solicited feedback, edits, and any other information they felt was left out or needed amending. Most participants responded affirming the information within the transcriptions, and some provided minor edits, such as redacting names of individuals or colleges.

Long-term observations. As I visited multiple case sites, these visits took place over the course of several months, from October, 2017-February, 2018. This allowed me time to observe the campus climate and responses to normative disruption in greater depth and over a longer period of time. Merriam (1998) emphasizes that observations of the same phenomena over time increases the validity of findings.

Researcher's biases. In qualitative research, the researcher serves as the "primary instrument of data collection" (Merriam, 1998, p. 203). Therefore, it is important to be forthcoming regarding my assumptions, biases, and worldview as related to my study. I will discuss this in a subsequent section.

Dependability

The term *reliability* is often employed in research to refer to the degree to which a study, when reproduced multiple times, yields the same results (Merriam, 1998). However, because the human experience is central to qualitative research, it becomes impossible to achieve reliability. Instead, Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer the term *dependability* of data to describe the degree to which, given the data collected, outsiders view the findings as consistent. Merriam (1998) provides three strategies for ensuring dependability: transparency of the investigator's positionality; triangulation; creating an audit trail. I have already addressed triangulation within my study. I also made use of an audit trail, or a detailed description of my data collection and analysis steps and decision-making throughout the study. This served as a method of checking my findings. The following section will address the third strategy, my positionality related to the study.

Generalizability

As Merriam (1998) discusses, generalizability refers to the extent to which it is possible to generalize findings from a case, or in other words, the external validity of the study. Some researchers assume that generalizability is not possible in a qualitative case

study. Merriam (1998) outlines some steps that researchers may take in order to strengthen the external validity of a study. These include random sampling of participants within cases, or the use of several cases. While my study employs three case sites, I did not utilize random sampling. This is an inherent limitation of my study design.

Given the limitations of its generalizability, I utilize Merriam's (1998) strategies to enhance the external validity of my study. These include providing *rich, thick description* of each case, *typicality or modal category* descriptions of typicality of GIH policies nationally, and *multisite designs* that maximize diversity of institutions grappling with normative disruption of the gender binary. Despite employing these strategies, it is still not possible to generalize to all institutions with GIH policies based on my findings alone. Instead, I hope to contribute theoretically to our understandings of normative disruption of the gender binary at colleges and universities.

Researcher Positionality

As discussed, researcher positionality is integral to qualitative research. Because the data are filtered, at the first level, through myself as the researcher, it is therefore necessary to acknowledge my assumptions and personal positionality related to my research study.

My interest in Gender-Inclusive Housing, beginning formally in 2009 when I began research for my Master's thesis, stems from the intersections of my professional career and my experiences as a person with marginalized identities. As a queer

multiracial woman, I am drawn to research that centers individuals with marginalized identities. Further, as a student affairs professional, and specifically, someone who works in residence life, I believe housing offices have the fundamental obligation to create safe and supportive living environments for all students.

It was important, based on my current and previous work in housing, to disclose my dual role as a student and as a housing administrator to my participants. This perspective provided me with the unique ability to relate to my participants and, as someone who has created GIH policies at other institutions, to relate to the tangible barriers and struggles that they shared with me. This served as an asset to my understandings of how my participants created their own GIH policies. I also remained cognizant of my role as a researcher and ensured that I asked clarifying questions in order to avoid making assumptions based on my own experience.

Importantly, I also do not consider GIH to necessarily be the best or ideal housing environment for all trans* students. As Nicolazzo (2017) states, it is important to recognize "that although some efforts are positive steps (e.g., the creation of trans*-inclusive housing areas on campus), they must not be seen as an end goal" (p. 142). Thus, I do believe that GIH can serve an important role within the college environment when it comes to assessing support for trans* students. This belief presupposes my use of open systems theory as my conceptual framework, as throughout my professional experience, I have witnessed how offices and departments within a university network, collaborate, and interface with one another. I share this about my personal assumptions

and positionality in order to provide both context to who I am as a researcher, but also to clarify my worldview as related to my study.

Summary

In this chapter I presented the methodology of my multi-site case study. I first introduced Merriam's (1998) approach to case study research design in education. Then, I repeated my research questions and discussed how my data, from multiple methods, will provide the information necessary to answer my questions. I then discussed my purposeful sampling methods (Patton, 1990) for each level of sampling within my study, followed by summarizing my data collection methods. Lastly, I discussed my use of the constant comparative data analysis method, as well as how my collection and analysis methods will support the validity and dependability of my study.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

The previous three chapters have reviewed the problem of normative disruption of the gender binary, provided an overview of extant literature on normative disruption in American higher education and trans* student support services, and reviewed the methodology for this multi-site case study. These sites were selected through the use of purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990). In order to study the impact of normative disruption on colleges and universities, I employed homogenous sampling for the external environment. Doing so allowed me to select institutions within the same geographic region. Within this region, I then employed maximum variation sampling in order to select case sites that varied across institutional type characteristics. As I will discuss in this next chapter, these sites varied in size, type, control, and environmental characteristics. This was important, as it allowed me to understand how institutional characteristics influence responses to the same environmental normative disruption. The following chapter presents the case descriptions and findings for Lindsay University, Sachar University, Newell Arts College, and the cross-case findings. To contextualize the

external environment for all three institutions, I will begin by presenting a brief summary of the state.

Geographic Region Demographics

As discussed in Chapter III, I employed homogenous sampling (Patton, 1990) as the first level of my sampling strategy. The geographic region that I selected for my study, henceforth referred to as Winthrop Metro Area (WMA), is broadly defined by the United States Census Bureau as a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), and more specifically as a New England City and Town Area (NECTA). The United States Office of Management and Budget defines MSAs as, "a core area containing a substantial population nucleus, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core" (United States Census Bureau, 2018). Areas defined as MSAs must have at least one urban area, typically a county, with a population of at least 50,000, which is labelled the central county.

Due to the importance of town governance in New England states, the United States Census Bureau defines MSAs in New England as NECTAs (United States Census Bureau, 2018). NECTAs are defined by the same criteria of MSAs. Additionally, NECTAs with populations of at least 2.5 million may be subdivided into NECTA Divisions. NECTA Divisions are comprised of a central town or city "that represents an employment center, plus adjacent cities and towns associated with the main city or town through

commuting ties" (United States Census Bureau, n.d.). WMA is classified as a NECTA Division, with a core town with a population of over 50,000 individuals.

WMA has a population of nearly 4.8 million people, which is also over 70% of the total state population (United States Census Bureau, 2016). Of these residents, over 71% identify as White, almost 11% as Hispanic, almost 8% as Asian, and over 7% as Black (United States Census Bureau, 2016). In WMA there are 30 four-year colleges and universities which offer on-campus housing (United States Department of Education, n.d.). Combined, these institutions enroll almost 200,000 students, or 4% of the WMA total population. In addition to understanding the broad context of WMA, it is also pertinent to understand the state of LGBT rights, discussed next.

State LGBT Rights

The state where WMA is located has a long history of passing legislation in support of LGBTQ individuals. Trans* individuals are able to amend their birth certificates without requiring surgery or a court order (National Center for Transgender Equality, n.d.). The state began recognizing same-sex domestic partnerships in the early 1990's, and legalized same-sex marriage in the mid-2000's (Forman, 2004). In the mid-1990's the state added sexual orientation to its Hate Crimes bill, and in 2011, the state passed a bill prohibiting the discrimination against trans* individuals in housing or employment (McBride, 2017). In 2016, this law was expanded to prohibit discrimination based on gender identity in all public accommodations, including bathrooms,

restaurants, and malls. However, a ballot question was added to the November, 2018 elections ballot which, if it secures the majority of votes, could repeal the 2016 law. Nationally, this could become the first statewide voter-initiated repeal of trans* protections. Having presented context for the locations of each case site, I will continue with the findings for LU.

Lindsay University

As discussed in Chapter III, I developed case descriptions for each of the three institutions which comprise my study. Each case description is based on the data collected at each respective institution. This case will introduce the participants of my study and elaborate on the creation and implementation of GIH. Following the case description, I present the findings from this case. I will begin with the case description for Lindsay University.

Case Description for Lindsay University

The following sections comprise the case description of Lindsay University. This description is organized into three parts: institutional overview and context; case participants and institution; and GIH and other responses to normative disruption. Within these sections, I utilized data from documents, field notes, and interviews to construct a rich narrative.

Institutional Overview and Context

LU's campus is the largest of the three institutions I visited. Lindsay University (LU) is located in the same city as Sachar University, about 15 miles outside of a major city in New England where NAC is located. When I arrived I noticed first that the campus itself is largely contained within the boundaries of a circular road. The athletic complex as well as a few residence halls are located across a major street from LU's main campus, but are accessible via a pedestrian bridge. When I arrived on campus, I first noted how large the physical campus felt. The campus was clearly branded with the LU logo and name on the lawns of the quadrangles, on signs in front of each building, as well as across the t shirts and sweatshirts of students walking across campus. The business focus was also evident, with stock market tickers and televisions featuring the news and stock market reports appearing in classrooms, the library, and student union. The vast majority of the buildings had the same light-colored brick façade, which created a visual uniformity to the campus community that would later appear to be mirrored in the homogeneity of the student body.

Mission and Institutional Characteristics

LU is categorized as a private, professions focused, medium sized master's level institution. There were approximately 4,200 undergraduate students enrolled at LU during the 2017-2018 academic year, and over three-quarters of students lived on campus. Lindsay University's website describes itself as a business school with a liberal

arts core curriculum and prides itself on blending business, technology, and liberal arts into a cohesive curriculum that prepares graduates to be leaders and thinkers in the business world. LU's website details the many rankings and recognitions that the University has received, including a top five ranking in LU's region in the 2018 U.S. News & World Report.

Founded in the early 20th century as an accounting college, over the course of several decades LU has expanded its enrollment and campus to become the university it is today. Today, LU's mission is "To educate creative, ethical, and socially responsible organizational leaders by creating and disseminating impactful knowledge within and across business and the arts and sciences" (LU Mission, n.d.). Jared, an Assistant Director in Residence Life, explains how LU's values are influenced by current business trends, "[O]ur president, one of her talking points that she uses at a lot of things is that, diversity and inclusion is not just a moral imperative but it's bottom line business imperative." Jared continued, "[W]e're a great business institution but we're really lacking if we're not preparing you for what the business world is. And it's not a White male staff in a high-rise anymore." The next section will discuss the demographics of the undergraduate student body.

Undergraduate Demographics

NCES data reports that in the fall of 2016, LU had just over 4,200 undergraduate students. Of those students, over 61% identified as White, 8% as Asian, 7.5% as Hispanic, and 3% as Black. International students comprise over 13% of the

undergraduate student body. Avery, a student in the LGBTQ club, discussed the racial breakdown of campus by saying, “I would describe it as largely White, conservative, Republican. I would also say as a whole, the campus, rather unsympathetic to any social issues.”

Gender data is reported along the gender binary, with 59% of students identifying as male and 41% as female. This gender breakdown is referred to by students as “The Ratio.” The majority male student population influences the campus culture and perceptions of the student body, which are discussed in the next section.

Campus Culture and Student Body

The following section discusses the student body at LU in detail, including the conservative campus culture, the impact of conservatism on the queer culture, incidents of bias, and administrative responses. I will begin by providing an overview of the student body at LU, including the way that students and staff characterized the students at LU. Subsequently, I will discuss how this characterization impacts the queer community and led to an inciting incident on campus. This section will conclude with the ways that staff demonstrated support in the wake of this incident.

Student body at LU. Several administrators and students used terms such as “conservative,” “competitive,” “achievers,” and “male” to describe the student population at LU. Austin, the Assistant Director of Gender Equity, discussed how The Ratio influences campus climate,

We do have a rather hypermasculine culture I would say on our campus, that undergirds things like competitiveness, not necessarily showing much vulnerability, a lot of transactional kind of ways of working with others as opposed to really trying to be more open and thinking about how to be vulnerable. Of the three schools that I visited, LU is the only one with a football team and with campus-sanctioned Greek life.[1] Several scholars have found college athletic teams and fraternities as organizations that reinforce gendered power structures and behaviors (Worthen, 2014). Additionally, other scholars have found relationships between athletics (Roper & Halloran, 2007), fraternity participation (Hesp & Brooks, 2009) and anti-LGBT beliefs or sentiments. LU's Website states that 2,300 students participate in intramural sports each year, the equivalent of nearly 55% of undergraduate students.

Joseph, the Associate Dean of Student Affairs, elaborated on Austin's perception of the student body, He described students as reliant on binary thinking:

> I think they tend to view things in a black and white kind of way. Things are either good or bad. They're on the way to becoming… perhaps a little bit more understanding of the nuances of answers and philosophies. I would say, our students are...probably more binary in the sense of how they view the world than most, in my estimation.

[1] Greek life exists off-campus at SU, but none of the chapters are officially recognized or overseen by the university as SU does not recognize or fund any exclusive organization. The Board of Trustees passed the following resolution in 1988:

> The Board of Trustees reaffirms University policy of recognizing only those student organizations which are open to all students on the basis of competency or interests. Exclusive or secret societies are inconsistent with the principles of openness to which the University is committed. Therefore, social fraternities and sororities, in particular, are neither recognized nor permitted to hold activities on campus or use University facilities (SU Student Handbook, 2017).

In addition to a hyper masculine campus culture, the student body was also characterized as White, upperclass, and conservative.

Conservatism of the student body. Conservatism was a predominant theme, and nearly all participants discussed the campus culture as conservative. Vivian, a senior in the LGBTQ club on campus, summarized the demographics of the student body by saying,

> Probably, a gross generalization would be White predominantly, more male heavy, upper middle class, good mix of international students. I think mostly conservative in their mindsets, at least from a business standpoint, but socially, I think most people just don't really care about ... They're kind of like “you do your own thing,” I'd say.

Austin stated, “[W]e're a business campus, which I think almost inherently attracted more conservative population students.” Sierra, a senior living in GIH added, “I think it's a super conservative campus which is very strange for [the state].”

Oakley, another senior living in GIH, described how the conservative campus culture has impacted her,

> Even sometimes, in certain classes, if someone will bring up an idea or a viewpoint, I guess, that's more liberal, it ... gets shut down, or you'll be in a class where ... if your opinion is kind of different, it's almost like ... "Okay, I'm not going to say anything. I'm just going to sit here and let whatever happen because I don't want to get into an argument." It's happened before in class, just going back and forth arguing over, I guess, political viewpoints and stuff like that. It's the little tiny things that stick out like that to me.

Mateo, a senior living in GIH, echoed Oakley’s experience in his major, “Because I'm a finance major, I find most of the professors are conservatives, and I've had certain conversations in class with them about how some policies are better than others, and they lean towards more, I guess, Trump and stuff.” Here, Mateo discusses how in his

courses he has recognized an undergirding level of conservatism from some of his faculty members.

Queer campus culture at LU. The conservatism of campus impacted the queer campus culture at LU. Kelly, an Associate Director for Residence Life, described an incident she recalled from her first years working at LU:

> When I first got here... I remember really connecting with two women. They were women of color students on campus. They just had such terrible experiences, where they were holding hands walking on campus and people threw beer bottles at them out their window. I think that that would kind of be known within the community, so it made people want to protect themselves… I still don't know that you see public displays of affections from people on campus within LGBTQ communities the way you do see a heterosexual couple.

Students in the LGBTQ club echoed similar experiences on campus. Riley, a sophomore, said,

> I would say there's definitely a lot of, I wouldn't say outright homophobia, I think we've created a culture where it's not cool to be homophobic, outright…[o]n campus, blatantly, and that's not just [the LGBTQ club], that's the whole [Lindsay] community. It's not cool to do that. But definitely queer slurs are used a lot on campus.

This type of homophobia was brought up later by Riley who recounted an incident from her first year living on campus:

> I was living with two girls, so we lived in a triple… And I was talking to a different group of friends from] a different dorm. And I was telling them about how I was bisexual, and how I didn't disclose that on my thing when matching for a roommate… So I said that and then I shut the door, and as soon as I shut the door, I heard a boy say, and I knew I was the first LGBTQ person he said he's ever met, which isn't true, but anyway. He said, "I can't believe she didn't tell her roommates that before she moved in, that's disgusting." So that was just my first week experience of living at [LU] and I was so excited to live with people. And then to hear ... and my roommates had not expressed that sentiment, and I didn't feel at any point throughout the year that they did, but it's just like knowing someone else is seeing you that way, it's just ... upsetting.

Joseph, the Associate Dean of Student Affairs, summarized the effect that such incidents have on the queer community at LU as “a chilling impact.”

Tomás, an Associate Director for Residence Life, discussed the impact that such homophobia has on students coming out at LU:

> There are the students who are out and very proud and don't let anything take them down. They're a part of the [LGBTQ club]. Then I think we have another large population of students who are not out, who are ...quiet. I would say really hiding some of their identities here on campus, but maybe are out some places also. I do think that there's sort of those two spectrums, and then maybe a little in the middle.

Others echoed Tomás’ understanding, that there are a group of out students on campus, many of whom participate in the LGBTQ club, and then there are many students who are not out at LU. Riley added,

> The [LGBTQ club] is just the queer community who's out. I would say [LU] has a very, very large male queer community that does not come to [The LGBTQ club]. You only come to [The LGBTQ club] if you're, not to stereotype, a flamboyant out man.

She continued, “[W]e have a lot of trouble… attracting kids who aren't out. Because as soon as you step into that room, it's an open room with glass doors… [and] if you're in that room, you're just labeled as gay.” Here, Riley discusses how the campus community might be one that dissuades students from openly identifying as LGBTQ.

Inciting incident on campus. One particular event which occurred in the fall of 2017 seemed to encompass the dissonance between the homophobic campus culture and administrative values. The LGBTQ club hosted an event called Drag Bingo, which was hosted by a well-known drag queen. Oakley, a senior living in GIH who is in the LGBTQ club, described what happened:

> We [the LGBTQ club] were putting on this event, Drag Bingo, and a bunch of our posters got ripped down. We probably had 100 up in one building, and every single one of them was ripped down.

Residence Life staff began investigating who removed the fliers. The biased incident also elicited a response from upper administration. Austin, the Assistant Director for Gender Equity, said,

> [O]ne of the Associate Deans [sent an email saying], we've had this happen, we just want to remind folks this is not in alignment with our core beliefs at this institution, and is not in alignment with our code of conduct and Title IX policies.

Kira, a Hall Director, explained, “Our president actually sent out an email saying this is unacceptable please show up and show your support and the president even showed up to that event and was right there.” As a result of administrative action and the President’s support, the event had an overwhelming turnout. Austin recalled,

> I think that kind of galvanized some people to be like, I'm gonna go to this event and make sure that I can show my support given what's been happening… [T]here were somewhere between 400 and 500 students in our multi-function room and the ground level of this building, which was beyond the capacity.

Tomás added, “I think it was probably one of the most diverse programs, in terms of racial backgrounds, athletes, non-athletes...seniors, first years.” Joseph, the Associate Dean of Student Affairs, summarized the impact that Drag Bingo had on the campus by saying, “it became a statement.” As a result of the vandalism of the Drag Bingo fliers, the actual event was very well attended by a diverse group of students as well as staff.

Administrative support. Students discussed administrative support similar to that of the Drag Bingo event as a key part in shifting the campus culture for queer students. Jaime, a senior living in GIH, characterized this support, “I would say that they

[LU administration] do things to support the trans community and the LGBT community but they're very quiet about it. They don't really advertise it to the whole campus saying that they do." Administrators agreed that change was slowly occurring on campus. Tomás said, "we're sort of evolving. At the past couple of years to even just this year, I feel like, in general, has been a big push across campus to try to make this a more inclusive place." Tomás added that part of this campus shift is due to an increase in administrators and faculty who identify as LGB,

> I think over the, at least when I started in 2007 to now, there have been a number of also out faculty and staff who have become much more visible than when I first started here. I probably could count on my hand, one hand, the people that were out and out there. Now we do programs where faculty and staff are very visible and very, I would say, vocal about who they are in their identities. I think students are trying to find ... I think at one point white gay men were the only people that were sort of out and vocal, and now we've got women and individuals of color. I think students are starting to find their mentors and things like that. I think that has also been helpful about maybe bringing more students out that had previously been.

LU's LGBTQ website includes a summary of an LGBTQ organization for staff and faculty, which exists as

> A network of LGBTQ identifying faculty and staff across campus who come together for organized set of lunches and networking opportunities. This group is designed to provide a safe and supportive atmosphere for faculty and staff who identify somewhere on the LGBTQ spectrum (LU LGBTQ Website, n.d.).

Riley discussed her observations of the administration, "And usually they're [administrators] very queer-inclusive. I feel like, not to judge, but a lot of administration is queer themselves, so all of that programming is automatically queer-inclusive." Isaac, a Hall Director, concurred, "Yeah I think our staff specifically works really hard to make LGBTQ individuals feel welcome, which is partially because there are so many of us who

identify as LGBTQ." Jared, an Assistant Director, added, "Yeah I would say there's some pretty heavy staff representations particular to that social identity piece - at least lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans representation is certainly low."

Kira, a Hall Director, discussed the lack of trans* representation within the staff at Lindsay University:

> I got together a couple different offices on campus to put together the first Trans Awareness Week during Trans Remembrance Day last semester. And I just kept thinking to myself, to my knowledge at least, there's no trans representation of anyone presenting during this. And I'm like it's kind of hard to talk to that about someone else, that's not my identity and have that be accurate. And you want to invite people like that ... you come to the table so you can talk so we can talk about it appropriately but, to my knowledge, no one who came identified that way. That was great but I was still like there's still no visualization of that here and there's no one here who's motivating it that for themselves it should be almost a team effort not just that.

Vivian, a senior in the LGBTQ club, reflected on the Trans Awareness Week programming and said,

> They're [the administration are] such a great resource, just to know that they're always going to be there for you and you can tell that they're not just doing it because it's a part of their job… you can just tell through your interactions with them that they value so much treating everyone the same and helping you through hard situations no matter what.

Having introduced many participants in this overview of the campus culture, the following section will introduce the participants and context of LU in greater detail.

Case Participants and Institution

The next section of this case description introduces the participants of my study at Lindsay University. Following, I review the organizational structure of student affairs

at LU, followed by a description of Residence Life. These sections provide an overview of the organization of subunits within LU that were involved in the creation and implementation of GIH, which is discussed afterward.

Participants

At LU I interviewed 19 participants in total, eight of whom were staff members and 11 were students. My main point of contact in scheduling interviews was Kelly, the Associate Director of Residence Life. She coordinated my interviews, and as I will discuss later, was able to gain the participation of entire suites of students living in GIH. This in part explains the number of participants from LU. The following table summarizes their positions, their pronouns, and for staff, whether they worked at or attended another institution with GIH.

Table 12

Summary of Lindsay University Participants

Name	Position	Pronouns In Use	Race/ Ethnicity	Attended/ Worked at Other Institutions with GIH
Administrators				
Joseph	Associate Dean of Student Affairs/ Director of Residence Life	he/him/his	White	No data
Austin	Assistant Director Gender Equity	he/him/his	White	Yes
Tomás	Associate Director of Residence Life	he/him/his	Latinx	No data
Kelly	Associate Director of Residence Life	she/her/hers	White	Yes

Name	Position	Pronouns In Use	Race/ Ethnicity	Attended/ Worked at Other Institutions with GIH
Arturo	Assistant Director of Housing Operations	he/him/his	Black	No data
Jared	Assistant Director of Community Development	he/him/his	White	Yes
Kira	Hall Director	she/her/hers	White	No data
Isaac	Hall Director	he/him/his	White	Yes
Students				
Jaime	Senior, living in GIH	he/him/his	Latinx	n/a
Kayla	Senior, living in GIH	she/her/hers	White	n/a
Sierra	Senior, living in GIH	she/her/hers	White	n/a
Kyle	Senior, living in GIH	he/him/his	White	n/a
Kieran	Junior, living in GIH	he/him/his	Black	n/a
Carlos	Senior, living in GIH	he/him/his	Latinx	n/a
Mateo	Senior, living in GIH	he/him/his	Latinx	n/a
Oakley	Senior, living in GIH, also in the LGBTQ club	she/her/hers	White	n/a
Vivian	Senior, LGBTQ Club	she/her/hers	Asian	n/a
Avery	Sophomore, LGBTQ Club	she/her/hers	White	n/a
Riley	Sophomore, LGBTQ Club	she/her/hers	White	n/a

All of the staff members except for Austin and Joseph worked in Residence Life. Both Joseph's and Austin's offices are in the same suite as Residence Life. Of the students interviewed, Jaime, Kayla, Sierra, and Kyle all live together in an on-campus apartment. Vivian, Avery, and Riley are all members of the LGBTQ club but do not reside

in GIH. Oakley is the only student who is both in the LGBTQ club and lives in GIH. The next section will discuss the organizational structure of student affairs at LU.

Organizational Structure of LU

At LU, all student affairs offices report up to the Vice President for Student Affairs, who reports directly to the President. Student Life is supervised by the Associate Dean of Student Life, and is comprised of the Office of International Students, Student Conduct, the Multicultural Center, the Equity Center, the Spirituality Center, and Student Activities. Each of these offices are headed by a director, with the exception of the Multicultural Center which is led by the Associate Dean of the Multicultural Center. Residence Life reports directly to the Vice President for Student Affairs. The figure below visually depicts the organizational structure of student affairs at LU.

The offices in student affairs are tightly coupled, with many of them sharing large open suites in the campus center. This office arrangement has promoted close relationships between colleagues across various functional areas. The Equity Center, Spirituality Center, Multicultural Center, and International Students Office all share one area of the campus center. Residence Life, Title IX, and Student Conduct, all occupy another large suite. Student Activities is also located on the same floor as the other Student Life offices.

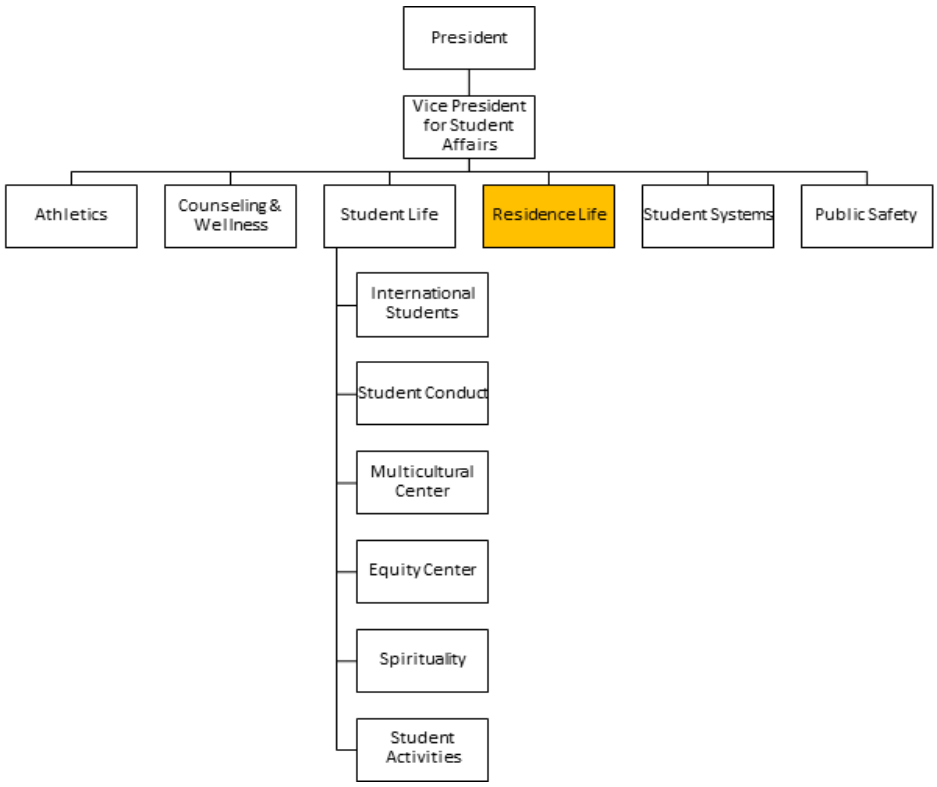

Figure 5
Organizational Chart of LU Student Affairs

Residence Life

The Office of Residence Life is located in the campus center in a large open suite that they share with the Title IX Coordinator and Student Conduct. The suite opens into the adjacent suites occupied by the Equity Center, Spirituality Center, Multicultural Center, and the International Students Office. Residence Life staff, except for Hall Directors, sit at clusters of desks throughout the open space. The Residence Life's website lists its mission as,

> [Residence Life] provides safe, inclusive, and socially just living and learning experiences through on-campus student housing. Guided by the [Lindsay] Beliefs, we strive to build communities that develop compassionate, creative,

ethical, and socially responsible leaders throughout the business world and beyond (Living at LU, n.d.).

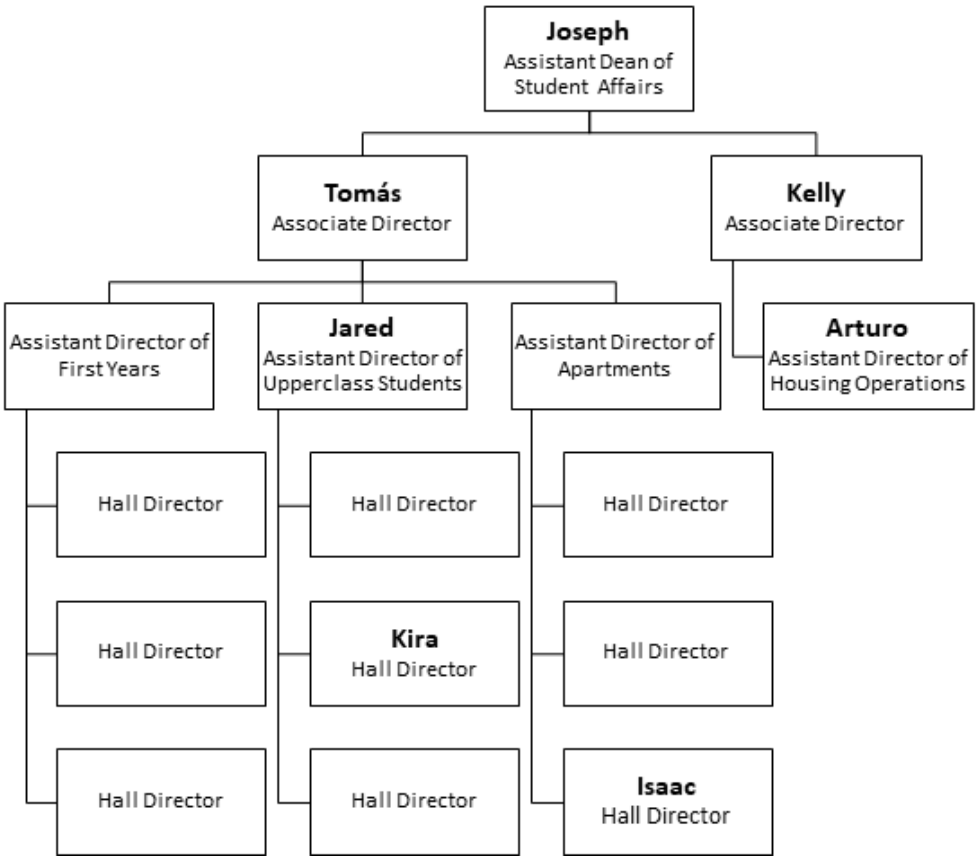

Figure 6
Organizational Chart of LU Residence Life

The office is overseen by Joseph, the Assistant Dean of Student Affairs/Director of Residence Life. There are two Associate Directors. Kelly oversees housing operations and supervises Arturo, the Assistant Director of Housing Operations. Tomás oversees community development, and supervises the three Assistant Directors, who each oversee a residential area. Jared, the Assistant Director of Upperclass Students, supervises Kira, a Hall Director. The other Hall Director, Isaac, reports to the AD of

Apartments. Having introduced the department and the organizational structure of student affairs, I will now discuss the history of GIH implementation.

Gender-Inclusive Housing and Other Responses to Normative Disruption

The final section of this case description begins with the history of Gender-Inclusive Housing at LU, which spans from 2009 to 2016. I then review the GIH policy, current as of 2017. Finally, this case concludes with a discussion of the other policies and practices LU has established as responses to normative disruption of the gender binary. These include the creation of a name change policy, healthcare coverage, counseling services, and gender-inclusive bathrooms and locker rooms.

History of GIH at LU

In 2009, the LU Student Newspaper published an article about staff in Residence Life beginning conversations about implementing Gender-Inclusive Housing on campus (LU Student Newspaper, 2009a). This article summarized existing concerns at LU about implementing GIH, including lack of understanding of demand, worries of parental concerns, and the need to address students in relationships using GIH to live together. A senior honors student who identified as gay decided to conduct research for his capstone project on the campus culture related to implementing GIH. Data from this

survey was ultimately utilized by Residence Life in order to help justify creating the Gender Inclusive Housing policy.

Two weeks after this first article was published, two students authored an opinion piece rebuking the implementation of GIH at LU. This opinion piece included several reasons why GIH was not a good fit for LU, including a housing crunch, and forced segregation for LGBT students. The article explained how these two issues would converge problematically,

The status of housing at [LU] is disastrous. Introducing special gender neutral housing on campus would not only unfairly rob the general student body of housing options, but also do a great disservice to [LGBT] students on campus.

The authors continued their argument against GIH by adding,

> Segregating [LGBT] students to special housing in certain areas of campus would make those students less safe, make it harder for them to integrate into the [LU] community, will be unfair to the general student body, and would not reflect the conditions of the real world, where people live and work with a great number of diverse individuals.
> As a business school, [LU] must reflect that reality. Giving students a choice to separate themselves from the rest of campus would make it much more difficult for those students to adjust upon graduation… In order to promote acceptance, respect and understanding, students must not live in specialty housing (LU Student Newspaper, 2009b).

In 2009, there were other specialty living communities at LU, including global living and service learning communities.

Following this article's publication in April, 2009, the LU Student Newspaper did not revisit the topic of GIH until an article in March, 2011 (LU Student Newspaper, 2011). This article summarized continued conversations that were occurring on campus between the Residence Hall Association and Residence Life staff members in regards to

GIH. The article stressed the importance of student feedback, particularly from a campus-wide survey that was sent to students a few weeks prior. The article then discussed that if feedback from the survey was positive, a committee would be formed to further examine implementation of GIH. The committee would take into consideration parental and external constituent concerns, and then begin drafting a policy. Once the policy was drafted, which would include information on enrollment and eligibility for GIH, location of GIH, and vacancy contingencies, the Dean of Students would review it, and if approved, begin a pilot program.

Interviews with Residence Life staff revealed that this policy draft was approved. The first iteration of Gender-Inclusive Housing was implemented at LU for the 2012-2013 academic year. It was called Mixed Gender Housing and was offered as part of the now eliminated Specialty Housing. Kelly, the Associate Director, explains,

> It was… on [Campus Edge]. [Campus Edge] is an apartment building. There's four apartment buildings, but they're not on main campus. They're about half a mile up the road. We thought, "Okay, it's an apartment style complex. It could be two students or four students max."... We kind of just put it out there and said that it's a housing option in which two or more students of any gender or sex could live together. We were kind of forced, I think, or decided to, I'm not sure which it was at the time, that if it was four people within bedrooms, it was two bedrooms for four person, they had to be single sex still. While the apartment itself was mixed, the bedrooms were still single sex.

Joseph added, “About that I will say, though, that at the time, and correct me if I'm wrong, I think I remember having the conversation that we weren't going to check.” Kelly then explained how students would opt to live in Mixed Gender Housing,

Students would opt in before housing selection started. They would sign a contract which states certain aspects in terms of policies and then what happened when students moved out, could other students move in. We had to think about that.

Kelly estimated that of the on-campus students, “I think it was like 12 students or less opted in, but to be honest it was mostly heterosexual couples.” Kelly also discussed the pros and cons of the Mixed Gender Housing location,

It went well. I think having it on [Campus Edge] was helpful, because it was one of those things where it wasn't so visible to, I think, the entire faculty, staff, campus body. At the same time, because it was so far, students didn't necessarily want to live there. It was this double edged sword for us.

Then, in 2014, there was declining interest in students wanting to live in Mixed Gender Housing. Kelly explained, “I think that lasted for three years, three or four years. Then we just saw a real decline. Because the students were not wanting to opt in anymore.”

During the time when Mixed Gender Housing was a Specialty Housing option, corridor style residence halls at LU were still single-sex by hall. In 2014, Residence Life began to reconsider this, due in part to a male-to-female trans* RA who was placed on a first year corridor style hall which resulted in a hostile environment for the RA. Kelly recounted,

At that point, [the RA] was placed in a first year building, so it was a single. The halls were single sex by floor. I remember some pretty sad and bad things happening to [the RA], in terms of when the residents submitted their evaluation of their RA in terms

of community feedback, some of the comments were just not very positive. There was one student, I remember, who I had to meet with because [the RA] was still using at that point the men's bathroom, but was shaving in the bathroom. I think that, for us, was one of those moments where we were like, "Okay, we've got to make this a better experience for [the RA], but for all students." That's when we started the shift into co-ed floors.

Following the shift in corridor style halls to mixed gender, but still single gender by room, Residence Life also changed how they accommodated students who reached out to their office. Kelly explained this process,

We would work with specific students who identified somewhere within the LGBTQ spectrum. They would meet with me, and we would help them through housing selections… [I]f you needed a, we were calling… an accommodation for a specific housing assignment ... Because our housing software, too, at that point was so binary that you couldn't actually have mixed students within a room because the computer system wouldn't allow you to do. It was saying it was a failure. We kind of had to override pieces.

This new accommodation process, which effectively allowed students to live in Gender-Inclusive Housing on an individualized basis, was in effect through the 2014-2015 academic year. Then in the fall of 2015, Residence Life opened it to the whole campus. Kelly said, “We actually just put it up on our website and said, ‘You know what? Let's just do it all over campus. Any student can opt in.’” Since GIH was implemented

across campus, enrollment in it has slowly increased, from two students, to 11 in 2016-2017, and then up to over 25 in the 2017-2018 academic year.

Prior to making this shift, Residence Life had to receive approval to implement GIH campus wide. Joseph, the Associate Dean of Student Affairs, explained what some of the initial concerns were,

> We're a revenue generating department. Any shift in how we go about offering our accommodations may have an impact on that revenue. For an institution that requires the revenue, it's always a little scary. There were conversations in regards to what are parents going to think, how will parents respond to this. That was certainly part of the negotiation. Even now, we have seen… that there are some students that are uncomfortable with the premise of living in close quarters with the opposite gender and the other gender… It's just honestly on the same floor, and that's caused some folks to opt out, some students to opt out. Mostly international students, which is kind of interesting… In the end, the phone calls that would come into the university in regards to changing the nature of the binary housing system, it may start here [in Residence Life], but they inevitably end up at the Vice President's level and the President's level. Yeah, we had to talk it through and get the approval, whether it was fearful approval or grudging approval or kind of good luck approval. We felt pretty good about it. That didn't mean that we didn't have trepidation about what some of the ramifications would be. Thankfully, we haven't seen too much of a negative impact.

The policy, which allows students to self-select into rooms regardless of gender, was ultimately approved and implemented.

As the policy currently stands, students can opt into rooms through the new housing system, without special overrides. They also still meet with Kelly to discuss living in GIH. Kelly explained,

The students still meet with me to talk about, I think it's an education in the sense of, "What is gender-inclusive housing? Let's talk about why it's important to have on campus," but also, "Why are you and your friends or whomever opting in?" Now with

our new housing software, students can actually go into the system because the software lets students self-identify their gender. We can also keep apartments or suites or rooms, first year halls mixed, which is great. That's kind of where we're at now.

Despite a detailed process regarding enrollment in GIH, there is scant information in Residence Life's website. The only information available is located under Additional Housing Options, in which GIH is defined as,

> [LU] is committed to creating an affirming community for our transgender, genderqueer, and gender non-conforming students. [Residence Life] will work with students to find a housing situation that is affirming and will support each student's academic growth. If you would like to speak with someone contact [Kelly, the Associate Director of Residence Life] (LU Residence Life Website, n.d.).

The policy therefore indicates that students must contact Residence Life in order to learn more about enrolling in GIH.

Parents. Substantial effort was put into understanding and mitigating parental concerns during the implementation of GIH. Of the students living in GIH, none of them recalled their parents taking issue with their chosen housing arrangement. Some, like Carlos and Mateo, told their parents after they had already made the decision. Carlos stated, "I just did it and my parents were like, Alright, you're an adult you can figure it out yourself. If it doesn't work out, it's your fault." Mateo waited until move-in day to reveal his decision to his parents,

> I told my parents after. While we were moving in, they saw the names on the door, and then the two girls were already there. They were like, " Oh, who are these?" And I'm like, "Oh, they're my roommates." And they were like, "Okay, that's fine."

Other students told their parents in advance. Kayla remembered being worried about her mother's reaction though in the end her mother was fine with her choice,

> I figured my mother would have an attitude about it. She knew all of these guys. She had heard these names for years so that was helpful and she was like "Okay." Surprisingly she was like "If that's what you want to do."

Oakley's parents reacted similarly,

> I told my parents ahead of time. It came up early, like February last year or something. They were like, "Oh, who are you living with?" I was like, "Oh, I'm living with my friends [female student] and [male student]," and my parents said, "That's cool."

Overall, none of the students I interviewed had any issue with opting into GIH.

Staff members in Residence Life had heard concerns from parents. Arturo, who oversees housing assignments recalled an interaction he had with a student's father after the student selected into GIH. A group of four students, two men and two women, selected into a two-bedroom apartment at housing selection. Arturo explained what happened afterwards,

> And we had a quick conversation filling them in [about GIH], had them all email us that they were good to go… The students got an email from us [over the summer] and they told their parents about where they were living, all this stuff and one of the dads freaked out and called our office a few times and was like, "I don't want her living with a man. Why would you put my daughter with another man?" And I had completely forgotten we had done that and so I was like, "sir I don't know what you're talking about. They're living together that 'cause they selected this." He's like, "no they didn't select this. They would never do such a thing." And the great thing about having students' emails is that they've given us their consent that this is what they want to do and it's their decision, so when I reminded the father of this and then I had his daughter remind the father of this, things were fine and were good to go.

In this instance, having written confirmation from the students was essential in demonstrating to the student's father that she had opted into GIH of her own volition.

Student perception of GIH. All of the students living in GIH that I interviewed identify as cisgender. Several students discussed the convenience of living in GIH and

the ability it provided them to live with their friends, regardless of gender. Kieran explained his experience,

> I lived in gender-inclusive housing for two years now. Last year I lived with two girls and one guy and then this year I live with my best friend. It was never like, "Let's go live in gender-inclusive housing." It was just more of "You guys are my best friends and I'd rather live with you guys than anyone else."

Jaime confirmed, saying, "For us, I think it was more about living with our friends."

Oakley also added that it provides a convenience,

> [I]t's just been really good to be able to live with all my friends and not have to be like, "Okay, I have to go to this person's room or this person's room to live with all my friends." Everyone is all in one spot, which has been really nice.

Mateo felt that it also gave students another option if their original housing choices were not available at housing selection,

> I'd say it's to make the housing easier, just because sometimes some people get stuck in certain situations where they don't want to be in a single or a double, and then they can have some friends who are girls, and that they can just room with them instead, and it's not a problem.

While the students all spoke positively of their experiences living in GIH, several mentioned that it is not a widely known policy at LU. Kayla explained,

> If I hadn't had a friend that was an RA, I wouldn't have known that there was gender-inclusive housing on campus. Now I know there are a couple of rooms and I have friends that live in gender-inclusive housing other than us but if I hadn't had that one friend who was like "You know you can do that" I wouldn't have been aware of it and I don't know if others would but I know I at least wouldn't.

Oakley agreed with this, discussing that she would not have known about the policy if she did not know a student who was an RA,

> I don't even think I knew it was a thing until we were talking about it, being like, "Oh, we all want to live together," and then being like, "Oh, we'll just have [male student RA] go talk to whoever in Res Life and make it happen." Before

> last year, I don't think I knew it was a thing at all. I kind of wish I did because I feel like more people should know about it.

In addition to lack of marketing for GIH, some students also felt that it was unnecessary to have a meeting prior to moving into GIH. Carlos explained,

> The only thing I would say is the process should be a lot easier. Instead of having a meeting it feels like we're getting babied through it. We know. I knew going into it with my friends- I knew what the risks are. There could be miscommunications or anything like that and I feel like when we had to go into that meeting, it felt like we were being like- "Are you sure? Are you sure you want to do this?" I know that there's cases where relationships, they break up and they don't want to be in the same housing but at the same time you're taking the risk as a person. Also, for gender-inclusive housing I agree with everything that they say it should be easier. They shouldn't have to go into a room to let people know, "Hey, I want to live here because of this and that." It should just be online just like regular registration and a lot easier for them to do it.

Another student disagreed with Carlos, because Kelly, the Associate Director, encouraged them to think about vacancies. Kayla said,

> I'm still glad that we had the meeting with Kelly because in her explaining it- she considered something that I hadn't really considered. She goes "If one of you drops out for any reason, I can't for sure confirm who's the gender of the person that will replace that person."

Overall, students felt positively about living in GIH. Still, they identified some areas for potential improvement, as it appears to be a poorly advertised housing option and some students would prefer a more seamless process to opt in. In addition to GIH, LU also had other policies and practices in place for supporting trans* students. These will be discussed in the following section.

Other Policies and Practices

LU staff developed several policies and practices aimed at better supporting trans* students. These included installing gender-inclusive bathrooms, hiring counselors trained in LGBTQ issues, implementing a name change policy, and including trans* healthcare coverage in the student health insurance plan. I will begin first by discussing the efforts taken to create gender-inclusive bathrooms and locker rooms at LU.

Gender-inclusive bathrooms and locker rooms. At LU, staff have just completed a campus-wide project of converting all single-stall bathrooms to "all gender bathrooms." Tomás explained,

> We've changed all single stall bathrooms. They used to actually, some of them said single stall restroom. Some of them are labeled, "This is the men's single stall restroom. This is the women's." We just changed every single bathroom to All Gender. Again, we knew that if it was single stall then, yes, anybody could go in and use that, but we felt like terminology was really important to make sure it was visible. We moved forward with that. Now we're looking at phase two, which would be there are a few buildings on campus that do not have single stall bathrooms in them. They just were built with multi stall bathrooms. We're looking at what that might look like to convert a multi stall bathroom. We're coming up against some town laws and state laws[2] around bathrooms. I'm

[2] The town and state laws that Tomás references are the same discussed in SU's case: Section 10.10(18)(g)5, Dormitory Toilet Facilities, states the following, "Toilet facilities, shower rooms and bathing rooms for males and females shall be separate and so designated." Additionally, Section 10.10(18)(r)2, Use of Gender-neutral Toilet Rooms, states that gender-neutral toilets may only be installed as replacements to an equal number of men and women designated toilets, and must be single use:

> Gender designated fixtures may be replaced by single use Gender-neutral toilet rooms in increments of two such that for every male designated fixture replaced by a Gender-neutral toilet room, a female designated fixture must also be replaced by a Gender-neutral toilet room, and vice-versa (State Plumbing Code, n.d.).

Combined, these two codes prohibit multi-stall bathrooms that are not designated as either male or female.

> learning more about that than I ever wanted to know. I think it's just another interesting way to look at that. Those have been the bigger initiatives that we've looked at.

A list of all gender-inclusive bathrooms in academic and residence halls can be found on LU's LGBTQ Resources website. The list includes 25 bathrooms across 11 academic buildings, and 14 bathrooms in 6 residence halls.

Despite the conversion of all campus single-stall bathrooms, the state plumbing code impacted Residence Life's ability to offer gender-inclusive bathrooms in the first year halls, where all bathrooms were multi-stall. Arturo discussed this,

> [W]e still have a male bathroom and a female bathroom [on first year halls], and I don't know if we've had a first year student who identified differently… than their assigned sex. Living in the first year area I think they sort of ... moved out of the area... Because we say male bathroom and female bathroom that's the answer. I don't know if it gives any leeway for students to choose "other" and that's the harder piece of it or has been the hard piece.

In upperclass halls, Isaac discussed that "luckily outside of the first year area we do have gender-inclusive bathrooms."

Access to locker rooms also presented a separate challenge, due to the current method for issuing entry based on a student's gender in the campus student information system. Kelly explained,

> I also know our Campus Card Access Office… has talked a lot about what about updating pictures and how does that work and do you pay for the ID, do you not. Access is also connected to locker rooms automatically within our athletic facility. It goes based on gender, so there's been conversations around how can we [sort this out].

At the time of my interviews, the staff had not arrived at a solution.

Counseling services. LU's counseling center has worked to train all counselors on trans*-specific issues that students might be seeking assistance with from the

counseling center. Tomás discussed that counselors have also become acquainted with resources outside of LU that they can refer students to. Austin added that when he had a student transition the counseling center had been integral to her transition,

> [O]ne of my [students] actually was trans*, and who transitioned fully at [LU] had a counselor who she saw in the counseling center, who I think was pretty instrumental in helping her just navigate the process, and who was very attuned to issues for LGB and trans* students.

Austin also added that he believed that counselor had since left LU. Additional support for students is also available through the LU student health plan.

Healthcare coverage. The LU student health insurance includes a rider called, Gender Reassignment Benefits, which details the plan's coverage related to "treatment of gender identity disorders" (LU Gender Reassignment Benefits, n.d.). This document also indicates that in addition to the covered surgeries detailed in the full health insurance policy, "hormone therapy for gender reassignment and gender reassignment surgery" [3] are also covered (LU Gender Reassignment Benefits, n.d.). Jared, a hall director, added, "if you have the university health insurance it actually covers really everything in terms of inclusion around trans identities in the transition process." Lastly, in addition to some of the benefits from the healthcare plan, students are also able to indicate a preferred name in the student portal.

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[3] It is important to note that while some within the medical field still refer to such surgery as "gender reassignment surgery," a more appropriate term is gender affirming surgery. Surgery neither assigns nor confirms gender identity, but instead affirms an individual's gender identity (TSER, n.d.). Gender affirming surgery aligns with the understanding that gender is not biologically reductive.

Name change policy. Austin discussed his understanding of how students can change their name at LU,

> We have a great person who kind of serves as a liaison from an IT lens for the division [of student affairs]. And he can work with students to help get their name changed through our software, whether it's via email and then also helping them to get their name changed on their student ID. And then that can ultimately also change the way that their name would appear on student rosters. So, that's I think, understandably a big one, depending on if there's a name change that happens in any transitions or any process.

According to LU's Annual Report (2016), students are able to log into their student portal and provide a preferred name. This process

> [Allows] students to submit a name with which they most identify. The preferred name appears in parentheses on class rosters, for example: Harry (Hank). To date, over 50% of our resident students have provided the University with a preferred name including several international students, as well as students seeking to be identified by an abbreviated or nick name. This change is also an additional way to respect a student's gender identity/expression, which further supports [LU's] non-discrimination policy.

Kelly discussed that this information is then synced with their housing information software, "Preferred name is now an option that students can fill in. We use that with our housing roster. The RAs can see that too. [That] the student is going by their preferred name."

Summary of LU

Lindsay University is a medium-sized master's level institution, located in the same city as Sachar University, just outside of a major metropolitan area in New England. LU categorizes itself as a business school with a liberal arts core education.

Students at LU are described by both their peers and staff as largely conservative and competitive, and that the average 60:40 ratio of men to women on campus also promotes a hypermasculine culture.

Distinctly, there is a large queer staff presence at LU, particularly in student affairs. These staff members have worked to integrate LGBT programming and policies into their work at LU, including GIH. There is also an affinity group for LGBTQ staff and faculty members. The various offices that comprise student affairs at LU are tightly coupled, working in large shared suites which promote collaboration and communication across functional areas. Residence Life shares a suite with Student Conduct and the Title IX Coordinator. All Residence Life staff members, with the exception of the Hall Directors, work in the Residence Life suite at clusters of desks.

Implementation of GIH at LU took several stages over a period of about five years. It began as a policy draft in early 2012, and the first iteration was offered in one area of upperclass apartments for the 2012-2013 academic year. However, there was decreasing participation in part due to the distance that the apartments were from campus. In 2015, due to the decline in interest, Residence Life made GIH available campus-wide. The current policy allows all students to live in GIH, but requires that they meet with the Associate Director to discuss their decision.

The students generally felt positive about their experiences living in GIH. All of the students I interviewed, approximately one-third of all students in GIH, identified as cisgender. They praised the policy for allowing them to live with their friends of a different gender. Though they all had enjoyed their time in GIH, most students

discussed how difficult it was for them to find out about GIH as an option. Many students learned about it as a result of being friends with a student who worked in Residence Life. Some students also felt that the additional meeting with the Associate Director made the process more cumbersome.

LU also has other policies and practices in place that are aimed at supporting trans* students. These include new signage labeling single-stall bathrooms on campus as all gender. There have also been efforts by the counseling center to support trans* students and to also connect them to community resources. The LU student health insurance covers surgery and prescriptions related to transitioning. Lastly, there are ways for students to indicate a preferred name that populates on class and housing rosters.

Findings

The following section will review the findings that emerged at Lindsay University. This section mirrors the organization of the findings for SU and NAC. I will begin by discussing the themes that emerged within Normative Disruption: societal influences and institutional influences.

Normative Disruption - Societal Influence

There are several societal influences of normative disruption that emerged as themes at Lindsay University. These include external influences, keeping up with

national trends, the role of parents, and the gender binary. Each of these themes indicate a distinct pressure type of impact which contribute to the normative disruption of the gender binary at LU. The first theme I will discuss will be the external environment influences.

External environment influences. At LU there were two subthemes which emerged as aspects of the environment external to the campus which contributed to the normative disruption of the gender binary. The first of these subthemes was the desire to keep up with national college trends related to GIH and supporting trans* students. The second subtheme was the role of parents as influencers on the campus and policy making. The first theme I will discuss is national trends.

Keeping up with national trends. At LU, students and staff members both discussed their knowledge of national trends related to supporting trans* college students as motivators for the creation of GIH and other policies. Three staff members expressed sentiments that there was a "national awareness" (Austin) around trans* issues that LU needed to keep up with. These staff members also expressed a sense of playing catch up with these national trends. Vivian, a student in the LGBTQ club, noted that national conversations around gender-inclusive bathrooms served as an impetus for LU administrators to look to creating such bathrooms on campus.

***Parents*.** In addition to confronting national trends, another external environment influence that emerged was the role of parents of LU students. Parental influence was perceived differently by staff members and students. The next section will

summarize separately how staff and students discussed parents as an external influence.

Staff perception of parents. Staff at LU perceived parents largely as holding conservative viewpoints and being opposed to their student living in GIH. Arturo explained one incident with a father of a student who had selected to live in GIH. He said,

> Over the summer ... the students got an email from us and they told their parents about where they were living… and one of the dads freaked out. And called our office a few times and was like, I don't want her living with a man. Why would you put my daughter with another man?

Arturo then explained how he was able to share, due to a FERPA waiver, the student's expressed written consent to living in GIH, and encouraged the student to speak with her parent about his concerns.

Other staff also discussed how the prospect of negative parental feedback impacted some steps in the GIH policy creation. Joseph, the Associate Dean of Students, discussed,

> the phone calls that would come into the university in regards to changing the nature of the binary housing system, it may start here [in Residence Life], but they inevitably end up at the vice president's level and the president's level. We had to talk it through and get the approval [to implement GIH].

Overall, staff expressed opinions of anticipating negative parent feedback with regard to GIH. This differed from students' experiences with telling their parents about living in GIH.

Experiences of students living in GIH with telling their parents. Contrary to staff perceptions of parent reactions, students living in GIH shared that their parents were overall accepting of their choices. Oakley, a senior living in GIH said,

> I told my parents ahead of time. It came up early, like February last year or something. They were like, "Oh, who are you living with?" I was like, "Oh, I'm living with my friends [female student] and [male student]," and my parents said, "That's cool…, they're your friends," so they didn't really care.

Mateo shared that his parents felt similarly, even though he told them after move in,

> I told my parents after. While we were moving in, they saw the names on the door, and then the two girls were already there. They were like, " Oh, who are these?" And I'm like, "Oh, they're my roommates." And they were like, "Okay, that's fine." But they are completely okay with it.

In these instances, students described their parents' reactions to them living in GIH as overall positive and supportive.

Gender binary. Another societal influence that emerged at LU was the existence of a gender binary. As discussed in the case, there is the concept at LU of "The Ratio" which refers to the categorization of students as either men or women. At LU "The Ratio" by gender is typically about 60% men and 40% women. The overrepresentation of men was described by staff members as having an impact on the campus climate. Austin described it as "hypermasculine" and Kelly as "competitive." As discussed in the upcoming section on institutional influences, these descriptors of the student body will reemerge.

Normative Disruption - Institutional Influences

In addition to the societal influences of normative disruption, there were also institutional influences. These emerged as three major themes: campus culture, inciting incidents on campus, and institutional characteristics. Within these three themes several subthemes also emerged, including: business culture, a chilling effect, conservative campus culture, the culture for queer students, the student population, LU values, and the role of the President. I will first begin by discussing the campus culture.

Campus culture. As discussed in the case description, the campus culture of LU is distinct. Several staff members described the mentality of students as "work hard, play hard" as well as "apathetic." Riley, a sophomore in the LGBTQ club, described the campus culture as, "the administration at [Lindsay] is doing absolutely as much as they can, and I think it's just a disconnect between the extremely liberal, accepting administration and our apathetic student body that is just like, 'Why should I care about that? It doesn't matter to me.'" Several subthemes emerged related to the campus culture as well. The next sections will summarize the findings for each subtheme.

Business culture. Assumptions and stereotypes of what a business school's culture is or should be emerged as a subtheme of the larger campus culture. Sierra, a senior living in GIH, said, "I definitely knew going to a business school I was sacrificing a little bit of a more liberal kind of university setting." Kelly, the Associate Director of Residence Life, echoed this, "I think the business culture and the achiever aspect, students aren't necessarily trying to focus on that aspect of their identity, but they just want to fit into the norm that business is." The perception of the impact of business on

the campus culture contributed to other subthemes of the chilling effect and the conservative campus culture, which are discussed next.

Chilling effect. The impact that the conservative campus culture had on marginalized students emerged as having a chilling effect. Riley described it as, “I would say there's definitely a lot of ... I wouldn't say outright homophobia, I think we've created a culture where it's not cool to be homophobic, outright on campus... But definitely queer slurs are used a lot on campus.” Four other students discussed instances where they that they were as Mateo says, “shut down” by other students both in and out of class for expressing liberal opinions. Additionally, two students recalled times when they had been referred to by homophobic slurs. The students related these instances to the conservative campus culture.

Conservative campus culture. As discussed within the case description, students and staff both described the campus culture as conservative. Oakley described how this manifests in her courses,

> Even sometimes, in certain classes, if someone will bring up an idea or a viewpoint that's more liberal, it gets shut down, or you'll be in a class where if your opinion is kind of different, I've been like, "Okay, I'm not going to say anything. I'm just going to sit here and let whatever happen because I don't want to get into an argument."

Other students also discussed experiencing a conservative worldview from their professors and peers in class. This level of conservatism seemed to undergird the overall apathy of the student body. Tomás, the Associate Director of Residence Life, noted that, “I think the majority of students … might not say that diversity is one of the top priorities for them even as individuals.”

Culture for queer students. As a result of the chilling effect and conservative nature of the campus body, the overall culture for queer students emerged as one in which many students were not openly out. Tomás attempted to count the number of out LGBTQ students he could think of at LU, “the students who are out and proud and are very visible on campus ... Four? Three?” Of the four students I interviewed who were members of the LGBTQ club, they all confirmed that the queer community felt small and insular at LU. Oakley said, “There was one new person we had join [the LGBTQ club] who was a junior, and within three weeks, it was already like, "Oh, now you're in this friend group." There's only so many of us. Everyone is really tight knit.” The students felt that the queer campus culture was very connected because there were few students who were out.

Inciting incident on campus. The Drag Bingo event that was discussed in the case emerged as a subtheme of institutional influence of normative disruption. This event was discussed by nearly every person I interviewed, and was referenced often as an instance which incited campus response and support for the LGBTQ community from both administration and the student body. Tomás discussed that it was “probably one of the most diverse programs, in terms of racial backgrounds, athletes, non-athletes,... seniors, first year. It was just everybody.” There was an outpouring of support for this program, which Austin described as a “really strong showing of just support, I would say for certainly [the LGBTQ club], but also I think essentially for the underrepresented groups on our campus, particularly when it comes to gender, gender identity, and

sexuality.” Though the attention this event received resulted from vandalism, both staff and students recalled the event positively based on the level of attendance.

Institutional characteristics. In addition to the campus culture characteristics, there were aspects of the institution which emerged as a theme. The broadest summary of LU was made by Arturo, who said that LU “is a business through and through. We are a business. All college universities are businesses we're taking in money and the money is being dished out to things or put into things.” Joseph echoed this sentiment about Residence Life, “We're a revenue generating department. Any shift in how we go about offering our accommodations may have an impact on that revenue. For an institution that requires the revenue, it's always a little scary.” The concept of business also emerged within the subtheme of LU values, discussed next.

LU values. One of the emergent subthemes of institutional characteristics was the espoused values at LU. As discussed in the Values Statement (n.d.), these include diversity, excellence, integrity, responsibility, and teamwork. The value of diversity was discussed by several staff members. Kira, a Hall Director said,

> I think it also has to do along the same lines of the world of business you want to be the most forefront, if you're going out to these newer companies that have all these things already in place, for our students to have been in a college setting that has those things in place is really great to have that in place for them so when they get there they are not shocked that there's a gender-inclusive bathroom they know that it is.

Despite the University’s values placed on diversity. Some students felt it was just lip service. Sierra summarized this, “[LU] doesn't make it part of their agenda for people to learn and understand diversity and that's a problem if they want to embrace and have a

campus that's supposed to be diverse." Despite some student sentiment such as Sierra's, staff members felt that LU's president truly embraced the institution's values.

LU's president. The president at LU emerged as a subtheme as she represented to both staff and students a caring, dedicated, and transformative leader. Joseph, the Associate Dean of Students, summarized her presidency,

> She has been really a shaper and a shifter of the [LU] culture in certainly the last five years, but even just her arrival. She's the first female president of the university. She's always embraced, and increasingly so, social justice causes.

Jared, the Assistant Director of Community Development, also remarked that,

> We had an MLK luncheon at the university and our president, one of her talking points that she uses, at a lot of things is that, diversity and inclusion is not just a moral imperative but it's bottom line business imperative and she says that over and over and over again.

Both staff and students felt that their president was committed to diversity initiatives. Students mentioned receiving emails from her after the Pulse Nightclub Shooting in 2016, as well as in response to the vandalism of the Drag Bingo fliers. They also recalled seeing her at the Drag Bingo and other LGBTQ club events.

Institutional Responses

The second major emergent theme was *Institutional Response.* At LU, there were a variety of themes that emerged related to institutional responses to the normative disruption of the gender binary. These themes included administrative decision making, the development of Gender-Inclusive Housing, and steps to reestablishing homeostasis. Within these themes subthemes also emerged, which will be discussed within each

theme. I will begin with the subthemes of administrative decision-making, which were: future goals, preparing students for the real world, and support initiated by staff.

Institutional Response - Administrative Decision-Making

At LU, administrative decision-making emerged as a driving force behind addressing normative disruption of the gender binary. As will be discussed in the following sections, staff at LU were focused on creating a more inclusive campus community, often due to their own LGBTQ identity. Also related to the business campus culture, staff focused on preparing students for the real world of business, one which also espoused similar values to LU.

Future goals. One subtheme of administrative decision making that emerged as staff members' focus on future goals. These included creating a professional staff position focused on supporting LGBTQ students, as well as examining how support for LGBTQ students could be integrated into the structure of student affairs positions and departments. Austin discussed the impact of creating this position,

> I think having a full time employee who's dedicated to supporting our students whose sexualities are underrepresented says a lot, because again, I'm not sure how much information you've gathered from others but a lot of our efforts for anyone in the LGBTQ+ spectrum is piecemeal.

Another goal that the Hall Directors and Assistant Directors shared was to create LGBTQ living learning communities in the residence halls "where they're able to go deeper into their identity in the form of either the LGBTQ aspect or even the gender aspect." Seven

of the staff members that I spoke with made reference to future goals related to institutionalizing support for LGBTQ students in a more structured and formal way.

Preparing students for the real world. Several staff members focused on GIH as a learning opportunity for students to live with people who are different from themselves. Jared explained,

> One of our main priorities in everything that we do, is trying to create situations and opportunities for students who live here. Where we somewhat model what life outside of the confines of this university, this tiny little bubble is and ... a lot of our students graduate and live, quite honestly, live with whoever they can find an apartment with or who's willing to pay those prices. So I think in the back of our brain it's like, if this is what the world is looking like, and you might look to seek accommodations, they're out there in the housing world. Or you might have to live with people who are different than you.

Austin added, “In the course of life, your neighbors are likely not to be your gender or there's a good chance they won't be your gender and this is just part of being in a community.” Both Jared and Austin highlighted here that part of offering a GIH option is to expose students to different living environments that exist outside of LU.

Support initiated by staff. One of the most prominent subthemes of administrative decision making was the support initiated by staff. Isaac, a Hall Director, summarized what many staff shared, “I think our staff specifically works really hard to make LGBTQ individuals feel welcome, which is partially because there are so many of us who identify as LGBTQ, which of course, would play into some of that.” Jared concurred, “I would say there's some pretty heavy staff representations particular to that social identity piece - at least lesbian, gay, bisexual... even being in student affairs we are abnormally more representative of LGB realm than I've seen in other places before.”

Perhaps due to this representation, there is an LGBTQ steering and action committee at LU, whose mission is to “educate the campus community in order to create a more inclusive and welcoming climate for LGBTQ individuals and their allies” (LU LGBTQ Website, n.d.). Staff members such as Kira discussed spearheading the Trans Awareness Week programming. Tomás led the campus-wide gender-inclusive bathroom renovation process. Kira stated that despite their efforts, “It's hard when the employees are the ones who want to make these changes for the students and the students aren't saying it.” Here, Kira points to a potential disconnect between staff and student goals.

Institutional Response - GIH Development

One of the main responses to the normative disruption of the gender binary emerged as the development of the GIH policy. According to the LU Residence Life website (n.d.), LU is “committed to creating an affirming community for our transgender, genderqueer, and gender non-conforming students. [Residence Life] will work with students to find a housing situation that is affirming and will support each student’s academic growth.” Sierra, a student living in GIH, stated that,

> I think that having gender-inclusive housing is going to make it easier for queer students or trans students to be able to integrate into the population because they're not going to have to fight any administrator about "I identify as male and I need to be in a male room." If the gender marker doesn't matter anyone can just go into any room.

As detailed in the case description, the development of GIH at LU was a lengthy process, spanning from 2009 to 2016. As the policy currently exists, students can live in GIH

anywhere on campus. Within the institutional response of developing GIH, two subthemes emerged: cisgender students living in GIH and the process to fill vacancies.

Cisgender students living in GIH. Of the eight students I interviewed at LU who live in GIH, all identified as cisgender. Most of the students shared that they chose to live in GIH so that they could live with their friends. Kieran summarized this, "It was never like 'Let's go live in gender-inclusive housing.' It was just more of 'You guys are my best friends and I'd rather live with you guys than anyone else.'" Oakley lived with her male friend who pulled her into his shared apartment through his position as a Resident Advisor. Another group of five students, two women and three men, stated that they saw GIH as an opportunity to keep their friend group together since finding housing for five people can be difficult. Kayla, one of the students in this group, explained that though all five of them live together, in the two double rooms one room is occupied by two men and the other by two women.

Staff also shared that in their experience with students living in GIH it tended to be cisgender students and students in relationships. Jared explained,

> Just anecdotally I think I see it utilized often times ... by people not who identify outside of the gender binary… Honestly sometimes where straight couples who want to find a space on campus to live together… And so that, I think, is an interesting twist like I sometimes wonder if the campus community knows more about gender-inclusive housing as a means to live with my boyfriend or my girlfriend as opposed to, maybe initially, what our intent was.

Overall, though the GIH policy was initially conceived to expand housing options for trans* students, at LU the majority of students utilizing the policy identified as cisgender.

Filling vacancies. The other subtheme that emerged within creating GIH was the issue of how to fill a vacancy in a gender-inclusive room during the school year. As Joseph explained, this issue was partly related to financial concerns based on the role of Residence Life as an institutional revenue stream,

> Some of the questions were, "If you've got a room of four that is now a gender-inclusive room and someone decides to move out, what does that room start to look like? Is that an open vacancy that just stays open because we can't find a student who's going to move into that space?"

Arturo, who oversees housing assignments, elaborated,

> I mean our policy can in some way inhibit us in that sense… it's not like an issue that we see all the time but I know that we've had conversation where it's like, “we want to put them in this space [but] it's a gender-inclusive room [so] we would have to have that conversation first.”

Here, Arturo is referring to filling spaces such as the five-person apartment mentioned previously. In such an instance Arturo would need to have the current residents as well as the potential new one all agree to living in GIH.

Steps to Reestablishing Organizational Homeostasis

The last theme that emerged as a response to normative disruption were the other policies and practices that LU administrators put into place to better support trans* students. These policies and practices included creating and installing gender-inclusive bathrooms throughout campus, hiring staff in the counseling services office who specialized in trans* issues, developing and integrating policies into their health and wellness office, and creating a name change policy.

Gender-inclusive bathrooms. One of the initiatives, spearheaded by the LGBTQ steering and action committee, was to create gender-inclusive bathrooms throughout campus. Jaime, a student living in GIH, explained, “They implemented a bunch of all gender bathrooms on campus. I think over the last 3 years I've seen it go from one or two to maybe 20 on campus.” Tomás elaborated,

> We've changed all single stall bathrooms. They used to actually, some of them said single stall, single stalls restroom… We just changed every single bathroom to all gender… Now we're looking at phase two, which would be there are a few buildings on campus that do not have single stall bathrooms in them. They just were built with multi stall bathrooms. We're looking at what that might look like to convert a multi stall bathroom. We're coming up against some town laws and state laws around bathrooms.

These laws that Tomás is referring to require multi-stall bathrooms to be designated as either for men or women.

Counseling services. Another subtheme of reestablishing homeostasis was the work that Counseling Services attempted to do to better support trans* students. Tomás explained,

> [They] have done some trainings around working with students who are potentially or who are transitioning. I actually had a conversation with the director of [Counseling Services] that they had no one who had worked with anyone who was transitioning. I think identifying also off campus resources that they can feel comfortable about referring students to if students don't feel comfortable over in our own office.

Relatedly, Austin added that a counselor had previously been employed who specialized in trans* issues but who had since left LU.

Health and wellness. As discussed in the case, LU’s student health insurance covers Gender Reassignment Benefits. This emerged as a subtheme of reestablishing homeostasis as trans* students on the LU student health insurance are able to receive

the appropriate hormone therapy and surgery they may need at minimal expense. Jared summarized, “if you have the university health insurance it actually covers really everything in terms of inclusion around trans identities in the transition process.”

Name change policy. Lastly, LU’s name change policy emerged as a subtheme. LU’s Annual Report (2016) indicated that students are able to log into their student portal and indicate a preferred name. This name is then populated on class rosters in parentheses. Kelly also discussed that Residence Life is integrating the student portal data into the housing software in order to populate floor rosters with students’ preferred names.

Summary of Findings

In the previous section I discussed the findings at Lindsay University which emerged as two major themes: *Normative Disruption and Institutional Response.* Within Normative Disruption, two themes emerged: societal influences and institutional influences. Three themes emerged within Institutional Response: administrative decision-making, GIH development, and steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. Together, these two themes demonstrate the variety of influences of normative disruption of the gender binary that impacted LU as well as the responses that the institution took to reestablish organizational homeostasis subsequent to the disruption.

Sachar University

The final institution that I will introduce is Sachar University. What follows includes the case description for SU as well as the findings.

Case Description of Sachar University

The following sections comprise the case description of Sachar University. As discussed in Chapter III, this description is organized into three parts: institutional overview and context; case participants and institution; and GIH and other responses to normative disruption. Within these sections, I utilized data from documents, field notes, and interviews to construct a rich narrative.

Institutional Overview and Context

I turned into the main campus entrance of Sachar University (SU) and pulled up to the campus security booth to obtain a parking pass. I was directed to head up the hill towards north campus where Residence Life is located. There were students walking everywhere you turned. The campus felt very busy and full of energy. The buildings around campus were an eclectic mix of New England college brick buildings and newer construction. Many of the buildings featured the last name of the same prominent donor. The majority of SU exists within the boundary of Circle Road, which as its name

describes, surrounds the perimeter of campus with the main entrance as the primary egress. Campus is divided geographically into north and south areas by a large hill. SU's campus is located approximately 15 miles outside of a major city in New England.

Roots and Mission of SU

SU's website describes the university as a medium sized, private research institution with a liberal arts focus. Campus tour guides highlight prestigious research accomplishments of the faculty, including several recent Nobel Prizes. SU was founded in the middle of the 20th century, during a time when Jewish people, racial minorities, and women faced discrimination in enrollment in higher education. Today, the university is proud of its founding roots, considering itself a nonsectarian institution which upholds the Jewish values of learning, critical thinking, and making the world a better place.

The integration of Jewish roots can also be seen in the report by Saxe et al. (2016), which found that of undergraduate students, "Thirty-one percent identified their religion as 'Jewish' ... An additional three to 10 percent of each class year considered themselves Jewish 'aside from religion'" (p. 1). Kristin, a Hall Director, said,

> We have a pretty significant Orthodox Jewish population on campus, certainly compared to other universities... I do think that those sections of our community have different feelings or opinions about gender and sexuality. [4] Certainly I've noticed a much stricter adherence to expected gender norms.

[4] It is important to note that the gender binary and separation of male and female roles are central to daily life for Orthodox Jews, which differs for other sects of Judaism, such

Of the 31% of SU students who identify as Jewish, 14%, or approximately 4% of all SU undergraduates, identify as Orthodox Jews (Saxe et al., 2016). Approximately 2% of Americans identify as Jewish, and of those Jews, only 10% identify as Orthodox (Lugo, Cooperman, Smith, O'Connell, & Stencel, 2013), which means about .2% of college-aged individuals living in the United States identify as Orthodox Jews. In comparison, SU's Orthodox Jewish student population is 20 times greater than the national population of college-aged Orthodox Jews. The following section summarizes other demographics of the undergraduate student population in greater detail.

Undergraduate Demographics

In the Fall of 2016 there were just over 3,600 undergraduate students enrolled at SU, of which 78% lived on campus. SU's demographics report only two gender options, stating that the campus is about 57% female and 43% male. Of those students, nearly 50% identify as White, 13% as Asian American, 5% as Black, and 8% as Hispanic. Several administrators discussed the impact that being a predominantly White institution had on the campus culture and on students of color. Kristin said, "I think that our students who are the more traditional, typical SU students, who are usually White, high SES, higher middle class and from some sort of Judeo-Christian background, tend to find that sense of belonging here." This idea will be further explored in the following section.

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as Reform or Conservative, for whom such separation is less central to religious practices (Sisselman-Borgia, 2017).

Campus Culture and Student Body

The student body was described by several participants as quirky, overcommitted, and privileged. Madeleine, a junior and an RA, said, “we get described as weird or quirky or nerdy...Their friends are usually from clubs that they're doing or sports that they're doing. People can get really nerdy about certain things inside and outside of the classroom.” Staff also described students as theoretically social justice oriented. Amelia, a Hall Director, stated, "I think our students theoretically believe in social justice, but then when it comes to how that will impact their lives, push against it very hard." Though SU attempts to provide many opportunities for students to engage in social justice work, administrators and students both described the student population as largely privileged.

SU has several ways for students to engage in social justice, which according to SU’s Diversity Statement, is “central to its mission as a nonsectarian university founded by members of the American Jewish community” (SU Diversity Statement, n.d.). A search on SU’s website yields multiple opportunities for students to engage in social justice work. They can minor in Social Justice, an interdisciplinary program comprised of courses from several departments including sociology, legal studies, women and gender studies, philosophy, Judaic Studies and African and Afro-American Studies. The minor is described as a way for students to, “[link] an academic curriculum with the university’s commitment to social justice. The program provides a common place for students in all disciplines to engage with issues of justice and equity” (SU Social Justice Minor, n.d.).

SU also offers co-curricular social justice opportunities. These include study abroad programs in Kenya, the Netherlands, and Israel, and an annual week-long university-wide social justice festival. The social justice festival's website reads, "Social justice. It's one of four pillars of [Sachar University], and is an ethos that permeates a great deal of what happens on campus" (Social Justice Festival, n.d.). These opportunities and programs are intended to infuse social justice into the academic and co-curricular life of all students at SU.

While the general student population was described as privileged, many administrators and students also discussed the history of SU students who do consistently engage in social justice work on campus. These students have often challenged the administration in their policies and support of marginalized students. SU students have a history of engaging in student-led protests against marginalization and lack of support for Black students, dating back to 1969, and more recently, to the campus protests in 2015. From January 8-18, 1969, 60 to 75 Black students from the SU Afro-American Society took over and occupied the campus building [Abram Hall] in response to the failure of SU administration to expel a White student who allegedly shot a Black SU student with a BB gun just before winter break in 1968 (Caldwell, 1969). The students made a list of ten demands including creating an African and Afro-American Studies Department, increasing the number of Black staff and students, and additional funding and support for Black students. Grant, a former employee, stated, "if you go back...to the takeover of [Abram Hall] … [I]t's ingrained in the history of the institution to a certain extent."

Abram Hall no longer stands on SU's campus. It was demolished in the fall of 2000 in order to make room for a new campus center (SU Student Newspaper, 2000). Vestiges of the 1969 student protests can still be found on campus, including a detailed timeline on the African and Afro-American Studies' website, which chronicles the protest and the subsequent founding of the department. Today, referring to Abram Hall also conjures up more recent student protests, which occurred in 2015. In November, student activists occupied another academic building as part of a response to the Black Lives Matter protests occurring at University of Missouri. They called their protests Abram Hall. Madeleine, a Junior Environmental Studies and Women and Gender Studies double major, discussed these protests, referred to by students as Abram Hall,

> I think [Abram Hall] is a really important part of [SU] culture. [It] really pushed the administration to make policies that included more racial awareness and were more inclusive and recognize how hard it is to be a person of color on the [SU] campus. I think struggling with how well that has been implemented has been another part. Because some people are like, "Everything is better," and a lot of people are like, "There hasn't been any changes at all."

Resulting changes included SU administration committing to hire a Chief Diversity Officer and other systemic institutional change (Local Newspaper, 2015). An SU press release on November 2, 2016 announced the appointment of the "first chief diversity officer (CDO) and vice president for diversity, equity and inclusion, a position created to elevate and accelerate the University's 21st-century vision for inclusive excellence" ([SU] Names Chief Diversity Officer and Vice President, 2016).

Aspects of the Abram Hall 2015 protests are still found on SU's campus. The Faculty Senate's website maintains an Abram Hall 2015 Syllabus, comprised of readings

that address the history of Abram Hall, white privilege, reverse racism, allyship, and intersectionality. The syllabus states that it is intended to be

> a pedagogical tool to teach while simultaneously circumventing the uncompensated labor that people of color perform in the perpetual defense of their humanity. [The goal is t]o provide literary resources with which the [Sachar] community might build a foundational dialogue in the collective effort to facilitate racially aware, sensitive, and protected classrooms, social spaces, faculty, staff, and students (Abram Hall Syllabus, 2015).

Existing informally, the Abram Hall 2015 protests have also become a continued campus movement in the form of programming around social justice issues such as the Flint Water Crisis and Black Lives Matter. These protests resulted in some changes that the students in 2015 called for, yet staff who I interviewed felt that the student body as a whole was still uncomfortable in discussing race issues.

Administrators perceived there to be a distinct difference in the campus climate in discussions around race as opposed to sexual orientation or gender identity. Benjamin, a Hall Director, stated, “I think that our students are very receptive of talking about larger systemic issues. I find, in my work, that they will more readily talk about marginalized sexualities before they would about race or class differences." The general sentiment from administrators highlighted an inclusive campus environment for LGBTQ students. While students generally agreed, the trans* students I spoke with felt that small subgroups defined the queer and trans* student community. One trans* student, Emmery, referred to this by saying,

> I feel like I've seen sub-groups of cis people, cis queer people, and trans queer people, and how trans communities, at least from my perspective, kind of stick together. Because I think, as a trans person, there are trans issues that form bonds between people. It's like, "Oh, you don't have gender neutral bathrooms? Neither do I! Cool, we're friends now."

Zada confirmed Emmery's sentiments, stating, "I would describe it as fragmented." Kenai, a trans* student who uses any pronoun, echoed Emmery's comment that trans* students face different needs than cis queer students, "Cis people tend to sign up for gender neutral housing. And I don't think that's necessarily a bad thing, but I think it should be shown that it's geared towards trans people." Kenai continued to explain,

> The reason I signed up for gender neutral housing was so that I would have a roommate that maybe understood a little bit better and wasn't looking for me to educate her on the whole system, which is kind of what she's been looking for me to do, which is exhausting, frankly. It made me uncomfortable from the get-go, but I also didn't want to be that asshole who is like, "Hey, my roommate's cis, therefore I want a new roommate."

Kenai also explained that there is currently only one known vacancy in GIH for first years, and that he is wary of moving because ze knows "...who I'd end up rooming with, and I'm not particularly fond of the idea of rooming with that person."

According to SU's website, there are two floors of GIH for first-year students, both located in the residence hall where Kenai, Zada, Reuven, and Emmery live. SU's Residence Life website also states that GIH is a housing option which "provides housing options for students who may identify as transgender, or are questioning their gender identity, or do not wish to prescribe to gender classifications" (SU Residence Life Website, n.d.). GIH at Sachar University in its current iteration does not require students to identify as trans*.

Case Participants and Institution

The next section of this case description introduces the participants of my study at Sachar University. I then review the organizational structure of student affairs at SU, followed by a description of Residence Life. These sections provide an overview of the organization of subunits within SU that were involved in the creation and implementation of GIH, which is discussed afterward.

Participants

I interviewed several administrators who work in Residence Life, as well as student Resident Advisors, and a group of first year students who live in GIH. Below is a table which summarizes my participants, their position at SU, their pronouns, and whether or not they attended or worked at an institution with a GIH policy prior to arriving at SU.

Table 13

Summary of Sachar University Participants

Name	Position	Pronouns In Use	Race/ Ethnicity	Attended/ Worked at Other Institutions with GIH
Administrators				
Todd	Assistant Dean of Student Affairs	he/him/his	White	yes
Julius	Associate Director	he/him/his	Black	Yes

Name	Position	Pronouns In Use	Race/ Ethnicity	Attended/ Worked at Other Institutions with GIH
Seth	Assistant Director, Community Development	he/him/his	White	No data
Patricia	Assistant Director, Operations	she/her/hers	Black	yes
Paul	Hall Director	he/him/his	White	no
Amelia	Hall Director	she/her/hers	White	No data
Kristin	Hall Director	she/her/hers	White	yes
Benjamin	Hall Director	he/him/his	Black	yes
Leanne	Hall Director	she/her/hers	Asian	no
Jackson	Former Director (2003-2011)	he/him/his	White	No data
Grant	Former Associate Director (2003-2010)	he/him/his	White	No data
Students				
Reuven	First Year Student living in GIH	they/them/ theirs	White	N/A
Kenai	First Year Student living in GIH	any pronoun	White	N/A
Zada	First Year Student living in GIH	she/her/hers	Asian	N/A
Emmery	First Year Student living in GIH	they/them/ theirs	White	N/A
Madeleine	Junior, Resident Advisor overseeing GIH hall	she/her/hers	White	N/A
Molly	Junior, Resident Advisor overseeing GIH hall	she/her/hers	White	N/A

As part of my study, I interviewed two former staff members, Jackson and Grant, who worked at SU in the early 2000's. In their roles as Director and Associate Director of

Residence Life, they developed and implemented the first iteration of GIH at SU. All of the other administrators were currently employed at SU during the time of my campus visits in late 2017-early 2018.

The two student staff members, Madeleine and Molly, were both employed by the Department of Residence Life as Resident Advisors. In their role, they each worked in residence halls that had GIH. The other four students, Reuven, Kenai, Zada, and Emmery, were all first year students who resided in GIH in one of the first year residence halls.

Organizational Structure of Student Life at SU

There are several divisions at SU, which collectively comprise the various offices and departments of student affairs. The organizational chart below visually summarizes how these offices are interrelated, and how Residence Life is situated within the institution. The President directly supervises the Chief Diversity Officer, and the Vice President for Student Affairs. The several student affairs offices are then divided between them, as well as the Deans of Students who report to the Vice President for Student Affairs.

The Department of Residence Life at SU reports to the Vice President for Student Affairs, who also oversees athletics, orientation, the health center, Title IX compliance, and the Division of Student Life & Success. The Division of Student Life & Success, which encompasses the Dean of Students, is overseen by the Deans of Students who supervise

community service, student activities, and student conduct. Finally, the Chief Diversity Officer, who reports directly to the President, oversees the multicultural center, the gender and sexuality office, disabilities services, international student services, and the chaplaincy.

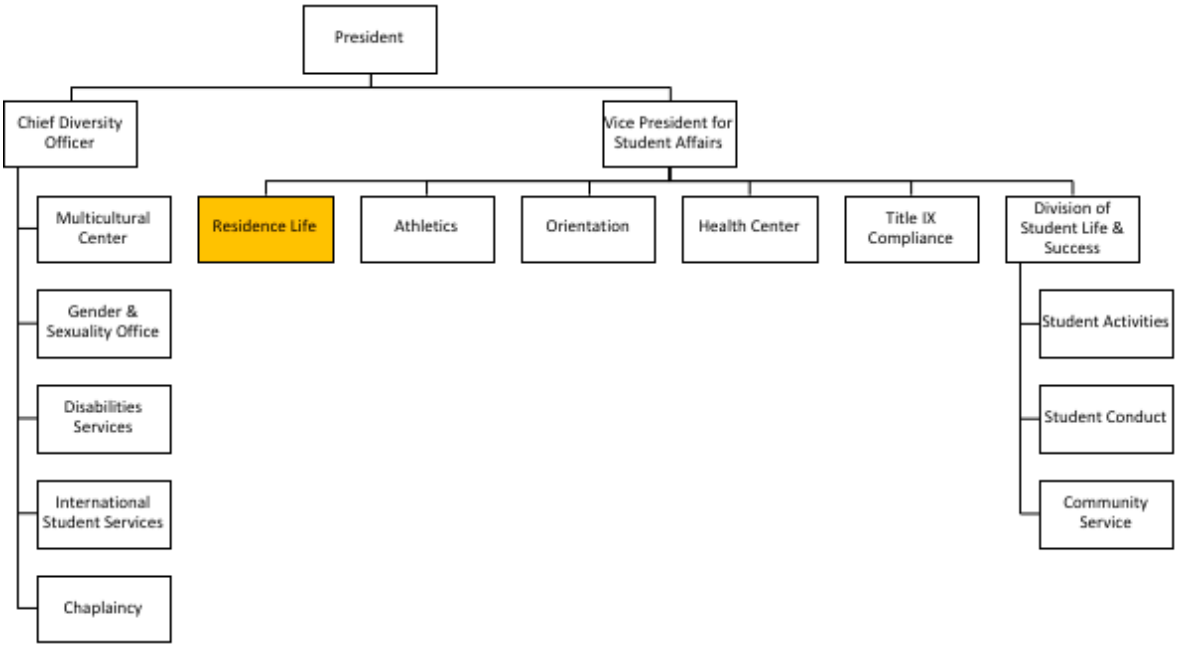

Figure 7
Organizational chart of Sachar University Student Affairs

Residence Life's orientation with the organizational chart was described by Julius, the Associate Director, "we're affiliated with the Division of Student Life and Success, but aren't necessarily within it completely, so we don't necessarily report to the Dean of Students, but we work very closely with all of those folks." Despite this organizational separation, Patricia, one of the Assistant Directors, discussed how offices across campus collaborate and work together to support students, often through the formation of committees,

> Most of those committees, again, do talk about the areas around supporting students that may be in crisis or just students with concerns in general or on collaborative events. I go to three different committees that talk about different ways to collaborate on programs across campus.

The other Assistant Director, Seth, also described how many other offices see Residence Life as a touch point with almost all SU students, and therefore often wish to collaborate. "...A lot of offices have a lot of stake in those sort of programs [orientation], with supporting students in housing, obviously one of the larger sort of functions on campus, as well as supporting students as they enter."

Residence Life

The Department of Residence Life is located in the campus center on north campus. The office has an open layout with several small offices and one conference room lining the perimeter. There is a small waiting area with couches and a 3D map of the campus, which includes the ten clusters of residence halls spread throughout the campus. Next to the waiting area is a small kitchen which includes a cookie baking machine that the department uses for programs and during open office hours.

The Department is comprised of ten full-time employees, as well as one administrative assistant, and a few assistant hall directors. Only the assistant hall directors and hall directors live on campus. The chart below depicts the supervision structure of the department.

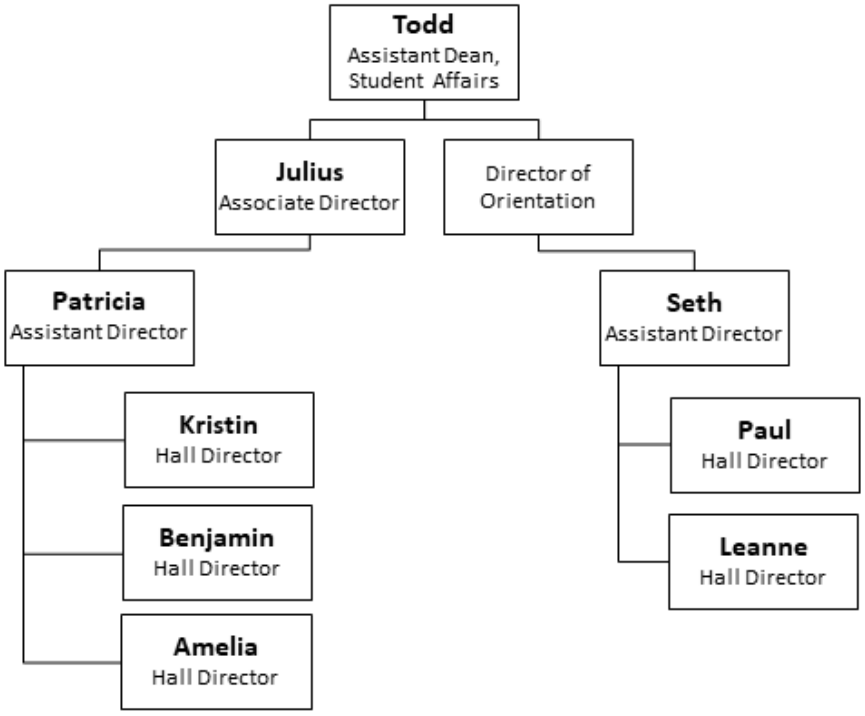

Figure 8
Organizational Chart of SU Residence Life

Todd, the Assistant Dean of Student Affairs, supervises Residence Life. Julius, the Associate Director, directly reports to Todd. Julius supervises Patricia, the Assistant Director of Operations, who oversees housing assignments, and who supervises three of the Hall Directors, Amelia, Kristin, and Benjamin. Seth, the other Assistant Director, reports to the Director of Orientation who Todd supervises. Seth supervises the two Hall Directors, Paul and Leanne, each of whom oversee a first year residence hall community.

Gender-Inclusive Housing and Other Responses to Normative Disruption

The final section of this case description begins with the history of Gender-Inclusive Housing at SU, which spans from 2003 to 2008. I then review the GIH policy, current as of 2017. Finally, this case concludes with a discussion of the other policies and practices SU has established as responses to normative disruption of the gender binary. These include the creation of a name change policy, orientation groups, and the use of pronouns.

History of GIH at SU

The first article, an op-ed, published in the SU Student newspaper about GIH appeared in March of 2007. This article summarizes an interview with Jackson, the former Director of Residence Life. The author states,

> this policy [of not allowing students of different genders to cohabitate in the same room] is based on a traditional morality structure that views individuals romantically living together as something aversive. This portrays human sexuality as a negative, denied rather than embraced (SU Student Newspaper, 2007).

The author continues to explain that not offering a housing option such as GIH is also exclusive of trans* students:

> Even more dangerous is the effect that sex-based housing has on individuals with gender-identity conflicts. Sex and gender have medically and psychologically been identified as separate concepts; an individual can be a biological male, but still hold a female gender identity. Sex-based policies perceive identity as a purely binary system, rather than a nuanced continuum of gender concepts (SU Student Newspaper, 2007).

This article summarizes initial student opinions in support of GIH, which was already under conversation by SU Residence Life staff.

Though this article was published in 2007, Jackson and Grant, former SU employees, had been working to implement GIH at SU since 2003. The process began with Jackson and Grant researching other successful policies. Jackson explained this,

> We started in a very casual way looking at what institutions were doing in that regard. And at that point in time, the only institution that really seemed to be doing anything in that arena was [a neighboring peer institution]. And their first attempts at it were pretty dramatic failures. And so as we saw that starting to play out, we said, "Oh, maybe now's not the time to start looking at that in the ways that they're doing it."

The dramatic failures that Jackson references are related to a peer institution's struggles with implementing GIH. In 2004, a neighboring peer institution was navigating the fallout after an initial GIH policy was rescinded by the institution's administration. The Director of Residence Life at SU in 2006 had worked in Residence Life at the peer institution during their initial implementation of GIH in 2004 and had witnessed some of the issues that arose firsthand. Newspapers from the peer institution's school paper detailed what happened, which included two failed iterations of GIH, one first as a specialty living community for trans* and queer students in 2003, and another, which utilized randomized roommate assignments for students who opted into GIH in 2004. In the summer of 2004, after the Vice President of the peer institution stated,

> I never thought we were going to end up with men and women together in double rooms...I was quite explicit that we would not pair men and women in the same room, that the University would not support that. What we were trying to do was provide a level of privacy for people who are questioning their gender identity (Peer Institution Newspaper Article, 2004).

As Jackson and Grant worked on the policy draft at SU, they were acutely aware of the issues this other institution had faced, and were concerned about replicating similar mistakes at SU. The SU student newspaper summarized what occurred at the peer institution, and how this was taken into account at SU:

In fall 2004, [the peer institution] left "gender-neutral" as a choice on its housing application. 80 students checked it off, 16 were assigned gender-neutral rooms, and 12 backed out after ResLife called and explained the exact definition of "gender-neutral." Four students were successful in attaining their desired living situation.
After much debate among student groups and various university authorities, a three-year gender-neutral trial period was granted to the proponents of gender-neutral housing. The trial period began during the 2005 to 2006 academic year after much debate and deliberation (SU Student Newspaper, 2008).

Another SU student newspaper reported on a forum that was held in April of 2008 to discuss implementing GIH. The SU Director who was at the peer institution recounted what had occurred,

> "[We] made every mistake we could make [at the peer institution]," he said. [The peer institution] has theme-based housing selection and Res Life had decided to make a gender-neutral theme. Students complained… that the housing was like a "zoo" where people "came to look at the transgendered population" (SU Student Community Newspaper, 2008).

In 2005, a shift began to occur on the SU campus in regards to language. "We started to shift our language around how we talked about our facilities, our spaces, our communities. And rather than calling them coed, we started calling them mixed gender. So to acknowledge that gender is more than a dichotomy" (Jackson). Near the end of

2006, the then Director of Residence Life tasked Jackson and Grant with drafting a Gender Inclusive Housing policy.

> On behalf of the department at some point [the Director] made a commitment that we would do it. And I remember distinctly that that commitment was made prior us to really knowing what we were doing or what the process, policy would say. But that we as a department had made that commitment that we're going to do this. And then [the Director] left (Jackson).

In 2007, Jackson and Grant assembled a committee comprised of students and the Gender and Sexuality Coordinator, whose position had just been established, to discuss the policy. The students selected for the committee largely came from Student Government and the LGBTQ club, who had been working to increase policies in support of trans* students at SU for years. Some changes that these students had worked on included amending SU's non-discrimination policy to include transgender individuals in May of 2006 (SU Student Newspaper, 2006a), as well as identifying gender-neutral bathrooms and installing gender-neutral locker and changing rooms in the athletic building (SU Student Newspaper, 2006b).

From this committee work, Jackson and Grant realized that they needed to focus on educating the campus community. "The backlash we were fearful of was people not understanding why we're doing this or what this actually means" (Grant). The backlash that they were concerned about stemmed in part from their knowledge of the peer institution, but also from emerging national attention on the policies. In late 2006, *Inside Higher Ed* published an article titled, "A Room for Jack and Jill" (Redden, 2006), which highlighted several institutions that recently implemented GIH. Redden (2006) summarized some concerns that campuses had been met with,

> The mixed-gender options have been criticized on a number of fronts, among them that they encourage sexual promiscuity, increase the risk of sexual assault and shield students from having to learn how to get along and live with someone of their own gender.

Based on some of these concerns, Grant and Jackson wanted to make sure they were educating the SU community about the new GIH policy. This education was going to be important, because SU's emerging definition of GIH diverged from the few other universities with such policies.

> When we looked at other schools that were doing these types of policies at the time, a lot of them were offering what they called gender neutral or gender-inclusive housing, but didn't really fit our definition of it. [Our] suites and apartments had always been mixed, from the 80s... So there was kind of this idea that if you compared what we were already doing to other schools that said they had gender neutral housing, we were already doing what other schools said gender neutral housing was. And in our mind, we weren't actually doing it until we had integrated bedrooms. So I think that's something that's kind if important to recognize as well during this process (Grant).

Jackson and Grant, along with the committee, were therefore working on a definition of GIH that expanded beyond just apartment and suite living arrangements.

They also had to decide where on campus they wanted to offer GIH. After examining where other campuses offered GIH, Jackson discussed how they ultimately determined to allow students to live in GIH anywhere on campus.

> I guess maybe normalization, if that's right word, philosophy approach was really pretty significant in how we developed our process and our policy. So other institutions said gender neutral housing can happen on this floor in this building...And we said let's let it happen everywhere. Why not? Why should we limit this to one wing of one floor or one building? We've got mixed gender floors in almost all of our facilities (Jackson).

Grant and Jackson also realized that SU's policy differed from what peer institutions were implementing in that students would enroll in GIH through the housing lottery.

> Students made it pretty clear that this needed to be just like anything else. That there shouldn't be special steps involved. They shouldn't need to get special approval or need to have a special meeting. But students should just be able to sign up for this if that's what they wanted to and have that be no different than a student who wanted to sign up for some other housing option (Jackson).

This meant that Gender Inclusive Housing was implemented across campus, in all living options for upperclass students.

But as they continued to draft the policy, they were also cognizant of who GIH would not be a suitable housing option for.

> Even though there's the social justice and the more liberal aspect, you still have conservative Jewish students where gender is very relevant. So living with people of the same gender both for males and for females, especially with the more conservative or Orthodox students was something very important and we wanted to make sure that we were being respectful of that and recognizing those needs as well as creating something that would meet the needs and be respectful for transgender… students (Grant).

Ultimately, Residence Life selected corridors in each upperclass residence hall that would remain designated by gender. The first iteration of the policy excluded first year students. The floors were designated as either single gender- male, single gender-female, or mixed-gender.

> A big reason for that was ... The late 2000s at this point in time, we were in a place where we didn't think our incoming students would have really the knowledge or capabilities around what this actually meant…. So we were intentional that this wouldn't be an option for first-year students (Grant).

At the time SU implemented GIH, it was typical for institutions to restrict participation in GIH to only upperclass students (Willoughby, Larsen, & Carroll, 2012). While most institutions in Willoughby, Larsen, and Carroll's (2012) study did not reveal a reason for this, the authors posited it was likely to prevent underage students from living in mixed-gender rooms.

Having determined who was eligible to live in GIH, where students could live in GIH, and how students opted into GIH, they finalized the policy. They then met with the Senior Vice President of Students and Enrollment to present the policy and seek approval for implementation.

> I distinctly remember being in that meeting with [the Senior VP of Students & Enrollment], because to me that felt like this is the big hurdle that we have to overcome. And her response to that was so amazing. She was like, "Why wouldn't we do this? This fits who we are as [SU]."...It just made so much sense to her... She was very, very supportive of it. I think it also gave [SU] a competitive advantage too as we think probably about our peer institutions and what they were offering, I think she saw that as a pretty big win for [SU] to be able to say, "Okay, we're one of the first institutions and the first of our comparison institutions, or among the first of our comparison institutions that are offering this. So she loved having that competitive advantage as well (Jackson).

SU's Student Community Newspaper reported in 2008 that, "most of the upper administration view the new housing policy as progressive or as something new and different to distinguish [SU] from competing schools."

The policy was implemented in 2008, and initially, as reported in the Student Newspaper, it was planned for students to be able to begin opting into GIH once the fall of 2008's housing transfer process opened. An article from the newspaper explains,

> Residence Life was prepared to take a step in the right direction and allow gender-blind housing options the third week of this semester, when changes in housing are permitted. However, it was decided that such options would remain closed until next fall.

The article then summarizes an interview with Jackson, stating,

> ResLife is devoting this year to educating the [SU] community about gender-neutral housing and all it entails. Understanding the specific policies of gender-neutral housing is essential to successfully implementing different gender-blind policies with regard to rooms and bathrooms. A committee is also being formed to gauge a better perspective of how students believe gender neutrality should be achieved at [SU].

The article then summarizes SU's peer institution's precarious implementation of GIH, concluding that Residence Life staff had made the correct decision to postpone the rollout of GIH to the 2009-2010 academic year.

Jackson and Grant worked throughout the 2008-2009 academic year to educate the campus community. SU's Community Newspaper reported, "most people don't understand what transgender means… [and there is therefore a] need to educate the population about terminology, and gender as opposed to biological sex" (2008). The first part of this education included introducing LGBTQ, and specifically, trans* terminology to the community in university forums and online on the Residence Life website. Jackson recalled this information, "there was like a big preamble of sorts of here's words and definitions so when people are reading it, they're like, 'This is what we're actually talking about.'" They also incorporated information about GIH into RA training. Jackson explained this training in which staff told the RAs,

> here's what the policy is, here's what it looks like for students to sign up for it, but then also here's what this is going to mean for you as a CA working with students on your floor in this dynamic. And so that was something we added in various ways over the years in response to that.

In preparation for the first housing selection with GIH as an option they also implemented education prior to the lottery. Grant discussed,

> When we had our room selection info sessions, we would have a section where we would talk about gender neutral housing and what it is. I think when we first rolled it out… we did some type of presentation or open session for people to come talk and learn about it.

Each of these efforts was an attempt to avoid the backlash experienced at their peer institution. During our interview, neither Jackson nor Grant could recall receiving

negative feedback, either from campus constituents or community members. Jackson stated, “I think it speaks to who [SU] is on some level and I think also speaks to the lessons we were able to glean from those who had gone before, the small number of institutions who had gone before to see where their struggles were and try to prepare ourselves to not have that.”

Current GIH Policy

The GIH policy has undergone few changes since its implementation, with the exception of expanding the policy to also include first year students, who opt in by contacting Residence Life. The current policy defines GIH as, “A housing option in which two or more students may share a multiple-occupancy bedroom, in mutual agreement, regardless of the students’ sex or gender. Any room in a mixed-gender area may be considered gender-inclusive” (SU Residence Life Website, n.d.). The policy name was also updated from the original Gender Neutral Housing, to the current Gender-Inclusive Housing in 2015. The next section will contextualize staff and student perceptions of the effectiveness of GIH.

Differing Staff and Student Perceptions

Administrators and students both discussed the GIH policy and other support for trans* students at SU in different ways. Of the students living in GIH who I spoke with, all expressed dissatisfaction with the GIH policy. Opposingly, staff believed that there

were no changes or improvements needed for GIH and that the policy was a successful one. The following section highlights some of these differing perceptions.

Student perceptions of GIH. The trans* students I spoke with expressed dissatisfaction with aspects of GIH and other SU policies geared towards trans* students. Kenai expressed that they had experienced frustration with her roommate pairing. He stated,

> Cis people tend to sign up for gender neutral housing. And I don't think that's necessarily a bad thing, but I think it should be shown that it's geared towards trans people. And the reason I signed up for gender neutral housing was so that I would have a roommate that maybe understood a little bit better and wasn't looking for me to educate her on the whole system, which is kind of what she's been looking for me to do, which is exhausting, frankly. It made me uncomfortable from the get-go, but I also didn't want to be that asshole who is like, "Hey, my roommate's cis, therefore I want a new roommate."

Kenai discussed zir sentiments that GIH should be more specifically focused on trans* students and that a level of education was missing from the GIH program.

Several students also discussed an issue with the door decorations that RAs made for them. Kenai described returning from winter break to find his deadname[5] printed on her room door. “Coming back to seeing your deadname always just sucks. Especially if you come back later, and you know, ‘Oh, you know, 17 people have walked by and now know my deadname. That's fantastic.’” Reuven, who uses gender neutral pronouns, expressed another experience in which their deadname appeared on their room door.

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[5] The term “deadname” or, as a verb, “deadnamed” or “deadnaming” refers to the use of the name someone was given at birth. Many in the trans* community see this as a form of violence, as it either intentionally or unintentionally outs a person as trans* to others.

> My parents don't use my preferred name or pronouns, but they know they exist. They just refuse. Not everyone's out to their parents, but I feel like the people I know who have a complicated relationship with their parents and who are trans have at least tried. So, my mom noticed that I wasn't ... When I got there, my mom was like, "Oh, you didn't ask them to put the name you use?" And I was like, "I didn't know they were going to ... " And then, my previous roommate was like, "Do you want a sharpie?"

Reuven then explained that they blacked out their deadname on the door decoration. SU's official name change policy, discussed in the next section, allows students to indicate a preferred name in the student system, which populates on certain documents campus-wide.

Staff perceptions of GIH. Opposingly, staff often referred to the SU campus as a place where students felt safe, regardless of identity. Julius, the Associate Director of Housing Operations, said, "I think this is definitely a campus where students can feel comfortable being who they are, and not necessarily feel judged about that." Similarly, they also expressed that the current Gender-Inclusive Housing policy has become ingrained in the SU campus. Patricia, the Assistant Director of Housing Operations, discussed, "it just becomes what is the norm more than what it already is. Right? So it already is a norm in a sense at this institution than probably many other institutions." Similarly, Kristin also felt like GIH was a standard offering, saying, "I don't think we really think of mixed gender floors as part of gender-inclusive housing. That's just normal housing."

The only issue with GIH that administrators identified was handling parental concerns. Paul, a Hall Director, discussed one parent interaction from a summer orientation session, "we had a father who had a son or daughter [I can't recall,] who was

looking to participate in the gender-inclusive housing option. And the father was more concerned than, I think, the student. The student had no hesitations." He continued by saying, "so it's really making sure that the parents understand that this is a changing generation, and we don't view this as any different than anything else. Your student will be supported as any other student will be."

Student perceptions of gender-inclusive bathrooms. The first mention of gender-inclusive bathrooms appears in the SU student newspaper in 2006 (SU Student Newspaper, 2006b). This article chronicles members of the LGBTQ student organization working with administrators to identify where gender-inclusive bathrooms can be located across campus, including a few in the student center and an academic building. The article also adds that the students in the LGBTQ club aim "eventually to have at least one non-gendered restroom in each residence quad" (SU Student Newspaper, 2006b). Due to the state plumbing codes, the current Residence Life practice is to label any single stall restrooms as gender-inclusive. Zada discussed an issue with the gender-inclusive bathroom on her gender-inclusive hall. She said,

> the bathroom has been closed for months, and there's been no communication between the administration, the facilities department, and people living on the floor... I had no idea if it was going to be fixed any time this year, what was the deal, because there was no communication about something just as simple, but something as important as a bathroom.

Other students also explained that in this particular residence hall, though there are several floors of gender-inclusive housing, there is only one multi-stall gender-inclusive bathroom. Madeleine, an RA, explained why more of the bathrooms weren't gender-inclusive. "It was something with the city where gender-inclusive bathrooms could only

be single stall. We weren't allowed to make it a gender neutral bathroom on that floor."[6]

Emmery expressed frustration with the length of time the multi-stall gender-inclusive bathroom had been closed.

> I think all the bathrooms on gender neutral floors should be gender neutral. And so, when incidents happen...where the single-stall bathroom has to be closed for months on end, then suddenly that's one less accessible place for trans individuals. And it just doesn't really feel like the department is really taking any necessary steps, currently, to get their shit together. Sorry for the cursing.

Overall, the students agreed that while there were a few single stall gender-inclusive bathrooms on the floors, they were often in use by other students, which results in trans* students having to wait to use the bathroom because the multi-stall gender-inclusive bathroom was out of service.

Staff perceptions of gender-inclusive bathrooms. Staff discussed their encounters with gender-inclusive bathrooms around campus, noting that they viewed

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[6] Madeleine is referring to the state's plumbing code, which, in Section 10.10(18)(g)5, Dormitory Toilet Facilities, states the following, "Toilet facilities, shower rooms and bathing rooms for males and females shall be separate and so designated." Additionally, Section 10.10(18)(r)2, Use of Gender-neutral Toilet Rooms, states that gender-neutral toilets may only be installed as replacements to an equal number of men and women designated toilets, and must be single use:

> Gender designated fixtures may be replaced by single use Gender-neutral toilet rooms in increments of two such that for every male designated fixture replaced by a Gender-neutral toilet room, a female designated fixture must also be replaced by a Gender-neutral toilet room, and vice-versa (State Plumbing Code, n.d.).

Combined, these two codes prohibit multi-stall bathrooms that are not designated as either male or female.

this as a positive step forward as a campus. Kristin, a Hall Director, described going to the theater department and looking for the women's bathroom.

> I was in the theater over the weekend, and they had a sign outside the bathroom that said, "Two urinals, one stall, two sinks." And I was like, "Why do they list what's in the bathroom?" ...So, the theater student was like, "Oh, yeah, we degendered all of them. " I think there are ways in which we're really progressive.

Kristin discussed being familiar with gender-inclusive bathrooms, but not with signs which detailed the contents of a particular bathroom.

Jackson, the former Director, elaborated on the gender-inclusive bathroom history in the residence halls, particularly as it related to the implementation of GIH.

> [SU] had a history of mixed gender bathrooms for many, many years. And so when we rolled out the gender neutral housing policy, the practice prior to gender neutral housing was that floors would vote at the start of each year on how they wanted to designate their bathrooms. When we rolled out gender neutral housing, we as the department started designating bathrooms, so that as students were signing up for housing if it was important for them to be near a gender-designated bathroom or a gender-neutral bathroom that they could choose that if they were selecting housing, so that was a shift we made as part of this too that we haven't talked about.

Grant, the former Associate Director, echoed this decision, adding jokingly, that it was likely they violated the aforementioned plumbing codes by labelling multi-stall bathrooms as gender-inclusive.

Other Policies and Practices

Students also discussed two other policies and practices at SU that impacted them as trans* students: the name change policy and the use of pronouns. At SU, students are able to change their name by logging into their student web portal and

adding in their name in the “preferred name” section. The University Registrar website states, “The university acknowledges that a "preferred name" can and should be used wherever possible in the course of university business and education, except where the use of the legal name is required by university business or legal need” (SU Registrar Website, n.d.). The Registrar website further states that preferred names will be used on course rosters, advisee lists, degree audits, and the online directory.

Despite negative experiences with their chosen name not being used on his door [decoration], Kenai positively discussed the ease of changing her name,

> I think the one policy that I really like is that you can go in and change your name in [SU’s web portal], and it's really easy. It doesn't have to be your legal name. You can just go in, you change it, and that's what appears in teachers' things. So, that's incredible. Just, the simplicity and it's so easy to do and you can do it all online, so it avoids that having to talk to people thing, which is nice.

Other students agreed that they appreciated the ease of updating information in one system and having it transfer throughout campus.

Students discussed mixed success in faculty and peers using their correct pronouns. Reuven explained, “I get misgendered all the time. Even when I tell people my pronouns. They still don't use them.” Zada explained that as a gender-nonconforming student who uses gendered pronouns,

> ...I don't think it's 100% good thing for professors to just ask pronouns...A lot of times, people feel put on the spot if it's like, every single where you go, it's like, "Okay, your name and your pronoun. Say it now."...There should be another system to send your teacher information about it or something like that.

Molly, an RA, discussed hearing from Orientation Leaders that they were instructed to stop asking for pronouns, “because I heard the point was they didn't want

to have anybody be forced to express what pronouns they use or even say if they had any."

Reuven explained another issue associated with faculty and peers using their correct pronouns in their language classes.

> I went to my professor and was like, "These are my pronouns and I want to find a way to use them." And we talked about it, and figured out a solution. And this is Yiddish[7] ...so it was hard. But, then no one else in the class knows them, and then she forgot, she's old, you know, whatever. I don't bring it up, but it makes me so uncomfortable. But, whatever. You can't bring it up all the time. If I did, I would be spending my whole day like, "My pronouns are they/them," interrupting the lecture to be like, "Actually, my pronouns are ..."

After describing the frustration of being misgendered, Reuven ended by saying, "When people actually do use my pronouns, it's a euphoric ... Like, the opposite of dysphoria is euphoria. Finally!"

Summary of SU

Sachar University, a medium-sized private research institution, is located just outside of a major metropolitan area in New England. The institutional identity is still tied closely to its founding roots in social justice and the Jewish tradition. Demographically, SU is a predominantly White campus, and tensions around the administration's lack of support for students of color continue to impact the campus

[7] Yiddish is a language with grammatical gender, in which nouns are gendered as either masculine, feminine, or neuter (Jacobs, 2005). The gender of nouns is determined by either the semantic, or biological, gender (e.g., father, mother), morphological gender (indicated by a word's phonetic properties), or derivational gender, through the attachment of gendered suffixes.

community. SU is also a highly residential university, with over three-quarters of students living on campus.

Organizationally, SU's student affairs offices are decentralized. Clusters of offices report through either the Chief Diversity Officer, the Division of Student Life and Success, or the Vice President for Students and Enrollment. Residence Life reports directly to the Vice President for Students and Enrollment and is closely coupled with orientation, athletics, the health center, and Title IX compliance.

Residence Life at SU is a small department, comprised of ten full time housing professionals. The Gender-Inclusive Housing policy was implemented in 2008 after several years of development. While it did not initially include first year students, today any student can select into GIH, either by contacting Residence Life for first years, or through the annual room selection process. There are select floors in each campus community which remain designated as single gender. This is done primarily with the Orthodox Jewish student community in mind.

Administrators view Gender-Inclusive Housing and the operations around it as a seamless and simple process and housing option. Trans* students, conversely, identified several issues with the experience of living in GIH. Among these concerns were the RAs' use of a student's deadname, the lack of access to multi-stall gender-inclusive bathrooms, and the enrollment of cisgender students in GIH.

There are other policies and practices at SU that trans* students discussed. These include a name change policy, which can be done online. They also discussed the presence, or lack thereof, of gender-inclusive bathrooms across campus. While there

are many in some buildings, such as the theater building, there are none where the main dining hall is located. Lastly, students talked about the inconsistency of pronoun usage across campus, from peers to faculty. These policies and practices impacted the students' experiences across campus.

Findings

As discussed in Chapter I, the purpose of my study is to understand the degree to which a GIH policy is used as an institutional response to normative disruption of the gender binary. Relatedly, my study also aims to understand how the societal influences of normative disruption and institutional characteristics impact the type of institutional response that results. The following section will present the findings for Sachar University, organized by the Emergent Themes identified in Chapter III, Table X. Recall that the two major emergent themes were *Normative Disruption,* the interruption or shift in socially accepted ways of behaving, and *Institutional Response,* the myriad of decisions and outcomes made by institutional administrators to address a problem. Within the findings for *Normative Disruption*, two subthemes emerged: societal influence and institutional influence. I will begin by presenting the findings for Normative Disruption – Societal Influence.

Normative Disruption - Societal Influence

There are several societal influences of normative disruption that impacted Sachar University related to the institutional conceptualization of the gender binary. These influences include an expanded concept of gender, reliance on the gender binary, influences of the external environment, the role of parents, peer institution benchmarking, and the influence of gender roles within sects of Judaism. Each of these represent pressures, norms, or influencers that contribute to the impact of normative disruption of the gender binary on SU.

Expanded concept of gender. At Sachar University, there were several examples in both interviews and documents that demonstrated an institutional understanding that society has shifted to include more than two gender options. As discussed in the campus culture and student body section, members of the SU community felt that students were more comfortable discussing issues of gender, as opposed particularly, to issues of race.[8] Molly, an RA for a GIH floor recalled a moment in her class,

> I've found that, even just in the professors and how mindful they are when they're teaching ... I know in my sociology class, my professor is very aware of all of that [gender identity] and is very careful about what she says and how she expresses it... Like, *"I know this [gender identity] is a thing, but I'm just saying this for now for the sake of the education component of it."* [emphasis added] … there are certain things that might kind of make an assumption or something. It's just important for professors also to be aware of this culture we're trying to create on campus.

[8] As noted in the "Participants" section of the case, the majority of participants, both staff and students, identify as White, which could influence this perception.

In this quote, Molly summarized her interactions with professors around the topic of gender identity. She discussed how a professor has for educational purposes, discussed the gender binary as a possibility, while acknowledging that there are more gender identities than two.

Gender binary. Antithetically, another emergent theme of a societal influence was the existence of a gender binary. This manifested in a few ways at SU, one of which was through religious beliefs, which will be discussed in a subsequent section. Adherence to the gender binary also emerged in ways that students navigated their experiences at SU. Kenai discussed completing a required alcohol education module before arriving at SU.

> Back to the beginning of the year, we had to do this sex and drugs video, and you had to pick a gender. And it had to be male or female. And it was just like, "Really? We're doing this? Today? Okay." And I kind of understand. They were looking for you to know your blood alcohol content, percentages and stuff. And it's different for AMABs and AFABs,[9] just based on body chemistry and stuff like that. Which I understand, scientifically.

Here, Kenai recounts an experience in which hir gender was not listed as an option to select on a required form.

Reuven also discussed how the gender binary constrained their participation in the campus choir.

> In the beginning of the year, the guy who runs the choir was like, "Please, join the choir!" And then I was like, "Okay, I'm kind of interested. How do I audition? What do I need to do?" And then he started talking about it. And they wear formal attire, so if you're a girl, you have to buy this long, black dress and pearls and stuff. Or, if you're assigned female at birth, you know. I'm not a girl, but to

[9] AMAB and AFAB are acronyms which stand for assigned male at birth and assigned female at birth, respectively.

> him, I'm a girl. So, I was like, I would feel so uncomfortable wearing that all the time. And also, it's expensive. So, that's why I didn't do it. And I miss having that opportunity to sing.
> And also, this is a completely different issue, but even if he was like, "Oh, you can wear a suit," I would be in the suit in the women's section, you know? I would just stand out, because it's so gendered, choir is. It's like, all the dresses and the high voices, and all the suits and the low voices. And it's really shitty. And then, also, I am a curvier person and would probably not fit into a suit very well, or one that's made for someone's who's assigned male at birth. So, there's all these issues, plus the money, that I don't want to deal with. And that's the reason that I'm not in this choir. Not because I can't sing, not because I don't want to be, but because of all this crap, you know? And that makes me so annoyed.

In this story Reuven reflects on the experience of being misgendered. They also hypothesize what would have happened if the choir director had allowed them to wear different clothes.

External environment influences. The external environment influences for SU is defined as influences of external environment on campus decisions, culture, and policy. At SU, the external environment of the neighboring urban city and the state influenced the campus culture and contributed to the normative disruption of the gender binary. Students and staff members both mentioned the impact of Sachar's proximity to a large, liberal city. Julius remarked, "I think being a suburb of [the city] really does make things a lot easier for folks in terms of being able to feel a little more comfortable and a little more welcome as opposed to if they were anywhere else."

Patricia also discussed the impact that the state generally, as well as the region SU is located in, has had on LGBTQ issues.

> I think the state… does a really good job in general of trying to support all of the individuals. We have a number of justice organizations that I know who do a good job… They do a lot of advocacy work… they do a lot of work with trying to adjust legislation if necessary. I have friends who work with GLAAD, so I know

> that, clearly, they are doing work around LGBTQA+ issues. But I think that our state is doing a better job than ... our region is doing a better job than most, but also our state in general.

Patricia indicated that there is legislation as well as advocacy groups in the area which work to create inclusive environments for LGBTQ individuals. In addition to the city and state, parents also contributed to the normative disruption of the gender binary.

Parents. Another external environment influence is the role of parents of students at SU. At SU, three parental dynamics emerged as external influences: concerned parents, unsupportive parents, and supportive parents.

Concerned parents. Several staff members discussed conversations they had with parents of students living in GIH, many of whom expressed concern over their student's housing assignment. As mentioned earlier, Paul discussed how part of his job involves navigating parental concerns while still advocating for a student's autonomy. Many concerns from parents appeared to be unfounded, as staff members such as Leanne recounted,

> [T]he mother seemed to be concerned about the wellbeing of her student, who wasn't adjusting well or might be unable to express some of his concerns about living in this space. I ended up meeting with the student and informed him that his mother had called, because he's an adult and deserves to know. And I said, "Hey, your mom called, and she's concerned that you're not connecting to [SU], and I just wanted to make sure that you're feeling okay and that you're doing well here during your first couple weeks." And one of the first things he said to me was, "I think she might be concerned because I'm living in the gender neutral room…I love my roommates."

Another staff member, Kristin, recalled that a father called SU public safety when he witnessed a male student hugging his daughter in her room on move in day. In these

examples, parents demonstrate their concern for their students' safety and wellbeing on campus.

Unsupportive parents. While some parents appeared concerned about their child's safety or the experience that living in GIH might provide them, there were also parents that were unsupportive of their students and their identities. Reuven, a student living in GIH, also discussed that their parents refuse to use their pronouns or name, "My parents don't use my preferred name or pronouns, but they know they exist. They just refuse." Reuven demonstrates that some parents are unsupportive of or unwilling to acknowledge their student's trans* identity.

Supportive parents. Lastly, staff members also recalled conversations with parents who demonstrated that they were supportive of their student's identity and wanted to ensure that SU would be a conducive environment with appropriate resources. Julius stated that he remembered parents asking questions such as, "We've actually worked with our child. This [GIH] is something that we've gone to other schools and asked about. What does this look like here? Will my child be comfortable? How is the selection process? What do we need to do?" He continued to explain,

> For me, my goal was to talk through the options, talk through the process. I think what I found in both instances, which was hard, was they were really looking for, "Can you guarantee me that my child is going to be comfortable," which talking to the parent of an 18 year-old, of course I'd understand why you'd want that… I think it's, again, just working through some of that first time college jitters stuff.

Julius explained that the supportive parents he spoke to wanted to ensure that GIH at SU would be a suitable living environment for their student.

Peer institutions with GIH. As discussed in the "History of GIH at SU" section of the case, events at peer institutions related to their implementation of GIH influenced administrators at SU. This emerged as a theme. One article in the SU Student Community Newspaper (2008) summarized how the backlash at a peer institution influenced the level of deliberate thought that SU administrators put into the rollout of Gender Inclusive Housing:

> Then, [an administrator at the peer institution] described his experience with gender-neutral housing at [the peer institution], where he was the Assistant Director of Residence Life. "[We] made every mistake we could make," he said. [The peer institution] has theme-based housing selection and Res Life had decided to make a gender-neutral theme. Students complained… that the housing was like a "zoo" where people "came to look at the transgendered population."
> He also explained how he was disappointed in the [peer institution's] administration as Res Life had to go to lengths to implement the gender-neutral policy for the entire population. An alum who had made the transition from man to woman spoke to educate the board of trustees. "[Reslife] shouldn't have had to go to such extremes," he stated.

Grant, one of the administrators who crafted the GIH policy at SU, discussed how these incidents at their peer institution shaped their policy development process,

> There were some schools like [the peer institution] where they tried it and had lots of problems and issues that we wanted to make sure we didn't have those same things. That we wanted to make sure that we were looking at all those potential issues and trying to avoid those.

In this example, Grant discussed how the backlash that the peer institution experienced after implementing Gender Inclusive Housing influenced how SU conceptualized their policy development process.

Gender roles within sects of Judaism. As discussed in the "Institutional Overview and Context" section, SU has an Orthodox Jewish population that is approximately 20

times greater than the national population of college-aged Orthodox Jews. One Hall Director, Kristin, discussed her observations,

> We have a pretty significant Orthodox Jewish population on campus, certainly compared to other universities… I do think that those sections of our community have different feelings or opinions about gender and sexuality. Certainly I've noticed a much stricter adherence to expected gender norms. Especially from our Orthodox students. They still worship separately during their services based on gender.

Grant also discussed how the integral the Jewish students are to the culture at SU, "I think it's also important to recognize the strong Jewish tradition on campus, and the cultural impact of that on both the population and who the students are."

Jackson, the other administrator who implemented GIH, reflected on how they accounted for the needs of the Orthodox Jewish students in their policy development,

> The other thing, too, was thinking about our students that even though there's the social justice and the more liberal aspect, you still have Conservative Jewish students where gender is very relevant. So living with people of the same gender both for males and for females, especially with the more Conservative or Orthodox students was something very important and we wanted to make sure that we were being respectful of that and recognizing those needs as well as creating something that would meet the needs and be respectful for transgender and gay students.

Here, Jackson explained how during the GIH development process, administrators had to consider the needs of both trans* students and students who need single gender housing for religious reasons.

The previous sections have reviewed the subthemes which emerged as examples of societal influences of normative disruption. These included the expanded concept of gender, external environment influences, the gender binary, peer institution

benchmarking, and gender roles within sects of Judaism. The following section will discuss the next theme, normative disruption, institutional influences.

Normative Disruption - Institutional Influence

In addition to the various societal influences, there were also a number of emergent themes related to institutional influences of normative disruption. These included the campus culture, the campus culture for queer students, the student population, and instances of students challenging the status quo and supporting marginalized students. Additionally, hot topics on campus and institutional characteristics were other emergent themes that will be discussed in the following sections.

Campus culture. Students and staff both described the campus culture as student-driven and with a focus on social justice issues. It emerged that students felt a disconnect between the social justice mission of SU and administrator responses. Kenai, a student living in GIH, summarized this,

> I've been talking to all the queer people for a while, [SU] hails itself as this, "Social justice! We're really ahead of the times! Look at us be good!" And then it does that. And it's things like that that make you realize there are no trans people in the process of creating those things. No trans person would okay that. They just wouldn't.

Kenai indicates that the lack of inclusion of trans* people in policy creation impacts how trans* students perceive the campus culture. This differs from staff opinions about the campus culture. Seth, the Assistant Director of Community Development, said that at SU, “there's a sense of, when they [students] come to campus ... that this felt like home

or a new version of home for them. They can really feel like they can see themselves here for some time." Here, Seth discusses how staff perceive the campus culture as inclusive for students.

Culture for queer students. The campus culture for queer and trans* students emerged as a theme within the broader campus culture. Specifically, participants and documents indicated paradoxes between staff who perceived the campus culture often accepting of LGBTQ students, reports of bias and discrimination, and student perceptions of a divided community. Kristin, a Hall Director, noted that, "I think it's a generally welcoming place for different sexual identities. I think the students ... They see sexuality or gender, gender expression as much more fluid than college students have in the past."

A study on campus culture conducted at SU revealed, "Over a quarter of LGBTQ students reported being the object of jokes or teasing, or having been personally insulted because of their gender or sexual orientation" (Saxe et al., 2016). The students I interviewed described the queer campus culture as "fragmented." Zada added, "There's not one whole, like, "This is the LGBTQ group on campus." There's a bunch of little small groups." The other students also discussed finding different groups within the queer community to be a part of, including the Jewish queer student group.

Student population. As discussed in the "Campus Culture and Student Body" section of SU's case, the student population at SU was described by administrators as high-achieving, theoretically social-justice oriented, and privileged. Kristin summarized this by saying, "I think that our students who are the more traditional, typical [SU]

students, who are usually White, high SES, higher middle class and from some sort of Judeo-Christian background, tend to find that sense of belonging here." Molly, a White student who is also an RA, said,

> I feel like, just in terms of society, I feel like a lot of people at [SU] have a major awareness of what's going on in the world. Even though we are in a bubble, I feel like people are very conscious of being careful about people's identities, not making assumptions about people, that type of thing.

Here, Molly echoes Kristin's statement that, from her vantage point as a White student, she perceives the campus body as inclusive and accepting.

Other data, from a report written at SU, revealed that,

> With regards to experiences of prejudice, 60 percent of Black students at least "somewhat" agreed that there is a hostile environment toward people of color at [SU], a substantially higher portion than students of other racial/ ethnic groups. In addition, significantly more Black students reported almost all forms of discrimination, including feeling unwelcome in campus organizations, being the object of jokes or teasing, experiencing hostile reactions (Saxe et al., 2016).

This report demonstrates that students of color at SU experience discrimination on campus and might not reflect the same sentiments shared about the student population that White staff and students hold.

Students challenging the status quo. At SU, students are viewed as central to how organizational processes manifest and are also vocal about creating change. Seth, an Assistant Director in Residence Life, said, "I think our students definitely drive our process most of the time. It's their voices that are going to inform the change." This was also reflected in the ways that Grant and Jackson described creating the GIH policy. Grant summarized how students were integral to the policy creation,

> [T]he process by which we implemented the gender neutral housing policy really speaks to social justice from the student perspective. Because on some

> level you were doing some work behind the scenes that they didn't know about, but the policy came about because of a group of students who came together and wanted and were committed to working on it.

In this example, Grant discusses how students were integral to pushing administrators to create a GIH policy.

Supporting marginalized students. One theme that emerged was that it is easier to discuss LGBTQ issues at SU than it is to discuss issues or race or class. Benjamin, one of the Hall Directors, said, "I think that our students are very receptive of talking about larger systemic issues. I find, in my work, that they will more readily talk about marginalized sexualities before they would about race or class differences." Amelia, another Hall Director, added, “I think that, overarching, we're doing a good job, but I think we're not meeting students' needs when it comes to intersectionality… I don't think in general are we doing enough to support students in that sense.” These statements indicate that there may be silos around identity-based support at SU.

Hot topics on campus. As described in the “Campus Culture and Student Body” section of SU’s case, the event called, “Abram Hall” was an influential moment at SU in shaping the campus culture. The SU Student Newspaper summarized the conclusion of this event,

> Twelve days after it began, the [Abram] Hall 2015 protest came to a close last Tuesday, with administrators agreeing to institute several new policies to address racial injustice on campus. Of the original 13 demands the demonstrators made, all but one were addressed in the agreement (SU Student Newspaper, 2015).

Madeleine, an RA, reflected on the campus impact of Abram Hall,

> I think [Abram] Hall is a really important part of [SU] culture… [It] really pushed the administration to make policies that included more racial awareness

> and were more inclusive and recognize how hard it is to be a person of color on the [SU] campus.

The events of Abram Hall, summarized here and in the case, depict a campus climate that has experienced normative disruption around race, and that this disruption influenced how students and staff understand the campus culture. These events also represent a model for how SU administrators have responded to instances of normative disruption outside of the gender binary.

Institutional characteristics. An additional theme was that of the institutional characteristics of SU. As described by participants, the organizational structure of SU in student affairs is loosely coupled and siloed. Julius, an Associate Director in Residence Life, describes this, "We're [Residence Life] affiliated with the Division of Student Life and Success, but aren't necessarily within it completely, so we don't necessarily report to the Dean of Students, but we work very closely with all of those folks." Julius also added that the way that the offices are organized on paper is different than the daily practices at SU,

> For me, there's on in a work chart and then there's what's kind of day-to-day practice. Though there may be differences on an organizational chart, I think that I feel comfortable picking up a phone and calling any one of those folks and saying, "I need your assistance with this," and I think they'd say they'd do the same in terms of kind of supporting students from any vantage point.

Here, Julius discusses how the organizational structure of SU does not fully reflect the day to day work that he does with colleagues in other offices or departments.

Institutional Responses

The second major emergent theme was *Institutional Response.* Within Institutional Response, several themes emerged, including administrative decision making, GIH policy development, and steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. The first theme I will discuss is administrative decision-making.

Institutional Responses – Administrative Decision Making

Administrative decision making emerged as a theme related to the creation and implementation of GIH, as well as several subthemes including GIH implementation and the training of staff. The first subtheme I will discuss is the implementation of Gender-Inclusive Housing.

GIH implementation. One subtheme that emerged was the deliberate and lengthy amount of time administrators took to develop the GIH policy. One example is summarized in the SU Student Newspaper (2008b),

> This year, according to [Jackson], ResLife will work on educating the [SU] community about gender neutral housing. "At this point, we are at a place where we need to spend some time doing some education with the community so that everyone kind of has a really good understanding of what the issues are, what the needs are, why this needs to happen," he said.

The article continued,

> [Jackson] also said that ResLife will gather student input over the next few months by working with [student] organizations... the Student Union Residence Life Committee, in addition to University administration and Community Advisors. ResLife will also conduct programs and forums with students and staff, he said. These programs will educate students, faculty and staff regarding

> gender-neutral housing and will gather input from the [SU] community to help determine how best to implement the policy.

Jackson and Grant also discussed in their interviews the general timeline for GIH development, which took from 2003 to 2009.

Staff training. One subtheme that emerged was the lack of training that staff, both professional and student, said that they received regarding GIH or supporting trans* students. Amelia, a Hall Director, said,

> I think just having more training sessions on cultural backgrounds of individuals who are trans or don't define themselves within the gender binary, and how to be cognizant or maybe just aware of different perceptions or levels of acceptance from different types of communities towards individuals who may not be ... identify with their biological sex at birth. I think that might be an interesting thing to have more training on.

Additionally, neither RA that I spoke with who oversaw GIH floors recalled receiving any training related specifically to residents in GIH.

Institutional Response - GIH Development

Several themes emerged related to the development of GIH at SU. As discussed in the history of GIH section of the case, the process to implement GIH was lengthy and involved many steps, one of which included ensuring that housing options for all students existed. Thus, at SU there are three types of housing, delineated by gender. These differences all emerged as themes within the development of GIH.

Gender-inclusive housing. According to the SU Residence Life website (n.d.),

> [GIH is] A housing option in which two or more students may share a multiple-occupancy bedroom, in mutual agreement, regardless of the students' sex or gender. Any room in a mixed-gender area may be considered gender-inclusive.

GIH can exist on campus in any multiple-occupancy unit, and includes mixed gender housing options, which are discussed next. The way that GIH exists means that students of any gender are choosing to cohabitate in the same room.

Mixed gender housing. Mixed gender housing (MGH) also emerged as a theme. It is a housing option distinct from GIH. The SU Residence Life website (n.d.) defines MGH as, “a floor or community in a residence hall for students of any gender.” Mixed Gender Housing therefore refers to floors, apartments, or suites, in which bedrooms are single occupancy and students of any gender may reside in rooms adjacent to one another. Kristin, a Hall Director, differentiated between MGH and GIH by saying, “I don't think we really think of mixed gender floors as part of gender-inclusive housing. That's just normal housing.” Amelia recalled how issues with MGH might arise,

> I think where we do get some concerns more so often is if we have a mixed gender floor where more of the conservative students, parents, don't want, "My child has to go to the bathroom, she's getting out of the shower, she might walk down the hall and see two male students who live in the door next door to her.”

Here, Amelia discusses how, though MGH is available in the majority of residence halls at SU, it might be a new concept to some community members.

Single gender housing. The last housing option is called single gender housing. This housing option is defined by the SU Residence Life website (n.d.) as, “A floor or community in a residence hall that is designated as male or female.” This housing option is available in three residence halls, two of which are located in predominantly first-year areas. The SU Student Newspaper (2008b) quoted Jackson who said, “[SU] has a unique mixed interest because there's as much interest in gender-neutral housing as there is in

maintaining single-gender housing. In the last few years, we've actually added more single-gender floors at the request of students." Single gender housing exists at SU in order to meet the diversity of student needs.

Problems with GIH. Another emergent theme was issues that students and staff identified with the GIH policy. These problems included the appearance of a student's deadname on a door decoration, as Reuven discussed,

> In the beginning of first semester and the beginning of this semester, the [RA] or whatever, puts on your door a burrito or something and then your name on it for who lives there. And they do legal names. Even though my preferred name is in the system. You just have to look for it, for some reason. So, I have to get a sharpie and correct it, and it looks weird, and people are like, "They changed their name somehow!"

Another issue that Kenai identified was how roommates are assigned. Ze explained his experience,

> My roommate is cis and het, and I'm still reeling on why. She explained. She's like, "I wanted to get into the community!" Because she's from the south where there's not a lot of LGBT community, openly, at the very least. So she wanted to get introduced to the community, is what she said. I just felt there are better ways to do it. And it was just a very ... It's always been an uncomfortable experience for me.

Jackson summarized some of the issues that the administrators who implemented the policy realized,

> Something that at least I, I guess, not too long after we implemented kind of had this realization was, gosh, we've spent all this time and energy to build a policy and the primary goal was providing housing options for trans students. And I think fairly quickly on I realized that for many trans students, this isn't really the best option for them… I think it speaks to us not really fully understanding what the needs of trans students were. To really acknowledge that there's a huge privacy need that a lot of trans students have that living in a multi-occupancy space isn't going to be the best solution for them. So, yeah, again, like I said, I don't necessarily regret the work that we did or think it was bad by any means, but I think ... I remember having that realization after

> meeting with some students and I was like, "Yep, you need something different than this, and that's okay."

Jackson discusses here the multiplicity of issues that might emerge surrounding a GIH policy, regardless of administrators' intentions.

Institutional Response - Steps to Reestablishing Homeostasis

The last theme that emerged related to institutional response was the steps that SU administrators took to reestablish homeostasis as a result of normative disruption of the gender binary. As defined in Chapter One, homeostasis is also defined as the equilibrium within the institution (Katz & Kahn, 1966). Reestablishing organizational homeostasis emerged as a theme related to institutional responses to normative disruption. Julius summarized the sentiment that Residence Life had reestablished homeostasis related to GIH,

> I have always been very proud of our process, knowing that it's something that has been on the forefront, for us ... Not even really on the forefront. I don't want to say back burner, because it's not important, but it's just been so ingrained here, specifically in the housing realm, that we don't even think about it… Because for us, it's just been so commonplace. I think that that is really important.

Other policies and practices emerged as themes related to reestablishing homeostasis, to varying degrees, including bathrooms, the name change policy, and use of pronouns.

Gender-inclusive bathrooms on campus. One theme that emerged regarding reestablishing homeostasis was access to gender-inclusive bathrooms on campus. Emmery, a student living in GIH, explained,

> I know sometimes me and my friends will go to [the] dining hall and they won't have gender neutral bathrooms and we'll have to wait to use the bathroom until we can walk all the way back because we don't feel comfortable using a gendered bathroom.

They explained how a lack of gender-inclusive bathrooms made them feel,

> There aren't any in [the dining hall building]. And those are the buildings that I think of mostly, because it's where you go to eat. So, the lack of the bathrooms around literally the only places to get food is kind of a letdown.

Emmery explained that there are spaces on campus that they prefer to hang out in based on bathroom access,

> I typically hang out on the hall that I live in, in gender neutral housing. I think it's really nice to have access to gender neutral bathrooms. I also like hanging out in the theater building, not only because I take classes there, but also because all the bathrooms in that building are gender neutral.

Beginning as early as 2006, SU began assessing the number of gender-inclusive bathrooms on campus. An article in the SU Student Newspaper (2006b) stated, “The administration is collaborating with [the trans* student organization] to consider not labeling certain campus restrooms with a designated gender. [The organization president] said creating more "non-gendered" bathrooms is a positive step toward making transgendered [sic] and gender-neutral students feel more comfortable using campus restrooms.” Additionally, the Gender and Sexuality Office maintains a campus map that indicates where on campus gender-inclusive bathrooms can be found.

Name policy. As mentioned in the “Other Policies and Practices” section of the case, a theme related to institutional response to normative disruption emerged as the implementation of a name change policy. According to the SU Registrar Website (n.d.),

> The university recognizes that many of its members use names other than their legal names to identify themselves. As long as the use of this different

> name is neither offensive to others, nor for the purpose of misrepresentation, the university acknowledges that a "preferred name" can and should be used wherever possible in the course of university business and education, except where the use of the legal name is required by university business or legal need.

Kenai, reflected on the ease in which she was able to change hir name,

> I think the one policy that I really like is that you can go in and change your name… and it's really easy... So, that's incredible. Just, the simplicity and it's so easy to do and you can do it all online, so it avoids that having to talk to people thing, which is nice.

Kenai discusses that the name change policy is perceived as simple and straight-forward.

Pronouns. Lastly, a theme emerged from students in regards to the use of someone's pronouns and institutionalizing asking others for their pronouns in meetings and classes. Kenai discussed what occurred in his orientation group,

> I don't know if all OLs did this or if only mine did, because they knew they had gender neutral housing as their group, but my OL, we always did pronouns with our names, which was great in OL groups. That's Orientation Leaders. So, in our orientation groups, we introduced ourselves with pronouns, which was fantastic. And we also had name tags, and I know a lot of trans people wrote their pronouns on their name tags, which was good.

Reuven added their experience with being misgendered on campus,

> I get misgendered all the time. Even when I tell people my pronouns. They still don't use them. Just because, I guess, I look kind of androgynous, but I don't ... I guess I don't look androgynous enough for people to question ... But, whatever. You can't bring it up all the time. If I did, I would be spending my whole day like, "My pronouns are they/them," interrupting the lecture to be like, "Actually, my pronouns are ... "But, it would be so much ... It would make a world of a difference. When people actually do use my pronouns, it's a euphoric ... Like, the opposite of dysphoria is euphoria. Finally!

In this quote, Reuven summarizes how they feel when someone correctly genders them.

Summary of Findings

In the previous section I discussed the findings that emerged from Sachar University. I organized these findings into two major themes*, Normative Disruption and Institutional Response.* Within Normative Disruption, two subthemes emerged: societal influences and institutional influences. Three subthemes emerged within Institutional Response: administrative decision making, GIH development, and steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. In summary, these themes demonstrate how normative disruption of the gender binary impacted SU, and the various ways that SU responded.

Newell Arts College (NAC)

The next institution that I will introduce and discuss is Newell Arts College (NAC). The following sections will provide a case description as well as the findings at NAC.

Case Description of Newell Arts College

The following sections comprise the case description of NAC. As discussed in Chapter III, this description is organized into three parts: institutional overview and context; case participants and institution; and GIH and other responses to normative disruption. Within these sections, I utilized data from documents, field notes, and interviews to construct the narrative for this case.

Institutional Overview and Context

I arrived at NAC by walking through several other college campuses that line the streets adjacent to NAC's tiny campus. Newell Arts College (NAC), is located on a major thoroughfare of a large city in New England. The campus itself is small, with the majority of buildings contained within a city block. There are two additional residence halls located across the main street. When I arrived on campus I noticed how new all of the buildings seemed. The central hub of the small campus, the student center, was busy and crowded with students from NAC, but also from neighboring colleges, as evidenced by their school paraphernalia. The focus on the arts is immediately apparent, as there are student exhibitions scattered throughout every building.

NAC is located in close proximity to five other institutions of higher education, which collectively form the Consortium of City Colleges (CCC). Allen, the Assistant Director of Residence Life, summarized NAC's urban feel and adjacency to other CCC schools, "I'm looking out the window right now and I can see another academic institution...I can see apartment buildings and housing and street cars and buses...There's no quad that people hang out at and everyone gathers there." Here, Allen discusses the close proximity that the CCC schools have to one another as well the small size of NAC. In my own observations, it appeared that given the lack of central gathering spaces, many NAC students spent time in smaller rooms on the same floors as their majors were located. This characteristic mirrored how central a student's major at

NAC is to their identity. The next section reviews this as well as some of the other institutional characteristics of NAC.

Mission and Institutional Characteristics

NAC is a small public arts college, founded in the late 19th century with a mission to educate students in the state about the creative arts. Today, NAC continues its mission with a focus on graduating leaders in the creative economy. Its mission statement reads in part, that NAC "prepare[s] students from diverse backgrounds to participate in the creative economy as artists, designers, and educators, and to engage in the well-being of their society" (NAC Mission, n.d.). Marlene, a Hall Director, explained the influence of being an art school on institutional policies:

> It is full of creativity. I mean, that comes along with being at an art school, but I think that that also manifests in our approaches to how we go about policies and procedures, and working with students. I think that it's great because we aren't the most like rigid, black and white institution when we approach handling situations.

Marlene's perception of how creativity influences Newell Arts College is also reflected in the institution's value statement, which emphasizes the arts as a mechanism for changing lives.

As a public institution, NAC is focused on serving students from the state and from greater New England. One of NAC's values is, "We are committed to being an accessible educational, cultural, and economic resource for the diverse range of [state] citizens" (NAC Mission, n.d.). Kelsey, a Hall Director, discussed how this shapes the student body,

> We have students from out of state and international students, but a lot of students are from the New England area. They're [NAC] a lot more accessible. I see a much greater range of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and I've seen at the private schools I've worked at before. It's still pretty, it's a pretty white school.

The next section reviews the demographics of NAC students in greater detail.

Undergraduate Demographics

NAC's 2016 Performance Report includes demographic information for the undergraduate student population. Of the 1,700 students enrolled in the 2016-2017 academic year, 67% were in-state students, and an additional 17% were from other New England states. The remaining 16% of students were categorized as outside of New England. NCES data shows that in the Fall of 2016, 60% of the student body identified as White, 10% as Hispanic, 7% as Asian, and 4% as Black. Though the admissions application to NAC[10] asks applicants if they identify as transgender, the College reports enrollment by sex assigned at birth. In the Fall of 2016, 71% of students identified as female, and 29% as male.

NAC's Diversity Statement centers social justice as an institutional goal, in part because NAC "recognize[s] the harm caused by systems of oppression" and "draw[s] strength... from deliberately building a diverse, inclusive, and equitable community"

[10] The NAC admissions application asks in supplemental questions, "Do you identify as transgender?" Possible responses are, "yes," "no," or "prefer not to answer." Additionally, the application asks "What pronouns do you use?" and applicants may select from the following options: he/him/his; she/her/hers; ze/zir/zirs; they/them/theirs; other (please specify).

(NAC Diversity Statement, n.d.). Additionally, NAC is part of a statewide four-year public institution strategic planning group, and in tandem with NAC's Social Justice Task Force, has implemented a plan to be a more diverse and socially just college by 2019 (NAC Plan for a More Diverse, Socially Just College, 2016). Despite this Statement, several administrators acknowledged that institutionally, NAC has work to do with regard to supporting students of color. Allen compared institutional progress for LGBTQ students to students of color,

> We're more uncomfortable with, we're definitely uncomfortable talking about race. We do not have that figured out as an institution. We're trying, but our default is, "Look how good we are at gender and sexuality." The two are not the same. Not remotely the same.

Marlene echoed this sentiment by stating, "I mean, one huge thing that is happening on our campus ... is issues around race and diversity in general, but specifically race and racism and addressing that."

A report studying the campus environment for marginalized students and faculty found that while Hispanic and White-Hispanic students were "less likely to agree that [NAC] promotes an appreciation of cultural differences, has a commitment to diversity, and that [NAC] does not have a lot of racial tension" (Assessment of Living and Working at NAC Executive Summary, 2015). In comparison, this report found, "[n]early 100% of students, faculty and staff agreed that the campus climate was positive for people who identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual and nine in ten classified NAC as positive for people who identify as transgender" (Assessment of Living and Working at NAC Executive Summary, 2015). The campus culture, discussed in the next section, reflects the views

that institutionally, students and faculty feel NAC has cultivated a supportive environment for LGBTQ students.

Campus Culture and Student Body

Several administrators described the student body at NAC as creative and artistic. Allen, the Assistant Director, identified the campus as, “a fairly liberal, left leaning place.” Kelsey, a Hall Director, summarized the campus culture and student body by saying, “I think just being a public art school really defines the student population here.” Allen added, “I think students are very comfortable with this idea of expression in all of its forms, in terms of what they're about and who they are and how they show that to the world.” Brigid, a sophomore living in GIH, expanded on a commonality she sees in the student body, “I guess it's a different type of people who go to school here cause everyone has a different background but everyone also has an art background, so everyone is kinda weird you could say.”

In addition to an arts focus, administrators also described the student body as socially engaged and interested in social justice and activism, particularly around the LGBTQ community. Kelsey stated that recently on campus there had been, “[a] lot of conversation around best supporting students of color and supporting trans students and genderqueer students...a lot of awareness raising and activism around like policies that are related to like names and pronouns.” The Assessment of Living and Working at NAC (2015) confirmed that, “several participants explained that the school was stronger

with respect to supporting gender and sexual minorities, but struggled to support students of color."

Administrators and students coupled the activist culture with a supportive environment for LGBTQ students at NAC. Sage, a first year student summarized this when ze said, "[NAC] is a very queer focused school." Allen described the student body as growing in comfort in exploring their identities, "Our students are becoming a lot more comfortable in terms of identifying as gender non-conforming or talking about their exploration and figuring out their identity and what that is."

Antithetically, there are some students who do not feel comfortable at NAC due to the campus culture. Marlene explained how a resident of hers ultimately decided to transfer out of NAC because he did not feel like he fit in.

> I had a resident, who ended up leaving [NAC], who I talked to, who is one of those outliers about their experience in orientation was like, "I was totally like floored that that was the first experience with Gender Matters [an orientation session about gender identity and sexuality] ... I wasn't even here for more than an hour, that was a lot to take in. And, I feel that I'm not ... It's not cool for me to be straight." In his words, "Straight and normal, here at [NAC]. So, I shouldn't be here." ...So, I think that we do have work ... I think it's wonderful, like we've kind of swung a pendulum. Like, we went from like not acknowledging things to like really acknowledging things and I think we'll find that place again, where we maybe swing back a little bit to make space for all and not space for the ones that are usually are isolated and ignored.

Nicholas, the Housing Operations Coordinator, added to this, "you can be respectful and inclusive of like gender nonconforming individuals, but we can still be respectful of our cisgender students and who may come from like more conservative backgrounds." A staff member who participated in the Assessment of Living and Working at NAC (2015) shared this feeling at NAC, stating, "We need to do a better job of creating a safe space

for vulnerability to speak out. [There's] a lot of fear about being judged or misjudged – people are scared to ask what people mean." The next section discusses how the campus culture at NAC differs from other schools in the Consortium of City Colleges, as well as how NAC and other CCC schools interact.

Consortium of City Colleges

The Consortium of City Colleges is comprised of six institutions, including a technological college, a health professions school, a Catholic college, and two other institutions. Combined, over 16% of the city's college students attend one of the CCC institutions (CCC Website, n.d.). CCC's website states that the mission of the Consortium is, "to add value to student academic and social life while seeking innovative methods of investing in new services and containing the costs of higher education" (CCC Website, n.d.). The institutions in the CCC share resources and allow for students to cross register in courses. NAC shares its dining hall with two other institutions, one of which does not have its own dining facility. NAC also shares an upperclass residence hall, the Conservatory, with one of the other colleges. A shared health center is also located in this residence hall. Desiree, the Senior Director of Residence Life, explained how sharing the Conservatory works,

> RAs do rounds together, so there's one [NAC] and one [CCC college] RA on at night, and they walk the building together and do rounds together. If they have to confront an incident, whoever's school it is, they sort of take the leadership. Our public safety responds to everything, because it's our building, but if there's an incident that involves [a CCC student] and a [NAC] student, the [NAC] student will go through our conduct process. The [CCC] student will go through their

> conduct process, so some of it's shared, but some of it's like very clearly delineated.

In addition to sharing resources such as residence or dining halls, Desiree discussed how a few years ago, administrators and students at NAC came together to form a CCC LGBTQ student organization to support students at CCC schools that did not offer such a club. Desiree explained,

> A while ago, [NAC] established a [CCC] LGBT group because there are some institutions in [CCC] really didn't have a strong LGBT club. One in particular [the CCC Catholic college] was not yet able to establish an LGBT club. We worked at creating one here at [NAC] where we would invite all other students to be part of. Now every school has their own, so it's no longer needed to have a [CCC] one.

Though the CCC offers many benefits, Desiree explained that issues sometimes arise between students at other CCC schools and NAC students, “Occasionally we'll get a [NAC] student who will let us know that what students are making nasty comments or bias related comments and we often reach out to that institution.” Sage, a student living in GIH in the Conservatory, echoed Desiree’s statement, “We do share a building with the [CCC] kids and sometimes they don't always understand everything about the gender-inclusive nature of [NAC], but that comes with learning.” Sage also spoke about how ze has observed a distinct difference between students at the different CCC schools, and also had negative experiences with some other CCC students:

> We do live right next to [the CCC technology school] and a lot of the [NAC] students keep their distance, because [the CCC technology school] is full of a lot of cis-males and we don't really relate or get along because... there is a separation, 'cause we don't really feel respected by them fully 'cause we'll get looked at as the weird art kids and then sometimes that does translate back in gender and sexuality and presentation.
> And some of the [CCC college] kids, too, they have an air of superiority over us even though we share the exact same housing. [NAC] is very isolated in a sense. You can tell when something is off if you're part of that queer group. You just

> don't feel as included or as recognized as you should. Often you'll get misgendered or people won't respect your pronouns and there's been an instance where I had someone ask me if Sage was my real name in a very rude manner, which made me uncomfortable, so that was ... You know, you just try to brush it off and you're like, okay gonna go back to [NAC] now.

Administrators seemed to be aware of the issues Sage recounted. Desiree discussed how she frequently calls over to other CCC schools when she is made aware of an incident between NAC and other CCC students, “VPs work well together, Deans work well together, the directors. I can pick up the phone and call anyone of them. I've known them all for a very long time.” Staff and students were able to identify benefits and some areas for improvement within the CCC model.

The previous parts of this chapter introduced NAC, the CCC, and reviewed student demographics and campus culture. The following section will introduce all of the participants and Student Affairs at LU.

Case Participants and Institution

The next section of this case description introduces the participants of my study at NAC. I then review the organizational structure of student affairs at NAC, followed by a description of Residence Life. These sections provide an overview of the organization of subunits within NAC that were involved in the creation and implementation of GIH, which is discussed afterward.

Participants

I interviewed all five staff members in Residence Life at NAC, as well as three students who live in Gender-Inclusive Housing. Below is a table which summarizes my participants, their position at NAC, their pronouns, and whether or not they attended or worked at an institution with a GIH policy prior to arriving at NAC.

Table 14

Summary of NAC Participants

Name	Position	Pronouns In Use	Race/ Ethnicity	Attended/ Worked at Other Institutions with GIH
Administrators				
Desiree	Senior Director of Residence Life	she/her/hers	White	No
Allen	Assistant Director of Residence Life	he/him/his	White	No
Marlene	Hall Director	she/her/hers	White	Yes
Kelsey	Hall Director	she/her/hers	White	Yes
Nicholas	Housing Operations Coordinator	he/him/his	White	No data
Students				
Sydney	Sophomore, living in GIH	he/him/his or they/them/theirs	White	N/A
Brigid	Sophomore, living in GIH	she/her/hers	White	N/A
Sage	First year, living in GIH	ze/zir/zirs	White	N/A

Desiree and Allen developed and implemented the Gender-Inclusive Housing policy at NAC. Of the three students that I interviewed, Sydney and Brigid live together in a double in a two-bedroom apartment with two of their other friends. Sage lives in a triple with "a trans boy and a non-binary person." Now that the participants have been introduced, I will next discuss the organizational structure of NAC.

Organizational Structure of NAC

At NAC, the student affairs offices all report up through the Vice President for Student Development to the President. The Assistant Vice President for Student Development oversees four offices: Residence Life, Student Activities, Counseling, and Student Leadership. The following figure is a visual representation of this organization.

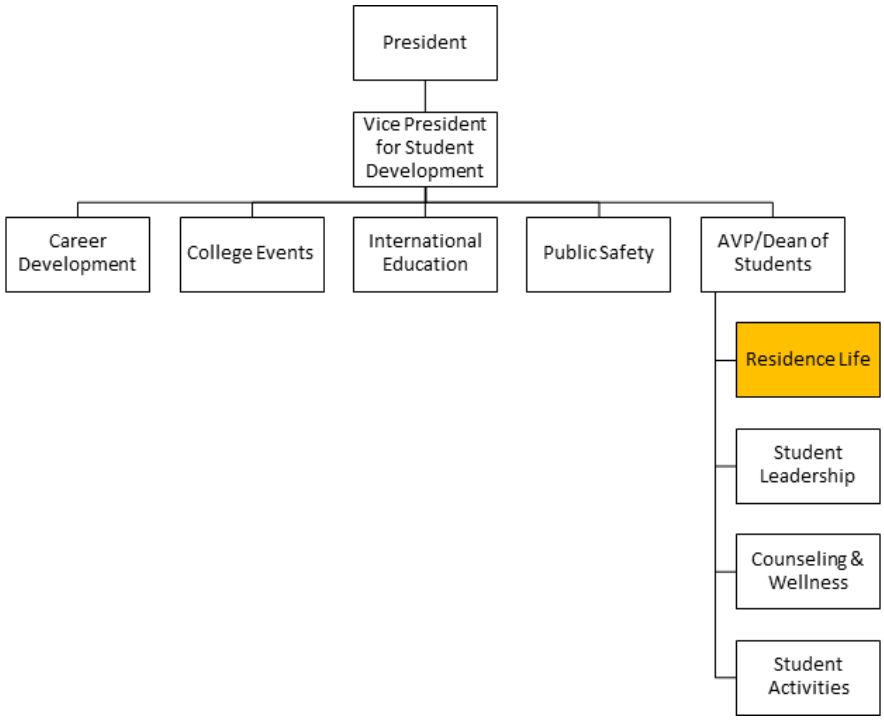

Figure 9
Organizational Chart of NAC Student Affairs

The four departments overseen by the Assistant Vice President for Student Development are closely coupled. They hold regular division meetings which are attended by staff at all levels from each department. Desiree, the Senior Director of Residence Life, spoke about how each department is responsible for leading discussions and she led one recently about supporting trans* students as they transition into the workplace.

> [O]ne of the things that I brought to our most recent division meeting...was the topic of non-binary gender, gender nonconforming in the workplace and talking about whether or not we do a good job or if we do anything to assist in this particular population.

Desiree discussed how this topic came up with her Residence Life staff and she wanted to explore it as a division. The following section reviews the organizational structure of Residence Life.

Residence Life

The Department of Residence Life is located in the Campus Center in the Student Life suite. The suite is open with a large welcome desk and several cubicles in the center, and the walls are lined with small offices. The Senior Director of Residence Life is the only staff member with an office in the Campus Center. The other Residence Life administrators work out of offices in the residence halls.

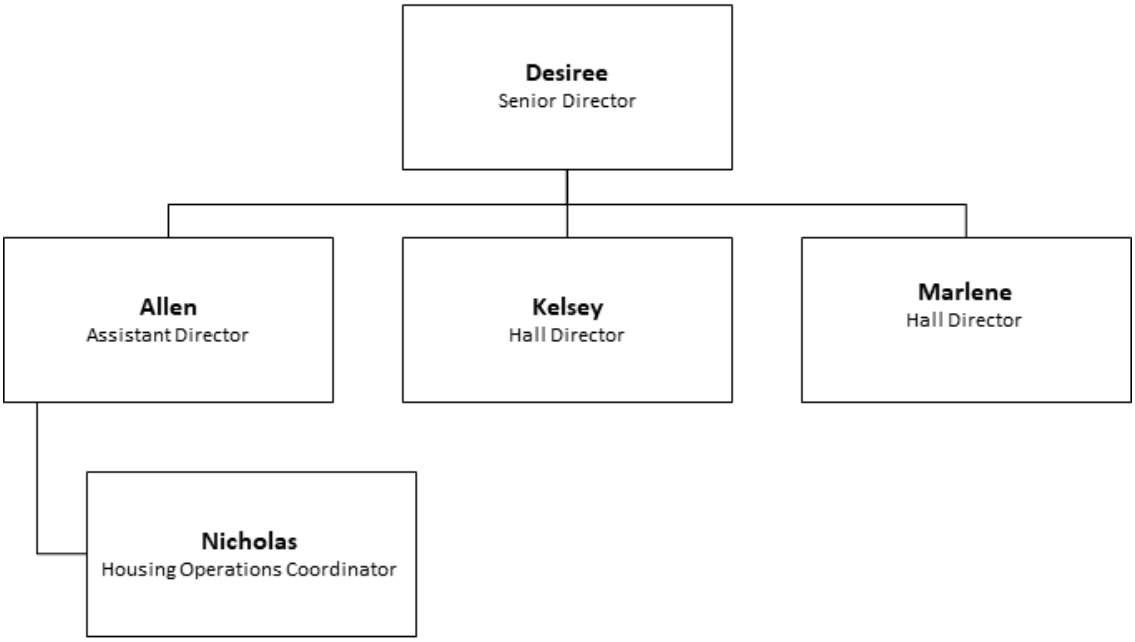

Figure 10
Organizational chart of NAC Residence Life

The Residence Life team is small, comprised of five full-time employees. Desiree, the Senior Director, supervises the two Hall Directors, Kelsey and Marlene, as well as Allen, the Assistant Director. Allen divides his time between housing operations and serving as a hall director to one of the upperclass residence halls. He also supervises Nicholas, the Housing Operations Coordinator, who oversees room placement and billing. The next section will review the history and development of GIH at NAC.

Gender-Inclusive Housing and Other Responses to Normative Disruption

The final section of this case description begins with the history of Gender-Inclusive Housing at NAC, which spans from 2013-2014. I then review the GIH policy, current as of 2017. Finally, this case concludes with a discussion of the other policies and practices NAC has established as responses to normative disruption of the gender binary. These include the creation of a name change policy, orientation programming, use of pronouns, and workplace transition programs.

History of GIH at NAC

GIH at NAC was implemented for the 2014-2015 academic year. In discussing what was the original impetus for creating such a policy, Desiree cited an increase in trans* identified students as one reason why they began discussing GIH,

> It was also at the time we were getting more students who were identifying as trans and although we had co-ed housing for a while since 2001...I found myself having conversations with students about what opportunities were made available to them within the current structures of housing, which was single sex.

The co-ed housing that existed at the time allowed students of different gender identities to live together in apartments comprised of single sex bedrooms. Desiree explained how housing assignments worked prior to 2001,

> Assignments were by biological sex, joining by biological sex and then the co-ed, which was by apartment, so single sex rooms but co-ed by apartments or suites. I found myself putting trans students in singles. I was doing what ended up being what some institutions had claimed was gender-inclusive housing, but in fact it was co-ed housing. Then we started to see the complexities of really

> gender nonconformity and gender language and how students were identifying. Things were coming up that complicated that co-ed or single sex option.

Given the changing student need, Desiree and Allen began researching what peer and neighboring institutions offered in terms of GIH, and began working on a policy proposal. Allen discussed this benchmarking process.

> We looked at other institutions and tried to get a sense of, "Do folks have this? If yes, what does the policy look like?" ... Some institutions had already gone that way. Others were, when asked the question you asked me, why put this in place, when we asked, "Is there any reason you don't have this," no one had a good answer.

The GIH proposal included language from selected peer institutions as context for decisions made regarding the policy. NAC's proposal focused on expanding the opportunities for students to live in different housing configurations.

> [B]eing able to simply provide a bed space to a student in need is only a fraction of the equation. The department is striving for new ways to assist those underrepresented students in addressing their needs within on-campus housing. One of the areas that the department is hoping to achieve this is by providing students with the opportunity to apply for a gender-inclusive living option (NAC GIH Proposal, 2013).

The proposal further outlined that GIH would differ from the already practiced co-ed housing option, by allowing students to live together, regardless of gender identity, in multiple occupancy rooms. Desiree and Allen also included language about who the policy would serve. They identified two populations that might benefit from the implementation of GIH: trans* students and students who are uncomfortable with having a same-sex roommate. Kelsey, a Hall Director, elaborated on who the latter students might be, "we had a student once who said something like, 'I grew up with all brothers, so I would love an experience of living to something different.'"

The students who decided to live in GIH would have to submit a separate application following their room selection during the housing lottery. This application asked for further information regarding rationale for living in GIH. Desiree explained this,

> When students indicated on our housing application form that they were interested in gender-inclusive housing, it was marked off and really the next step was us sending out an application to them, where we reminded them what the spirit of gender-inclusive housing was.

Nicholas, the Housing Operations Coordinator, elaborated on the purpose of the additional application. He said that students are asked a series of questions, including:

> What they believe gender neutral housing is and will provide them. Why they're interested in it…[I]t does ask them to be reflective because ultimately...we want to know that they fully understand what they're asking to be a part of, before we put them in that space. Knowing, that we're not going to be able to have much ability to shift after the fact once they've arrived.

Incoming students would need to also have a conversation with a Residence Life staff member to ensure their understanding of GIH prior to being placed in a GIH unit.

The proposal also outlined how vacancies would be addressed. In multiple occupancy units, if a vacancy occurred, the remaining resident would have the option to pull in a student of their choice. If not, then the room would revert to a single gender room and housing assignments would be made based on students' sex assigned at birth.

In December of 2013, Desiree sent a draft of the Gender-Inclusive Housing policy to the Student Trustee on the Board of Trustees. In this document, GIH was defined as,

> Gender-inclusive housing is defined as a housing option in-which two or more students may share a multiple-occupancy bedroom, in mutual agreement, without regard to a student's sex or gender. Gender-inclusive housing supports the College's non-discrimination policy and fully commits to the principles of

> social justice with respect to sexual orientation, sex, gender, and gender identity (NAC GIH Proposal, 2013).

The policy also emphasized that it was the student's choice to live in GIH as well as to disclose this information to their parents or guardians.

Desiree reflected on the proposal process and discussed how the policy was reviewed by the Board of Trustees,

> It was brought to I believe it was the students affairs committee or students success committee...which is represented by students, faculty staff, administration. Often [a proposal] will go back and forth about the discussion, then [the Board] will ask questions, [but they were] very supportive through the whole process.

The proposal was accepted by the Board of Trustees as well as the Board of Higher Education for the state, and the first students were able to live in GIH during the 2014-2015 academic year. In reflecting on the GIH approval process, Desiree said, "I would say the policy around gender-inclusive housing was by far one of the easiest that got through all of the governing structures that [NAC] sets up." Allen concurred with Desiree, adding that he sees this as a shift in housing options nationally:

> I think, for us, it was really a question of why not. I think if more institutions asked themselves that question, you would see more GIH options across colleges and universities. It's also about who the stakeholders are. The wave has started. We're going to see more and more students who are identifying as trans or gender non-conforming who are looking for GIH options within on campus housing. People can resist all they want, but for those that can't rationalize it because of some religious affiliation, good luck. You might as well do the change now. You might as well. You're only going to service your students better.

Allen and Desiree both agreed that implementing GIH has been received as a positive change. Allen said, "Because it's an opt in and we're not requiring anyone that doesn't want to go into gender-inclusive housing to go into it, we haven't really received

any negative feedback.” Desiree added that institutionally, it has been well received, “[NAC] is pretty progressive. It was something that the institution was full on board with.”

With regard to institutional constituents, parents also appear to be on board with the GIH option. Allen explained discussions he has had with parents in the past,

> We present it as, "This is a normal option. This is a thing that we do." This is an art school, so we get to fall back on that sometimes, too. Yeah, this is an art school. There's a lot of experimental stuff that happens. People get to live their lives as they see fit. This is just another way that they might do that. And parents, "Oh, okay. I guess it makes sense.”

Additionally, Allen has also talked with parents of trans* students who express relief that a policy like GIH exists,

> [S]ome of the parents of our students, especially those who may find themselves wanting to opt into GIH housing, this is not something that they're necessarily figuring out right now. This is something that's been developing for quite a while. Those parents that are involved in their students' lives and love their children for who they are, are usually really ... We've had some really great conversations where they're actually really satisfied that we offer this option, because they see it as a place that their student can exist and be safe and happy and feel comfortable.

The students I spoke with echoed that their parents were supportive of their choice to live in GIH. Sage said that, “They were pretty just okay with it. It's not like they can change who I'm rooming with. They don't really have a problem with it.” Brigid explained telling her mom she was living with Sydney, “I texted my mom, saying, ‘Oh, Sydney doesn't have anyone to live with, we don't want him to be with someone random, so we're probably going to sign up for gender-inclusive.’ She was like, ‘You're such a nice friend.’” The next section will further discuss student perceptions of GIH.

Student perceptions of GIH. I spoke with three students who live in GIH at NAC. Sydney and Brigid, both sophomores, live together in an apartment. Sage, a first year, lives with two other roommates in a triple occupancy room. Sage explained how ze was assigned zir roommates,

> I was randomly assigned by a series of questions. So, it asked like, when do you go to bed? How messy are you? Do you want to be included in the gender-inclusive housing?... So, I checked off the gender-inclusive…[which is] more like I don't really care who I'm with I just more or less care if I get a room.

Sage also explained that the additional application for GIH was simple to complete,

> [W]hen you do sign up for the gender-inclusive housing they'll send you an email and be like, "Why do you want to participate in this? What do you identify as?" All that. It's really easy if you just take a couple of minutes and just fill it out and send it off and more than likely you'll get into it.

Sage did not know zir roommates prior to arriving at NAC, though they all talked on Facebook prior to arriving on campus.

Sage also commented that while ze did apply to GIH, it was never confirmed that ze was officially placed in GIH,

> You don't know for sure if you're in gender-inclusive housing. I'm assuming that I am because I might be with someone who is non-binary, or is trans, and you're like, okay. Obviously I'm in the gender-inclusive housing.

Sage stated that zir two roommates are “a trans boy and a non-binary person,” which is why ze assumes ze is in GIH.

Brigid and Sydney also discussed their experience in GIH, which similar to Sage’s, has been positive, except for a bit of initial confusion when signing up. Brigid explained,

> [W]e went through the housing process, but we didn't know how big of a deal gender-inclusive was, so we kind of messed it up. We didn't write a little paragraph as to why we want to, so they almost didn't let us. But then, they let us just email basically explaining why we want to do it.

Brigid and Sydney added that the confusion arose because they are in a shared apartment, and they did not realize that everyone living in the apartment had to opt into GIH, not just the two sharing the gender-inclusive room. Sydney elaborated,

> Because they allow students to live in the same suite together, if it's a bunch of singles they don't really care about gender...But, because we're living in the same, like a double, that's why we had to do more, kind of a process applying to get in.

Ultimately, both Sydney and Brigid agreed that they have enjoyed living in GIH, but that because the campus culture at NAC is so inclusive, they were surprised by the extra steps of enrolling in GIH. Brigid concluded her thought by saying,

> We think the process could be a little bit more clear. Because, after being here for almost a year and getting everyone's respectful of each other and each other's identities, so when the gender-inclusive process came along, it was a little shocking. I don't know how to explain it because they almost didn't let us live together cause we didn't sign something.

The issue that Sydney and Brigid identified with the application is something that administrators expressed interest in updating. The next section discusses some changes that they hope to make to the GIH process.

Changes to GIH. Several administrators discussed upcoming changes that they are considering making to the current GIH policy. Allen explained, “we have this GIH option on our housing application. Then we have, there's co-ed housing and single sex housing. Just thinking, ‘Do we even need to have co-ed as an option?’” Desiree added that they are in the process of expanding GIH to be the campus-wide default. “We're looking to have the housing assignment operation to run in all gender-inclusive as

opposed to the default is single sex. We're currently looking and putting a proposal together. I don't see that as going to be an issue either."

Marlene, a Hall Director, explained that this process would still allow for students who wished to live in single gender housing to do so.

> [T]here are some people who feel very strongly about being surrounded by a specific gender. That we allow for there to still be gender specific spaces, but I don't think that that needs to be the norm. I think that that can be the opt in process.

Desiree also discussed how housing assignments would occur, saying,

> Even though I say that housing assignments are open to all genders, we're not going to drive assignments based on gender or biological sex. It's going to be up to you. I think there is a responsibility then on our end to educate students about what that looks like and what that means. That's the sort of the conversations that we're having now.

Nicholas explained that the conversation of moving away from the additional GIH housing application and changing all housing to default as GIH was something they aimed to implement for the 2019-2020 academic year.

Other Policies and Practices

Administrators and students discussed several policies and practices at NAC that were aimed at supporting trans* students. These included the name change policy, pronoun usage, LGBTQ education sessions during orientation, and supporting students after graduation. Though not discussed by participants, NAC's website includes an infographic listing where "gender neutral bathrooms" may be found on campus (NAC Gender Neutral Bathrooms, n.d.). This graphic summarizes that there are a total of 29

gender neutral bathrooms on campus, which are “single-stall and can be used by anyone regardless of sex, gender identity and gender expression” (NAC Gender Neutral Bathrooms, n.d.).

Name change policy. At NAC, students can update their name to their chosen name. Allen explained this is important because it “allows students to tell us what they prefer[11] to be called. I think that's really important for our gender non-conforming and trans students who may not have gone through a legal name change process, but are on the path to that.” According to the Registrar’s website at NAC, this policy allows students to update their student ID, create an email alias, and update what name populates on class rosters (NAC Preferred Name Policy, n.d.). Desiree explained that this process is currently managed by the Assistant Vice President for Student Affairs, “we're not nearly near where we have to be with [the name change policy]. That is more about how our student database functions and right now it is not built to include a preferred name.” The AVP maintains a list generated by the Registrar that is updated once a semester and distributed to staff and faculty.

This list is coordinated because currently the information system used at NAC does not allow for names to be easily updated or changed. This has resulted in a few issues for students. Kelsey explained, “sometimes old names show up, birth names

[11] Name change policies in higher education are often labeled as “preferred name” policies, the use of the term “preferred” is viewed as inappropriate and pejorative towards trans* individuals, as it trivializes their real or chosen name as one that is optional to use, which is not the case (Beemyn & Brauer, 2015). Instead, policies should use the term “chosen name” when referring to trans* students.

show up on the email, so it's not a perfect policy." Desiree added that though administrators have developed ways to work around the system, there are limits:

> the technology sometimes keeps us from advancing or being progressive. It doesn't mean that we don't find ways, other ways to do it but when you can't use the technology that is being used to capture all of the students' information, there are some negative experiences that end up happening with our students. I would also say that technology sometimes keeps us from advancing or progressing forward.

Kelsey added that she has heard that the current process for changing one's name has negatively impacted trans* students,

> I think that can be frustrating for students who feel, who've gone through this process and they've put in the really hard work. The onus is on them to have to do it...It's their responsibility to do it. I think we can do a better job of letting students know what's available and helping support them through that process, and then they go through the process, which is kind of complicated. Then not everything changes, and so trying to navigate where, what names are used where I think is, I hear that's really frustrating for students too.

Marlene, a Hall Director, added that the system also does not have a way of populating pronouns in use,

> when it comes to pulling rosters in that first day of class, it's like teachers are still reading out a birth name or a given name, not the student's preferred name and it doesn't have any place for pronouns to be pre populated.

This is another practice that NAC is working to remedy.

Pronouns. One of the issues that administrators and students discussed was the misgendering of trans* students and addressing them with incorrect pronouns. Allen explained,

> There are students who get really frustrated about that. They do not believe that they're being taken seriously and so there is definitely some of that around the chosen names and really being intentional about making sure you're respecting a person's requests for use of their correct pronouns.

Kelsey stated that she has heard from trans* students that this is a particular issue in the classroom, “I hear about faculty like not asking students about pronouns or once they're told, like still misgendering student and using old names, old pronouns things like that.” The Assessment of Living and Working at NAC (2015) echoed this disparity between students and faculty. One participant in a focus group stated, “Students are encouraged to be open, but faculty and administration are uncomfortable and unsure when students follow through.”

Sage discussed what zir experience with correct pronoun use,

> There's been a couple slip-ups in my experience. I've heard that some teachers aren't so willing to be accepting, while other teachers you're emailing them first and saying this is who I am, blah, blah, blah, and they'll respond 'cause they just read the name at the top of your email and you're like, okay, we'll fix that in class. And it usually does get addressed and resolved and it's no biggie.

Overall, Sage felt that zir experience with being misgendered was better than friends at other CCC schools, and that overall, it was typically something that could be addressed and resolved. A search on NAC’s website yielded two results for “pronouns,” including the name change policy and the Student Government website, which lists each officer’s “preferred pronouns” (NAC Student Government, n.d.).

Orientation. Administrators and students discussed LGBTQ education sessions during first year orientation as an opportunity for new students to understand the NAC culture. Allen explained the goal of these sessions, “We want to enter into this conversation. If you're going to think in a very linear, binary way, male female, and that's your world, get ready to be challenged a bit. We set that tone early for the students.” Marlene explained what this session entails,

> One of the first sessions for the last couple years has been ...Gender Matters and that's what they open orientation with...[L]ast year... one of our [queer student group] presidents presented in full drag like first session. Boom, 9:00 am, full drag, let's talk about gender, let's talk about sexuality, let's talk about statistics and why this is important, and really set the tone for the incoming class. And, we got feedback from many people saying how amazingly supportive they felt and how welcoming that was for them, and how excited they were to be a part of a community that highlights and focuses on that.

Brigid, one of the students living in GIH, reflected on her experience in this session, "...[I]t was a really great presentation. It was like, "Accept everyone, everyone is welcome." It was just very positive and informative." Sydney explained that it informed their first days at NAC, "It kind of educates all the incoming students and then all of the staff that work here too. Like, in the first day of class everyone tells their pronouns." Brigid added, "I wasn't used to that."

Workplace transition. As discussed in an earlier section, administrators at NAC are beginning to have conversations regarding how they support trans* students in finding a job and navigating outing themselves in a work environment or job interview. Kelsey explained,

> We are having a conversation as a division about this idea of professionalism and sort of the oppressiveness of professionalism and students who are transgender or queer. How are we preparing them? Are we helping them to have conversations to think about if they're going for interviews or internships?

Marlene confirmed Kelsey's explanation, saying that she had heard many concerns from current students,

> "I'm concerned that when I go into the workforce, I'm going to experience this, or that my discipline that I'm focused in ... example graphic design, like it's a male-white dominated cisgendered community. Like, what is that going to be like for me? Where I feel so accepted here at [NAC]?"

Nicholas voiced that the conversations they are beginning to have with students around these issues always validate a student's ability to be their authentic self,

> What's important to me is that we never ask the student to compromise themselves and who they are. But...that they are aware of what the reality can be. And, that they are prepared to face that and still be true to themselves and to really go into those challenging situations with the foreknowledge of how to deal with those situations.

Desiree summarized that these ideas around supporting students in transitioning to a new environment were in the beginning stages, but were something that they were working to address more formally.

Summary of NAC

NAC, a small public arts college is located near the center of a major city in New England. NAC is part of the Consortium of City Colleges, which is comprised of six institutions in close proximity to one another. They share resources and NAC shares a residence hall with one other college and a dining hall with two. As a public college, NAC's student body is predominantly from New England. The campus culture has also been described as liberal and left leaning, as well as one that is continuously evolving in an effort to support students.

Organizationally, NAC's student affairs offices are tightly coupled. The majority of them report up through the Assistant Vice President for Student Development and also share a large office suite in the campus center. Each department is small, with few staff members. This includes Residence Life, which is comprised of five full time staff

members, including two hall directors, a housing operations coordinator, and an assistant director and senior director.

The Assistant Director and Senior Director developed the GIH policy, which they sent to the Board of Trustees for review in 2013. The policy as it currently exists allows any student, including first years, to opt in to GIH through the housing lottery. Students living in GIH must complete an additional short application. Overall, this policy has been met with little resistance, from administrators, parents, or students.

Given the current student climate, the Senior Director is now considering changes to the policy that would result in all of campus housing being gender-inclusive as a default. They would still provide students with the option to select in to single gender housing if they wished. These changes would be implemented in 2019.

NAC also has policies and practices that are aimed at supporting trans* students, though some are decentralized or informally managed. These include the name change policy, which is maintained by the Assistant Vice President for Student Development, orientation sessions, education about pronoun use, and beginning conversations about supporting trans* students after graduation. These policies and practices impact student experiences in and out of the classroom.

Findings

The next section will outline the findings from NAC. I will present the emergent themes as organized in SU's case. I will begin by discussing societal influence.

Normative Disruption - Societal Influence

There are several emergent subthemes related to the societal influences of normative disruption of the gender binary at NAC. These include: external environment influences, the role of parents, the expanded concept of gender, race and ethnicity, and peer institution benchmarking. The first subtheme I will discuss is external environment influences. This subtheme is defined as influences of external environment on campus decisions, culture, and policies.

External environment influences. Both staff and students discussed the liberal and accepting nature of the city that NAC is located in. This emerged as a subtheme as the city was discussed as influential on the culture that was also created on campus for trans* students. Sydney, a sophomore living in GIH, discussed, "[This city] is pretty liberal and accepting anyway, so I think [NAC]'s environment is just an extension of that." Marlene, a Hall Director, added,

> In regards to safety, definitely the environment and the community that exists on campus, allows for a safer experience for our students. And they definitely talk about their connections and their comfort here and kind of down talk the rest of the world.

Here, both students and staff demonstrated that the external environment of NAC is perceived as a safer place, and this also impacts students' feelings of comfort on campus.

Consortium. As discussed in the case description, NAC is part of the Consortium of City Colleges (CCC), comprised of six institutions. This consortium emerged as a theme related to normative disruption, as NAC shares resources such as a residence hall

and dining facilities, and the institutions influence one another. Desiree provided one example of this,

> A while ago, [NAC] established a [college consortium] LGBT group because there are some institutions in [college consortium] really didn't have a strong LGBT club. One in particular [small, private, Catholic college] was not yet able to establish an LGBT club.

In this instance, staff at NAC saw a need to be filled for CCC students and took initiative to offer a solution at their own institution, through the Consortium.

Parents. Related to the external environment, parents emerged as a subtheme. Staff and students discussed the role of parents related to GIH differently. The next section will summarize separately how staff and students discussed parents as an external influence.

Staff perception of parents. Staff who discussed parents in the context of GIH stated that they had experienced parents completing their housing applications for their students, and had also discussed housing options with trans* students who did not want their parents to know of their selection. Of the staff members who discussed interactions with parents, some mentioned positive experiences, such as Allen,

> Some of the parents of our students, especially those who may find themselves wanting to opt into GIH housing, this is not something that they're necessarily figuring out right now. This is something that's been developing for quite a while. Those parents that are involved in their students' lives and love their children for whom they are. We've had some really great conversations where they're actually really satisfied that we offer this option, because they see it as a place that their student can exist and be safe and happy and feel comfortable.

Here, Allen recalled interactions with parents who were relieved that NAC offered a GIH option for their student.

Other staff, including Marlene and Nicholas, made references to parents filling out the housing applications for their student and selecting single-sex housing. Lastly, they also discussed interacting with students who identified as gender non-conforming or genderqueer and who were not out to their parents yet. Kelsey explained, “I know that that's the way in which I've heard parents interact as students are concerned about what will their parents know, how will they know and how might that impact their relationship related to gender-inclusive housing.” In both cases, parents served as a possible barrier to students who wished to live in GIH.

Experiences of students living in GIH with telling their parents. The students I spoke with expressed that their parents were accepting of their decision to live in GIH. Sage explained how ze told zir parents,

> I've made it clear to them that one of my roommates is a trans male and the other is non-binary. They don't really understand the non-binary concept but they know about one of my other roommates… They were pretty just okay with it. It's not like they can change who I'm rooming with. They don't really have a problem with it.

Brigid explained that her parents were comfortable with her decision to live with Sydney as well.

> I texted my mom, saying, "Oh, Sydney doesn't have anyone to live with, we don't want him to be with someone random, so we're probably going to sign up for gender-inclusive." She was like, "You're such a nice friend." And then, she told my Dad and my Dad was a little standoffish at first, but he's totally fine with it.

The students that I spoke to said that their parents were accepting of their living arrangements and that they experienced little resistance.

Expanded concept of gender. At NAC, an expanded concept of gender beyond the gender binary emerged as an undergirding theme to much of the policy creation. Allen explained how this idea drove the creation of GIH,

> I think we had a moment where we just asked the question of, "Why are we living in this very binary, you're in a box, world? Does it really matter for us?" The answer was no, it didn't really matter. If we have two humans who want to live together, what's the problem there? There's really no problem. I think it was us just identifying there was no defense for why we didn't have it.

Allen also added that students' understanding of gender also helped shift the institutional culture, "Our students are becoming a lot more comfortable in terms of identifying as gender non-conforming or talking about their exploration and figuring out their identity and what that is." In order to meet the needs of their students, NAC was also considering changing all of their housing assignments to be gender-inclusive. Desiree explained,

> Even though I say that housing assignments are open to all genders, we're not going to drive assignments based on gender or biological sex. It's going to be up to you [the student]. I think there is a responsibility then on our end to educate students about what that looks like and what that means.

In these instances, a shift in how NAC conceptualizes students' genders influenced subsequent policy development and revisions.

Race and ethnicity. Race and ethnicity emerged as a theme at NAC, and was discussed by all five staff members I interviewed, but none of the students. All staff were in consensus that NAC as an institution still had much improvement to make in regards to supporting students of color. Interestingly, many also discussed the level of institutional comfort around gender and sexuality with the institutional discomfort

around race and ethnicity. Allen said, “We're definitely uncomfortable talking about race. We do not have that figured out as an institution. We're trying, but our default is, look how good we are at gender and sexuality.” Desiree also said,

> I think other protected classes or diverse demographics are not as easily approachable or able to move things across like the president's table where he is signing off on it. But gender and sexual orientation is definitely an area where it is favorable.

Marlene also talked about how a student-led movement began to emerge in order to draw attention to the issues that students of color experienced, “And, there was a lot of conversation and momentum and then it got really structured and it's starting to fizzle out.” Each of these staff members discussed the lack of support and lack of comfort around talking about race and ethnicity.

Peer institution benchmarking. The final emergent theme of societal influence emerged as peer institution benchmarking prior to creating the GIH policy. Allen said that initially they reached out to their peer institutions, “We did some research. We looked at other institutions and tried to get a sense of, ‘Do folks have this? If yes, what does the policy look like?’” He also said,

> When we asked, "Is there any reason you don't have this," no one had a good answer. I suppose some of the religious institutions do, but they've got answers for a lot of things that we don't have the answers for here.

As a result of the information they gathered from their peer institutions and consortium institutions, NAC then began to develop their own policy.

Desiree shared that now that they have a policy in place, they are sometimes called upon by other institutions looking to create GIH. She said,

> I go to state housing directors meeting, so I meet with all of the other state housing directors... At one point we were talking about gender-inclusive housing. Some institutions had not been there so I would share our links, I would share our proposal.

Benchmarking and sharing information with peer institutions has evolved from learning from other institutions to now providing information.

Normative Disruption - Institutional Influence

In addition to societal influences, themes also emerged that were instances of institutional influence on the normative disruption of the gender binary. These included the campus culture, student population, mental health support, and institutional characteristics, such as being a small, public, art institution. I will first begin by introducing the theme of campus culture.

Campus culture. As described in the case, the campus culture at NAC is distinct. Allen described it as, “a fairly liberal, left leaning place.” Other words to describe the campus included: innovative, inclusive, and creative. Marlene said, “There's never a day that I'm experiencing the same thing more than once. It's such a pleasure for me to like just like walk through the halls and like not know something is an art piece.” The Assessment on Living and Working at NAC (2015) found that “The majority of students, faculty, and staff agreed or strongly agreed that [NAC] is friendly, concerned, cooperative, and improving.” These tenets of the campus culture undergirded other subthemes, including student population, and culture for queer students.

Student population. The students at NAC were described as creative and expressive. Allen said,

> I think students are very comfortable with this idea of expression in all of its forms, in terms of what they're about and who they are and how they show that to the world. I think it manifests not only in their artwork, but also just in their presentation to the world.

Kelsey also described them,

> I think the students are very similar across the board in their drive for creating and making and doing. It's artists, designers and educators, but all being art students like that thread weaves through everything they do in the classroom, out of the classroom.

The creative nature of NAC students was also often connected by staff to the overrepresentation of queer students on campus, discussed next.

Culture for queer students. One of the subthemes of campus culture was the overall positive culture for queer students. The Assessment on Living and Working at NAC (2015) found that,

> Additionally, though 80% to 90% of respondents described [NAC] as positive towards people who identify as transgender, some participants cited a need for better support of trans students at [NAC]. One student said, "I have heard people making transphobic remarks offhandedly. Insensitive comments about [the] LGBT [community]." Another student echoed that sentiment, saying, "[There are] incoming trans individuals that the school is not prepared for. The initial experiences of new trans students are of not being received well, or are not what they expect or hope."

Kelsey added,

> I think [NAC] is a very, or wants to be a very open campus, so I think compared to especially some other schools in the area and other state schools, there is a lot of policies and cultural conversations around supporting queer students.

Here, Kelsey discusses other neighboring campuses that she had worked at where she felt the campus culture for queer students was less positive than at NAC. Sage echoed this sentiment by stating simply, "[NAC] is a very queer focused school."

Institutional characteristics. Lastly, in addition to the campus culture characteristics, there were aspects of the institution which emerged as a theme. Recall from the case description that NAC is a small, public arts institution located in an urban setting. These characteristics each emerged as a subtheme related to institutional influence on the normative disruption of the gender binary. I will first discuss the subtheme of NAC being an art school.

Art school. The subtheme of being an art school emerged as part of the theme of institutional characteristics, with all five staff members discussing it. Marlene described how being an art school impacted the institution,

> It is full of creativity. I mean, that comes along with being at an art school, but I think that that also manifests in our approaches to how we go about policies and procedures, and working with students. I think that it's great because we aren't the most like rigid, black and white institution when we approach handling situations. Which is wonderful, because we can be really student focused and adapt to the current situation and that student's needs.

She also added that an additional aspect of being an art school is the freedom of creative expression,

> There's other institutions where you have to conform to a norm. [NAC] that's always like looked down on… The more unique, the more special you are, the more you bring of yourself, your authenticity, the more accepted and embraced you are.

Here, Marlene discusses how being an art school impacts the ways that students express themselves and create community at NAC.

Public institution. Being a public institution emerged as a subtheme of institutional characteristics. Three staff members and one student all discussed some aspect of how being a public institution impacted organizational decision-making and priorities. Desiree focused specifically on how it differed in terms of compliance,

> I feel we're certainly held to a greater standard than private institutions who have the luxury to some degree, or perhaps a blessing and a curse to be able to deviate from some of those recommendations. Certainly not federal but can deviate from some of the recommendations that are made by the state.

Here, Desiree discusses the requirement to comply with state Board of Higher Education.

Being a public institution also influenced the geographic diversity of students at NAC. Kelsey explained,

> I see [NAC] being a lot more focused on like the [city, state, region]. We have students from out of state and international students, but a lot of students from the New England area. They're a lot more accessible. I see a much greater range of students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and I've seen at the private schools I've worked at before. It's still pretty, it's a pretty white school.

This was also reflected in NAC's Performance Report (2016), which showed that of the students enrolled that year, 67% were in-state students and an additional 17% were from other New England states.

Small institution. Lastly, for institutional characteristics, being a small institution emerged as a subtheme. Recall that for the 2016-2017 academic year NAC enrolled 1,700 students. Having such a small enrollment impacted the institution in terms of organizational decision-making, staffing, and policy creation. Allen explained concisely, "We're a small institution, so we don't have an office for every job. We have multiple jobs for every office person." Kelsey added, "I think so being at a small school there's a

lot of resource sharing in part out of necessity and out of size." As discussed in the case description, the offices within Student Affairs at NAC all occupied one small suite, with many offices comprised of only one staff member.

Institutional Responses

The second major emergent theme was *Institutional Response.* At NAC, three themes emerged within Institutional Response: administrative decision-making, GIH development, and steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. Within these themes, subthemes also emerged, which will be discussed subsequent to each theme. I will begin with administrative decision-making.

Administrative decision making. At NAC, administrative decision making emerged as a reactionary force to creating the GIH policy. Staff members noticed that there was a growing population of trans* students at NAC and began to recognize an incongruence in housing options that supported all students. The policy development process emerged as a subtheme of administrative decision making, which I will discuss next.

Policy development process. As elaborated upon in the case description, the development of GIH was a relatively quick process which resulted after staff members observed a shift in the needs of their students. Desiree discussed thinking, "I can actually do something to help positively impact the trans community by doing gender-inclusive housing." In the proposal sent to NAC's Board of Trustees, the rationale for the policy stated,

> We feel that [NAC] should adopt a policy where all upper-class students (sophomore and above) will be able to choose the person that they would like to live with, regardless of sex, gender, gender identity, or gender expression (NAC GIH Proposal, 2013).

The process was relatively smooth in implementation. Desiree said, “we didn't really have any, as I recall, any strong dissent or protest to it.” Overall, once administrators determined that they wanted to create a GIH policy, the process moved swiftly towards implementation.

GIH development. As discussed in the previous section, staff member intentions were integral to the development of GIH. The case description summarizes in detail the development process for GIH at NAC. Within the GIH development process, other subthemes also emerged. These included co-ed housing and new changes made to the current GIH policy. I will first discuss the co-ed housing option.

Co-ed housing. At NAC, co-ed housing, in which men and women could cohabitate in the same apartment or suite but not the same bedroom, had existed since 2001. Desiree explained how she came to understand this housing option as distinct from GIH,

> Assignments were [in 2001] by biological sex… and then the co-ed, which was by apartment, so single sex rooms but co-ed by apartments or suites. I found myself putting trans* students in singles. I was doing what ended up being what some institutions had claimed was gender-inclusive housing, but in fact it was co-ed housing. Then we started to see the complexities of gender nonconformity and gender language and how students were identifying. Things were coming up that complicated that co-ed or single sex option.

Allen elaborated that because one of the residence halls is comprised of apartment units with single bedrooms, they had for years offered co-ed housing. Once they began benchmarking other institutions’ GIH policies, they realized that this housing

configuration was called GIH at many other schools. Thus, in the NAC policy, GIH is defined as, “as a housing option in-which two or more students may share a multiple-occupancy bedroom, in mutual agreement, without regard to a student's sex or gender.” While this is the current policy, NAC staff are contemplating making changes.

Changes to GIH. One of the subthemes of GIH development emerged as a shift to all on-campus housing becoming GIH. Desiree explained,

> We're looking to have the housing assignment operation to run in all gender-inclusive as opposed to the default is single sex. We're currently looking and putting a proposal together. I don't see that as going to be an issue either.

Marlene explained that this new plan would default all campus housing to GIH and provide an opt-in process for students who wanted single-sex housing. She said,

> I do think that there is still value [in offering single-sex housing], because there are some people who feel very strongly about being surrounded by a specific gender. That we allow for there to still be gender specific spaces, but I don't think that that needs to be the norm. I think that that can be the opt in process.

As mentioned by Allen, this would do away with the co-ed housing option, and leave only GIH or single-sex for students to select from.

Steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. The final theme of institutional responses to normative disruption is the steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. Within this theme several policies and practices emerged as additional responses to normative disruption and reestablishing the equilibrium within NAC around gender. These include the creation of a name change policy, orientation programming, the use of pronouns, and supporting students as they transition into the workplace.

Name change policy. According to NAC's Preferred Name Policy (n.d.),

> Some [NAC] students use names other than their legal names to identify themselves. As long as the use of this preferred name is not for the purposes of misrepresentation, [NAC] acknowledges that a preferred name and pronoun may be used wherever possible.
> In order to change their name, students must submit their preferred name to the Registrar's Office who then reviews and approves the request. It is noted that this name will then populate in the student portal, but will not appear on transcripts, financial records, W-2 forms, enrollment data, financial aid documents, and mailing information.

Desiree explained that maintaining a list of students' preferred names for Student Affairs is currently managed by the Assistant Vice President for Student Affairs, because "we're not nearly near where we have to be with [the name change policy]. That is more about how our student database functions and right now it is not built to include a preferred name." The AVP receives a list generated by the Registrar that is updated once a semester and distributed to staff and faculty.

Orientation. As discussed in the case description, there is an orientation program called "Gender Matters" in which first year students are introduced to topics of gender and sexuality. The messaging that this sends to new students is powerful and for some, overwhelming. Marlene explained,

> We got feedback from many people saying how amazingly supportive they felt and how welcoming that was for them, and how excited they were to be a part of a community that highlights and focuses on that. There were a few people that were like, "Whoa. Let me adapt a little bit before you're throwing this in my face."

Allen added to what Marlene explained,

> If you're going to think in a very linear, binary way, male female, and that's your world, get ready to be challenged a bit. We set that tone early for the students. It's reinforced, especially by the student development staff and, I would say, a good number of others.

Here, Allen describes that the purpose of this session is to demonstrate the College ethos around inclusion.

Pronouns. One of the practices that students and staff both felt needed to be improved was the use of gender pronouns for trans* students. Desiree explained, “Our students definitely feel that our faculty need to be trained more around language that is inclusive, so pronouns is not an easy transition.” She elaborated,

> There are students who get really frustrated about that. They do not believe that they're being taken seriously and so there is definitely some of that around... being intentional about making sure you're respecting a person's requests for use of their correct pronouns.

Kelsey added that she has heard, “about faculty like not asking students about pronouns or once they're told, like still misgendering student and using old names, old pronouns things like that.”

Sage explained that in zir experience, having professors use zirs name and pronouns correctly has been something that ze was able to correct.

> There's been a couple slip-ups in my experience. I've heard that some teachers aren't so willing to be accepting, while other teachers you're emailing them first and saying this is who I am… and they'll respond 'cause they just read the name at the top of your email and you're like, okay, we'll fix that in class. And it usually does get addressed and resolved and it's no biggie.

Overall, there is no formal policy regarding use of someone’s correct pronouns, and staff and students felt that there were many moments when someone was misgendered as a result of not having a policy.

Work place. As discussed in the case description, one of the ways that staff at NAC were seeking to support trans* students was through programming to help them

transition into the work environment. This idea was discussed in all five of my interviews with staff members. Desiree explained that one idea is "to put together a campus wide program that assists students in beginning to think about how to navigate through the interview process." This topic began at a divisional staff meeting, and as a result, several staff members from Residence Life are now looking to create programming in collaboration with career services.

Summary of Findings

The previous chapter reviewed my findings for LU, SU, and NAC, which emerged as two major themes: *Normative Disruption and Institutional Response.* Within Normative Disruption, two themes emerged: societal influence and institutional influence. Three themes emerged within Institutional Response: administrative decision making, GIH development, and steps to reestablishing organizational homeostasis. I also discussed the several subthemes for each theme, by institution. Together these themes demonstrate the various influences of normative disruption of the gender binary and the types of institutional responses that resulted at each case site. The following section presents the findings across the three case sites.

Findings Across Case Sites

The following section will review the emergent themes across LU, SU, and NAC. These themes are organized in the same manner as the findings for each case. I will begin with themes of Normative Disruption.

Normative Disruption

The following section will review both the themes of societal influence and institutional influence related to normative disruption of the gender binary across all three institutions. The first themes I will discuss are those of societal influence, of which there were three subthemes: influence of other institutions with GIH, understanding of gender, and fear of parental backlash.

Societal influence - influence of other institutions with GIH. The importance of peer institutions in the development of GIH policies emerged across all case sites. At SU, backlash at one specific peer institution impacted the length of time and deliberation administrators took in creating the policy. At NAC, administrators turned to neighboring peer institutions who had already implemented GIH in order to draft their GIH policy proposal. At LU, the influence of other institutions with GIH was filtered through the experiences several staff members brought with them, which will be discussed in the next section.

Societal influence - understanding of gender. A spectrum of institutional understanding of gender emerged across all case sites. At LU, the gender binary emerged as a prevalent theme. Students and staff made reference to "The Ratio" of men and women, and the campus culture was defined by terms such as "hypermasculine." At SU, a tension between expanding the gender binary and adhering to it emerged. Largely in recognition of the faith of Orthodox Jewish students, staff remained cognizant of a gender binary and upheld it in certain areas of campus, including housing. Opposingly, SU also recognized an expanded understanding of gender, as represented in the creation of a GIH policy. Lastly, the existence of a gender binary did not emerge as a theme at NAC. However, the expanded concept of gender was a prevalent theme, undergirding the GIH policy creation as well as many policies and practices within Student Affairs.

Societal influence - fear of parental backlash. One emergent cross-case theme was the fear of parental backlash related to the creation of GIH. At each institution, parents emerged as a factor of societal influence. Specifically, staff at each institution discussed feelings of apprehension or fear of negative repercussions from parents. This fear influenced the GIH creation process. At LU, Kira said,

> There sometimes is a concern when it comes time for parents, especially when parents are helping to financially assist their students. They come to campus if they go to move someone in and, oh no my daughter is now living with a boy, all of a sudden parents freak out, are not paying for this kind of thing.

Here, Kira discusses the connection between parents' satisfaction and funding the education of their children.

At SU, Jackson, who helped implement GIH, said that parents were a key factor of consideration when working on the policy,

> We were kind of mindful of what is the feedback externally from campus going to be and we're prepared for some pushback either from media or from parents or an alumni and we got zero.
> One thing that… we did include in the policy was some sort of statement about... whether or not heterosexual students should make use of gender-inclusive housing. And that was really done in anticipation of pushback, particularly of parents that we didn't want students who were in a heterosexual relationship. We didn't encourage, rather, I think was our language, students in a heterosexual relationship to make use of the policy. Then again, that was included in anticipation of pushback from parents in a huge way.

Jackson adds here that some aspects of the policy were amended in anticipation of pushback that SU might receive from parents.

Allen said that at NAC, staff members often lean into the institutional mission in order to explain GIH,

> We present it as, "This is a normal option. This is a thing that we do." This is an art school, so we get to fall back on that sometimes, too. Yeah, this is an art school. There's a lot of experimental stuff that happens. People get to live their lives as they see fit.

Here, Allen shows how NAC takes a different approach in deflecting concerns from parents about GIH, yet also acknowledges that parents do share concerns regarding GIH. Shifting now from societal influences, the next set of themes are institutional influences of normative disruption.

Institutional influence - inciting incidents on campus impacting culture. Two case sites had events take place on campus that contributed to the normative disruption of the gender binary. At LU, the event of Drag Bingo was discussed by nearly every single participant, both student and staff. This event was marked by vandalism of fliers

and a subsequent statement from campus officials and the President and campus-wide investigation into the source of the vandalism. The actual event was described as “a statement” by Tomás, who went on to add, “I think it was probably one of the most diverse programs, in terms of racial backgrounds, athletes, non-athletes, majority ... seniors, first year. It was just everybody.”

At SU, a campus protest with historical roots emerged as a theme influencing the campus culture. This protest stemmed from the lack of institutional support for students of color, and was named after a similar protest at SU that took place in 1969. Benjamin, a Hall Director, noted that, “I think that our students are very receptive of talking about larger systemic issues. I find, in my work, that they will more readily talk about marginalized sexualities before they would about race or class differences.” This idea of ranking marginalized identities in terms of comfortability was echoed by other participants, including students, who noted that SU had much work to do around supporting students of color, but was doing a better job of supporting LGBTQ students.

Institutional influence - campus culture. As discussed in each case description and findings, the campus culture at each case site is distinct and emerged as a theme of institutional influence on normative disruption. Collectively, each institution’s unique characteristics impacted how societal challenging of the gender binary caused a disruption on campus. SU, was characterized by participants as “quirky,” “nerdy,” and “social justice oriented.” Kenai, highlighted the disconnect between espoused University beliefs and the lack of trans* people involved in creating trans* policies.

At NAC, the campus culture was described by participants as “creative,” “a liberal left-leaning place,” and “social justice oriented.” Students were described by staff, and also described themselves, as adaptive to change and always seeking innovation. The campus culture, when surveyed, was also reported to be overall a welcoming and inclusive place for LGBQ and trans* students, staff, and faculty.

Lastly, at LU, key words used to describe the campus culture included, “hypermasculine,” “business-oriented,” “conservative,” and “competitive.” These descriptors summarized the overall conservative campus culture that contributed to a “chilling effect” for LGBTQ students. Additionally, staff and students discussed a closeted campus culture for LGBTQ students, where few were openly out.

Institutional influence - institutional characteristics. Similar to the emergence of distinct campus cultures, institutional characteristics emerged as influential to the campus as a whole. These characteristics were largely related to institutional type, including enrollment size, location, control, and classification. For example, at NAC, an institution classified as a Special Focus Four-Year: Arts, Music & Design School, being an art school emerged as a defining characteristic of the college and one that impacted how normative disruption was approached. This occurred at LU as well, where, as a professions-focused institution, being a business school impacted how responses to normative disruption were conceptualized.

Institutional influence - LGBTQ issues vs. racial issues. All three case sites are Predominantly White Institutions. An emergent theme across all cases was the absence

of discussion of race, or positioning matters of racial inequity as distinct and more difficult to talk about than LGBTQ issues. Allen at NAC stated,

> We're definitely uncomfortable talking about race. We do not have that figured out as an institution. We're trying, but our default is, "Look how good we are at gender and sexuality." The two are not the same. Not remotely the same.

Benjamin at Sachar shared similar thoughts regarding student comfort level in discussing race,

> I think it's easier to get this group of students to think about that, perhaps because it's a factor that affects everyone. Sexuality is a little bit more of a universal commonality than a racial or a class experience. So, I would say that most times [SU] students are willing to talk about the differences in sexuality and have a robust vocabulary to talk about it. And there's still a little bit of a lag when it comes to the intersectionality piece, of having profound conversations related to sexuality's connection to racial and other types of identities.

Here, Benjamin hypothesizes why students might be more ready and willing to discuss issues of sexuality, as opposed to issues of race. While some staff members made explicit references to campus issues discussing race, many staff and students never talked about race or ethnicity at all. In this regard, the absence of discussion of race emerged as a subtheme of institutional influence. The next section will focus on themes related to institutional responses to normative disruption.

Institutional Response

In addition to the emergent themes related to normative disruption, several themes also became apparent related to institutional responses to normative disruption. These themes were: administrative decision-making (role of staff identities/motivations; influence of staff's prior experiences/knowledge); GIH (length of

policy creation timeline and iterations of policy; siloed policy creation process; absence of pushback); and organizational homeostasis (variety of other trans* inclusive policies; lack of integration/connection across policies). I will begin with the administrative decision-making themes.

Administrative decision-making - role of staff identities/motivations. At all three case sites, the motivation of staff members in Residence Life was integral to creating a GIH policy. At SU, Grant and Jackson discussed how the then director of Residence Life had tasked them with creating a policy. Jackson recalled, "And I think [the director], on behalf of the department, at some point made a commitment that we would do it [create a GIH policy]." Desiree at NAC felt similarly, "I said I can actually do something to help positively impact the trans community by doing gender-inclusive housing." At LU, Isaac summarized staff motivation for creating GIH, "I think our staff specifically works really hard to make LGBTQ individuals feel welcome, which is partially because there are so many of us who identify as LGBTQ, which of course, would play into some of that." In each of these examples, staff members were motivated to create a GIH policy by several factors: allyship to the trans* community; to better serve students; and personal identity as LGBTQ.

Administrative decision-making - influence of staff's prior experiences/knowledge. In addition to staff motivations and identities, administrative decision-making was also influenced by prior experiences and knowledge that staff members had of GIH policies. At SU, the former director of Residence Life brought institutional knowledge with him from a peer institution whose GIH development

process encountered several obstacles to implementation. At NAC, Desiree worked at another institution with GIH prior to working at NAC. At LU, several staff members had worked at other institutions with GIH policies, which helped to shape their process and policy. The next set of themes further explore GIH development.

GIH - length of policy creation timeline and iterations of policy. An emergent theme across the three case sites was the length of time it took each institution to develop a GIH policy and the iterations and changes that were made to the policy. The first of my three sites to implement GIH was SU, in 2009, though the process began in 2003. Jackson and Grant discussed in detail how the policy implementation was delayed several times due to fear of backlash. LU began the GIH development process in 2011, completing it with the current policy in 2015. In those four years, the policy grew and expanded from being offered as a pilot in one area of campus to being offered in most residence halls. At NAC, the GIH creation process was quick, beginning in 2013 with students living in GIH in 2014. However, my interviews revealed that Residence Life staff are now assessing the policy to make changes. Each institution's policy went through some review stage, and the timeline of development shortened the later into the 2000's that the process began.

GIH - siloed policy creation process. Though some institutions had lengthy policy development processes, all three institutions' policies were developed within the Residence Life office, with little input from other departments or offices prior to approval. At SU, the policy was developed primarily through a task force of Residence Life staff and a few students who expressed interest in the policy. At LU and NAC, the

policy was developed solely by Residence Life staff. The approval stage for the policies went through the Dean of Students for SU and LU, while the approval process for NAC went ultimately through the State Board of Higher Education.

GIH - absence of pushback. Despite the fear of backlash from parents and other constituents that staff at all three institutions shared, none reported actually experiencing any pushback following the creation and implementation process. Jackson and Grant at SU discussed delaying the policy rollout following the backlash that the peer institution experienced. After Desiree at NAC had a policy draft and the Dean of Students approved it, she remarked, "I would say the policy around gender-inclusive housing was by far one of the easiest that got through all of the governing structures that [NAC] sets up." Joseph, the Associate Dean of Students at LU, recalled receiving some questions from the President's office related to filling vacancies but received no other resistance to implementation. In addition to implementing GIH, all three institutions have other policies and practices aimed at supporting trans* students. The next section discusses these themes related to reestablishing organizational homeostasis.

Organizational homeostasis - variety of other trans* inclusive policies. Each case site had several policies and practices in place to support trans* students. All three institutions had a name change policy in place. LU and SU had also implemented gender-inclusive bathrooms in the residence halls and throughout campus. Staff at SU and NAC both discussed the proper use of pronouns and integrating asking for pronouns into various parts of campus, including the classroom. Other policies and practices

appeared at just one institution, including orientation and workplace transition programming, counseling services training, and health services and insurance coverage.

Organizational homeostasis - lack of integration/connection across policies. Despite these various policies and practices for trans* students, all three institutions demonstrated little integration across them. At NAC for example, though there was an official name change policy organized through the Registrar, the Dean of Students maintained a separate list of name changes that was updated each semester because the software used in both offices was not integrated. Discussion of pronouns happened at SU and NAC, though neither institution had a formal statement regarding the appropriate use of someone's pronouns. None of the three case sites had a website listing all of the various practices and policies available for trans* students, but instead each policy was located on the website of the office responsible for maintaining it.

Summary of Findings

Themes emerged across all three case sites in two major themes: normative disruption of the gender binary and institutional responses to normative disruption. Within normative disruption there were several subthemes: societal influence (role of peer institutions; understanding of gender; and fear of parental backlash); and institutional influence (inciting incidents on campus impacting culture; campus culture; institutional characteristics; and LGBTQ issues vs. racial issues). Within institutional responses, other subthemes emerged: administrative decision-making (role of staff

identities/motivations; influence of staff's prior experiences/knowledge); GIH (length of policy creation timeline and iterations of policy; siloed policy creation process; absence of pushback); and organizational homeostasis (variety of other trans* inclusive policies; lack of integration/connection across policies). I present my analysis of these findings, by institution and across institutions, in the following chapter.

Chapter V

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In the previous chapters, I have discussed that the purpose of my study is to understand institutional responses to normative disruption of the gender binary through the case example of GIH policy creation. As indicated in Chapter IV, each of the three case sites have distinct institutional characteristics and cultures, which influenced their responses to normative disruption. This finding is of central importance to my analysis of the degree to which each institution grappled with normative disruption and reestablished organizational homeostasis.

The following chapter includes the analysis of my findings for each case site, as well as across cases. In Chapter I, I introduced a figure of my theoretical framework, a visual depiction of normative disruption within open systems. I will use this figure as a model for my analysis. As I will discuss in this chapter, each case site is in a different stage of the model, as represented in the following figure. I will refer to the following figure as the Model of Normative Disruption.

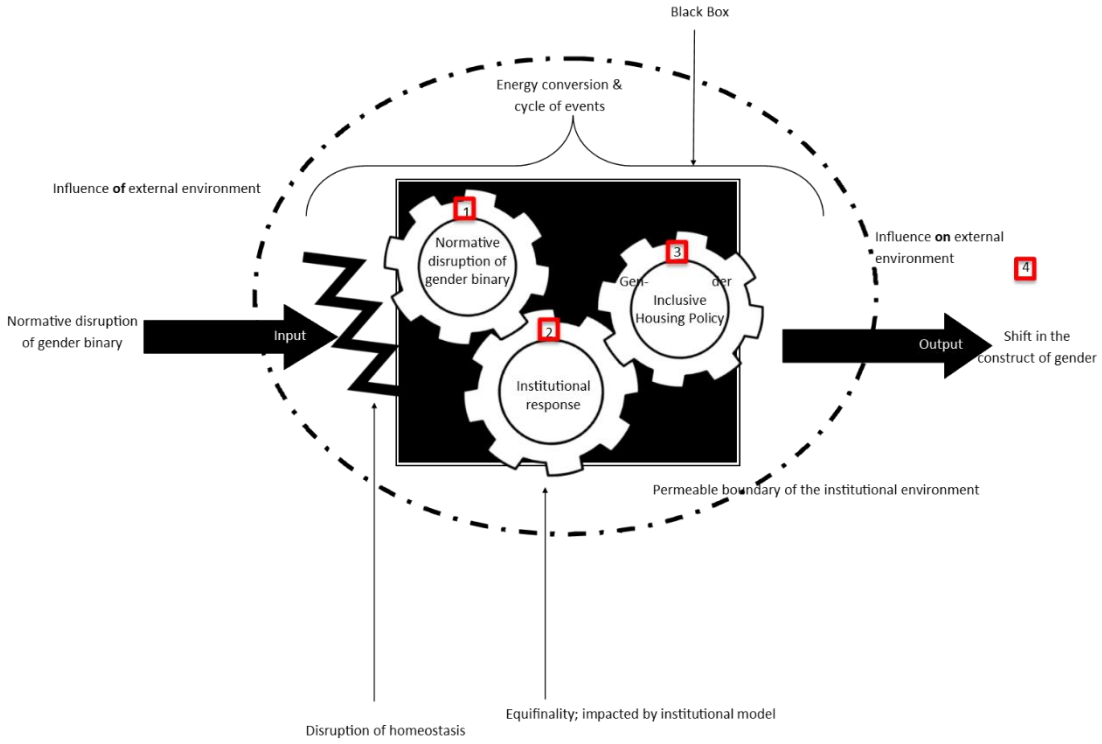

Figure 11
Model of Normative Disruption

As represented in Figure 11, there are four stages within the Model of Normative Disruption. The first stage, is the Normative Disruption stage. In this stage, an institution has experienced normative disruption of homeostasis. An institution moves to the second stage, Institutional Response, when it has begun to develop responses to the disruption. The third stage indicates the creation of a GIH, or other responsive policy or practice. The fourth, and final stage is the output into the external environment of a shift in the construct of gender.

Each case site in my study ended in a different stage, and can be seen as examples of how institutional decision-making and culture impact movement through the Model of Normative Disruption. As I will discuss in more detail next, Lindsay University experienced the normative disruption of homeostasis and began working on a series of institutional responses. However, due in large part to institutional culture, LU is still within the normative disruption stage. Sachar University moved to the next stage of the Model, in creating and implementing a GIH policy. Finally, Newell Arts College, moved completely through the Model, ending with outputting a shift in the construct of gender to the external environment. This Model will be repeated at the beginning of each case's findings.

Based on the trajectory of each institution within the Model, the key findings to my study were:

- Various societal and institutional factors influence the ways in which normative disruption manifests at a college or university
- Institutional characteristics and culture impact all responses to normative disruption, and can either support or hinder change
- GIH is one mechanism of responding to normative disruption, but, depending on institutional characteristics, may not be sufficient enough change to reestablish organizational homeostasis
- If the institutional culture is not an amenable environment to such changes, organizational homeostasis is difficult to reestablish

Across all cases, institutional characteristics were central to not only shaping how normative disruption impacted the institution, but also the decision-making processes employed to address the disruption. I will discuss this in detail for each institution, utilizing Figure X as a guide for my analysis. In the next section, I will begin with the analysis of my findings at Lindsay University.

Example of Stages 1 and 2: Normative Disruption of the Gender Binary and Institutional Response

Lindsay University's case is a distinct example of the slow progression between Stage 1 and Stage 2. LU demonstrates how organizational characteristics and institutional culture are factors in understanding decision-making responses to normative disruption of the gender binary. As discussed in the findings for LU, the campus climate was shaped both by institutional attributes such as business-oriented, but also by characteristics of the student body such as hypermasculine and conservative. This culture, combined with an organizational emphasis on bureaucratic rationality and maintenance of institutional prestige, undergirded the mediation of normative disruption and subsequent responses. The student culture also emerged in contrast to a more inclusive and LGBTQ-friendly climate among the administrators in student affairs. Yet, despite the efforts of these staff members to improve the campus environment for trans* students, the student culture served as a key barrier to reestablishing organizational homeostasis.

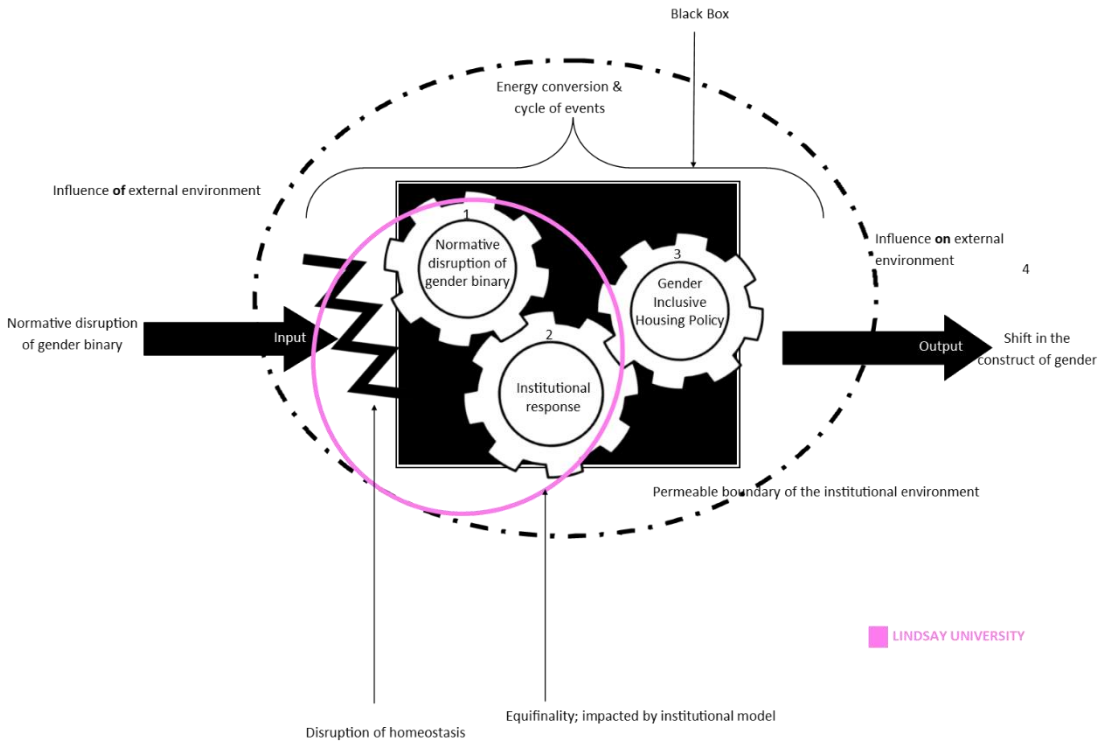

Figure 12
Lindsay University Placement within Model of Normative Disruption

Due to the campus climate and culture at LU, the institution was left within the first two steps of responding to normative disruption. As I will discuss in the next sections, tangible barriers impeded even the best of administrators' intentions to create supportive policies for trans* students at LU.

The Manifestation of Normative Disruption at LU

Normative disruption of the gender binary at LU primarily manifested in two ways: through the influence of the external environment and through the desire to keep

up with national trends. Despite the more conservative characterization of LU's campus, many participants emphasized the external environment of the state and city as more liberal. State politics also demonstrated a progressive stance on LGBTQ issues. This backdrop for LU is important, as viewed through open systems theory, colleges and universities are susceptible to influence from their external environment due to permeable boundaries (Birnbaum, 1988). Thus, even though LU is a private institution, the state still influenced policies and institutional decision-making.

Norms of the gender binary were also disrupted at LU by other college and university responses to supporting trans* students. Keeping up with national trends was central to the diversity mission of LU, by "fostering greater innovation and creativity" (LU Diversity Statement, n.d.), and paramount to creating business professionals who were "more competent in dealing with people who seem different from us" (LU Diversity Statement, n.d.). This need to keep up with, as Austin, the Assistant Director for Gender Equity, stated, a "national awareness" around trans* issues, demonstrates that administrators at LU view policies such as GIH as institutional symbols of inclusivity. LU's mission statement says, that LU is "known nationally and internationally as a business-focused center of learning that operates in an ethical and socially engaged environment" (LU Mission Statement, n.d.). Part of LU's socially engaged environment included neighboring and peer institutions who were already responding to normative disruption of the gender binary. This created pressure for LU to emulate certain policies.

Davis (2018) defines this idea as *engendering reputation,* or "institutional responsiveness to transgender issues more as a vehicle for enhancing a college or

university's prestige than for meeting the residential needs of their gender-diverse student bodies" (p. 323). At LU, the desire to create an LGBTQ-friendly campus stemmed from motivations of institutional recognition, or as Davis (2018) writes, "aspirations for new forms of institutional prestige can allow [LU] to override the deeply engrained social and cultural fabric of the gender order" (p. 338). Organizationally, the focus on institutional image and alignment of policies to other institutions is defined as institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, as cited in Bolman & Deal, 2013). Isomorphic benefits might include increased perception of legitimacy and reputation. LU therefore experienced normative disruption of the gender binary as a form of isomorphic pressure to maintain status. Combined, the external environment and trends within higher education disrupted the concept of a gender binary at LU.

Institutional Characteristics and Culture

Normative disruption was mediated by the institutional characteristics of LU. As an institution, LU functions most closely to a bureaucracy, with clearly delineated hierarchies and lines of communication. The Division of Student Affairs is tightly coupled, with most of the offices located in large suites in the student center. Within Residence Life, there are clear chains of command and defined reporting structures. The organizational chart shows delineated lines of communication (Birnbaum, 1988), such as the division of Hall Directors and Assistant Directors into subgroups based on residence hall type. This demonstrates a systematic distribution of responsibilities, which can

maximize efficiency. LU's academic focus as a business school also guides the rational focus on protocol, procedures, and effective decision-making.

More important to understanding LU as a system are the hallmarks of the institutional culture. As a medium-sized, private, professions-focused school, staff and students alike characterized the institutional culture as hypermasculine, competitive, and conservative. These descriptors were mentioned by multiple participants when asked to describe the campus community. Importantly, they point to characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, a term which refers to a power structure within the gender binary, emphasizing and promoting men who display certain characteristics to the top (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

As discussed in the case, LU is also the only site with either a football team or Greek organizations on campus. Researchers have identified a cyclical relationship between men involved in athletics or fraternities and the perpetuation of hypermasculine characteristics such as aggression towards women, inflated self-importance, and an overemphasis on competition (Corprew, Matthews, & Mitchell, 2014; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Hypermasculinity is also characterized by aggression towards men who violate gender role norms (Corprew et al., 2014). These subsystems therefore operate within the University to perpetuate a campus climate defined by features of gender oppression, and as consequence, one that is not receptive to normative disruption. In addition to the campus climate, these characterizations of the campus community at LU undergirded both the impact of normative disruption and the responses to it.

Resistance to normative disruption. At the time of my interviews, an incident had recently taken place on campus, to which nearly every participant made reference. This event exemplified opposition to normative disruption of the gender binary and the reinforcement of hegemonic masculinity. The LGBTQ club planned an event titled "Drag Bingo," for which they hung fliers throughout campus. In days preceding the program, a group of students vandalized and destroyed the posters. Given the hostile campus climate for LGBTQ students and the emphasis on performed hypermasculinity, it is unsurprising that a Drag Queen, a visual subversion of masculinity and heterosexuality, would serve as a threat to students at LU and be met with violence.

Following the discovery of the destroyed fliers, the campus response to this event was swift. The President and other administrators sent campus-wide emails renouncing these actions and emphasizing LU as a supportive place for LGBTQ students. As a result of the attention for this event, students and administrators recounted the overwhelming turnout, of a wide array of students. Several participants described the students at the event as from all different groups across campus, indicating that this was an unusual occurrence at an event.

This event demonstrates a tension between student and espoused organizational values. The vandalism represents a student culture that, at least in part, is threatened by any deviation from normative gender roles. Further, the destruction of the fliers is indicative of the type of aggression associated with hegemonic masculinity. In contrast, the quick and, according to students in the LGBTQ club, effective institutional response to this incident, represents a renunciation of these cultural norms.

The messages sent from the administration reiterated the institutional emphasis on diversity and inclusion, emphasizing a dissonance between this hostile student culture and the values LU strives to uphold.

A hostile environment for trans* and queer students. Given the culture at LU, and the Drag Bingo event, it is unsurprising that staff and students both shared anecdotes of an overall hostile campus climate for queer and trans* students and of LGBTQ students who chose to remain closeted. Administrators had a difficult time recalling any out trans* students who were currently enrolled. Kelly discussed a time when two women who were holding hands had beer bottles thrown at them when they walked by one of the residence halls. Oakley, a student living in GIH, remembered a time when her suitemate did not want her to meet his date, “One of my friends will be like, ‘I'm having someone over tonight, but they're not out, so if you could just ...’ I'll be like, ‘Okay, I'll go in my room. I'm not going to see who it is.’” Collectively, these examples are emblematic of a pervasively hostile campus community for LGBTQ students, so much so that many students choose not to be out during their time at LU.

Aside from these anecdotes of overt discrimination and internalized homophobia, the student body was also often described as ambivalent, or as one student in the LGBTQ club described it, “our apathetic student body that is just like, ‘Why should I care about that? It doesn't matter to me.’” Though participants viewed this apathy as indicative of the busy and competitive schedules that students had, it is also a way of masking covert hetero- and cisgenderist beliefs held by a student body often characterized as conservative.

Despite the hostile or ambivalent culture for trans* and queer students, many administrators in Student Affairs openly identified as LGBQ[1], and were a part of the LGBTQ steering and action committee for staff and faculty. These staff members were central to grappling with normative disruption of the gender binary. As a result of their personal identification within the LGBTQ community, many staff members in Residence Life felt empowered to create a GIH policy in order to better support trans* and queer students. The LGBQ administrators were therefore instrumental in spearheading a Gender Inclusive Housing policy.

Equifinality and Decision-Making Responses to Normative Disruption

GIH development was a lengthy process at LU. One way of understanding this development process is a combination of the bureaucratic nature and the business focus of LU. The decisions about GIH were deliberately rational, focusing on a "consistent, value-maximizing choice" (Allison, 1971 as cited in Birnbaum, 1988, p. 113). The first iteration of the policy, in 2012, was a small pilot located in a section of housing that was less desirable for students to live in, and therefore less of a risk of lost revenue if beds were not filled. As Kelly, the Associate Director for Residence Life, described it,

> I think having it on [Campus Edge] was helpful, because it was one of those things where it wasn't so visible to, I think, the entire faculty staff campus body. At the same time, because it was so far, students didn't necessarily want to live there.

[1] Participants shared that they were not aware of an openly trans* member of the staff or faculty at LU.

The initial location of GIH in the “Campus Edge” residence halls can be viewed as an administrative hesitance to creating visibility around housing for trans* students. Altruistically, this could be understood as an intentional decision to protect the safety of trans* students, given the campus culture. Alternatively, as a rational organization, it might have also served as a low-risk trial; if rooms in Campus Edge were already less desirable, they were also more likely to be vacant, regardless of GIH.

Placing GIH in residence halls located in “Campus Edge” also represents physical marginalization of trans* and queer students who may have opted into such a housing arrangement. This signals the type of marginalization that occurs often within academe for LGBTQ individuals, such as employing heterosexist examples in class, not confronting homophobic or transphobic comments, or relegating the discussion of LGBTQ issues to only diversity courses (Yost & Gilmore, 2011). True inclusion of LGBTQ, and specifically of trans* individuals, must not be limited to specific spaces or specific course sections, but instead, needs to be ingrained within the fabric of the institution. Other forms of inclusion still perpetuate a cisgenderist campus climate.

By 2014, administrators revisited the GIH location, because students were no longer expressing interest in living in this area of campus. In 2015, GIH was opened to all housing options. Each trial and change to the policy was carefully crafted, and each academic year following its implementation, its efficacy was evaluated. While GIH is now available across all housing options at LU, it took regimented testing to expand the housing option incrementally over the course of several academic years. The

bureaucratic, rational nature of LU, as well as vocal student dissent in the student newspaper, contributed to the slow evolution of GIH.

Though administrators and institutional ethos expressed an expanded concept of gender, the student body at large remained reticent to this understanding. Given that administrators had a difficult time recalling even a single out trans* student it is unsurprising that of the eight student participants living in GIH, all identified as cisgender. The students living in GIH all cited the opportunity to live with their friends of the opposite gender as rationale for opting into GIH. Due to "The Ratio," the way students refer to the disproportionate number of men to women undergraduate students, women students viewed GIH as an opportunity to live in apartments that required you to select as a group of four or five students.

Administrators were transparent that despite creating GIH with a goal of supporting trans* students, the policy was most utilized by cisgender students and heterosexual student couples. As summarized by Nicolazzo (2017), this issue demonstrates that, despite best efforts, GIH may not be the housing solution trans* students are seeking. At LU, administrators were responding to normative disruption of the gender binary within a campus culture which continuously reinforced cisgenderist norms of gender. Therefore, the lack of interrogation of gendered practices and ideologies limited the efficacy of the policy. Due to the pervasive culture of hegemonic masculinity, GIH, and other policies for trans* students, existed in silos across campus. GIH therefore also served as an example of institutional engendering of reputation (Davis, 2018).

The other policies that LU implemented to support trans* students, such as the name change policy, gender-inclusive bathrooms, and covering transition-related expenses in the student health insurance plan, represent other steps of equifinality that LU administrators took in order to reestablish organizational homeostasis. Though these policies and practices aimed at supporting trans* students exist on paper, the environment remains hostile towards LGBTQ students. In this regard, LU administrators are attempting to achieve an equilibrium that, given the campus climate, might not be able to manifest. Further, these policies highlight a tension between the out and LGBTQ-friendly student affairs administration and the unwelcoming student body at large, described by a student as, "a disconnect between the extremely liberal, accepting administration and our apathetic student body." This duality places LU within the black box of decision-making, still grappling with normative disruption that has not been resolved, or perhaps even permeated the student body.

Summary of Stages 1 and 2

LU serves as an exemplar of the ways in which institutional climate and culture can stunt an institution's movement through the Model of Normative Disruption. As evidenced, the campus culture is characterized by hegemonic masculinity, and subsystems such as football and Greek life perpetuate and normalize these traits within the campus community. The campus body was also described as competitive and conservative, characteristics which were often associated by participants with the business focus of LU's curriculum. It must be noted that LU was also the only case site

where all participants identified as cisgender. It is difficult to imagine how trans* students might take advantage of the existing policies if they cannot feel safe to be out. These characteristics created a system that has in many ways yet to achieve equality within the gender binary, nevermind to expand the conceptualization of gender. LU has therefore not reached a place in which organizational homeostasis could be reestablished, because the entire institution has yet to be impacted by normative disruption of the gender binary. LU therefore did not move beyond Stage 2 within the Model. The following case site serves as an example of an institution in Stage 3 within the Model of Normative Disruption.

Example of Stage 3: Gender-Inclusive Housing Policy

Due to institutional characteristics, Sachar University experienced, and responded to, normative disruption differently than Lindsay University. SU serves as an example of an institution within Stage 3, where policy development occurs. Given the large representation of Orthodox Jewish students, disruption of the gender binary was intertwined with the institutional responsibility to also adhere to the gender binary for a portion of students. SU was also the first of the institutions in my study to implement GIH, and were among the first nationally. The timing of GIH was also a factor in how normative disruption was handled and the length of response time. SU's history and mission, steeped in ethos of social justice, characterized how students and staff

perceived the institution, as progressive and on the forefront of providing access to education for historically underrepresented groups.

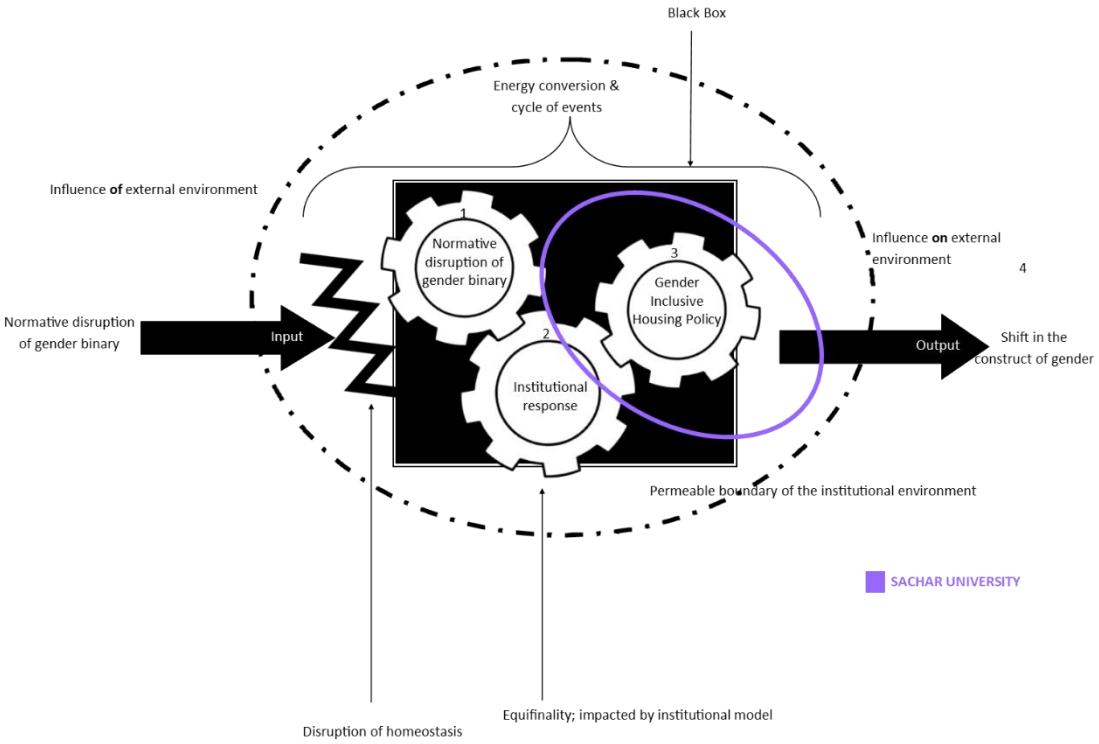

Figure 13
Sachar University Placement within Model of Normative Disruption

Here, SU represents an institution at Stage 3 within the Model of Normative Disruption. This indicates that SU moved through Stages 1 and 2 to creating a GIH policy but had not fully reestablished organizational homeostasis. Throughout SU's relatively short history, there have been many instances where this value system has been directly challenged by students of color. Understanding SU's responses to these protests is central to conceptualizing both institutional decision-making and an underlying tension between staff and student interests and responsibility for enacting change. The trans*

students in my study expressed a lack of trust in the administration to support them or take their issues seriously. These aspects of SU contributed to its Model placement within the black box of decision-making. Though a GIH policy has existed at SU for over a decade, the institution as a whole has not fully reestablished organizational homeostasis, as many trans* students living in GIH expressed dissatisfaction with and lack of support from the University.

The Manifestation of Normative Disruption at SU

Normative disruption manifested distinctly at SU, due to two factors: the external environment and peer institutions with GIH. Similar to LU, the liberal state environment influenced SU's campus through its permeable boundaries. Participants mentioned that attending college in the state provided students with reassurance that they would be accepted based on their identities. One participant made references to specific state laws protecting the rights of LGBTQ individuals. The external environment of SU, a state with trans* rights protections which prohibit discrimination in housing, employment, and all public accommodations, and allow birth certificate amendments without surgery or court order, contributed to the normative disruption of the gender binary at SU.

Peer institutions also contributed to normative disruption of the gender binary at SU. When SU began grappling with normative disruption, a peer institution was facing a great deal of media and community backlash related to a failed attempt to implement GIH. This news impacted how administrators at SU conceptualized responses to

normative disruption. It also contributed to underlying fears of backlash from the campus community and institutional constituents. These trepidations were, as Grant, the former Director of Residence Life, discussed, "[of] people not understanding why we're doing this [creating GIH] or what this actually means."

Implementing GIH often surfaces several unfounded fears rooted in heterosexism and cisgenderism, such as those which Jackson and Grant worried about (Anderson, 2011). As discussed in the case, there are parents who expressed fear that their student would be assigned to live with, or have to share space with, a person of a different gender. These fears are grounded in heterosexist beliefs that gender-inclusive rooms will promote sexual promiscuity and lead to increased rates of sexual violence (Redden, 2006). Such fears are also rooted in a cisgenderist belief that if spaces such as bedrooms or bathrooms become desegregated by gender then cisgender women will be at risk of increased violence at the hands of trans* people. This anti-trans*, cisgenderist ideology perpetuates an unfounded myth that trans* people perpetrate violence at higher rates than cisgender people, and also creates a false analogy between trans* people and sexual predators (Schilt & Westbrook, 2015).

The liberal external environment of SU and the willingness of administrators at SU to create a GIH policy was mediated by the fallout of the GIH implementation at a peer institution. Combined, these two factors influenced how normative disruption manifested and was addressed at SU. In addition to the external environment, institutional characteristics and culture also impacted decision-making, which is discussed next.

Institutional Characteristics and Culture

There were three distinct characteristics of SU as an institution which impacted decision-making related to normative disruption of the gender binary. Firstly, SU's prevalent Orthodox Jewish student population influenced policy making, especially related to those concerning gender. Secondly, SU functioned as a political bureaucracy, which creates silos of reporting lines and divisions of power within student affairs. Lastly, there was a dissonance between staff and student beliefs in how change should be created that left many trans* students feeling overburdened by institutional expectations.

Student demographics. The demographics of SU's student body mediated how normative disruption was experienced at SU. In a 2016 report, 4% of all SU undergraduate students identify as Orthodox Jews (Saxe et al., 2016), a percentage that is roughly 20 times greater than the national population of college-aged Orthodox Jews. Normative disruption of the gender binary created a tension at SU, between an adherence to the gender binary and an expansion of it. Institutionally, both were necessary in order to support the needs of all SU students. Grant summarized this,

> The other thing, too, was thinking about our students that even though there's the social justice and the more liberal aspect, you still have conservative Jewish students where gender is very relevant. So living with people of the same gender both for males and for females, especially with the more conservative or Orthodox students was something very important and we wanted to make sure that we were being respectful of that and recognizing those needs as well as creating something that would meet the needs and be respectful for transgender and gay students.

Administrators working to create a GIH policy therefore also had to maintain equitable access to single-sex housing as well, which was not as prominent of a concern at either LU or NAC.

Organizational characteristics. As an organization, SU functions most closely as a bureaucratic institution with some characteristics of a political organization. While there is a focus on rules and regulations, as well as chains of command at SU, these processes and structures are impacted by a political nature of behavior. This organizational characterization can be seen in the structure of student affairs at SU. As discussed in the case description, the offices and departments which typically comprise student affairs are divided into three lines of authority. Interestingly, the Deans of Students only oversees three of these departments, while the Vice President for Student Affairs supervises five directly. While on paper this structure appears to be bureaucratic, this division of departments signals a separation of resources and power, pointing to political organizational qualities.

Staff members and Residence Life discussed that due to this separation, they primarily interact with departments outside of their reporting line via committee meetings. Patricia, an Assistant Director for Residence Life, mentioned at least three committees that she was a part of that brought together offices across reporting lines. This signals a tight coupling of offices within reporting lines, and a loose coupling to all other student affairs offices. It is therefore possible for these offices to operate in silos, and for communication to rely on formal structures such as committees, or informal relationships between individual staff members (Birnbaum, 1988). Additionally, this

structure diffuses decision-making authority for segments of student affairs across three reporting lines, which can also be viewed politically as coalitions. In times of scarcity or turmoil, these coalitions could compete for resources or power in decision-making. This organizational structure also contributes to what emerged as a disparity between student and administrative goals.

Students as change agents at SU. Students were viewed by administrators as a driving force behind creating change within the University. Seth, an Assistant Director for Residence Life, stated that student voices were "going to inform the change" related to developing new processes and policies. Yet, it became clear that, while challenging the status quo is valued at SU, there is student perception within marginalized communities that their voices are not always heard. Consequently, students expressed a lack of trust in SU. Additionally, social justice was touted by both students and staff as central to the SU mission, and emerged as a way for staff and students to either rationalize or criticize a decision.

This can be seen in opinions shared by staff members that students, "theoretically believe in social justice, but then when it comes to how that will impact their lives, push against it very hard" (Amelia, Hall Director). Another staff member discussed her feelings that students of minoritized backgrounds "use their marginalized positions and identities as a tool to get what they want, and tend to take situations that, while every situation involves your identities because you're a part of it, isn't necessarily centralized around their identities" (Kristin, Hall Director). In this last example, Kristin expresses that she does not always trust the motives of students with marginalized

identities. This ideology is rife with privilege and points to a disconnect between espoused institutional values of social justice and those of at least one administrator at the University.

Kristin's statement indicates that at least one staff member distrusts the positionality of marginalized students when they discuss their needs as related to their identities. This is problematic as it creates a situation for marginalized students where any request for support or resources will be interpreted as an attempt to manipulate the system, instead of interrogating how the campus environment is perpetuating oppressive structures that are unsupportive of the student.

It is also clear that, though in theory student opinions are valued, particularly as related to social justice issues, in practice students have expressed feeling unheard by the institution. One such example is the Abram Hall protests that occurred in 2015. During these protests, students expressed dissatisfaction with how students of color were supported and occupied the office of the Vice President for Students and Enrollment for 12 days. The protestors demanded institutional changes including increasing the number of full-time Black staff and faculty and hiring a Chief Diversity Officer.

The response time from SU administrators was lengthy, and can be viewed as indicative of the political nature of the institution. Within political organizations, when a conflict arises, the various pressures and types of power emerge and influence decision-making (Birnbaum, 1988). With regard to the student protests, delayed institutional response can be viewed as a tactic to diffuse the situation. It can also represent

inefficiencies within the institutional structures, caused in part by the loose coupling of student affairs offices which were involved in the response. These delaying tactics can also be seen as lip service placed on valuing student opinion to create change.

In addition to Abram Hall, several trans* student participants expressed problems with institutional responses to trans* student issues. Kenai shared, “it never really feels like people are on your side. They're not on the other person's side. They're on no one's side.” Kenai, a student living in GIH, also added,

> I think one of the problems is, whenever anybody says, "Oh, I wish the administration would do this," everyone says, "Well, why don't you do it?" ... It's a very [SU] thing to do … they [the administration] always expect you to take up leading the motion. But, again, it's just, where the work falls always seems to be on marginalized groups and not on the oppressors.

Here Kenai summarizes the tensions between the belief that students’ voices implement change at SU, espoused values of social justice, and the pressure that these create for marginalized students. Nicolazzo (2017) discussed how the responsibility of “being the spokesperson” for the trans* community (p. 111) can be exhausting for trans* students. Further, when trans* students avoid this responsibility, they can be viewed as complicit in supporting cisgenderist and trans* oppressive norms and institutional privileges.

This type of pressure to be the spokesperson points to an organizational failure to adequately support trans* students and to shift the burden of responding to normative disruption to an institutional priority from a trans* student responsibility. While it is important that trans* students are empowered to make changes within their college or university, this must be balanced so that the sole onus of change is not placed on trans* students. The campus climate and administration at an institution need to

ensure a supportive environment for trans* students to seek change, while simultaneously eradicating cisgenderist ideologies from the institutional structures. Kristin's earlier statement about distrusting marginalized students' motives is emblematic of Sachar University's failure to create a supportive enough campus environment for trans* students to seek change without being tasked as the sole spokespeople for their needs.

Equifinality and Decision-Making Responses to Normative Disruption

Responses to normative disruption of the gender binary, caused in part by the external environment and peer institutions of SU, began in the early 2000s with conversations around creating a GIH policy. During this time, GIH policies were still a novel policy on college campuses. One national database indicates that as of 2010, only 48 colleges or universities had a form of GIH (Beemyn, n.d.). SU was therefore on the forefront of developing institutional responses to normative disruption during the time of GIH implementation. There may be a connection between the earliness of SU's GIH creation and their institutional type as the only research intensive institution in my study. As a research university, SU's mission focuses on advancement and serving as a leader in responses to societal problems.

Types of housing. Though SU administrators were cautiously working to implement a GIH policy to support trans* students, they also had to simultaneously consider the housing needs of the Orthodox Jewish student population on campus. This necessitated maintaining single-sex housing on campus. Therefore, administrators had

to construct a GIH policy that offered housing in parity to the housing that remained single-sex. As indicated in the findings for SU, the resolution for this emerged as three distinct housing classifications: single-sex, mixed-gender, and gender-inclusive.

The distinction between gender-inclusive and mixed-gender housing is a unique feature of SU's housing, as few other institutions distinguish between these types of housing. Instead, other defining characteristics set GIH apart from other housing options, such as living/learning communities (Anderson, 2011). SU's delineation of three types of housing demonstrate that there are students' needs that cannot be met by GIH, and must also be considered as campuses move to create more inclusive spaces for trans* students. SU's dilemma between single-sex and gender-inclusive housing indicates that institutions must be simultaneously accommodating to the sometimes competing needs of students.

Timing and influence. Early into the GIH process, administrators realized that what other campuses defined as gender-neutral or gender-inclusive housing, coed suites or apartments that were single-sex by bedroom, was already a housing option at SU, discussed previously as the mixed-gender housing option. Jackson and Grant were focused on creating a policy that allowed students, regardless of gender identity, to cohabitate in a bedroom. Few institutions offered a Model policy, except for one pilot program at a peer institution. However, as detailed in the case, this pilot program did not go as planned, and instead served as a symbol of potential failure and backlash for SU administrators. SU administrators had a great deal of access to the details of this

failed policy because the Director of Residence Life had worked at the peer institution during the time of their pilot GIH program.

The influence of the peer institution demonstrates how the external environment can impact institutional responses to normative disruption. Because of the fallout at the peer institution, administrators at SU had to make certain that their GIH policy would be well-received by the community. In order to do so, they delayed the implementation of GIH from 2008 to 2009 in order to provide Residence Life with more time to educate the campus community and constituents on what this housing option offered. In 2009, SU was one of only 1.5% of all four-year institutions who offered a GIH option (Anderson, 2011). In comparison, Campus Pride Index (Beemyn, n.d.) found that as of 2017, 266 colleges and universities offered GIH, or approximately 8% of all four-year institutions (US Department of Education, 2018).

The GIH policy at SU has existed since 2009. By staff accounts, it is considered status quo, or as one Hall Director said, “a policy that we've always just had in place here at [SU].” The GIH policy is now viewed as part of the institution, as something that has become static. Julius described GIH as, “ingrained into the process [of selecting housing] so much that you probably aren't thinking about it.” Julius, an Associate Director for Residence Life, also referenced GIH as a norm within Residence Life at SU. These statements indicate that, at least within the Office of Residence Life, administrators believe normative disruption has been mediated, and organizational homeostasis has been reestablished.

Lack of student trust in administration. In contrast to the beliefs of Residence Life staff, students living in GIH expressed several issues with the housing policy. These issues included having their deadnames printed on door decorations, a lack of options for roommate conflicts, bathroom access issues, and the sentiment that many cisgender students were living in GIH and taking spaces from trans* students. This contributed to the sentiment among the trans* students I interviewed that trans* students "got pushed out of it [GIH] and have to live in other housing that isn't gender neutral because the rooms were given to... people who don't deserve it or don't need the housing. Like cis people" (Emmery, a first year student living in GIH). The students living in GIH expressed these frustrations, which ultimately left many of them feeling that their needs were disregarded by the Residence Life staff.

These complaints represent the dissonance discussed earlier in who should be the cause of change at SU. While the staff working in Residence Life could not identify any issues with the GIH policy, the students I spoke with had no shortage of issues to report. However, when asked if any of them had brought these issues to the attention of an administrator, the question was dismissed and the subject was changed to issues with who uses the gender-inclusive bathroom in their building.

This lack of empowerment indicates that students might not feel supported by the administration or safe disclosing some of the issues they are facing. It is simplistic to eschew the lack of confrontation as indicative of a generation focused on technology and communication via images and screens (Seemiller & Grace, 2016). Instead, it is clear that, at least for the trans* students I interviewed, they felt a lack of trust in the

administration to provide solutions. Kenai's earlier quote depicts this lack of trust when she said, "it never really feels like people are on your side. They're not on the other person's side. They're on no one's side." While it is outside of the scope of my study to posit what caused and maintains this disintegration in trust of students in the administration, it is clear that this is organizational breakdown.

This dissolution of trust contributed to SU's location within the Model of Normative Disruption. Despite enacting a GIH policy nearly a decade ago, trans* students living in residence halls at SU feel unsupported and demonstrate a lack of trust of the administration. Problematically, administration within Residence Life appear to believe the issue of normative disruption has been ameliorated. These issues prevent the institution from fully reestablishing organizational homeostasis.

Equifinality and Decision-Making Responses to Normative Disruption

Other departments at SU had also implemented policies and practices to support trans* students, including the name change policy, and the creation of gender-inclusive bathrooms. These policies and practices emerged as organizationally siloed. When asked about other aspects of campus that supported trans* students, administrators in Residence Life had a difficult time recalling any other policies or practices. The loose coupling of offices, due to the stratified hierarchy of student affairs, might explain the lack of shared resources or knowledge across departments. It could also be understood as politically motivated, so as to not relinquish power over decision-making to other

supervision lines. This is problematic because it can create an environment for trans* students that is difficult to navigate and is, in its entirety, unsupportive.

Nicolazzo (2017) urges college administrators to move beyond implementing best practices, stating, "[s]uggesting that inclusion comes as a result of adopting certain policies is overly simplistic" (p. 141). Instead, Nicolazzo suggests that focusing on resources for trans* students actually serves to create a dichotomy between these resources and the rest of campus which is, by lack of inclusion, trans* oppressive. Therefore, the administrative belief that GIH offers a sufficient solution for supporting trans* students in housing represents the siloed approach to student support at SU. This mode of operating is indicative of the political climate at SU, in which Residence Life can purport that the department supports trans* students, regardless of how the rest of campus chooses to.

Summary of Stage 3

As evidenced by SU, institutions in Stage 3 of the Model of Normative Disruption have created a GIH, or other responsive, policy, but have yet to fully reintegrate a new conceptualization of gender into the institutional culture. SU has had a GIH policy in place for many years, however, due to lack of student trust, the siloed nature of the policy, and the lack of integration of resources, the progression through the Model stalled. Instead, from an administrative perspective, it appears that implementing GIH was the end goal, for Residence Life. Because the complaints that trans* students had about the policy have not reached the department, the issue of normative disruption of

the gender binary is considered to be resolved. Given the loose coupling of student affairs and the political nature of the institution, it appears that implementing siloed best practices is the only current mechanism for supporting trans* students at SU. This left organizational homeostasis unresolved, and SU's responses to normative disruption still within the black box of decision-making. The final case site, Newell Arts College, serves as an exemplar of an institution that has completed the Model and moved to Stage 4.

Example of Stage 4: Shift in the Construct of Gender

The final stage of the Model of Normative Disruption is reached when an institution has succeeded in exporting an expanded concept of gender to the external environment. NAC is an example of how an institution might reach Stage 4.

NAC was influenced by the same state and local factors of the external environment as SU and LU. Normative disruption of the gender binary was also impacted by the neighboring institutions in the Consortium of City Colleges. NAC's responses to normative disruption, similarly to LU and SU, were mediated by institutional characteristics, most notably as a small arts college. The fact that NAC was able to complete the cycle within the Model of Normative Disruption is largely attributed to the institutional culture and collegial organizational structure.

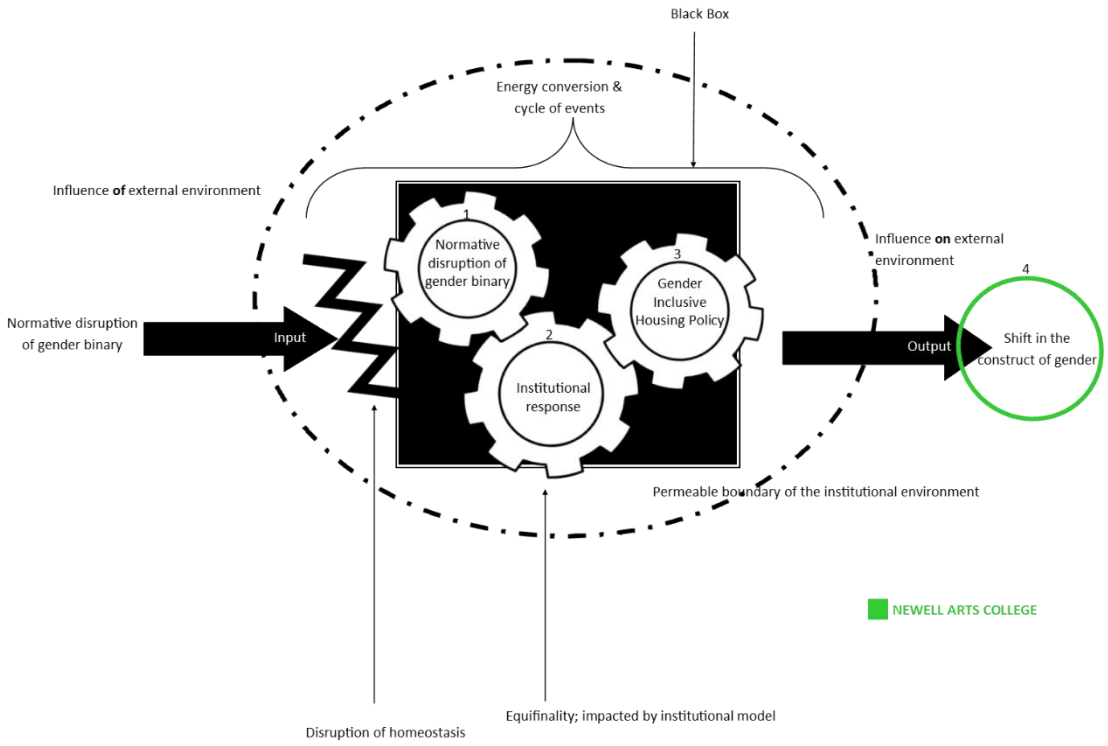

Figure 14
Newell Arts College Placement within Model of Normative Disruption

The Manifestation of Normative Disruption at NAC

Two aspects of the external environment influenced normative disruption of the gender binary at NAC. The first, as discussed at LU and SU, was the perceived liberal identity of the state and city that NAC is located in. As discussed in the findings for NAC, participants characterized the external environment as “pretty liberal and accepting” (Sydney). Additionally, the Consortium of City Colleges, CCC, impacted normative disruption of the gender binary.

Recall from the case description that the CCC is comprised of six institutions, including NAC. The institutions are a diverse group, including a health professions school, a Catholic college, and a technological college. The institutions share many resources, and NAC specifically shares their dining facility with two other colleges and a residence hall with another college. All six locations are located within blocks of one another, with two directly across the street from NAC. Additionally, there are CCC committees that staff from each institution attend, in order to discuss issues or to share information. The Director of Residence Life at NAC, Desiree, attends a CCC meeting with the other Residence Life directors periodically throughout the semester.

The institutions within the CCC are closely coupled, in both their lines of communication and in the sharing of resources. Tight coupling allows the institutions to share physical resources, such as residence and dining halls, in a major metropolitan city where land is scarce and costly. Because most of the CCC institutions have fewer than 5,000 students, and many of the colleges have academic specializations, it also affords CCC students access to a wider variety of cocurricular activities and course offerings. Students participate in shared intramural sports and performing arts organizations. This allows the CCC schools not to duplicate resources, and provides more opportunities to students.

The CCC contributed to normative disruption at NAC in specific ways. Desiree discussed spearheading a CCC LGBTQ student organization several years ago, because at the time, the Catholic college did not offer an organization. This organization eventually disbanded as each CCC school created their own club. Students and staff also referred to

instances of bias that have been reported by NAC students who have negative interactions with other CCC students in the shared dining or residence hall spaces. Desiree talked about how such issues are mediated either within the Directors meeting, or via direct communication between Directors and Deans of Students, depending on the specific issue.

These instances point to a specific culture that NAC has created for the queer and trans* students on their campus that may be interrupted or negatively impacted by the proximity to other campuses, which students perceived as less accepting of LGBTQ individuals. One student, Sage, discussed how if ze is misgendered or experiences other forms of bias, ze will return to campus where ze feels safer. It is clear that while the external environment is, at large, liberal and accepting, a dissonance exists between the community at NAC and the communities at neighboring schools. This dissonance influenced the normative disruption of the gender binary at NAC. The institutional culture, characterized by its arts mission, pushes back against these instances of bias in order to create as trans*-inclusive of a campus as possible.

Institutional Characteristics and Culture

NAC's institutional characteristics are central to understanding the organizational functioning. As a small, public arts college, there are many aspects of the institution that lean into the innovative and experimental attitudes that characterize the student body. NAC is also committed to social justice, which serves as a rationale for creating policies for trans* students. Combined, a focus on social justice and a

willingness to experiment created an ideal environment for normative disruption of the gender binary to flourish and manifest change.

Expanded concept of gender. As opposed to LU and SU, which both struggled to move the campus as a whole towards an expanded concept of gender, a rejection of the gender binary was clearly evident at NAC. Part of this was influenced by NAC's mission, which promotes a connection between diversity and artistic expression. Relatedly, the student body was characterized by all participants as one that was comfortable exploring gender and talking about gender identity. In an assessment of the campus culture, of a sample of 430 students, 28% self-identified as not heterosexual (bisexual, gay, lesbian, or questioning), and 0.7% and 4.5% identified as trans* and genderqueer/nonconforming, respectively (Assessment on Living and Working at NAC, 2015). In the same year as this report, Gallup found that an estimated 6.7% of college-aged students identified as LGBT nationally (Newport, 2018). This means that at NAC, the LGBTQ population is at least four times greater than the national percentage of LGBTQ college-aged students. While it is outside of the scope of my study to hypothesize why this might be, it demonstrates that LGBTQ students are prevalent population at NAC, which can influence the larger campus culture.

Influence of queer student culture. NAC demonstrated an institutional desire to create an inclusive environment for LGBTQ students. One clear example of this goal is through the orientation programming as staff members Marlene, Nicholas, Kelsey, and Allen all described. During the first few days of orientation there is a session titled,

"Gender Matters." This session is led by a student orientation leader, in drag, and as Marlene, a Hall Director, discussed,

> Boom, 9:00 am, full drag, let's talk about gender, let's talk about sexuality, let's talk about statistics and why this is important, and really set the tone for the incoming class. And, we got feedback from many people saying how amazingly supportive they felt and how welcoming that was for them, and how excited they were to be a part of a community that highlights and focuses on that.

This session demonstrates not only an institutional commitment to openly discussing and supporting the LGBTQ community, but also the fusion of this discussion with drag, a performative element.

All of the staff participants who discussed this event remarked at how successful it was in encapsulating the culture at NAC. However, a few did also share that the style of presentation was also shocking to some students who were less familiar with queer or drag culture. Marlene recounted her interactions with one resident who ultimately transferred to another institution because he felt it was, in the student's words "not cool for me to be… straight and normal, here at [NAC]." This quote positions the campus culture as exclusive towards heterosexual cisgender men, a complete antithesis to American society's structures of privilege and power, as well as LU's campus culture. This culture is evident in the institutional responses to normative disruption.

Organizational characteristics. In addition to these environmental characteristics, NAC also functions as a collegial organization. Given its size, most student affairs offices are comprised of one or two staff members, with Residence Life being one of the largest offices on campus. The division of student affairs all share one suite in the student center, and work closely and collaboratively to support one another.

Because of this, there also appeared to be a shared sense of responsibility in decision-making. An example of this is the effort to create programming to help trans* students transition from NAC to the workplace. The initial problem was brought to a division meeting, and after discussion, staff members collectively decided to take on various aspects of programming to help address the issue.

NAC's small size also allows administrators to provide a student-centered approach to support and problem solving. Each staff member I spoke with had several anecdotes about individual students that they had helped to support or navigate an issue. This approach, undergirded by the collegial nature of the offices of student affairs, created a close knit web of support for students. The size and collegial nature of NAC supported a response to normative disruption of the gender binary that was quick and multifaceted.

Equifinality and Decision-Making Responses to Normative Disruption

NAC administrators implemented several policies and practices to respond to normative disruption of the gender binary. Initial discussions of implementing GIH began with the Director of Residence Life, who viewed the policy option as a way to better support trans* students. By all accounts of those who worked on GIH, the process was smooth and quick, taking less than a year from researching policies to Board of Higher Education approval. This quick implementation process might at first seem antithetical to the NAC's collegial nature, which can often lead to lengthy decision-making processes. Yet, due to the size of NAC's student affairs departments, Desiree

was able to build consensus and garner support for the policy quickly. In addition, because the policy was considered a change in housing configuration and not in funding structures, it was not met with a great deal of scrutiny.

The queer and trans*-supportive institutional culture combined with the timeframe for implementation also contributed to a relatively simple implementation process. Unlike LU, who had to contend with a hostile environment, and SU who had to balance the student need for single-sex housing, NAC's campus community was already established as a queer and trans* friendly space. NAC began developing the policy in 2013, at which time GIH was becoming much more nationally prominent. Several neighboring institutions already offered some form of GIH. These policies provided NAC with existing models and practices to work from as they developed their own policy.

Changes to GIH. Similar to SU, NAC had offered coeducational housing for over ten years before GIH was considered. Administrators who worked on GIH therefore made sure to distinguish the difference between the two, and to place emphasis on GIH as a housing option that focused on students' living preferences instead of their sex assigned at birth. As discussed in the findings, at the time of my interviews, Residence Life administrators were working on changes to the GIH policy. These changes would essentially convert all housing assignments to gender-inclusive rooms, and create an opt-in process for students who wished to live in single-sex housing.

Even just the interest in making such a change is emblematic of the radical and unique institutional culture that exists at NAC. It demonstrates the movement of NAC through the Model of Normative Disruption, and positions the institution as cycling

through the black box of decision-making, to reestablishing organizational homeostasis, and outputting an expanded concept of gender. One of the implications that Nicolazzo (2017) writes about is recognizing how gender mediates the lives of everyone on a college campus. Such a shift in housing assignments recognizes that gender is a social regulator for everyone. It also moves to resist categorizing students as cisgender or trans*, by muting gender as a factor of consideration for housing assignments, and instead focusing on similarities in living styles and interests.

Other policies and practices. In addition to GIH, other policies and practices at NAC indicate institutional responses to normative disruption. These include a name change policy, orientation programming, and expanding the gender options on admissions applications. Taken together, these indicate progressive, campus-wide attempts at mediating normative disruption and expanding the institutional concept of gender. Including additional gender options on the NAC admissions application sends a visible signal that trans* student identities are valued at NAC. One researcher found that explicit inclusion is integral to creating a culture where trans* students feel accepted (Anderson, 2011).

Together, these policies also create a unified experience in student affairs for trans* students, from admission, to orientation programming, all the way through workplace transition programming. NAC administrators in student affairs, by virtue of their close and collegial working style, have created a system of events, reinforced by the institutional culture, that signals to trans* students that they are supported. The

trans* students I spoke with echoed these sentiments, including when Sage said that "[NAC] is a very queer focused school."

One challenge that NAC administrators discussed was the lack of technology to support the institutional changes being made. One example of this is how the name change policy operates. Due to limitations in information systems, the systems used across campus are not all integrated, creating instances in which a student's preferred name may not populate. To combat this, the Assistant Vice President for Student Affairs maintains a list that is distributed to staff and faculty. While not ideal, it demonstrates a level of commitment on behalf of the student affairs staff to work around barriers that would negatively impact trans* students.

As a result of this cohesion, NAC appears to be the only institution of the three case sites that was able to reestablish organizational homeostasis around an expanded concept of gender. NAC also has exported this expanded concept of gender to the external environment. Examples of this can be found in how NAC interacts with other colleges in the CCC, including spearheading a CCC LGBTQ club when other colleges did not yet have one. One neighboring CCC institution implemented GIH the year after NAC. While it is unclear if NAC was a direct influence, it is likely, given the close relationships of the Directors of Residence Life, that the other institution was aware of NAC's policy.

Summary of Stage 4

The institutional culture and characteristics of NAC created an environment which was ideal to respond to normative disruption of the gender binary, and to complete the cycle within the Model of Normative Disruption. NAC's overrepresentation of queer and trans* students seems to be emblematic of a supportive environment for LGBTQ students. In turn, due to the prevalence of queer and trans* students, administrators in student affairs have worked to create several policies and practices to better assist in their college experience. This institutional culture also emerged as distinct from other neighboring institutions within the consortium. As NAC has reintegrated an expanded concept of gender into the fabric of student support, administrators have also influenced change in other CCC schools. In this regard, NAC serves as an example of an institution at Stage 4, one that has exported an understanding of gender beyond the binary to the external environment.

Cross-Case Comparison

In the following section I will analyze how similarities and disparities between how the three case sites moved through the Model of Normative Disruption. I will discuss factors of the external environment, the impact of institutional culture and characteristics, decision-making processes related to reestablishing homeostasis, and overall placement within the Model. I will begin with factors of the external

environment. Below, I reintroduce the Model of Normative Disruption from the beginning of this chapter, which indicates the placement of each case site.

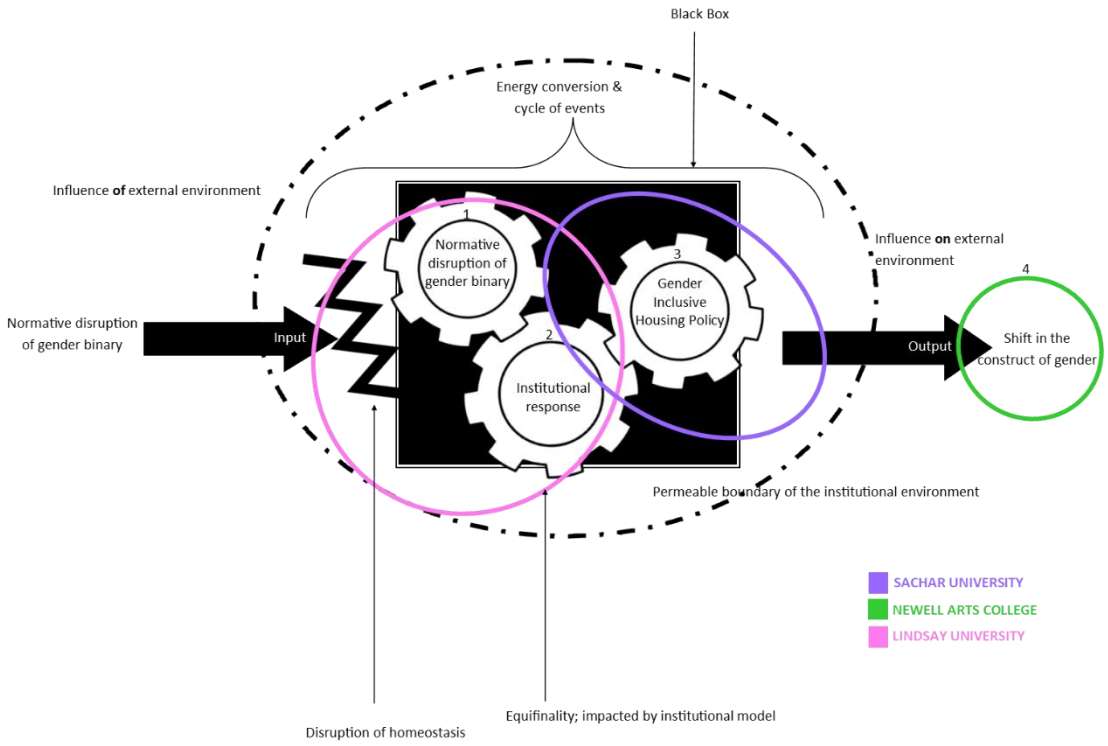

Figure 15
Placement of Three Case Sites within Model of Normative Disruption

Factors of the External Environment

State and local environment. Part of the site sampling strategy for my study involved selecting institutions within the same geographic region, in order to understand how different types of colleges and universities might respond to the same factors of the external environment. Participants at all three case sites characterized the state and city as a liberal place to live, and many also cited state laws protecting the

rights of LGBTQ individuals. The external environment therefore appears to have influenced each institution, by creating a baseline of awareness of and focus on LGBTQ issues.

Peer and neighboring institutions. The external environment of each case site was also influenced by peer or neighboring institutional responses to normative disruption of the gender binary, though in different ways. LU was influenced generally by what administrators referred to as a need to keep up with national trends around trans* student issues. As discussed, this indicated normative isomorphism, focusing on institutional reputation. SU was impacted by the fallout of a peer institution's attempt to implement GIH. NAC, was influenced by other colleges within the consortium, and also through responding to normative disruption, might have also impacted them in turn. It is evident that, due to the permeable boundaries of colleges and universities, they may be impacted by policy creation and responses at other institutions. The type and degree of influence, at the three case sites, was differentiated by institutional factors and the timeframe of policy creation. For these three cases, this indicates that other aspects within the college or university shape external environmental influence.

Impact of Institutional Characteristics and Culture

One of the most important findings was the role that institutional culture and characteristics played in mediating normative disruption of the gender binary. While each institution responded to similar disruptions, the distinct characteristics influenced how the disruption manifested. These characteristics included: institutional type,

understanding of gender, queer student culture, inciting incidents, and racial vs. LGBTQ issues.

Institutional type and understanding of gender. Each case site had distinct institutional type characteristics, which shaped how normative disruption manifested and subsequent responses. As indicated in prior sections of analysis, each institution functioned as a different organizational type: bureaucratic (LU); bureaucratic/political (SU); and collegial (NAC). The institutional type also influenced the student body and the culture students created, which impacted decision-making. Due to these different cultures, the institutional understanding of gender also varied across institutions. LU's hypermasculine student culture, supported by "The Ratio," served as barriers to administrative goals of expanding the institutional concept of the gender binary. At SU, while the social justice orientation of the institution supported exploring gender identity, the prevalent Orthodox Jewish culture also necessitated recognizing the gender binary and adhering to it in some policy decisions. At NAC, the creative nature of the institution seemed to naturally align with expanding the concept of the gender binary.

Each of these examples demonstrates how the institutional culture either supported or served as a barrier to normative disruption and expanding the concept of the gender binary at each case site. Further, the degree to which an institution's culture was amenable or not to normative disruption greatly impacted where how far the college or university advanced through the Model. If the campus environment was closed to exploring new gender possibilities, then, regardless of administrative effort, normative disruption was thwarted at some point. Only at NAC, where the institutional

culture was accepting of many gender identities was the College able to fully integrate this new concept of gender into the institution and to export this idea to the external environment.

Racial vs. LGBTQ issues. All three case sites had mission statements that included some reference to social justice and diversity. Yet, at both SU and NAC, administrators made comments that their institutions were better at dealing with LGBTQ issues than with racial issues. These comments serve to position these issues as separate and within an artificial hierarchical system. They also indicate that LGBTQ issues are considered monolithic and White, if they exist distinctly from racial issues. Research indicates that queer and trans* students of color face different issues than their White queer and trans* peers. These issues include finding social support (Strayhorn, Blakewood, & DeVita, 2008; Vaccaro & Mena, 2011); navigation of multiple systems of oppression (Jourian, 2015; Vaccaro & Mena, 2011); and experiences of harassment and violence (Quinn, 2007). Positioning racial and LGBTQ identities as disparate ignores the intersectionality of these identities, while white-washing LGBTQ issues.

Inciting incidents. At two institutions, inciting incidents were discussed that shaped the campus community and encapsulated disparities between student and staff beliefs. At LU, the Drag Bingo event emerged as a symbol for the polarity between the hypermasculine student body and the administration who viewed diversity as central to the business mission of the University. At SU, Black Lives Matter protests began because of student dissatisfaction with the administration's attention to the needs of students of

color. They then seemed to characterize the distrust that marginalized students felt towards the University. Interestingly, at NAC, the only institution to move through the Model, there were no major campus events that surfaced during interviews. This may be due to the fact that NAC was also the only institution where tensions between the administration and students did not emerge.

Decision-Making Processes Related to Reestablishing Homeostasis

Despite the variance in institutional cultures, decision-making responses to normative disruption at each case site manifested in similar ways. The role of administrators, both in personal identities and in prior knowledge influenced policy making decisions. Additionally, these policies were created in silos, requiring little input from offices or departments outside of Residence Life. The timeline for implementation varied by institution, becoming shorter the more recently the policy was created. Lastly, other institutional responses to normative disruption through the creation of policies and practices existed at two institutions as loosely coupled, and at NAC, as more integrated. The following sections will analyze these findings.

Role of administrators. At all three institutions, the role of administrators who were willing to implement a GIH policy was integral to the policy creation process. Importantly, at each institution, one or more administrators who developed the policy identified as LGBQ. Identifying within the LGBTQ community emerged as a motivator for administrators, who wished to create a more inclusive campus community for trans* students.

Administrators at all three institutions also had prior knowledge of GIH policies, either from coworkers (at SU) or from work at previous institutions (NAC and LU). Research on prior knowledge demonstrates that new knowledge must be constructed by using previous knowledge as building blocks (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 2000). Extrapolating this, one can understand that administrators at each institution employed their prior knowledge of how GIH policies were created to inform how they embarked on creating a policy. This influence of external institutions goes beyond peer and neighboring colleges and universities, expanding to include salient experiences that staff members have at other institutions.

GIH policies. Each institution's policies went through different iterations, or are in the process of changing. This indicates that there may not yet be enough research on GIH to guide policy creation. It also demonstrates that, based on the siloed nature of the policy implementation at each institution, that including students, and trans* students specifically, in the development stage is crucial. Though at SU, students were initially involved in the task force for GIH, the development process was spearheaded and overseen primarily through Residence Life administrators. LU's policy evolved from its initial conception to its current status, and perhaps due to campus climate, did not involve a great deal of trans* student input. Even at NAC, the primary influence on GIH was neighboring institutions' policy drafts. This indicates that, while administrators are willing to adapt their policies to meet changes in student needs, this type of trial and error leaves trans* students at a disadvantage as policy changes may take years to implement.

Though implementation processes varied across all three institutions, the policies in their current state look remarkably similar. All offer GIH across all residence halls and include options for first years to participate. Positively, this means that trans* students are able to live in GIH regardless of financial limitations, an early concern for GIH implementation (Beemyn, 2005a). Research indicates that living on campus can positively impact a student's engagement (Pascarella, 1993), and persistence to graduation (Gellin, 2003), though this has also been found to vary across racial and SES demographics (López Turley & Wodtke, 2010).

SU and NAC also delineated GIH housing from other existing housing options which allowed students of different genders to cohabitate by suite or apartment, just not by bedroom. This differentiation is important, because the emphasis on supporting trans* students through GIH creation actually indicates that GIH units are less private, in that they must be a shared occupancy room. This might mean that a trans* student would be more comfortable living in a mixed-gender suite with a private bedroom and bathroom than in a shared double occupancy unit, even if there is a private bathroom. This could indicate that GIH, though well-intentioned to create equal access to all housing configurations, may not be the ideal housing arrangement for trans* students.

Impact of siloed policy response. Despite influence from other institutions, the creation of GIH at each case site remained internal to Residence Life, with approval from upper administration once the policy was completed. This indicates that, while GIH may serve as an institutional response to normative disruption, the creation of the policy does not have ramifications for other areas of the campus. Therefore, as Nicolazzo

(2017) points out, creating GIH as a mechanism for implementing best practices ultimately does not operate to best serve trans* students. Siloed policies across campus, evident at SU in particular, create a disorganized experience for trans* students. The existence of GIH or gender-inclusive bathrooms creates a new dichotomy: spaces for trans* students and spaces not for trans* students. Instead, policies such as NAC's new GIH policy interrogate how gender mediates our campuses and serves to interrupt this.

Timeline of policy creation. The timeline for creating GIH varied by institution, though it decreased in length the more recently it was created. SU's timeline was the longest, taking six years, from 2003-2009. Much of this time was dedicated to initial planning and then to community education prior to rollout. LU's timeline was shorter, from 2011-2015, and NAC's was the shortest, taking just from 2013-2014. By 2015, when LU implemented their current iteration, they were one of latest institutions to create a GIH policy.

The length of time, while definitely impacted by institutional characteristics, was also shaped by the national landscape of GIH. As discussed earlier, at the time of SU's implementation, GIH was still a novel concept on college campuses. Moving to 2011, there were many more institutions with GIH policies when LU began working on their policy, with the number again increasing during NAC's implementation timeframe. Even from 2016-2017, the number of GIH policies has increased from 213 to 266 (Beemyn, n.d.). This type of growth demonstrates that GIH is becoming a more prevalent campus policy, especially in comparison to 2009, when SU was one of only 46 other institutions with GIH.

Summary by Placement within the Model

As described in previous sections, each case represents a different position within the Model of Normative Disruption. The placement within the Model was influenced by the degree to which the institution ameliorated the effects of normative disruption and reestablished organizational homeostasis. At LU and SU, factors of the institution's environment impeded responses to normative disruption, including a hostile student culture towards queer and trans* individuals (LU), and a lack of student trust in the administration (SU). Organizationally, both LU and SU also functioned as a bureaucracy, though LU's student affairs offices were more closely coupled than SU's.

In contrast, NAC, due in part to its size, functioned collegially. As an arts college, administrators made connections between the focus on creativity and exploration and a focus of many NAC students on exploring their gender identities. As indicated in an internal study of the campus climate, NAC also had a prevalent queer and trans* student population. These factors combined to create an environment that was adaptive and responsive to normative disruption of the gender binary. Due to NAC administrators' willingness to create policies to support trans* students, and the receptiveness of the student body, the college was able to reestablish organizational homeostasis around an expanded concept of gender, completing the Model of Normative Disruption. Institutional culture and organizational characteristics therefore impacted each institution's level of success at mediating normative disruption and

expanding the institutional concept of gender. The next section will review the implications of my findings.

Conclusion

The following section will summarize the previous chapters and provide implications for theory, research, and practice based on my findings. Recall that the purpose of my dissertation was twofold: to understand how institutions of higher education respond to normative disruption of the gender binary through the creation of GIH policies; and to what extent institutional characteristics influenced decision-making of such policy creation. In Chapter I, I introduced the conceptual framework of open systems theory (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966), which I employed throughout my dissertation to frame my methodology, findings, and analysis. Approaching this problem from an organizational perspective allowed me to better understand how, if at all, given that higher education operates as a subsystem of larger society, colleges and universities might respond to changes in the external environment.

In Chapter V, I reintroduced this framework as the Model of Normative Disruption, and demonstrated how, based on my findings in Chapter IV, this Model can be used to track a college or university's responses to normative disruption. I found, through the use of this Model, that institutional responses to normative disruption of the gender binary varies by factors of institutional type and characteristics. These findings demonstrate the importance of understanding institutional context when

creating policies for trans* students, and for when conceptualizing how to eradicate cisgenderism within an institution.

In Chapter II, I discussed five sections of literature: 1) normative disruption within American society, 2) higher education responses to normative disruption, 3) normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education, 4) campus-wide support services and policies for trans* students, and 5) GIH policy creation and implementation. This literature informed my study. As each case site had already established a GIH policy, normative disruption had already manifested at each institution. As my findings demonstrated, normative disruption was influenced by institutional characteristics. My findings were also supported by the emergent literature on trans* college student issues, as many of the researched areas of support were present at the three case sites, including counseling and mental health services, name change policies, and gender-inclusive bathrooms.

Summary of Research Questions and Findings

The research questions guiding my study were:

1. How, if at all, are institutions influenced by changes in societal norms around the gender binary?
    a. To what extent does this lead or motivate college or university administrators to create a Gender-Inclusive Housing policy?
    b. How, if at all, do institutions respond to these changing norms?

2. How, if at all, do institutions of higher education utilize Gender-Inclusive Housing policies to respond to the disruption of the gender binary?
    a. What steps are taken to reestablish organizational homeostasis as related to this expanded concept of gender?
    b. To what extent is organizational homeostasis reestablished?
    c. How, if at all, do institutional characteristics influence decision-making responses?

The first question was focused on aspects of normative disruption of the gender binary within higher education. For my sample, I found that institutions of higher education are influenced by changes in societal norms (RQ1). Normative disruption was mediated through institutional characteristics. Each institution had points in which an expanded concept of gender was recognized, but the way it manifested at each institution differed by institutional characteristics. For all three institutions, the external environment shifted the societal norm to expand the concept of gender for the state, and in turn, influence institutions of higher education within it.

The changes in societal norms around the gender binary influenced administrators at each institution in my study to create a GIH policy (RQ1a), as a mechanism to creating space for trans* students within cisgenderist housing policies. Administrators were a driving force behind GIH creation at all three institutions. However, based on other institutional characteristics, the manner in which administrators went about developing policies varied. Administrators began to respond to normative disruption by utilizing information from peer institutions or through prior

knowledge from other colleges or universities (RQ1b). GIH policies were the first type of policy responding to normative disruption, but many policies followed, though these policies appear to also be siloed within individual departments.

The manner in which institutions in my study employed GIH as a response mechanism to normative disruption varied (RQ2). At SU, GIH was developed in order to be on the forefront of such policy development; At NAC, GIH was developed due to a demonstrated need by students; at LU, GIH was developed due to the motivation of staff in Residence Life, but without a tangible, demonstrated need from students. As a result, GIH emerged as one step in the institutional process of reestablishing organizational homeostasis (RQ2a). At SU, once GIH was implemented, Residence Life appeared complacent with the policy and developed no further plans to support trans* students beyond the policy. At LU, many active steps were taken by the administrators and the LGBTQ staff coalition, however they are met with significant resistance from (at best) complacent students and (at worst) heterosexist/ cisgenderist students. Only at NAC was organizational homeostasis reestablished, due in part to specific institutional characteristics.

Institutional characteristics, as discussed previously, were central to mediating and understanding each college or university's decision-making responses (RQ2c). Decisions made by administrators were guided by the organizational type characteristics, which created supervision hierarchies, loose and tight coupling of offices and departments, and in one instance, political coalitions that served to exacerbate a campus climate of distrust. These findings have implications for both future theory and

research and future practice related to both normative disruption of the gender binary and GIH creation.

Implications for Theory

My dissertation utilized Gender-Inclusive Housing policy creation as a case for understanding institutional responses to normative disruption of the gender binary. In order to study this phenomenon, I developed the Model of Normative Disruption, based on open systems theory (Birnbaum, 1988; Katz & Kahn, 1966). This model was useful in tracking how normative disruption impacted an institution, subsequent responses, and the degree to which organizational homeostasis was reestablished around a new concept of gender.

My study applied this Model to the case of GIH policy creation. This Model is important because it provides a conceptual framework for understanding institutional responses to normative disruption of various societal norms. As defined in Chapter I, normative disruption is the challenging or interruption of socially accepted ways of behaving. American society commonly reinforces systemically oppressive ideology, e.g., sexism, cisgenderism, heterosexism, and racism. Because colleges and universities operate as subsystems of larger society, it is possible that such ideologies are also perpetuated within institutions of higher education.

As indicated by the case sites in my study, the Model provides a mechanism for understanding the stage that an institution might be in when grappling with normative

disruption. In addition to its applications for understanding disruption of the gender binary, the Model of Normative Disruption can be employed to understand the various ways that colleges and universities respond to normative disruption of societal oppressions and the degree to which they ameliorate the issue to create a more inclusive campus. The Model of Normative Disruption could therefore assist future researchers in understanding the issues that college students with marginalized identities experience due to systemic oppression. As I discussed in Chapter II, there have been several responses to normative disruption within American higher education, including gender equity (along the gender binary), and the push for LGBT student services. Other cases that the Model could be applied to might include exploring other issues trans* students face, such as health care services or athletics policies. The Model could also be used to understand institutional responses to the underrepresentation of Black and Latinx students at four-year institutions (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013). At a theoretical level, this model provides researchers with a framework for examining the implications of societal oppression at colleges and universities from a systemic perspective.

Implications for Research

In Chapter I, I discussed that my study might provide future researchers with an example of how GIH policies can be understood from an organizational perspective. Based on my findings, it is evident that, at least for the three sites that I studied, using an open systems theory framework provides mechanisms for understanding how

institutional type and culture impact GIH policy creation. Future research is needed to understand how organizational factors influence other responses to normative disruption of the gender binary. Such research would benefit our understanding of how colleges and universities are changing the cisgenderist practices and structures that pervade campuses by enforcing the gender binary. Additionally, future research might employ the Model of Normative Disruption in order to frame such studies.

Future research could therefore employ the Model to examine the myriad of cisgenderist policies on college campuses, including those in the registrar, athletics, and Greek life. These studies would provide a more holistic understanding of the ways in which our college and university campuses create and perpetuate oppressive environments for trans* students. Studies such as these would shed light on how we might dismantle these cisgenderist systems within higher education, which could potentially have ramifications for other subsystems of American society.

Future research should continue to examine the role of institutional characteristics and culture on decision-making processes. As evidenced by the sites in my study, institutional culture is integral to understanding the ways that administrators establish policies and create practices. Future researchers might therefore look to understand the relationship between institutional culture and characteristics and support for trans* students.

Implications for Practice

My study also aimed to help current higher education administrators understand some of the barriers to GIH implementation, as well as to understand how the institutional characteristics of their college or university impact such creation. My study demonstrated, that at least for a small sample of colleges and universities, that institutional culture is central to determining the response approaches to expanding the concept of gender. LU and SU both had cultures that created barriers to successfully moving through the Model of Normative Disruption.

Administrators should therefore attempt to understand their institutions from an organizational perspective. This will provide them with insight into how decisions are made, and how best to enact change in order to support trans* students in a systemic manner. As evidenced by the case sites in my study, college and university functional areas can exist loosely coupled to one another. This organizational functioning does not serve the college experiences of marginalized students holistically. Administrators should instead attempt to bridge gaps between departments and offices on behalf of students and to create policies and practices in tandem. Most importantly, administrators must problematize the various ways that they or their offices perpetuate or support the gender binary. It is essential that these structures and policies be interrogated in order to eradicate cisgenderism from our campuses.

Colleges and universities have an obligation to best serve our trans* students. In order to do so, administrators must be responsive to societal forms of oppression that serve to marginalize these students and impede their success in college. Addressing

cisgenderist policies and practices requires eradicating our dependence on and adherence to the existence of a gender binary. This implicit adherence to the gender binary is visible across our campuses: in dichotomous gender options on forms, in the use of only binary pronouns in official memos and emails, in bathrooms and locker rooms only for women and for men, in student insurance that does not include hormones or surgery coverage, and in the existence of single-gender student organizations. By expanding our institutional conceptualization of gender, we make legible the multitude of gender identities that students have on our campuses. By disrupting the norm of the gender binary, administrators can reconceptualize these cisgenderist policies to be inclusive of trans* students.

Summary

My study aimed to fill the gap in literature which examines how normative disruption of the gender binary impacts colleges and universities. Utilizing GIH policies as a case for understanding decision-making and institutional responses, my study found that some institutional cultures are more amenable to such disruptions than others. Colleges and universities must adapt to normative disruption in order to eradicate systems and structures that assert the existence of a gender binary, as a means of creating truly inclusive campuses for trans* students.

As discussed in Chapter III, as a researcher, I do not necessarily consider GIH policies to be the best or ideal housing environments for trans* students. This idea was

also explored by some participants at my case sites. Nicolazzo (2017) urges higher education administrators to consider pushing beyond the implementation of best practices. As demonstrated in my study, GIH policies might therefore serve as an opportunity for administrators to begin the necessary conversations of understanding the myriad of cisgenderist policies, practices, and culture that exist within systems of higher education. They cannot serve as the end goal, or else normative disruption will not be fully ameliorated. GIH policies are therefore valuable in serving as an impetus to interrogate the needs of trans* students and to finding ways to transform our campuses to move beyond the gender binary.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol for Housing Administrators Who Did Not Implement GIH

Research Question	Interview Questions
	Introduction
	Thank you for taking time to meet with me today. Before we get started, I want to make sure you had a chance to look over the Informed Consent form and if you had any questions before we begin [collect signed forms if not already received]. As stated in this form I will be audio recording these interviews. Please let me know if you do not wish to be recorded. Lastly, this interview will take about an hour, but you may end it at any point if you wish to do so.
	1. To begin, can you tell me your name and a little about your position here at [INSERT INSTITUTION]?
	a. How long have you been at [INSERT INSTITUTION]?
	Campus Culture
	I'm going to ask you some questions about the campus culture and student population at [INSERT INSTITUTION].
1	2. How would you describe your student population?
	a. What adjectives come to mind?
1	3. If you were talking to a prospective student, how would you describe the campus culture?
1	4. If you were talking to a prospective LGBTQ student, how would you describe the campus culture?
	a. What about the queer campus culture?
1	5. When you think about [INSERT INSTITUTION], are there any specifically gendered spaces or policies that come to mind?
1	6. What about gender-inclusive spaces or policies?
1b	7. In your time here, has anything changed related to these policies or spaces?
1b	8. Are there any current campus movements or discussions happening related to changing or creating more gender-inclusive policies or spaces?
	Organizational Structure
2c	9. We're going to shift gears and talk about the organizational structure at [INSERT INSTITUTION].
	a. Can you draw connections between other offices or departments that you work with?

b. Looking at both of your drawings, are there any major differences?

c. Why are these offices clustered?

d. In what ways might you change this chart to make your work easier?

i. What would these changes achieve?

e. How might you reorganize these offices?

f. How does this differ from the official organizational chart?

Gender-Inclusive Housing

We've talked about the campus culture and the organization of [INSERT INSTITUTION]. Now I want to focus on the Gender-Inclusive Housing policy your department has.

10. If I were a resident, how would you describe GIH to me? 1a

a. Can you walk me through the steps I would need to take to live in GIH for an UPPERCLASS/FIRST YEAR student?

b. What would happen if my roommate decided to move out midyear?

2a 11. What feedback have you heard from students regarding GIH?

1b 12. If I were a parent, how would you describe GIH to me?

2 13. What do you think the goals of GIH are?

14. Do you see any connection between GIH and the [INSERT 2 INSTITUTION] mission?

Trans* Student Support

15. If you were speaking to a current trans* student, what are 1 some other campus policies or resources you might discuss with them?

16. Do you know anyone in the Intercultural Center that you could 1 direct the student to?

a. How do you know them?

17. If you were a trans* student here, what would some of your 1 concerns be about everyday life on campus?

a. Where might you turn for help with those concerns?

b. Where might you avoid asking for help?

18. Aside from GIH, are there other areas that you feel your office 1a could improve in order to support trans* students?

a. What about elsewhere on campus?

Appendix B

Interview Protocol For Administrators Who Implemented GIH[1]

Research Question	Interview Questions
	Introduction
	Thank you for taking time to meet with me today. Before we get started, I want to make sure you had a chance to look over the Informed Consent form and if you had any questions before we begin [collect signed forms if not already received]. As stated in this form I will be audio recording these interviews. Please let me know if you do not wish to be recorded. Lastly, this interview will take about an hour, but you may end it at any point if you wish to do so.
	1. To begin, can you tell me your name and a little about your position here at [INSERT INSTITUTION]?
	a. How long have you been at [INSERT INSTITUTION]?
	Campus Culture
	I'm going to ask you some questions about the campus culture and student population at [INSERT INSTITUTION].
1	5. When you think about [INSERT INSTITUTION], are there any specifically gendered spaces or policies that come to mind?
1	6. What about gender-inclusive spaces or policies?
1b	7. In your time here, has anything changed related to these policies or spaces?
1b	8. Are there any current campus movements or discussions happening related to changing or creating more gender-inclusive policies or spaces?
	Gender-Inclusive Housing
	We've talked about the campus culture of [INSERT INSTITUTION]. Now I want to focus on the Gender-Inclusive Housing policy your department has.
1a	10. If I were a resident, how would you describe GIH to me?
	a. Can you walk me through the steps I would need to take to live in GIH for an UPPERCLASS/FIRST YEAR student?
	b. What would happen if my roommate decided to move out midyear?

[1] Questions may be edited or changed to past tense if the administrator no longer works at the institution

2a	11.	What feedback have you heard from students regarding GIH?
1b	12.	If I were a parent, how would you describe GIH to me?
2	13.	What do you think the goals of GIH are?
2	14.	Do you see any connection between GIH and the [INSERT INSTITUTION] mission?
	Trans* Student Support	
1	15.	If you were speaking to a current trans* student, what are some other campus policies or resources you might discuss with them?
1	17.	If you were a trans* student here, what would some of your concerns be about everyday life on campus?
	a.	Where might you turn for help with those concerns?
	b.	Where might you avoid asking for help?
1a	18.	Aside from GIH, are there other areas that you feel your office could improve in order to support trans* students?
	a.	What about elsewhere on campus?

Appendix C

Interview Protocol for Administrators Who Work with Housing

Research Question	Interview Questions
	Introduction
	Thank you for taking time to meet with me today. Before we get started, I want to make sure you had a chance to look over the Informed Consent form and if you had any questions before we begin [collect signed forms if not already received]. As stated in this form I will be audio recording these interviews. Please let me know if you do not wish to be recorded. Lastly, this interview will take about an hour, but you may end it at any point if you wish to do so.
	1. To begin, can we go around and introduce ourselves and what area of campus you work in.
	Campus Culture
	I'm going to ask you some questions about the campus culture and student population at [INSERT INSTITUTION].
1	2. How would you describe your student population?
	a. What adjectives come to mind?
1	3. If you were talking to a prospective student, how would you describe the campus culture?
1	4. If you were talking to a prospective LGBTQ student, how would you describe the campus culture?
	a. What about the queer campus culture?
1	5. When you think about [INSERT INSTITUTION], are there any specifically gendered spaces or policies that come to mind?
1	6. What about gender-inclusive spaces or policies?
1b	7. In your time here, has anything changed related to these policies or spaces?
1b	8. Are there any current campus movements or discussions happening related to changing or creating more gender-inclusive policies or spaces?
	Organizational Structure
2c	9. We're going to shift gears and talk about the organizational structure at [INSERT INSTITUTION].
	a. What offices or departments do you collaborate with often?
	b. How do those collaborations work?

c. Are there barriers to collaborating more with other departments? What are they?

d. How might you change the organizational structure to make your work easier?

Gender-Inclusive Housing

We've talked about the campus culture and the organization of [INSERT INSTITUTION]. Now I want to focus on the Gender-Inclusive Housing policy your department has.

1a 10. If I were a resident, how would you describe GIH to me?

a. Can you walk me through the steps I would need to take to live in GIH for an UPPERCLASS/FIRST YEAR student?

b. What would happen if my roommate decided to move out midyear?

2a 11. What feedback have you heard from students regarding GIH?

1b 12. If I were a parent, how would you describe GIH to me?

2 13. What do you think the goals of GIH are?

2 14. Do you see any connection between GIH and the [INSERT INSTITUTION] mission?

Trans* Student Support

1 15. If you were speaking to a current trans* student, what are some other campus policies or resources you might discuss with them?

1 16. Do you know anyone in the Intercultural Center that you could direct the student to?

a. How do you know them?

1 17. If you were a trans* student here, what would some of your concerns be about everyday life on campus?

a. Where might you turn for help with those concerns?

b. Where might you avoid asking for help?

1a 18. Aside from GIH, are there other areas that you feel your office could improve in order to support trans* students?

a. What about elsewhere on campus?

Appendix D

Interview Protocol for Student Employees (SU Only)

Research Question	Interview Questions
	Introduction
	Thank you for taking time to meet with me today. Before we get started, I want to make sure you had a chance to look over the Informed Consent form and if you had any questions before we begin [collect signed forms if not already received]. As stated in this form I will be audio recording these interviews. Please let me know if you do not wish to be recorded. Lastly, this interview will take about an hour, but you may end it at any point if you wish to do so.
	1. To begin, can we go around and introduce ourselves and where on campus you work.
	Campus Culture
	I'm going to ask you some questions about the campus culture and student population at [INSERT INSTITUTION].
1	3. How would you describe [INSERT INSTITUTION] to a prospective student?
	a. What adjectives come to mind?
1	5. When you think about [INSERT INSTITUTION], are there any specifically gendered spaces or policies that come to mind?
1	6. What about gender-inclusive spaces or policies?
1b	7. In your time here, has anything changed related to these policies or spaces?
1b	8. Are there any current campus movements or discussions happening related to changing or creating more gender-inclusive policies or spaces?
2c	22. Where do you all go on campus to find community?
2c	23. What places do you avoid?
	Gender-Inclusive Housing
	We've talked about the campus culture and the organization of [INSERT INSTITUTION]. Now I want to focus on the Gender Inclusive Housing policy your department has.
1a	10. If I were a resident, how would you describe GIH to me?
2a	11. What feedback have you heard from students regarding GIH?
2a	24. What training have you received around GIH?

Appendix E

Interview Protocol for Student Focus Group

Research Question	Interview Questions
	Introduction
	1. To begin, let's go around and introduce ourselves. Please say your name, pronouns, year, and major.
	Finding Community
1	2. Where do you all go on campus to find community?
1	3. What places do you avoid?
1	4. Are there places outside of [INSERT INSTITUTION] that you all go to find LGBTQ community?
1	5. How did you find those places?
1	6. What is different about the community there than the community on campus?
	Institutional Perception
1	7. How would you describe the student body at [INSERT INSTITUTION]?
1	8. How would you describe the LGBTQ/queer community at [INSERT INSTITUTION]?
1	9. What adjectives come to mind?
1a	10. Let's discuss some of the ways that [INSERT INSTITUTION] supports trans* students.
1a	11. What about some of the ways that [INSERT INSTITUTION] does not support trans students?
	Gender Inclusive Housing and Gendered Spaces
2	12. What is it like to live in GIH?
2	13. For those who don't live in GIH, what factors led to your decision?
2b	14. What are some other policies on campus that support trans* students?
2b	15. Are there places or policies on campus that are still gendered? How does that make you feel?

Appendix F

Codebook

Lindsay University Codebook

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION Societal Influence				
External Environment Influences	1	1	influences of external environment on campus decisions, culture, policy	"In the end, the phone calls that would come into the university in regards to changing the nature of the binary housing system, it may start here, but they inevitably end up at the vice president's level and the president's level." Joseph
Keeping up with national trends	3	5	Efforts to mirror peer institution policies and to keep LU up to date	"But part of that is just catching up to the time. Catching up to students and meeting students where they are and trying to make the buildings and the community more inclusive." Arturo
Parents	5	7	Parents as potential barriers to GIH and/or as a factor in policy development	"parents might be turned off to the fact that if they have a daughter or son that they could be sharing a room with someone of a different gender." Kyle

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Gender Binary	4	6	"The Ratio" and other references to a division of LU students by a gender dichotomy	"We definitely have what the students refer to as The Ratio, not sure if anyone has mentioned that to you yet, but historically we've sat at about 60% male, 40% female identified within the gender binary." Austin
Institutional Influence				
Campus Culture	3	11	descriptors of the campus environment from student and administrator perspective. LU themes: work hard, play hard; administrators sense change is coming; students sense an atmosphere of apathy among their peers - this presents a disconnect	"It definitely is. I feel like the administration at LU is doing absolutely as much as they can, and I think it's just a disconnect between the extremely liberal, accepting administration and our apathetic student body that is just like, "Why should I care about that? It doesn't matter to me." " Riley
Business culture	3	4	stereotypes of business culture seem central to how students and administrators perceive the campus body: hypermasculine, competitive,	"I definitely knew going to a business school I was sacrificing a little bit of a more liberal kind of university setting. I didn't realize though that it would be quite so competitive and because it is so competitive there's

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
			little focus on diversity	not a lot of social or political interest." Sierra
Chilling effect	4	6	the impact that a conservative campus culture has on marginalized student identities	"I think we still have quite a few faculty and staff members who are here...and there is still kind of a resistance almost. Not outward, because I don't think it's politically okay to be outwardly resistant. I would say the faculty as well are more rigid... It's fascinating to realize the impact that faculty members can have, the chilling impact they can have, on how students view their safety, or even their acceptance." Joseph
Conservative campus culture	6	17	politically conservative ideology serves as an undercurrent to campus culture; noted that this impacts acts of bias and marginalized students	"I think, depending on the student you talk to and how aware or maybe educated they are in specific topics, I think sometimes our students feel forced to be in the closet just based on vernacular that you hear, but then students will say, "I'm not meaning that slur I just used intentionally or derogatory." " Kelly

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Culture for queer students	5	12	campus has a bifurcated queer culture: one that is out and one that is not. Not being out may be influenced by the conservative campus culture. The out community is very closeknit.	"We just became really, really close friends super fast. Even this year, there was one new person we had join Pride who was a junior, and I think within three weeks, It was already like, "Oh, now you're in this friend group." There's only so many of us. Everyone is really tight knit...Something that my gay male friends have noticed on campus ... they'll be on Grindr on dating apps ... there's a lot of people who are still in the closet on campus, too. Like, one of my friends will be like, "Oh, I'm having someone over tonight or whatever, but they're not out, so if you could just like ..." " Oakley
Student population	5	10	descriptors of the student body: White, male (the Ratio), upperclass, dualistic, academically driven	"We do have a rather hyper masculine culture I would say on your campus, that undergirds things like competitiveness, not necessarily showing much vulnerability, a lot of transactional kind of ways of working with others as opposed to really trying to be more open and thinking about how to be vulnerable." Austin

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Hot topics on campus	5	7	events or changes on campus that appear to be impacting the community	"it was right after there was an incident of bias against the event where all the posters were taken down. And the whole school got together." Kira
Institutional Characteristics	5	8	ways that administrators and students describe LU as a university	"LU is a business through and through. We are a business. All college universities are businesses we're taking in money and the money is being dished out to things or put into things." Arturo
LU values	7	13	what the institution values or does not value and how that is interpreted by students and administrators.	"It goes back to Gloria's sort of point of we're a great business institution but we're really lacking if we're not preparing you for what the business world is. And it's not a full white male staff in a high-rise anymore or at least we're hoping to continue making it not like that." Jared
President	5	10	role of LU's president in influencing campus community and policy	"Yeah. I also think that Gwendolyn, who's our outgoing president, has been really a shaper and a shifter of the LU culture in certainly the last five years, but even just her arrival. She's the first female president of the university. She's always embraced, and increasingly so, social justice causes. Honestly, without her leadership, I think this would have

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
				been a lot harder, a lot harder." Joseph
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE Administrative Decision Making				
Future Goals	3	6	Staff goals for future plans related to supporting trans* and LGB students	"I mean, I think just from a structural lens I would love for us to be able to create a position that's, I would say, LGBTQ+ focused, but I think certainly it would include a focus on supporting our trans and gender non-conforming students." Austin
Preparing Students for the Real World	3	5	work that administrators do to prepare students to graduate and succeed outside of LU	"what I think we end up having to do is trying to paint a picture of what life outside of this will look like and what living with multiple people will look like or people who are different than you and I think it does." Kira
Support Initiated by Staff	7	20	many initiatives for supporting the LGBTQ community are generated from queer	"what I think we end of having to do is trying to paint a picture of what life outside of this will look like and what living with multiple people will

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
			administrators. These initiatives are not driven by students initially.	look like or people who are different than you and I think it does." Isaac
GIH Development	9	25	discussions regarding GIH policy, living in GIH, etc	"I think that having gender-inclusive housing is going to make it easier for queer students or trans students to be able to integrate into the population because they're not going to have to fight any administrator about "I identify as male and I need to be in a male room." " Sierra
Cis students	4	15	Cisgender students living in Gender-Inclusive Housing	"I actually prefer to live with girls than guys because guys are more dirty but it's been a normal year so far. In fact, I think I've had more fun living with these guys than I would say with all guys." Jaime
Filling vacancies	2	2	GIH policy around how to handle placing a student in a vacancy in a GIH room	"So I mean our policy can in some way inhibit us in that sense I mean I don't know if we have that ... it's not like an issue that we see all the time but I know that we've had conversation where it's like, oh we want to put them in this space oh damn it's a gender-inclusive room we would

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
				have to have that conversation first." Isaac
Steps to Reestablishing Homeostasis	5	12	instances where dissonance around change occur and result in a shift towards greater inclusion	"from a larger, broader perspective I think we've changed the culture in a very real sense. Just by exposing differing viewpoints to one another and maybe injecting a little doubt into that certainty, that absolute certainty that so many students, so many people come to this issue with." Joseph
Bathrooms	4	8	creating gender-inclusive restrooms on campus	"We just changed every single bathroom to all gender. Again, we knew that if it was single stall then, yes, anybody could go in and use that, but we felt like terminology was really important to make sure it was visible." Alexander
Counseling	2	2	trans* inclusive on-campus counseling services	"I think our counseling center...when I was actually an RD and one of my RA's actually was trans, and who transitioned fully at LU had a counselor who she saw in the counseling center, who I think was pretty instrumental in

Lindsay University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
				helping her just navigate the process, and who was very attuned to issues for LGB and trans students." Austin
Health and Wellness	3	4	trans* inclusive on-campus health services	"I will say our Center for Health and Wellness has really tried to be inclusive around some of the trans components, as well. Looking at our own insurance policy for students, and is that being inclusive of students who are transitioning and being able to pay for medications and things like that." Alexander
Name Policy	2	3	development of a preferred name policy	"We have a great person who kind of serves as a liaison from an IT lens for the division. And he can work with students to help get their name changed through our software, whether it's via email and then also helping them to get their name changed on their student ID. And then that can ultimately also change the way that their name would appear on student rosters." Austin

Sachar University Codebook

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION Societal Influence				
External Environment Influences	3	7	influences of external environment on campus decisions, culture, policy	"It was something with the city of Waltham, where gender-inclusive bathrooms could only be single stall. We weren't allowed to make it a gender neutral bathroom on that floor." Madeleine
Parents	3	14	Parents as potential barriers to GIH and/or as a factor in policy development	"it's really making sure that the parents understand that this is a changing generation, and we don't view this as any different than anything else." Paul
Expanded Concept of Gender	3	8	Examples of the institution moving beyond the gender binary	"In the theater department, they're trying to cast less by gender, which is good.... I show up to an audition, and they're like, "What parts are you trying out for?" I'm like, "Well, this male one and this female one and this ... " And they have no idea what to do with it, which is always fun, but ... So, they're making steps towards that, but it's definitely still there." Kenai

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Gender Binary	2	8	instances in which the institution still adheres to the gender binary.	"In the beginning of the year, the guy who runs the choir was like, "Please, join the choir!" ....And then he started talking about it. And they wear formal attire, so if you're a girl, you have to buy this long, black dress and pearls and stuff. Or, if you're assigned female at birth, you know. I'm not a girl, but to him, I'm a girl." Reuven
Gender Roles within Sects of Judaism	2	3	adherence to the gender binary within Orthodox Jewish population	"Certainly I've noticed a much stricter adherence to expected gender norms. Especially from our Orthodox students. They still worship separately during their services based on gender." Kristin
Peer Institution Benchmarking	7	11	benchmarking GIH policy creation based on the experiences at a peer institution	"While [SU] may seem to be slightly behind the times in comparison with schools like [peer institution], the truth is that [peer institution] had its own complications while trying to execute its gender-neutral housing plans." SU Student Newspaper, 2008a
Institutional Influence				

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Campus Culture	4	16	descriptors of the campus environment from student and administrator perspective. SU: focus on student-driven and social justice. Students perceive a disconnect between issues on campus and adminstrator response.	"There's the SU Students Against Sexual Violence Club, who does the annual survey and talks about it. It's just interesting that the administration...doesn't recognize or act in the same way that the survey or even talking to students on campus who have gone through processes have not seen the results that they have wanted to see." Madeleine
Culture for queer students	4	17	open and accepting, not intersectional	"Sexuality is a little bit more of a universal commonality than a racial or a class experience. So, I would say that most times SU students are willing to talk about the differences in sexuality and have a robust vocabulary to talk about it. And there's still a little bit of a lag when it comes to the intersectionality piece." Benjamin
Student population	4	28	descriptors of the student body: overcommitted; theoretically social justice oriented; privileged; high	"I think our students theoretically believe in social justice, but then when it comes to how that will impact their lives, push against it very hard." Amelia

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
			SES; high achieving	
Students challenging status quo	4	13	students are central to how organizational processes manifest and are vocal about change	" I think our students definitely drive our process most of the time. It's their voices that are going to inform the change." Seth
Supporting marginalized students	5	20	Support for marginalized students; discussing LGBTQ issues is somehow easier as a campus community	" I think that our students are very receptive of talking about larger systemic issues. I find, in my work, that they will more readily talk about marginalized sexualities before they would about race or class differences." Benjamin
Hot topics on campus	1	2	events or changes on campus that appear to be impacting the community	"I think Ford Hall is a really important part of SU culture...Really pushed the administration to make policies that included more racial awareness and were more inclusive and recognize how hard it is to be a person of color on the SU campus." Madeleine

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Institutional Characteristics	2	11	ways that administrators and students describe SU as a university	"we're affiliated with the Division of Student Life and Success, but aren't necessarily within it completely, so we don't necessarily report to the Dean of Students, but we work very closely with all of those folks." Julius
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE				
Administrative Decision Making	2	7	discussions of how administrative decisions were made related to GIH or other trans* inclusive policies	"But I think if anything, for me, it's thinking particularly about that process and the communication around that process as a whole with the gender neutral, gender-inclusive piece being part of it. To say, "Here's what this looks like, here's what this process really means for you, and here in particular is what this piece is about." " Julius
GIH Implementation	5	26	discussions regarding GIH policy, living in GIH, etc	"Well, I think the first thing is, students have to opt in to the housing for first years. So opt in times is not ... We're not... randomly placing students there. So I think we have less of that conversation. And then once you get into apartment styles, they're kind of all gender-inclusive based on the nature of the apartments." Amelia

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Staff Training	2	4	training (or lack thereof) that educates staff on issues trans* students face	"And how, as staff, can we better be prepared? Because I think we've had separate trainings, right? But then how do we synthesize all that, bring that together and have a larger conversation with our students?" Amelia
GIH Development				
Mixed gender vs single gender	2	5	housing that operates on assumption of the gender binary where men and women cohabitate on the same floor or in the same suite vs housing that operates on assumption of the gender binary where men and women are housed by gender	" I really find that interesting, because I don't think we really think of mixed gender floors as part of gender-inclusive housing. That's just normal housing." Kristin

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Problems with GIH	2	13	problems that trans* students have with the current GIH policy	" Cis people tend to sign up for gender neutral housing. And I don't think that's necessarily a bad thing, but I think it should be shown that it's geared towards trans people. And the reason I signed up for gender neutral housing was so that I would have a roommate that maybe understood a little bit better and wasn't looking for me to educate her on the whole system, which is kind of what she's been looking for me to do, which is exhausting, frankly." Kenai
Steps to Reestablishing Homeostasis	4	17	instances of institutional inertia or complancency with status quo	"it's probably something that, for you, is part of or ingrained into the process so much that you probably aren't thinking about it. It's really ideal, because I think at that point you're able to just think about, "Okay, who do I want to live with in terms of who are my friends? Who can I physically stand to live with as a college student?" Rather than, "How do I fit into the neat little box in terms of gender in a computer system?" " Julius

Sachar University Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Bathrooms	3	14	creating gender-inclusive restrooms on campus	"For an example, I was in the theater over the weekend, and they had a sign outside the bathroom that said, "Two urinals, one stall, two sinks." " Kristin
Name Policy	1	1	development of a preferred name policy	"I think the one policy that I really like is that you can go in and change your name in Sage or Latte, and it's really easy. It doesn't have to be your legal name. You can just go in, you change it, and that's what appears in teachers' things." Kenai
Pronouns	2	6	institutional norming around use of pronouns	"When people actually do use my pronouns, it's a euphoric ... Like, the opposite of dysphoria is euphoria. Finally!" Reuven

Newell Arts College Codebook

Newell Arts College Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
NORMATIVE DISRUPTION Societal Influence				
External Environment Influences	5	11	influences of external environment on campus decisions, culture, policy	"[The city] is pretty liberal and accepting anyway, so I think [NAC]'s environment is just an extension of that." Sydney

Newell Arts College Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Consortium	5	17	being part of the Colleges of the Fenway	"I also think our students are really forcing us to look at the structures that we have here at [NAC] and the experiences that our students are having and doing something about it." Desiree
Parents	5	11	Parents as potential barriers to GIH and/or as a factor in policy development	"We've had some really great conversations where they're actually really satisfied that we offer this option, because they see it as a place that their student can exist and be safe and happy and feel comfortable." Allen
Expanded Concept of Gender	5	19	Examples of the institution moving beyond the gender binary	"We want to enter into this conversation. If you're going to think in a very linear, binary way, male female, and that's your world, get ready to be challenged a bit." Allen
Peer Institution Benchmarking	4	7	assessing peer institution policies as part of implementing GIH	"For us, Desiree and I worked to formulate and develop the policy. We did some research. We looked at other institutions and tried to get a sense of, "Do folks have this? If yes, what does the policy look like?"" Allen

Newell Arts College Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Race and Ethnicity Institutional Influence	4	8	institutional attention, or lack thereof, on issues of race and ethnicity	"I think nationally we're having a lot of conversations about race. We're more uncomfortable with, we're definitely uncomfortable talking about race. We do not have that figured out as an institution. We're trying, but our default is, "Look how good we are at gender and sexuality." The two are not the same. Not remotely the same. Let's own that, first off, right." Allen
Campus Culture	5	18	descriptors of the campus environment from student and administrator perspective. NAC themes: open, community-focused, support for students of marginalized identities	"I see [NAC] as a very open community, a community that still has some work to do in making students I think feel comfortable and supported and included." Kelsey

Newell Arts College Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
Culture for queer students	6	11	open and accepting; students are actively engaged in shaping the queer community	"I think the campus population spends a lot of energy positively supporting gender expression sexuality. This is not a campus where I think most students are scared to be themselves and bring their full self, especially around sexuality and gender, to the space." Marlene
Student population	4	11	descriptors of the student body: open to expression, art-focused, active	"it's a different type of people who go to school here cause everyone has a different background but everyone also has an art background, so everyone is kinda weird you could say." Brigid
Institutional Characteristics	5	23	ways that administrators and students describe NAC as a college	"Sometimes that means connecting the dots for a student or navigating through a bureaucracy, and this is that. We are a bureaucracy. We're a political, bureaucratic place." Allen
Art school	4	13	the arts as a defining characteristic of the institution	"I think just being a public art school really defines the student population here." Kelsey
Public institution	4	13	the ways that being a public school impacts policy making and the student body	"I see [NAC] being a lot more focused on like the [city] area, [state], New England. We have students from out of state and international students, but a lot of students from the New England area. They're a

Newell Arts College Codes	Sources	References	Description	Example
				lot more accessible." Kelsey
Small school	4	14	the impact that being a small school has on organizational functioning	"We're a small institution, so we don't have an office for every job. We have multiple jobs for every office person." Allen
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE				
Administrative Decision Making	2	4	discussions of how administrative decisions were made related to GIH or other trans* inclusive policies	"I said I can actually do something to help positively impact the trans community by doing gender-inclusive housing." Desiree
Policy Development Process	2	12	steps in GIH policy development	"We came up with a proposal, presented that to the senior leadership within the division of student development, and then from there, it went to admin council, I believe, where it was approved and acted as a change." Allen
GIH Development	6	39	discussions regarding GIH policy, living in GIH, etc	"Gender-inclusive housing is something that students opt into, so by default our spaces are single sex with biological sex, but students are welcomed to opt into

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				gender-inclusive housing." Kelsey
Changes to GIH	5	10	discussions regarding upcoming potential changes to the GIH policy	"We're looking to have the housing assignment operation to run in all gender-inclusive as opposed to the default is single sex. We're currently looking and putting a proposal together. I don't see that as going to be an issue either." Desiree
Coed housing	3	3	suites or apartments in which students of different genders live together but all have single bedrooms	"We automatically allow apartments to be, anyone can live in an apartment, so we could have a transgender woman, a transgender male, like one single transgender male and another single and a trans male in the third single. It doesn't matter, we only make apartments single sex if a student indicates that they want to live in a single sex. " Kelsey
Steps to Reestablishing Homeostasis				

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Name Policy	4	4	gender and sexuality education programming at first year orientation	"One of the first sessions for the last couple years has been...Gender Matters and that's what they open orientation with. And, I mean, last year I think it was, one of our QAC president's presented in full drag like first session. Boom, 9:00 am, full drag, let's talk about gender..." Marlene
Orientation	4	20	development of a preferred name policy	"One of [the barriers] was the preferred name policy and that's something that actually [the Associate Vice President/Dean of Students] facilitates and we're not nearly near where we have to be with that. That is more about how our student database functions and right now it is not built to include a preferred name." Desiree
Pronouns	6	12	institutional norming around use of pronouns	"There's been a couple slip-ups in my experience. I've heard that some teachers aren't so willing to be accepting, while other teachers you're emailing them first and saying this is who I am, blah, blah, blah, and they'll respond 'cause they just read the name at the top of your email and you're like, okay, we'll fix that in class. And it usually does

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				get addressed and resolved and it's no biggie." Sage
Work place	3	12	student affairs effort to support trans students as they move into the work force	"one of the things that I brought to our most recent division meeting, which is all of these people here was the topic of non-binary gender, gender nonconforming in the workplace and talking about whether or not we do a good job or if we do anything to assist in this particular population." Desiree