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Cover Page Footnote

I want to thank Dr. Stuber for all of the support and guidance she provided throughout this research process and for taking a chance by letting me, a freshman, conduct research with her. I would also like to thank my friends, family, and my partner for supporting me throughout the process of conducting research and writing this paper.

Shifting Presentation: How Nonbinary College Students Respond to Deadnaming and Misgendering

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Abstract

As society becomes more open and welcoming to those of gender identities beyond the binary, it becomes increasingly important to understand their gender identity and presentation. Part of understanding these concepts means understanding how gender identities can exist relationally. Using in-depth interviews, this study explores how nonbinary college students respond to misgendering or deadnaming. These responses involve reflected appraisals, which social psychologists find can impact one's sense of self and cause alterations in their self-presentation. These data show that nonbinary college students navigate being deadnamed or misgendered through their gender presentation in two primary manners: one, by adjusting presentation to be more affirming to their gender identity; and two, by maintaining their current presentation with the goal of preserving their physical comfort. These data support the notion that gender presentation is a performance, showing that nonbinary young adults consciously adjust their gender presentation to bring about social and physical comfort with their gender identity and, to some extent, to limit conflict in social interactions.

Introduction

"...as a strategy of survival within compulsory systems, gender is a performance with clearly punitive consequences" (Butler, 1988, p. 178).

Gender identities beyond those of man and woman are becoming more widely recognized within today's society. It is estimated that 11% of LGBTQ adults in the U.S. identify as something other than a man or woman (Wilson & Meyer, 2021). According to Alberto Carbajal (2022, p. 819), "Recent, world-wide events, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, led to more and more people finding time to research and self-reflect on their gender identities." As more people begin to openly identify with labels outside of the gender binary, there is a heightened need to understand their experiences and how social interactions impact their gender identity and

gender presentation. Researchers have focused on misgendering, or the use of gender pronouns that do not conform to one's identity, and deadnaming, the use of one's birth name rather than their chosen name, as experiences that may cause psychic harm (Swannell, 2020). The fact that trans and nonbinary people have agency as social actors calls attention to the need for research on how they actively respond to these negative experiences.

With the increase in those identifying as trans or nonbinary, research has emerged to better understand their experiences. This research, particularly on college students, has focused primarily on students' mental health and well-being (Beemyn, 2011, p. 14) and the campus policies that either support or negate their well-being. Researchers have found that trans and

nonbinary students have lower rates of college completion and more frequent mental health concerns, and that access to affirming space—through housing and bathroom options that move beyond a binary organization—increases their well-being. Given the novelty and context in which trans- and nonbinary students are attending college, attention to these issues is warranted. One such line of inquiry would focus on how these students "do gender" in everyday life.

The notion of "doing gender," or gender as a performance, has strong roots within gender theory. West and Zimmerman (1987, p. 126) theorized that gender is not simply a fixed attribute or identity—something that one is. Rather, they conceptualized gender as something that one does—something individuals actively engage in and perform through behaviors, interactions, and self-presentation. This concept highlights the socially constructed nature of gender and emphasizes individuals' agency and active participation in shaping their gendered identities. Judith Butler, a prominent figure in queer theory, echoes this concept, in her theory of gender performativity. According to Butler (1988, p. 520), gender is not an innate or essential quality but rather a repeated and stylized performance that reinforces social norms and expectations. She argues that individuals are compelled to conform to gender norms through repetitive acts and that gender identities are not fixed, but constantly constructed and reinterpreted through these performances. Butler extends the earlier work of West and Zimmerman by focusing on a range of gender expressions outside of the binary and exploring the dynamics through which individuals challenge and subvert traditional notions of gender.

By incorporating Butler's concept of gender performativity into research on queer college students, researchers can explore how these individuals navigate and negotiate their

gender identities within micro contexts such as classrooms, dormitories, and social interactions. While the focus has primarily been on the wellbeing of trans students, there is an opportunity to incorporate Butler's concept of gender performativity into research on queer college students, thus enabling a deeper understanding of their everyday experiences as social actors actively constructing their gender expression within micro contexts. Considering the gaps in these two sets of literature, this study seeks to determine how nonbinary college students navigate their gender presentation in the face of misgendering or deadnaming. As found by West and Zimmerman, our individual gender presentations are impacted by social interactions; to what degree and with what consequences depend on the person. To explore these dynamics, in-depth interviews were conducted to examine how nonbinary students appraise themselves in the face of opposition. These data show that nonbinary college students navigate these experiences through diverse ways, some shifting their presentation to be more affirming of their identity, while others maintained their standard presentation in the name of comfort.

Methodology

Recruitment and Sample Characteristics

The sample is composed of six nonbinary college students, all of whom are undergraduates (five freshmen, one sophomore) at a public university in the southeastern United States. The six students identified as nonbinary, with two also identifying as genderfluid. For the purposes of this study, nonbinary is defined as an umbrella term for gender identities that are not solely male nor female; they exist outside of the gender binary. Genderfluid is defined as a non-fixed gender identity that shifts over time or depending on the situation. The age range of these students was approximately 18-20 and the average age was 18.5

years old. Most of the students had grown up in the southeastern United States and were social science majors.

The participants were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling. Five of the participants who fit the sampling requirements were personally approached and one participant was recruited through a flyer posted in the University's LGBTQ Office. The respondents who were previously known by the author were contacted either in person or through instant messaging. Prior to requesting their consent to be interviewed, the participants were briefed on the purpose of the research and the types of questions that would be asked. All the respondents provided informed consent to participate in the study. Pseudonyms are used throughout this paper.

Data Collection

Data were collected through semi-structured indepth interviews. Participants were asked 22 openended questions on topics regarding background, gender identity, and gender presentation.

Four of these interviews were conducted in-person and two were conducted online. All interviews were recorded either through a program on a cellphone or through Zoom. Then, the audio was transcribed verbatim through online transcription programs and punctuated to create the interview transcription. The interviews ranged from 20 to 54 minutes, with an average length of 31.5 minutes.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using qualitative coding techniques. After each interview, a memo was written to identify preliminary themes emerging in the data. These themes reflected upon how gender socialization impacted nonbinary college students' gender journeys and the consequences of their identities. Participants described how their assigned gender at birth, the way they

were socialized, and the gender roles in their households impacted their current identity. The participants also explored how they reidentified their gender identities for themselves, rather than how they were assigned at birth, thus, detailing their individual gender journeys. Lastly, participants described how redefining their genders brought consequences in the form of being misgendered and deadnamed by the people around them.

The next step in the analysis involved opencoding. Descriptive codes were developed to label responses by topic and then to allow for the data to be sorted by topic. Then, a set of analytic codes were developed to characterize the data. Using these codes, the data were sorted through hand coding to find patterns and to create themes within this study.

Reflexivity and Limitations

Like all research, this project has its limitations. First and foremost, the main limitation was the small number of respondents. Due to this being a course project that was conducted in a short period of time, the project was restricted to six interviews. This raises questions about the diversity and representation of the sample. Second, there were struggles with probing questions, preparedness, and finding good locations for the interviews. In terms of probing, especially towards the beginning of this project, the researcher was often nervous about being professional and asking questions as designed; as such, there were missed times that would have allowed the researcher to probe and find out more interesting information from participants. There were also difficulties with preparedness and location issues for some of the interviews, which resulted in a loss of rapport with the respondents. In the future, providing more time to prepare and scout out the best locations for interviews prior to scheduling them will help alleviate these issues.

Results

While gender theorists perceive gender as a consciously and contextually enacted role, few researchers have explored how nonbinary college students seek to present their gender and how they respond to misgendering and deadnaming. To explore these topics, participants were asked about their gender socialization, how they redefined their gender for themselves, and how others respond, with attention being paid to their experiences with deadnaming or misgendering. The findings show how nonbinary college students experience their individual gender journeys and how they navigate the experience of being misgendered or deadnamed. Furthermore, the data reveal that nonbinary college students experience gender differently but tend to respond to misgendering or deadnaming by changing their presentation to be more affirming, or by brushing off the gender expectations of others and maintaining their preferred standard presentation.

Gender Socialization

Sociologists argue that gender socialization plays an important role in shaping gender identities and differences in gender (Webster & Rashotte, 2009, p. 325). For most people, this socialization imprints upon children one of two ways: boy or girl. For the respondents, gender socialization played an integral role in the formation and presentation of their nonbinary gender identities.

For most of the nonbinary respondents, the gender they were assigned at birth and how they were socialized because of that gender had a significant impact on their nonbinary gender identities. Five of the six respondents discussed how their assigned gender impacted their later gender identity by expanding upon the gendered roles they were expected to fulfill within the family, or on the ways they were expected to present themselves. Alex, a 19-year-old nonbinary college student who grew up with a parent in the

military, moved around a lot as a child. When discussing how being assigned female at birth impacted their nonbinary identity, this kind and energetic first-year student said:

Well, I was assigned female at birth, so and I was also the oldest daughter... I definitely took on a lot of ... parental roles, not necessarily like bossing my siblings around but definitely taking care of the house. I have memories of ... walking down to a store and ... grocery shopping for my parents. And I never minded it, like it was nice... But it's ... just being like the quote unquote, female role model that is not a parent. It takes on like a lot of responsibility. And I personally feel like it shaped me as a person.

Because of their gender and birth order, Alex was cast into a feminized, caretaking role. These gender role expectations led to certain expectations for behavior and presentation which have stuck with Alex to this day, some of which Alex seems to value and view as an authentic part of who they are. Alex's connection with their assigned gender further shows that gender socialization during childhood does impact a person's gender identity in adulthood, even if those two gender identities are not the same.

Later, Alex reflected upon how their experiences may have been different if they were assigned a different gender at birth, "I feel like I would be a different person if I was born male or raised male or like even raised gender neutrally, just because, there's just been little things of how I was treated just because I have XX chromosomes." Alex suggests that if a different set of gender expectations or a different socialization had occurred during their childhood, they would be a different person than they are today, given that gender socialization imprints an identity on a

person—even if one seeks to modify this identity. This furthers the role of gender socialization on adult gender identities; as the roles and expectations during childhood change, a person's personality and views change as well, consequently impacting their gender identity.

Julieta, a 19-year-old nonbinary college student of Hispanic background majoring in social sciences, reiterates those same themes when asked about their gender presentation growing up. While their parents also imposed traditional expectations of femininity during their childhood, Julieta started to push against those roles from an early age,

I definitely remember having to go shopping for family events or get dressed for family events and my mom fighting with me like, "you have to put on this dress" "you have to put on this pantyhose." And I like "No, I hate this." "I don't like it." "It's uncomfortable." "I don't want to wear any of this mom, like, let me just wear some pants." I would always very much say like, I'm a tomboy. I'm a tomboy. I want to wear my sweats; want to get rough play with the boys. I don't want to do the girly things. And my mom was okay with it. But she would always just be like, "well, you should put in effort. You know, girls should put in effort to like, look feminine, do these feminine things." And I was just like, I'm gonna do my own thing.

While being a tomboy is a common experience, even among cis-gendered women and girls, Julieta reacted with great resistance, crafting a gender presentation disconnected from the gendered expectations. Julieta felt extremely uncomfortable in their clothes, especially when surrounded by extended family. Further into the

interview, Julieta discussed how now that they are an adult they continue to dress femininely, but that is primarily due to the shape of their body and because it is hard for them to find clothes that fit their desired style.

Although most of the respondents did mention an expectation of expressing hegemonic femininity growing up, two did not. Iphis, an 18-year-old genderfluid and nonbinary college student, mentioned very loose gender expectations and roles growing up:

I'm assigned female at birth. And I remember ... I always felt like different, but I mean, that's kind of also affected because I'm autistic. So like that kind of also factored in there. But um, I remember ... I just didn't understand ... why there was so much emphasis on ... different genders. Like I played Barbies and Hot Wheels and I didn't see a reason why there was ... a differentiation, especially because ... my parents allowed me to, and my sibling who was assigned male at birth to ... also play with Barbies type of thing. So I didn't really see any, like, reason to like, put kids in little boxes type of thing.

Although Iphis did not experience strong gender expectations and roles growing up, they did recall a general awareness of gender distinctions in toys, playgroups, and so forth.

Even as a child, Iphis questioned these boundaries and, to some extent, resisted them. In interactions where a teacher, stranger, or family member would refer to them as a "little girl" or "young lady," Iphis commented: "I wouldn't really think they were talking to me, because I was like, 'Wait, I'm the young lady?!" Iphis's experiences also provide more evidence for the fact that a person's gender identity is a part of them since birth; even though Iphis may not have known they were genderfluid

and nonbinary, they still felt a disconnection with the femininity they were assigned.

It is noteworthy, too, that Iphis mentions being autistic as being intertwined with their gender identity and their general approach to social norms and expectations. Researchers are still examining a possible connection between autism and gender-nonconforming identities (Warrier et al., 2020).

When speaking about gender socialization, most respondents described ways that their gender socialization impacted their gender identities in adulthood. While trans and nonbinary individuals are actively making and remaking gender, they do so within the context of a binary society and their own socialization within the binary. These findings continue to solidify the argument that gender socialization during childhood plays an important role in one's development. The study's respondents felt a strong disconnect from the femininity they were assigned at birth, which played a role in their nonbinary gender identity and their gender presentation.

Redefining Gender for Oneself

Respondents' assigned gender at birth and subsequent socialization provided the building blocks for their future "gender journey," where they redefined or are currently redefining their gender identity. This journey involved exploring different names, identities (e.g., trans, nonbinary, gender fluid, agender), and pronouns, as well as how they presented their identity. When asked to describe their gender presentation, one of the prevalent themes among respondents was prioritizing physical comfort in their presentation. Alex stated:

I like to think it's androgynous but
... I'm very curvy, so it doesn't look
androgynous. I mostly wear pants and
a shirt. Sometimes I wear a skirt or
dress ... every once in a while. That was
like a new thing because I was trying

to get more comfortable in expressing femininity because I shied away from femininity for so long. And I was trying to ... get it. So, it's like I can be nonbinary and be feminine, ... gender roles should not define me. But most of the time, I just wear pants and a T-shirt, which I think is pretty androgynous ... but I present, because I'm curvy, pretty feminine and ... my voice is feminine. So, like people still perceive me as feminine. But like I have short haircut. So that's perceived masculine in most cases. So, it's just like, I guess it depends, but I like to think I present androgynous enough. So...

One important aspect Alex discussed regarding their presentation was the conflict between their physical femininity—a vestige of their genetic sex and higher body fat percentage—and their preferred androgyny. Because of their curvy build, the clothing items Alex saw as androgynous were read by others as feminine. Despite this, Alex has attempted to embrace some femininity in their presentation because they do not want gender roles or societal expectations of nonbinary people to determine how they present themself. They are embracing both physical comfort and androgyny, as well as gender fluidity in their presentation.

For some of the respondents, there were different levels of comfort in their presentation in different spaces. For example, some participants felt most comfortable in their gender when they were on campus rather than at home. Alex is at a point within their gender journey in which they primarily understand what makes them comfortable and select this presentation, no matter where they are. Iphis, by contrast, mentioned feeling most comfortable in their presentation outside of their home. When Iphis was asked to what extent their style and behavior

change based upon their surroundings, this introspective first-year student replied:

With my parents, I'm starting to ... [work] through not focusing as much on what they want and more what I want. So, I'm starting to wear things I want in front of them, but I still ... I'm not gonna deal with s--- today, so I'm just gonna wear whatever they want type of thing. But yeah, I'm starting to work through that.

Iphis discusses trying to become more comfortable wearing the types of clothes that they like around their parents, but also sometimes making the choice to dress in more conventionally gendered ways to minimize conflict. Because their parents make them feel uncomfortable with their preferred presentation at home, Iphis describes their college's campus as being where they are most comfortable:

...here [on campus], I'm more confident to wear what I want. Because ... I have a good influence from people ... I see so many people wearing cool clothes and ... dressing how they want. And it makes me feel more confident to ... wear what I want, because ... there's also people wearing quote, unquote, weird clothing around ... and wearing what makes them happy. So, I feel more comfortable doing that.

Because there are other people who dress in a way that is considered weird societally, Iphis discusses experiencing less reservations around dressing in their preferred style on campus. Iphis states that they want to dress in cool clothes that can also act as a signal to others that they are queer and can act as a safe person to other LGBTQ people. Their experiences also show the interactional dimension of gender expression,

where not just acceptance but inspiration from peers leads nonbinary students to explore their gender expression to a greater degree.

Aside from their college's campus, two respondents mentioned finding comfort at comic or anime conventions. Anime conventions are events or gatherings focused on anime, manga, and Japanese culture; they are a space that allows for great creativity and fantasy play in how people present themselves. One of the respondents who found comfort at conventions and in cosplaying was Samantha, a 28-year-old genderfluid and nonbinary college student majoring in social sciences. Samantha discussed how anime conventions were one of the places they felt most comfortable in their gender identity and presentation. Although they did not participate in the cosplay aspect, these settings gave Samantha permission to be themself:

... when I go to anime conventions, and when I'm on campus, I sport my hairy legs. Because I feel like ... it's safe to, and I guess hairy legs is like the farthest that I can really go with my masculine presentation because that's really all that is currently outwardly masculine about me.

Samantha continues to discuss how people change their presentation at conventions and that it creates a safe space for people to explore their gender identities and their presentation, while also having fun.

Although the ways and places in which the respondents expressed their gender presentation and identity were different, there were underlying themes of androgyny and comfort regarding their presentation. Comfort did not always mean physical comfort to respondents, rather it could mean feeling comfortable in different social situations or with their own identity. Ultimately, though, these data all point to the relevance of

context and interaction, and feedback from peers and reference groups as being essential "inputs" in how nonbinary individuals calibrate their gender expression.

Consequences of Identity

When faced with opposition to their identity—in the form of misgendering or deadnamingparticipants reported two primary ways of responding. For the context of this research, misgendering is defined as referring to someone using a pronoun or form of address that does not reflect their gender identity; deadnaming is defined as calling a person by their birth name when they have changed their name as part of their gender transition. On one hand, respondents discussed either shifting their presentation to be more affirming of their chosen gender identityfor example, more masculine or androgynous after being misgendered in the feminine. On the other hand, respondents described not shifting their presentation for the sake of maintaining their own physical comfort.

When asked about their experiences being misgendered or deadnamed, the respondents compared the feeling to physical pain. Mark, an 18-year-old nonbinary college student majoring in business, described the powerful physical impact of being misgendered and deadnamed,

It's like getting hit with ... bag of rocks to your chest. Like ... it's kind of hard because ... before I came ... completely out of the closet per se, it definitely didn't bother me. But I feel like now I'm ... out and like, this is me. And if you don't know that, then, like, you're the problem, not me. So ... when people ... misgender me, like if they don't know it, that's not their fault, I tell them. But if I know they know it and they still do it, then that's, that's on them. And I'm just like, okay, well, you're being a b----, so f--- you.

Mark discussed how they have come to the point of recognizing how much being misgendered hurts, while also brushing it off and not letting it affect them too much. Despite the visceral depiction of experiencing misgendering or deadnaming, they also experience this gender injury with varying impacts, depending on their level of security in their identity. Later, Mark discussed how the experience makes them want to dress in line with queer subculture, "It makes me want to be more gay... I want people to look at me like if they're really questioning it." The assessment of others, or reflected appraisals, makes Mark want to "double down" and make people question their gender. Multiple participants expressed the desire to present more in line with queer subculture, and all appeared to desire recognition as being queer by other LGBTQ people, and most wanted their gender to be questioned before others assumed their pronouns.

Other respondents described experiencing distress when being misgendered, but the experience did not result in them changing aspects of their gender presentation. One participant who exemplified this was Alex, who experienced distress from being misgendered, but brushed off those feelings and came to a point of acceptance,

When I was younger, I used to present hyper feminine, but I can't tell if that was because I was trying to fit in with other kids ... I was like a third grader ... if I was just going through a hyper feminine phase. A lot of ... trans people seem to go through, especially ... AFAB trans people. And so, ... since ... I stopped going through ... very feminine phase I've been dressing pretty much the same, like just, again, pants a t shirt. So, it's like not much has really changed. And so, I again, I tried to binder, binders don't really work because I'm curvy. And so, it's just there's not much

I can do. So, I just learned to accept it. And so, it's just like I just dress comfy, and I dress how I'm comfortable, and so that's just all I have I can really do.

Alex discusses how they have attempted to wear a binder, a device that minimizes the appearance of breast tissue, to combat the physical femininity they experience because of their body type. Alex's body type does not allow them to comfortably wear a binder, which they have learned to accept over time, and has since evolved to them creating a presentation they are comfortable in. This continues to show how personal finding one's preferred presentation can be, and how it all depends on what each person finds comfortable for their body and understand as reflecting their gender identity.

When asked if they changed their presentation after experiencing misgendering, Julieta replied that they would "like to say no," but after deeper introspection, realized that was not the case,

I would like to say no, but reflecting on questions, I'd have to say, around my parents, and definitely at work. Um it's hard when there's people in positions of power around you, who affect ... your opportunities, your ability to receive love in the way you want it that it's like, well, just maybe I won't reveal this part of myself, then. Like, maybe you're not worthy of receiving this part of myself, and having to try to ... discern when is an appropriate time to ... share this aspect about myself. And cause ... maybe uncomfortability or fights at work about like, "Guys, this is discriminatory," or "this is not necessarily the right way to think about things." And it's just exhausting to have to be an educator sometimes.

Not only did Julieta disclose how uncomfortable they are with the idea of coming out to their parents or to their workplace, but they also shared how emotionally exhausting it can be to act as an educator to people who may not understand. Julieta expressed how they could be in danger of losing support and love from the people around them if they disclosed their identity, which forces them to present more femininely around their parents and at work. For Julieta, the only real place of comfort when it comes to their presentation is their college's campus. Julieta's experiences are especially salient in the current political context where state legislators are increasingly regulating gender-affirming health care, as well as academic curricula addressing LGBT+ issues.

When asked about their experiences with being deadnamed or misgendered, there was an overwhelming theme amongst respondents of equating the experience with physical pain. The respondents either push through the pain and carry on, or change their gender presentation in a way that affirms their gender identity.

Discussion

These data suggest that nonbinary college students share some experiences in their gender journeys, but they also exhibit individualized process, where their family background and immediate contexts result in differing ways of coping with the experiences of being misgendered or deadnamed. The respondents shared experiences regarding how gender socialization impacted their nonbinary identity, finding comfort outside of their homes, and either brushing off being misgendered or deadnamed, or affirming their gender identity by shifting their presentation.

Several common themes emerged among these nonbinary college students when it came to their gender journeys. Many respondents discussed the prevalence of gender roles within their households and how those impacted both their gender journey and their personality. Another common theme amongst respondents was finding solace through the internet during the early stages of their individual gender journeys and finding safety and companionship in online communities. Also, many respondents mentioned feeling most comfortable in their gender presentation outside of their home.

Despite these similarities, differences emerged in how respondents reacted to misgendering and deadnaming—whether due to personality, family background, or other traits. Some respondents discussed how being misgendered or deadnamed impacted them similarly to physical pain and caused them to either change their presentation or desire to change their presentation to become more affirming of their gender identity. Others brushed off this pain and maintained their standard presentation, favoring comfort over affirmation.

More research is needed to further understand the impacts of misgendering and

deadnaming on nonbinary college students. In addition, future research should examine misgendering and deadnaming from the perspective of nonbinary people who were assigned male at birth and include a more racially and ethnically diverse sample to determine if current results are consistent among all nonbinary people or if the sample skewed the findings. The role of gender assigned at birth would be interesting to examine given how gender socialization played a role in the respondents' nonbinary gender identity. If participants were raised as a man rather than a woman, they may have different reactions or responses to being misgendered or deadnamed than these participants. Also, their individual gender journeys could evolve differently or at a different pace than those interviewed for this study. Similarly, exploring how gender intersects with race may show how different cultural groups experience their gender journeys and how their cultures perceive gender and gender roles.

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