



The Institutionalization Of Heteronormativity And Cisnormativity In Educational Institutes:

A Review

¹Saarah Roy, Master of Arts, Clinical Psychology, Amity Institute of Psychology and Allied Sciences, Noida. India

saarahroy01@gmail.com

²Dr. Meenakshi Singh, Assistant Professor, Amity Institute of Psychology and Allied Sciences, Noida, India.

msingh9@amity.edu

Abstract

The last decade has witnessed a significant rise in the number of Sexual and Gender Minority (SGM) students in universities. Despite this, they face a myriad of challenges stemming from systemic biases. The present review explores the institutionalization of two such biases- Heteronormativity and Cisnormativity. Heteronormativity encompasses the normalization of heterosexuality and othering of identities falling outside the purview of heterosexuality, operating under the assumption that heterosexuality is the default sexuality. Similarly,

cisnormativity privileges cisgender individuals over gender minority individuals. By undertaking a comprehensive analysis of existing research, this review aims to unveil the extent and consequences of heteronormative and cisnormativity practices. The findings highlight the severity of homophobic and transphobic practices from the faculty and students. Furthermore, neglect of LGBTQ+ issues in classroom discussions and coursework was also observed.

Keywords: *Heteronormativity, Cisnormativity, LGBTQ+, Homophobia, Transphobia, SGM, Sexuality, Gender*

Introduction

The American Psychiatric Association declassified “Homosexuality” as a mental disorder in 1973 and recommended psychologists to work towards removing the stigma associated with it. Despite these efforts, Bohan and Russel (1999) noted that homophobia and heterosexist influences still plague the discipline.

The American Psychological Association delineates Homophobia as the fear or aversion towards LGBTQ+ individuals, frequently accompanied by prejudice, resulting in discriminatory practices in numerous domains. It underscores individual attitudes, behaviours, and beliefs (Wickens & Sandlin, 2010). Similarly, Heterosexist, as defined by Herek (1990, p.316) is “an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship, or community. It operates principally by rendering homosexuality invisible and, when this fails, by trivializing, repressing, or stigmatizing it.” It emphasizes societal structures and disparity in power (Wickens & Sandlin, 2010).

These two terms form the basis of the current discourse on heteronormativity which encompasses the set of assumptions and institutional practices that suppose every individual to be heterosexual (Beagan, Fredericks, & Goldberg, 2012). Heteronormative discourses feature a cultural bias favouring opposite-sex relationships, the othering of sexual minorities, and establishing the hegemony of heterosexuality (Hudak & Giammattei, 2010; Røthing, 2008). Likewise, Bauer et al. (2009) presented the term “cisnormativity” to describe the presumption that all those assigned male at birth are men, and those born female are women. It is the belief system underpinning transphobia.

Studies centring on heterosexism and homophobia have revealed the prevalence of these practices in educational institutes (Cramer 2002; Evans & Broido 2002). The same is documented by Elliot and Kilpatrick, (1994) who notes that sexual minority students often fall prey to homophobic teasing in school settings and are vulnerable to experiencing suicidal ideation, feelings of isolation, and depression.

By undertaking a comprehensive review of the literature, the present study attempts to assess the pervasiveness of cisnormativity and heteronormativity are institutionalized. Furthermore, it also explores the role these systemic biases play in shaping the mental health of sexual and gender minority students.

Heteronormativity in Educational Institutes

Numerous campus climate studies depict incidents of discrimination and harassment targeting LGBT students (Seelman et al., 2017; Tetreault et al., 2013). Rankin et al. (2010) stresses the importance of cultivating a healthy and affirming campus environment for the success of SGM students in academia. However, these standards often go unmet (Garvey et al., 2015; Tetrault et al., 2013).

The manifestations of cisnormativity and heteronormativity within higher education institutes are multifaceted and varied. For instance, a study exploring the experiences of SGM students in community colleges demonstrated the neglect of LGBTQ topics in the curriculum. Several participants in the study also commented on the indifference and lack of support for LGBT individuals displayed by the faculty (Garvey et al., 2015).

Similar findings were obtained by a study examining the extent to which the concept of sexuality was addressed in undergraduate social work curricula. The results portrayed a dearth of literature on non-heterosexuality and heteronormativity, with only 0.08% of the course content focusing on heteronormativity (Giertsen, 2019).

Tetrault et al. (2013) discovered that SGM students who faced discrimination from faculty members, concealed their identity, or lost emotional support from their peers owing to homophobia harboured a negative perception of their campus climate. Additionally, their study also revealed a concerning theme; the researchers found that approximately one-fourth of the respondents had contemplated dropping out due to the cis- heteronormative standards of their university, which also contributed to them viewing the climate as unsafe and inconducive.

Evidence reinforcing this comes from various studies documenting LGBTQ+ experiences of isolation, and marginalization, often perpetuated by faculty members' failure to use LGBTQ+-inclusive language, and their refusal to address discriminatory remarks made in class (Garvey, Taylor, & Rankin, 2015; Grissett, Kaufmann, Greenberg, & Hilton, 2016).

Dentato et al. (2016) outlined that typical school and campus climates are generally not LGBTQ+ affirmative, causing SGM faculty and students to remain closeted, increasing the likelihood of homophobic bullying. The preponderance of homophobic bullying ranges from 22% to 87%, surpassing the prevalence of traditional bullying (Earnshaw et al., 2018).

Wickens and Sandlin's (2010) study analysing the prevalence of homophobia at Southwestern University (SWU) echoed similar findings. Their study voiced participant concerns regarding the physical safety and mental health of LGBTQ+ students. They discovered that the student body of SWU took pride in their conservative culture. Tradition was celebrated, and the lack of diversity in the student body was unchallenged. The university's campus climate not only allowed but also appeared to foster homophobia and heterosexism on campus (Wickens & Sandlin, 2010).

Evidence for differences in perceptions of homophobic bullying between LGBTQ+ students and faculty members comes from Crothers et al. (2017). Contrary to educator perceptions regarding the prevalence of bullying, LGBTQ+ students experience bullying at a considerably higher rate compared to their cis-het peers. They seldom report bullying to authorities, often feel unsafe, and do not usually perceive faculty members as enforcing the school's anti-bullying policies.

The university landscape for queer people of colour (QPOC) is more challenging than for white LGBTQ+ individuals. The multiple minority hypothesis (Meyer et al., 2003) proposes that individuals with multiple minority identities encounter more and potentially severe discrimination, leading to elevated levels of emotional distress compared to those with a single minoritized identity. Satishkumar's (2021) study examining whether queer people of colour experience higher levels of discrimination and emotional distress compared to cis-het people of colour supports this. Additionally, QPOC are prone to encountering microaggressions and discrimination from both their ethnic and queer communities due to their 'othered' identities.

Cisnormativity in Educational Institutes

The belief that only two genders exist, and that they correspond with the sex assigned at birth is intrinsic to the hetero-cis-normative view (Hackimer et al., 2021). Worthen (2016) describes hetero-cis-normativity as representative of a hierarchical system of prejudice in which cishet individuals are privileged over non-cisgender individuals and anyone perceived as non-cisgender or non-heterosexual is subject to prejudice and discrimination.

Maintaining cognizance of these pervasive hetero-cis-normative biases, it is unsurprising that Transgender, non-binary, and gender nonconforming (TGNC) individuals experience heightened vulnerability to prejudice and discrimination, particularly in higher education settings (e.g., Budge et al., 2020; Goldberg et al., 2019). For instance, Sixty-one out of ninety-one transgender graduate students who were inquired about their experiences in universities expressed concern regarding their physical and emotional safety as a consequence of being outed to their peers and the faculty (Goldberg et al., 2019).

The exclusion of content surrounding the experiences of gender minorities is fundamental in upholding cisnormativity in educational institutes. This deficit in both knowledge and exposure of the majority to transgender individuals and their issues, perpetuates bias and discrimination against gender minorities (Erich et al., 2007). Acker's (2017) study exploring the extent of transphobia in students majoring in helping professions and the neglect of transgender content in curricula depicted alarming findings. 75% of the students reported a deficient amount of content focusing on transgender individuals. Moreover, almost half of the sample showed moderate to high levels of transphobia. These findings are consistent with previous studies suggesting that social work and other related disciplines are inadequate in equipping students to work with transgender clients (Erich et al., 2007; Rutledge et al., 2012)

Furthermore, students who do not conform to binary gender identities or traditional physical presentations and those who have not undergone gender-affirmative surgery encounter unique challenges (Catalano, 2015; Rankin & Beemyn, 2012). According to Goldberg et al., (2019), nonbinary students often tend to experience a paradoxical sense of heightened visibility and invisibility. This is partly due to their gender identities being perceived as foreign or unrecognizable by others. They are also more likely than binary trans students to face isolation and lack support from LGBTQ individuals, compelling them to establish their own communities for support (Rankin & Beemyn, 2012).

In reasonably cisnormative campuses that reinforce genderism, transgender students feel pressured to conceal or "mask" their identities (Nicolazzo, 2016a, 2016b). Simultaneously, transgender students who are eager to express their gender identities also navigate societal expectations of conforming to stereotypical gender norms (Catalano, 2015).

The aforementioned findings underscore the numerous challenges faced by gender minorities in educational institutions. However, especially hazardous for gender minority students are gendered restrooms, as highlighted by Buck and Obzud, (2018). Settings that demand gender segregation (e.g., bathrooms) contribute to discrimination and intolerance towards gender minorities. Secondary research involving over 2000 gender minority students in the United States revealed that 25% of the participants were restricted from accessing restrooms or other facilities in school owing to their gender identity (Seelman, 2016). It is reasonable to assume that fellow students, staff, faculty, administrators, and campus visitors contribute to the denial of access to spaces on university campuses (Seelman, 2014).

Perceived campus norms also influences the view of students regarding the installation of gender-inclusive restrooms in campus buildings. Monheim and Ratcliff, (2023) conducted a study where participants were assigned to read fictional research

describing their college campus's social norm as either supportive or unsupportive of installing all-gender restrooms. Those exposed to the supportive norm were more accepting of transgender individuals using restrooms aligning with their gender identity compared to those in the unsupportive norm condition.

Furthermore, the narrative perpetuated by anti-trans media, rooted in the unfounded apprehension of gender minority individuals entering restrooms with the alleged purpose of harming women and children (Schilt & Westbrook, 2015), contributes significantly to intolerance.

Possessing multiple minority identities is also a factor in mediating access to spaces on campus (Seelman, 2014). This finding aligns with the expectations of the structural social work theory that posits that institutions tend to function in ways that reproduce oppression and domination of marginalized groups (Mullay, 2007). Thus, gender minority individuals with an additional minority identity are at a greater risk of being denied access to gendered spaces (Seelman, 2014).

It is noteworthy that studies examining the disparities between the level of acceptance of transgender women and men in gendered spaces in universities demonstrate that trans women are less accepted than trans men (White & Jenkins, 2017). This can be attributed to the perceived disruption or violation of the masculine ideal posed by trans women or to an essentialist view of masculinity. Conversely, trans men may experience higher acceptance due to the flexible view of femininity (Smiler & Gelman, 2008). White and Jenkin's (2017) study also discovered that trans women who did not conform to the societal standards of femininity were more likely to be discriminated against compared to traditionally feminine-appearing trans women.

Mental Health Implications

The National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, (2018) identified the LGBTQ+ community as one of the health-disparate groups. Meyer's (2003), minority stress model offers a compelling framework to conceptualize these disparities. It asserts that LGBTQ+ individuals face challenges unique to their marginalized status in addition to general life stressors. These additional stressors are ingrained within sociocultural and political structures (e.g. policies), making them complex and chronic.

Socialization plays an important role in the internalization of cultural values, attitudes, and beliefs about various social groups (Allport, 1954), in this case, those regarding heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals (Szymanski et al., 2008). Members of the dominant group often harbour negative attitudes, beliefs, and stereotypes about the minority group, on the contrary, individuals from the minority group might target themselves or others in the community with these negative valuations, intensifying psychological distress (Allport, 1954).

University students face a multitude of stressors that influence their mental health (Mortier et al., 2018). The prevalence of anxiety, depression, and suicidality rates among college students are on the rise (Eisenberg et al., 2013). Ketchen et al. (2015) note that new experiences, relationships, and living situations are central to an individual's time in college. This period is also marked by greater exploration of racial/ethnic, gender, and sexual identities (Syed & Azmitia, 2009), causing stress that impacts mental health (Woodford et al., 2014). It is thus reasonable to note that the period of college makes one vulnerable to a host of mental health challenges (Liu et al., 2019).

Literature pertaining to access and use of mental health services by students, particularly minority students, is deficient (Mayer et al., 2008). However, the available research suggests

that sexual minority students appear to use mental health services more compared to their heterosexual peers (Kerr et al., 2013; Oswalt & Wyatt, 2011).

Sexual and gender minority students are more likely to have mental health problems in comparison to their heterosexual counterparts (Liu et al., 2019; Woodford et al., 2014). Furthermore, studies show that SGM students also have higher rates of suicidality. In a study conducted by Liu et al., (2019), more than half of the bisexual students who participated reported suicidal ideation and self-harm. A quarter of them also reported having made a suicide attempt in the past. Israel and Mohr (2004) proposes that this could be due to the negative attitudes towards bisexuality held by heterosexuals and homosexuals alike, causing them greater stress in navigating different social groups. This was supported by Kerr, Santurri, and Peters (2013) comparative analysis of mental health between lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual women enrolled in undergraduate college programs. They found that bisexual students were subject to more harassment for being out of the closet and that many students wrongly believed bisexuals to be "confused" or "unable to make up their minds" regarding their sexual orientation. Overall, the findings suggested that being open about bisexuality results in additional harassment owing to the misinformation surrounding this orientation.

Carmel and Erickson-Schroth's, (2016) literature review also suggested an overall theme of an elevated risk for depression, substance use disorders, self-injury, and suicidal ideation/attempts in transgender and gender non-conforming individuals. Evidence for this also comes from the study conducted by Liu et al., (2019). In their study, Liu et al., (2019) found that more than half of the respondents who identified as transgender reported suicidal ideation and/or suicide attempts. They speculated that these elevated rates could partly be attributed to transgender students facing stigma from both- cishet students and LGB peers. Psychological factors such as the anticipation of rejection might also cause feelings of

worthlessness in gender minority students, making them susceptible to mental health challenges (Bouman et al., 2017).

A study conducted by Woodford et al., (2014) investigated the role of personal and ambient hostility, incivility, and heterosexist harassment on minority stress, anxiety, and depression in sexual minority students enrolled in universities. The findings depicted increased odds of sexual minority students reporting personal hostility, incivility, and heterosexist harassment in comparison to heterosexual students. In addition to this, sexual minority students also reported witnessing incivility more often than their heterosexual peers (62% vs. 58%). However, this difference was not statistically significant.

Conclusion

The prevalence of heteronormativity and cisnormativity in educational institutes is deeply entrenched and finds manifestation in many ways, giving rise to prejudice and discrimination targeting sexual and gender minority students and faculty alike. The neglect of SGM content in the curricula, restrictions on gender minority individuals accessing university spaces, and outright homophobia and transphobia exemplify the systemic biases of heteronormativity and cisnormativity. Addressing these issues requires a deliberate effort in dismantling heteronormative and cisnormative biases and necessitates the creation of an inclusive educational environment that celebrates diversity and equity.

References

- Acker, G. M. (2017). Transphobia among students majoring in the helping professions. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 64(14), 2011-2029.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Bauer, G. R., Hammond, R., Travers, R., Kaay, M., Hohenadel, K. M., & Boyce, M. (2009). "I don't think this is theoretical; this is our lives": how erasure impacts health care for transgender people. *Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care*, 20(5), 348-361.
- Beagan, B. L., Fredericks, E., & Goldberg, L. (2012). Discourse/Discours-Nurses' Work With LGBTQ Patients:" They're Just Like Everybody Else, So What's the Difference". *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research Archive*, 44-63.
- Bouman, W. P., Claes, L., Brewin, N., Crawford, J. R., Millet, N., Fernandez- Aranda, F., & Arcelus, J. (2017). Transgender and anxiety: A comparative study between transgender people and the general population. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 18(1), 16–26.
- Buck, D. M., & Obzud, T. (2018). Context-dependent transprejudice: Attitudes toward transgender individuals in gender-integrated and gender-segregated settings. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 5(1), 117–121. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000251>
- Budge, S. L., Domínguez, S., Jr., & Goldberg, A. E. (2020). Minority stress in nonbinary students in higher education: The role of campus climate and belongingness.

Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 7(2), 222–229.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000360>

Byne, W., Bradley, S. J., Coleman, E., Eyler, A. E., Green, R., Menvielle, E. J., ... & Tompkins, D. A. (2012). Report of the American Psychiatric Association task force on treatment of gender identity disorder. *Archives of sexual behavior*, 41, 759-796.

Carmel, T. C., & Erickson-Schroth, L. (2016). Mental health and the transgender population. *Journal of psychosocial nursing and mental health services*, 54(12), 44-48.

Catalano, D. C. J. (2015). “Trans enough?”: The pressures trans men negotiate in higher education. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 2, 411–430.

Cochran SD, Sullivan JG and Mays VM (2003) Prevalence of mental disorders, psychological distress, and mental health services use among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 71: 53–61. DOI: 10.1037/0022-006X.71.1.53

Copp, H. L., & Koehler, W. J. (2017). Peer attitudes toward LGBT-identified university students as mediated by demographic factors. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 21(4), 277-291.

Crothers, L. M., Kolbert, J. B., Barbary, C., Chatlos, S., Lattanzio, L., Tiberi, A., ... & Meidl, C. (2017). Teachers', LGBTQ students', and student allies' perceptions of bullying of sexually-diverse youth. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 26(9), 972-988.

Dawson, A. E., Wymbs, B. T., Gidycz, C. A., Pride, M., & Figueroa, W. (2017). Exploring rates of transgender individuals and mental health concerns in an online sample. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 18(3), 295-304.

- Dentato, M. P., Craig, S. L., Lloyd, M. R., Kelly, B. L., Wright, C., & Austin, A. (2016). Homophobia within schools of social work: The critical need for affirming classroom settings and effective preparation for service with the LGBTQ community. *Social Work Education, 35*(6), 672-692.
- Eisenberg, D., Hunt, J., & Speer, N. (2013). Mental health in American colleges and universities: Variation across student subgroups and across campuses. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 201*(1), 60–67.
- Elliot, M., & Kilpatrick, J. (1994). *How to stop bullying: A KIDSCAPE guide to training*. Kidscape, London.
- Erich, S., Boutté-Queen, N., Donnelly, S., & Tittsworth, J. (2007). Social work education: Implications for working with the transgender community. *The Journal of Baccalaureate Social Work, 12*(2), 42- 52. Retrieved from <http://jbsw.org/>.
- Espelage, D. L., Aragon, S. R., Birkett, M., & Koenig, B. W. (2008). Homophobic teasing, psychological outcomes, and sexual orientation among high school students: What influence do parents and schools have?. *School psychology review, 37*(2), 202-216.
- Garvey, J. C., Taylor, J. L., & Rankin, S. (2015). An examination of campus climate for LGBTQ community college students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 39*(6), 527-541.
- Gevonden, M. J., Selten, J. P., Myin-Germeys, I., & van Os, J. (2014). Sexual minority status and psychotic symptoms: Findings from the Netherlands Mental Health Survey and Incidence Studies (NEMESIS). *Psychological Medicine, 44*(2), 421–433.

- Giertsen, M. (2019). Heteronormativity prevails: A study of sexuality in Norwegian social work bachelor programs. *Journal of social work education*, 55(1), 89-101.
- Grissett, J. O., Kaufmann, J., Greenberg, D., & Hilton, K. (2016). You are (not) welcome here: The climate for LGBT students in an adult literacy program. *Adult Learning*, 27(4), 152-159.
- Goldberg, A. E., Kuvalanka, K., & Dickey, I. (2019). Transgender graduate students' experiences in higher education: A mixed-methods exploratory study. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 12(1), 38–51.
- Hackimer, L., Chen, C. Y. C., & Verkuilen, J. (2021). Individual factors and cisgender college students' attitudes and behaviors toward transgender individuals. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(6), 2023-2039.
- Horton, C. (2023). Institutional cisnormativity and educational injustice: Trans children's experiences in primary and early secondary education in the UK. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 93(1), 73-90.
- Hoy-Ellis, C. P. (2023). Minority stress and mental health: A review of the literature. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 70(5), 806-830.
- Hudak, J., & Giammattei, S. (2010). Doing family: Decentering heteronormativity in "marriage" and "family" therapy. In J. Ariel, P. Hernandez-Wolfe, & S. Stearns (Eds.), *Expanding our social justice practices: Advances in theory and training* (pp. 49–58). Washington, DC: American Family Therapy Academy.
- Israel, T., & Mohr, J. J. (2004). Attitudes towards bisexual women and men. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 4(1), 117–134.

- Kerr, D. L., Santurri, L., & Peters, P. (2013). A comparison of lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual college undergraduate women on selected mental health issues. *Journal of American college health*, 61(4), 185-194.
- Ketchen Lipson, S., Gaddis, S. M., Heinze, J., Beck, K., & Eisenberg, D. (2015). Variations in student mental health and treatment utilization across US colleges and universities. *Journal of American College Health*, 63(6), 388-396.
- Liu, C. H., Stevens, C., Wong, S. H., Yasui, M., & Chen, J. A. (2019). The prevalence and predictors of mental health diagnoses and suicide among US college students: Implications for addressing disparities in service use. *Depression and anxiety*, 36(1), 8-17.
- Mayer, K. H., Bradford, J. B., Makadon, H. J., Stall, R., Goldhammer, H., & Landers, S. (2008). Sexual and gender minority health: What we know and what needs to be done. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(6), 989– 995.
- Meyer IH (1995) Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 36: 38–56. DOI: 10.2307/2137286
- Meyer IH (2003) Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin* 129: 674–697. DOI: 10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674
- Monheim, C. L., & Ratcliff, J. J. (2023). Perceived social norms and acceptance of transgender students in gendered restrooms. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 20(2), 353-369
- Mortier, P., Auerbach, R. P., Alonso, J., Bantjes, J., Benjet, C., Cuijpers, P., ... & Vives, M. (2018). Suicidal thoughts and behaviors among first-year college students: results

from the WMH-ICS project. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 57(4), 263-273.

Mullaly, R. (2007). *The new structural social work* (3rd ed.). Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Nicolazzo, Z. (2016a). Trans in college: Transgender students' strategies for navigating campus life and the institutional politics of inclusion. Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Nicolazzo, Z. (2016b). "Just go in looking good": The resilience, resistance, and kinship-building of trans college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 57, 538–556.

Oswalt, S. B., & Wyatt, T. J. (2011). Sexual orientation and differences in mental health, stress, and academic performance in a national sample of U.S. college students. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 58(9), 1255–1280.

Pitoňák, M. (2017). Mental health in non-heterosexuals: Minority stress theory and related explanation frameworks review. *Mental Health & Prevention*, 5, 63-73.

Pyne, J. (2011). Unsuitable bodies: Trans people and cisnormativity in shelter services. *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue canadienne de service social*, 28(1), 129-137

Rankin, S., & Beemyn, G. (2012). Beyond a binary: The lives of gender nonconforming youth. *About Campus*, 17, 2–10.

Rees, S. N., Crowe, M., & Harris, S. (2021). The lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender communities' mental health care needs and experiences of mental health services: An integrative review of qualitative studies. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 28(4), 578-589.

- Rogers, M. L., Hom, M. A., Janakiraman, R., & Joiner, T. E. (2021). Examination of minority stress pathways to suicidal ideation among sexual minority adults: The moderating role of LGBT community connectedness. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 8(1), 38.
- Røthing, Å. (2008). Homotolerance and heteronormativity in Norwegian classrooms. *Gender and Education*, 20(3), 253–266.
- Rutledge, S., Siebert, D., Siebert, C., & Chonody, J. (2012). Attitudes toward Gays and Lesbians: A latent class analysis of university students. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 38(1), 18-28. Doi: 10.1080/01488376.2011.598721.
- Santurri, L., & Peters, P. (2013). A comparison of lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual college undergraduate women on selected mental health issues. *Journal of American College Health*, 61(4), 185–194.
- Seelman, K. L. (2016). Transgender adults' access to college restrooms and housing and the relationship to suicidality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 63(10), 1378–1399. [https://doi.org/ 10.1080/00918369.2016.1157998](https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1157998)
- Seelman, K. L. (2014). Transgender individuals' access to college housing and bathrooms: Findings from the National Transgender Discrimination Survey. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 26(2), 186-206.
- Seelman, K. L., Woodford, M. R., & Nicolazzo, Z. (2017). Victimization and microaggressions targeting LGBTQ college students: Gender identity as a moderator of psychological distress. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 26(1–2), 112–125.

- Sandfort, T. G. M., De Graaf, R., Ten Have, M., Ransome, Y., Schnabel, P., & Bakker, F. (2014). Same-sex sexuality and psychiatric disorders in the second Netherlands Mental Health Survey and Incidence Study (NEMESIS-2). *LGBT Health*, 1(4), 292–301.
- Satishkumar, S. (2021). *Perceived Discrimination and Emotional Distress Experienced by Queer vs Heterosexual People of Color, Moderated by Perceived Distal or Proximal Social Support*. Illinois State University.
- Smiler, A. P., & Gelman, S. A. (2008). Determinants of gender essentialism in college students. *Sex Roles*, 58, 864–874. doi:10.1007/s11199-008-9402-x
- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2009). Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity during the college years. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 19(4), 601– 624.
- Szymanski, D. M., Kashubeck-West, S., & Meyer, J. (2008). Internalized heterosexism - A historical and theoretical overview. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 36(4), 510–524. doi:10.1177/0011000007309488
- Tetrault, P. A., Fette, R., Meidlinger, P. C., & Hope, D. (2013). Perceptions of campus climate by sexual minorities. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 60, 947–964.
- Van Beusekom, G., Bos, H. M., Kuyper, L., Overbeek, G., & Sandfort, T. G. (2018). Gender nonconformity and mental health among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults: Homophobic stigmatization and internalized homophobia as mediators. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 23(9), 1211-1222.
- Watson, K. (2005). Queer theory. *Group analysis*, 38(1), 67-81.

- White, C. R., & Jenkins, D. D. (2017). College students' acceptance of trans women and trans men in gendered spaces: The role of physical appearance. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 29*(1), 41-67.
- Wilson, C., & Cariola, L. A. (2020). LGBTQI+ youth and mental health: A systematic review of qualitative research. *Adolescent Research Review, 5*(2), 187-211
- Woodford, M. R., Han, Y., Craig, S., Lim, C., & Matney, M. M. (2014). Discrimination and mental health among sexual minority college students: The type and form of discrimination does matter. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health, 18*(2), 142–163.
- Worthen, M. G. (2016). Hetero-cis-normativity and the gendering of transphobia. *International Journal of Transgenderism, 17*(1), 31-57.