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**Is University Campus Gendered?
The Experiences of Transgender Students in Japan**

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I. Introduction

Gender segregated spaces that divide “men” and “women” exist everywhere, and universities are no exception. Such spaces compel transgender individuals to negotiate their gender identity publicly on a daily basis. While changes have occurred—laws that allow transgenders to change their gender identity on the family register (Act on Special Provisions for Handling Gender for People with Gender Identity Disorder, 2004), the construction of unisex bathrooms on university campuses, and the admission of transwomen students to women only universities—, gendered segregated spaces of “women” and “men” remain.

The purpose of this research is to understand transgender student’s experiences on university campus through interviews and content analysis. First, I will undertake a literature review of previous studies on transgender people’s experiences. Next, I will introduce relevant concepts and report on the preliminary findings from interviews with students who identify themselves as transgender and gender non-conforming to explore individual experiences in gendered spaces. Then, interviews with the head of LGBTQ community will be reported to explore how student’s associations play a role in addressing the issue before reporting on the content analysis on university measures addressing the needs of trans students. The paper will conclude with future studies that should be undertaken.

II. Literature review

Transprejudice

King et al. (2009, as cited in Winter et al., 2009), defines transprejudice as “the negative valuing, stereotyping and discriminatory treatment of individuals whose appearance and/or identity does not conform to the current social expectations or conventional conceptions of gender” (p.98). Current studies and research have revealed a high incidence of transprejudice in public spaces. An extensive survey of 7500 transgender and gender-nonconforming respondents in the United States reveals how transgender identity and gender non-conforming people have lost jobs due to anti-transgender bias (26%), harassed (78%), and physically assaulted (35%) in public

spaces, schools, and workplaces (Grant et al., 2011). Such gender-based prejudice and discrimination could lead to suicides (Clements-Nolle, Marx & Kaz, 2006); indeed, around 30% of transgenders of the transgender communities in the Philadelphia region of the United States have attempted suicides (Kenagy, 2005). To assess the negative health impact on LGB population Meyer (2003) coined the minority stress model, which was also applied to transgender individuals (Herman, 2013). The framework conceptualizes the mental and physical negative outcomes of stigmatizing trans people. The foregoing review shows anti-transgender attitudes and behavior exist on an everyday level, impact on transgender people's health, and prevent them from accessing public spaces accessible to non-transgender people.

Transgender and gender norms

The strong negative reaction toward transgender people lies in how gender is core to and constitutes a fundamental division in society. West & Zimmerman (1987) conceptualize gender as a socially, psychologically, and culturally constructed category rather than a function of biology and argue that we perform our gender to affirm to ourselves and others the gender considered appropriate to the sex assigned to us from birth. Gender norms are behaviors and preferences of "gender" (Cislaghi & Heise, 2020) —the expectations or standards to be met by the social categories of men and women in society. Transgender people's experiences towards gender norms are different. To be specific, their experiences differ depending on whether their physical appearance or behavior conform to the conventional gender expectations. If one has transitioned to the other gender and their appearance/behavior follows the gender norms of the transitioned gender, they would "pass," as they become part of the gender dichotomy. On the other hand, if one's appearance is under transition or if one chooses not to express themselves as either men/women, they would deviate from the socially constructed gender norms. And when such gender norms are violated, people are likely to confront discrimination and violence (Doan, 2010). Doan (2010) has analyzed her own experience in gendered spaces as a visibly queer transgender person, who presents and is read as a gender variant woman. From their experience in public and private

spaces in the United States, they conclude that “individuals who persist in violating gender norms are marginalized in both queer and other spaces (K, Namaste, 1996; Doan, 2001, 2006, 2007 as in Doan, 2010)” (P639). The socially constructed gender norms of “women” “men” and their influence on transgender and gender nonconforming people differs depending on individual characteristics and orientation and should be considered separately.

Transgender and gendered public restrooms

Nowhere is “doing gender” so imperative as in the use of gendered spaces. Restrooms are one of the most gendered spaces transgender people would have to declare their gender on a daily basis. According to a survey done by Herman (2013), among 94 respondents in Washington, DC, 70% of them reported experiencing one or more of the following problems when asked about their experiences in gender-segregated bathrooms: denial of access to facilities, verbal harassment, and physical assault. In a further study, Herman (2013) argues that such harassments against transgender lead some to have negative health conditions. Among the respondents, 54% of the people had health problems due to avoiding bathrooms and “holding it.” Some even avoided getting necessary healthcare for keeping away from public restrooms. Moreover, a study in Virginia also reveals that 11% of the self-identified transgender have avoided seeing a doctor or getting healthcare due to the lack of appropriate restrooms (Xavier, Honnold, and Bradford, 2007 as cited in Herman, 2013). Gender-segregated bathrooms are therefore not only a risk to transgender people, but it also results in poor health conditions when they try to avoid such places intentionally.

Gender segregated bathrooms are one of the key struggles for transgender university students as well. From the interviews conducted by Herman (2013), one trans man reported that he eventually avoided going to bathrooms due to the limited numbers of non-gendered bathrooms. Still, Beemyn (2005) argues that some colleges are positively introducing transgender-friendly bathrooms, raising San Diego State University as an example. In 2003, the student’s association movement successfully demanded the university to approve funds to “convert a set of women’s and men’s bathrooms in the student union into gender-neutral facilities” (p.81). The example raised by Beemyn (2005) implies that actions taken by students can change the campus to a

transgender-friendly place when student association works as an "agent" to take necessary actions for the ones being marginalized.

III. Research Questions and Theoretical Framework

The findings from the literature review can be summarized as follows. Transprejudice occurred in gendered spaces such as bathrooms, lead transgender to be discriminated and prejudiced by non-transgender people. One reason for this is the socially constructed gender categories of men and women, creating gender norms that might force people's performance to belong in either women or men (Doan, 2010; Grant et al, 2011; Herman, 2013). To assess the impact on gender non-conforming people, Meyer (2003) introduced the minority stress model, stating that such transprejudice could lead transgender people to have negative health outcomes.

“The foregoing literature, based primarily in the United States”, reveal the prejudice and discrimination against transgender people generally, and their need to negotiate gendered spaces. Therefore, I'd like to explore three questions in this research. The first one is how do transgender students negotiate gendered spaces in Japan? The above data collected overseas could be applied in Japan as the gender binary system that divides men and women lies in the contemporary Japanese society as well as educational facilities (Dohi, 2015). I would, therefore, examine transgender student's negotiation in gendered spaces while connecting the findings from overseas. The second question is what are the measures universities have taken to address the needs of transgender students? I will explore the relevant measures taken by universities toward transgender students focusing on school policies, diversity promotion, and educational programs. My last question is how do student's associations play a role in the process of creating a transgender-friendly campus? This question was derived from the research of Beemyn (2005) that raised effective examples of students taking action to prepare platforms to welcome transgender students.

To guide my interpretation of the data, the theoretical framework of “doing gender” coined by West & Zimmerman (1987) will be introduced. West & Zimmerman (1987) conceptualized gender as an ongoing accomplishment in everyday interactions.

Gender is not a function of biology, rather is achieved by individual's performances through the interaction with others. The idea of doing gender will be used in this paper to analyze how transgender students negotiate their gender through the interaction of various activities in campus.

IV. Methodology

To answer the three research questions, I undertook a mixed method approach that included interviews and content analysis. One-on-one Interviews were conducted to examine transgender student's negotiation of gendered spaces. This method was appropriate for my research because it gives the interviewer opportunity to ask follow-up questions in an area without a lot of previous research, and to tease out detailed experiences that cannot be readily tapped through a questionnaire or group interviews. My initial plan was to limit the participants to transgender-identified university students. However, because transgender university students are a hard-to-reach population, I have included two students who do not identify as cisgender but also do not strictly identify themselves as transgender, one of them being a high school student also.

I conducted interviews with four transgender-identified university students (three Male to Female and one Female to Male), one gender nonconforming high school student, and one university student who has not decided their gender identification at the moment but who states, "I think I am seen as transgender" (See Appendix A for more details). Among a total of six participants, one was the head of the LGBT circle at University B, and one was running a MtF community outside university campus. The respondents were all contacted through Twitter by searching "MtF/FtM 学生(student)." The interviews were held on June 25, 2020 to July 3, 2021 via online. The interviews lasted 60 to 90 minutes long.

I asked the interview participants questions on their experiences regarding gendered spaces in campus, the process of identity development throughout their lives and their hardships as transgender identity if there were any. (For a list of questions, see

Appendix B). In addition, questions related to LGBTQ community were asked to those who were managing such communities.

One limitation of the interview was the small sample, which hindered me from making meaning comparisons. Another limitation was the recruitment process. The social media recruitment only allows the interviewer to find people who are conscious and open about topics related to their gender identification. Therefore, the collected data may be biased to those who were relatively “out” about their gender identification, excluding those who were not “out.” Lastly, it is important to note that all interviewees attend private universities in Japan, thus the university’s effort put on campus facility should be considered differently from that of national and public schools.

In addition to the interviews, I conducted a content analysis after the interviews on four universities (Universities A, B, C, E) that the interview participants were studying at excluding a high school and the other a distant-learning university that two participants attended. All of them were private universities in Tokyo with a middle to upper high academic score within Japan. The aim of the content analysis is to further examine the interview participant’s experience on campus from the university’s prospect. I believe the measures taken by each university should be analyzed to discuss possible solutions that incorporate the needs of trans students. I analyzed statements and educational program related to diversity by examining each university’s official websites. I looked at whether they have (1) any statement supporting diversity; (2) website devoted to promoting diversity; (3) education program promoting diversity. I then looked for specific words such as “transgender” “LGBT” in each if there were any. In addition, I looked into each school’s campus facilities such as the presence of multipurpose bathrooms and diversity centers.

V. Findings and Analysis

What transgender students consider as “gendered spaces” on university campus

First, bathrooms came up as gendered spaces from all interview participants. Both MtF students, Hana and Keiko (the names used are all pseudonyms) referred to the

insufficient number of bathrooms on campus, saying it “hard to reach.” Second, locker rooms were also raised as a gendered space by five interviewees except for Naho, a high schooler who changes clothes in their dormitory. Third, all six participants mentioned health checkups as a gendered space, including Hiromi who has been studying at a distance-learning university, where checkups are not enforced. Fourth, occasions that involve formal clothing such as entrance ceremonies and job-hunting were also inferred as gendered from some participants. Lastly, the classroom, an apparently gender-neutral space, also becomes gendered in some situations through the interaction of students and professors. The following section will examine how transgender students “negotiate” and “do gender” in these spaces.

Doing gender in university campus

Doing gender, in this case, is the actions taken by transgender students according to their identificatory displays of sex, through their interactions with other members of the university. Ayumu, a FtM student who has finished a chest removal surgery, has been using the men’s bathroom with a special kit.

“I am only using men's bathroom right now. There is a silicon material good that allows me to use a men's standing urinal (with women’s genitalia). It wasn’t originally made for FtMs -it was initially designed for women to urinate while standing at campsites... Ever since I bought that I have been using the men’s urinal. ~ I am using the men’s bathroom very comfortably without any concerns.”

(Ayumu, FtM)

Ayumu is doing gender to take the same actions of what a man would do when urinating. While his appearance would be categorized as a male from others, the “silicone special kit” plays an important role in him to achieve being a man. Before Ayumu mastered proper ways to use the kit without any leakage, he has experienced using the multipurpose bathrooms, and the women’s bathroom several times as well.

“During freshman year, I used the toilets for wheelchairs as my university had more of such facilities compared to other schools. Still, I didn’t want others to see me entering, so I sometimes used the women’s bathroom when I was not confident enough. There, I was stared at quite a lot, which led me to use either the women’s or men’s bathroom when no one was inside.” (Ayumu, FtM)

Despite his possession of a women’s genitalia, his appearance and activities were perhaps categorized as a man in the women’s bathroom. People who stared at Ayumu might not have thought about Ayumu’s biological sex being a woman as his identificatory display was a man. Kanako who is undecided about their gender identity shared a different experience of using bathrooms at campus. Kanako takes a neutral stance on using women’s bathrooms. They mention that the reason for using women’s bathrooms is because of their appearance being a woman. Their negotiation in gendered space shows how their choice in using gendered space is not just simply their choice, but they understand themselves as either gender from the reflected perception. Kanako was not the only one who referred to the “eyes of others.” Keiko, an MtF university student who is taking a temporary absence from the university to save money for SRS, shared her experiences in her physical education class.

“(In freshmen) I joined physical education with boys since my appearance was a boy back then. But I don’t know what to do since my appearance is a woman right now.” (Keiko, MtF)

Keiko’s gender declaration does not directly come from her inner thoughts but is heavily affected by her appearance. Besides, she showed confusion when I asked her which class she will join after her appearance changed to a woman. She then referred to the sex on the register.

“~ (Silence) Hmm... I don’t now... If I had PE class right now, I might still choose to do with males. My registrar is a man right now, so I think I’ll join men’s class.” (Keiko, MtF)

This is doing gender in how Keiko would find for an “identificatory display,” whether it is her appearance or the sex on the register, to enter a gendered space (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Once again, they would not simply claim their gender identification just because they feel men/women, but they also look for a sign that would justify their claiming gender.

Doing gender in formal occasions

Occasions and events that include formal clothing which visibly differentiate “men” and “women” were also raised as a gendered space from some of the interview participants. Kanako, who is undecided in her gender identification states as follows.

“Ceremonial occasions are my top concern. It is difficult to go unless (the clothes are) matched to the biological sex. Even if I wear mourning clothes in the gender I want, it doesn’t mean that other participants will accept me. I had a huge fight with my mother about what to wear to my grandmother’s funeral.” (Kanako, undecided)

University entrance ceremonies are one of the occasions where a recruit suit is considered “applicable.” Ayumu, an FtM student shared his experience of purchasing a recruit suit with his mother to prepare for his first day at university; the entrance ceremony.

“I came out to my mother when I was trying on a college suit for university’s entrance ceremony. (My) Mother headed to the ladies’ corner since she thought of me as a girl at that moment. If I buy a ladies' suit here, I think my college life will be messed up. If I pretend to be a woman, that would be like high school... ~ My mother already knew I didn't like skirts, but I was forced to try on something like a pantsuit designed for women. Women's pantsuits are completely different from men's... The line of the butt is emphasized, and that was very disgusting. With this face and my hair like this short, when I saw myself in the mirror, I felt so

uncomfortable that I cried. My mother was kind of surprised, told me to go to the psychiatric department in an upsetting manner. I was crying, but I was very happy. I was finally able to say it, and the fact that she'd take me to the hospital? I was like, I did it!" (Ayumu, FtM)

The coming out process becomes a means to achieve a masculine appearance at the entrance ceremony, where most of the students wear either a man's or a woman's suit. In other words, Ayumu revealed his gender identification to do gender in a highly gendered space. Apart from the entrance ceremony, job-hunting was also raised as a space that involves formal clothing. Job-hunting seminars and interviews can be gendered as well when the space is constituted with students who wear suits. In fact, Keiko, an MtF student referred to the importance of going under sex reassignment surgery before job-hunting. Perhaps, this is to do gender in a highly gendered space, to wear either men/women's suit that match their physical appearance. Occasions and events that seems gender-neutral can become gendered when formal clothing is considered "applicable."

Doing gender and gendering process in the classroom

Classroom, an apparently gender-neutral space can become gendered in some situations as well. Hana, an MtF student, has reported how reaction papers provided by professors can construct a scene where she must negotiate her gender identity. Hana would have to ask the professors every time if she could go by the name she wished to be called. Such declaration and confession of gender identity to teachers are a unique experience for transgender students. Besides reaction papers, Keiko mentioned German language classes when I asked if there were any scenes, she had to declare gender.

"German has different articles for men and women. At that time, the transition wasn't progressing, and I looked like a man, so I passed by using a man's article. I didn't want to force others to treat me as a woman while looking like a man. It seems like I was challenging them." (Keiko, MtF)

Once again, Keiko is doing gender based on her appearance and the reactions from others. The choice she made of using a gendered article would be judged and screened by other class members.

The classroom does not simply become a place for transgender students to do gender, but they are also being gendered through the interaction with professors and class members. Ayumu, an FtM student shared his experience of being inappropriately gendered through the interaction with his professor.

“I came out to a professor in my third year. Professor understood me as a woman, from the data the school had given him. ~ He used “kun (Mr)” and “san (Ms but sometimes Mr)” when calling students. I didn’t like being called “San.” When he called me “san” in front of other seminar members, they were like “is that a woman?” I hated that and wrote an email (about my gender identification). There was a reply from the teacher saying thank you for telling me. I was also asked if I should tell the whole class, so I did. Class members were like “Oh, are you getting surgery?” and that was it. After declaring to the whole class, the teacher announced that he would call everyone "san". But due to his old habit, he would keep calling male students with a male pronoun “kun”. Eventually, I was called “san” and I didn't like it. Recently, I received a message from the professor that it was difficult to call everyone “san,” and I was told that he would address me as "kun" from now on. Even so, I don't like the teacher mistakenly saying "san" when calling me or rephrasing with a male pronoun after saying "san". I feel like I gather everyone's attention at that moment.” (Ayumu, FtM)

Ayumu’s professor did not stop calling him “san” even after he revealed his gender identification. He is being gendered in a way that he does not aim for. Although the professor tries to call the whole classroom “san” using a rather gender-neutral pronoun, he would go back to calling men “kun” and women “san.” Perhaps, the idea of the gender binary is ingrained in the professor, as Ayumu mentions the professor as “he is very old, I thought I would be rejected at first.” Moreover, Ayumu is being gendered in

the classroom when the professor rephrases Ayumu's pronouns. Instantly, Ayumu feels like he has gathered the whole attention of the class, reminding everyone that he was transgender. The pronouns used by professors can lead to situations where transgender students might feel improperly gendered in classrooms. Unlike Ayumu, Keiko an MtF student who has been taking a temporary absence from university shared a positive experience with her professor.

“When I talked about leaving school for a while due to surgery, the seminar's professor asked how they should call me from now on. They also asked what pronouns I'd prefer. I answered that it was okay to call me this way. I was very happy how (s)he showed care for me.” (Keiko, MtF)

Although classrooms do not physically divide men and women, daily activities and behaviors are being gendered. Gendered spaces shape people's behavior as well. Indeed, some avoid using such space. Hana and Kanako explained their avoidance of using locker rooms and health checkups. They do not take P.E classes nor sports activities nor receive checkups due to the fear of stigmatization in gender-segregated rooms. In such cases, gendered spaces can deprive transgender students' chances of accessing classes, facilities and services which are available to non-transgender students. However, changes can also be seen, and not least due to the effort of students.

Student's association and its role on campus

Kanako, the head of an LGBTQ circle at University B, showed how student associations can contribute to making a transgender-friendly campus. Firstly, it provides a safe space for students to go under identity development. How Kanako stated that “the community aims to brush up individual's self-analysis,” it becomes a place where students can discover themselves at ease and always to rely on other members when feeling low. In fact, Keiko states how the LGBTQ circle she belongs in at University C helped her advocate her transgender identity. She is the only transgender member in the circle, which makes her represent the whole transgender by sharing information and

experiences she has gone through. Moreover, Naho, a high schooler states she is looking forward to participating in an LGBTQ circle when entering university, with the aim to be exposed to diverse ideas and experiences.

Secondly, LGBTQ communities can become a hub to connect the school and the voice of the concern. The head of the LGBTQ circle, Kanako has been sharing information such as “annual health checkups can be taken in private if consulted” to the circle members, which plays a role in connecting the university and the students. Still, they state that “the information should be properly spread by the university, as not all sexual minorities join an LGBTQ circle.” Communities can also become a hub by representing the “voice” of the concern to the university side. In fact, the multipurpose toilet’s sign of University B was changed two years ago, with the cooperation of the LGBTQ circle, the student consultation room, and the student center in University B. Kanako explained that the student center reached the circle to ask what the sign should be for uni-sex bathrooms on campus, which eventually lead the sign to be re-labeled to “誰でもトイレ (Toilet available to everyone)” through multiple discussions. Here, the circle worked as “a voice” which incorporates the voice of the concerns, making the multipurpose bathroom an accessible place than it used to be.

Although communities contribute to making a transgender-friendly campus, the circle confronted hardships in the past. When Kanako first visited the student center in 2015 at University B to gather information, they were given cold eyes by the school staff, suspected as a cult group. Kanako states “the staff did not know the word LGBT,” which might have led to confusion. Another problem that the circle has been encountering is the fact that it cannot be the “official” circle of University B. Currently, the circle is in the position of “under preparation,” which means they are not yet authorized as a circle, thus cannot receive any financial support from the university. According to Kanako, one reason the circle not being official is due to the rules to have more than 10 people sign up their real names and to go public. For sexual minority groups, there are very few members who would go public on official documents and websites, thus the criteria become hard to achieve. Another reason is the clubrooms. When circles become official, the school offers half of the club room to each circle, this means that two random circles will share one room. Here, Kanako’s concern is that the

randomly selected other half of the circle might not accept diverse gender and sexuality, leading some students to visit the club room to harass the members.

Given the fact, I assume that such burdens might lead the circle to be less active in promoting a gender friendly campus in ways that were introduced in Beemyn (2005). Moreover, according to the Kanako's experience with several LGBTQ circles show that circle members tend to be homogenized in one sexual category. Some circles are consisted of mostly gay members, while others are mostly lesbian members. Such a tendency did not match the respondent's intentions to be exposed to the gender diversity within LGBTQ. What I found here is that the characteristics and traits of each circle and its role on campus might differ depending on the member's traits.

Hiromi manages a community that is constituted with MtF transgenders of various ages outside of the university, which offers a place for members to share information that is hard to obtain on the internet, such as the nearest clinics that offer treatment for MtFs, and opinions and concerns on a various surgical form of transition. Hiromi's community also shares make-up tips and holds voice-training sessions to "pass" as women. They help each other to do gender, to perform as women in society. Both makeup and voice-training sessions can "protect themselves from disclosure by comporting in a feminine manner (West & Zimmerman, 1987, P134)." The foregoing analysis focused on how individuals experience and try to change the gendered spaces. The larger context of the university is arguably important in facilitating or undermining these efforts.

Diversity measures taken by university

Recently, many universities are proactively introducing diversity measurements on campus with the slowly increasing consciousness of diversity in Japan. Still, it is necessary to examine whether the policies are truly supportive and are properly reaching out to the ones who will be using them. The following paragraph will examine the diversity measures taken by schools. First, among four universities, three of them except for University A, announce statements to support diversity. Second, website devoted to promoting diversity was found from two universities C and E.

Lastly, an education program promoting diversity was held at University C and E as well. University C is the only school that has all three aspects of measurements. Their policies on “diversity declaration” includes words such as “多様な性 (diverse genders)” “多様な性自認 (diverse gender identities)” “多様な性の指向 (diverse sexual orientation).” These words appear on a diversity-devoted website where information on gender and sexuality are listed, including the location of multipurpose bathrooms, what to do for health checkups, and changes of name, sex, and pronouns on profile. Although other university such as B has multipurpose bathroom maps and both universities A and B offer private checkups, the information is not easily found.

University’s facilities and student’s needs

Facilities in university campus should also be examined as they affect transgender student’s daily lives at school. All four universities have multipurpose bathrooms on their campus, yet the number differs. University A introduces 25 multipurpose bathrooms compared to 98 gendered bathrooms. Hana, who studies at University A referred to the small number of multipurpose bathrooms at her campus. She leaves during class as she cannot make it during the ten minutes break when the campus is crowded. In fact, while some buildings at University A have one multipurpose bathroom per floor, some have no multipurpose bathrooms in a four-story building where 10 gendered bathrooms are installed. Keiko has a similar experience at their university. On the other hand, Ayumu who studies at University E states that his university is helping him a lot with having a good number of multipurpose bathrooms. University E has 8 multipurpose bathrooms among 13 buildings on campus. The ratio of multipurpose and gendered bathrooms is 8:12. Not just the number of multipurpose bathrooms being higher than other campuses, but one of the buildings has such facilities on every floor, which might have led Ayumu to answer how satisfied he was.

The presence of diversity centers and coordinators also differ. University C and E both install a diversity center with different characteristics. University C states they offer support to students who have issues on campus due to their "gender and sexuality." Not just a specific counter for gender and sexuality is open, but an inquiry

form can also be sent anonymously via the diversity devoted website. The website also refers to “SOGI harassments,” guiding students to receive counsel at the Harassment Prevention Awareness Support Office, a different counter. Still, the diversity center also states that it is open if the hurdles are high for students to consult elsewhere. Moreover, two coordinators are stated on the diversity center at University C, both declaring their gender identity as transgender and nonbinary with profession in gender and sexuality. The support provided to transgender students in University C seems “truly supportive,” with appropriate coordinators and the centralized information on website. Still, Keiko who belongs to University C states,

“My school (University C) has made one (diversity center) recently. I join a LGBT circle and recently heard it there. I think the existence of the center makes it easier for people to pass their opinions and requests. But it seems that there are no specialists for LGBT, so it is mainly for developmental disabilities? I don't know whether there are any specialists, or they are stationed.” (Keiko, MtF)

The diversity dedicated website is not reaching enough not to just Keiko individually, but also to the LGBT circle at University C. It might be necessary for them to consider a stronger cooperation with circles knowing how they can become a hub to the school and students. Still, the diversity center is new in University C, established just a year ago from the interview, thus, the low level of awareness can be understood to some degree. Moreover, Keiko currently taking absence from school can be another factor of why the diversity center was not reaching her individually.

On the other hand, when it comes to University E’s “diversity promotion center,” there is hardly any information on transgender as well as gender and sexuality. The support mentioned is limited to parental and granny leaves for professors and staff, and a map for multipurpose bathrooms on campus. A counselor who is certified as a public psychologist is stated as the counselor. Still, Ayumu a student at University E, who is planning to change his sex on the family register has stated that,

“When I went to the Student Support Center for a procedure, there was a rainbow-colored LGBT-supported flag on the edge at the counter. Just having such a thing at the center will make it much easier for people to consult.” (Ayumu, FtM)

A diversity center apparently does not guarantee full support for transgender students but at the same time, any indication of support (such as a rainbow flag) still turns a space into a supportive space.

VI. Conclusion

This paper examined transgender student’s negotiation in university campus in Japan. Their negotiation came in different ways such as “doing gender,” “being gendered” and lastly avoiding gendered spaces. Transgender students experienced doing gender to meet the needs of the expected traits of either category of men/women in everyday activities. They would also experience being inappropriately gendered in the interaction with professors and classmates, such as by being called in pronouns that do not match their gender identity. Avoidance was also another way of transgender students to negotiate in gendered spaces. Some would rather avoid using spaces due to the gendering process, locker rooms and health checkups were raised as examples. Moreover, it should be noted that participants not only experienced negotiation in spaces that physically divided men/women but also went through negotiation in classrooms which seem gender-neutral at first glance.

Interviews with the head of LGBT communities were also conducted to see how such communities can contribute to making campus an accessible place regardless of any gender. One way was to provide a safe place for students to go under self-development which enables them to share their experience. Another way was to connect the university and the voice of the concern. University B has changed their multipurpose bathrooms sign while having discussion with members in the LGBT circle. Besides communities, universities can also contribute to a transgender-friendly campus by introducing multipurpose bathrooms and showing support flags on counters.

Research on transgender students in Japan is still limited and almost none on their negotiations in gendered space. This research takes a step towards filling in the gap. Finally, White and Jenkins (2017) stated university students who received transgender education has rated a higher trans-acceptance rate than those who hasn't. Based on this, I hope this paper to influence the readers and contribute to the higher acceptance of transgender students in the long term.

For future research, a different approach in the sampling process is necessary. It is necessary to explore transgender students who are not as “out” compared to those who has an account on social media and is concern enough to post comment on an open platform. Perhaps, I consider that those who are on social media and accept interviews have a capacity enough to be open about their gender identity. Thus, future research on transgender students should consider a different approach on recruitment, such as listserv and snowball sampling to reach out to those who were not able to do so when using social media platforms.

VII. References

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VIII. Appendix

Appendix A. Interview participant list

Names (Pseudonym)	School/Type (Pseudonym)	Year	Gender Identification	Interview date	Other relevant info
Hana	University "A" /Private	21	MtF	2020/6/26	
Kanako	University "B" /Private	24	Undecided ("I think I'm seen as FtM")	2020/12/26	-Head of LGBTQ circle at campus
Keiko	University "C" /Private	21	MtF	2021/6/9	
Hiromi	University "D" /Private	30	MtF	2021/6/9	-Distant learning university -Head of MtF community outside campus
Ayumu	University "E" /Private	22	FtM	2021/7/2	
Naho	High school /Private	17	Gender non- conforming	2021/7/3	

The written consent from all interview participants has been obtained.

Appendix B. Interview questions

The first interview conducted with Hana was an unstructured interview. The aim was to freely discuss if there were any situations where they had to negotiate gender spaces that I did not expect. Based on the collected data from the unstructured interview, I prepared the following question lists for the semi-structured interviews.

Question lists for semi-structured interview held with Kanako, Keiko, Hiromi, Ayumu, and Naho.

【基本情報】

- 自己紹介をして下さい。
- これまでの人生のことを簡単に教えてください。
- クラブ活動に参加しているか。なぜ参加を決めたか。

【ジェンダーに関する質問】

- ご自身の性自認が生まれた際の性別とは異なることに対して、いつ、どのように気づいたか。
- トランスジェンダーとしてのアイデンティティーのために人生で困難はあったか？
- ご自身のアイデンティティーについて、ご両親にカミングアウトしたか。もしそうなら、いつ、どのように話し、両親の反応はどうだったか。
- 学校の友達やクラスメートにカミングアウトしたか。もしそうなら、いつ、どのように話し、友達/クラスメートの反応はどうだったか。

-学校の先生に性同一性について話したか。先生の反応はどうだったか。（中学・高校）

【大学のキャンパスに関連する質問】

-性別を宣言しなければならない場面はあったか？あれば、その時どのように感じたか。

-大学のキャンパス内に「ジェンダースペース(ジェンダーで区切られた場所)」と呼ばれるものはあるか。それはどのような場所で、これらのスペースをどのように利用していると思うか。

-自分らしく安心して過ごせるようになるために、大学の求めるものは何か。

【その他の質問】

-私たちは皆、卒業時に障壁や困難に直面する。あなたのキャリアと人生の目標に影響を与える可能性のある障壁は何だと思うか。

-性別を問わないトイレ、または誰でも使用できるトイレについて、これらの施設はどのくらい一般的だと思うか？トランスジェンダーの方々が比較的ストレスのない生活を送ることができるようにするには、社会にどのような変化を望むか。

The following question lists were asked to those who manages a LGBTQ circle,

Kanako and Hiromi.

【サークルについて】

- サークルの基本情報を教えてください。（人数や組織構成など）
- サークルでは映画鑑賞などの他にそのような活動をするか。
- サークルでは LGBTQ が過ごしやすいキャンパスにするための取り組みは何か。
- サークルでルールはあるか。あれば、作成の経緯とどの程度浸透しているのか教えてください。
- このサークルはどのように知り、なぜ参加を決めたか？また、なぜサークル長になることを決めたか？
- このサークルが LGBTQ と自認するメンバーやあなた自身をどのように助けられていると思うか。
- 大学からは支援があるか。あればそれはどんなものか。

The English translation was omitted to conform to the word limit.