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How higher education professionals support transgender survivors

of sexual assault

by

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ABSTRACT

The Obama Administration took important steps in extending civil rights and protections to the transgender community and even released the Dear Colleague Letter on Transgender Students in 2016 (Gupta and Lhamon). Despite the beginnings of this conversation, there are still very large gaps into which transgender students fall in Title IX compliance guidelines, let alone the educational system as a whole. It is approximated that 47% of transgender people have experienced or will experience acts of sexual violence (James et al, 2016) and Harris and Linder (2017) argue that most of these acts of violence are an exertion of power in direct response to the person’s identity as a transgender individual. Yet, transgender students are rarely included in conversations regarding campus sexual assault. This lack of connection between campus sexual assault and the transgender student community establishes a system in which implicit bias is not appropriately challenged. It is the intersection of the issues and their silencing that have left transgender students with few options for seeking support from the justice system or services such as crisis counseling and medical advocacy without high risks of revictimization and retraumatization (Marine, 2017). This paper will conduct in-depth interviews with higher education professionals as a tool to further identify the barriers transgender students face in reporting and seeking support to ultimately propose recommendations for supporting trans survivors of sexual assault.

INTRODUCTION

Since the Trump administration took office, there have been consistent attacks on transgender communities. The Department of Health and Human Services has redenified gender and could ultimately define ‘transgender’ out of legal existence (Green, Benner, Pear, 2018). The Department of Education under Betsy DeVos rescinded every Dear Colleague Letter to date, including the Dear Colleague Letter on transgender students (Green, 2018). In a recent interview, DeVos stated that she did, in fact, know this would harm trans students (Hutzler, 2019). Trans people have been denied access to serving in the military (Holden, 2019), among many other things. It is no doubt that the Trump Administration has made the trans community a central issue since the start.
Similar to politics, education systems also discriminate and enact violence against trans people. Academia rarely considers the unique needs of trans students. The truth is, administrators with gatekeeping powers do not put resources towards supporting our trans students. Administrators tend to be hesitant to allocate already limited funds to small populations of students. Trans people of color face higher rates of violence and marginalization in institutions like academia and thus may experience further distrust in the system or increased limitations to their ability to access higher education. Many schools do not collect demographic information on transgender students and, those that do, may see under-reporting. The low reporting of transgender identity may be due to a fear of being out to a system that has historically marginalized trans populations. Our trans students who are willing to push for change face extensive red tape and low precedent for success. When higher education professionals wait for a grassroots movement to take on the emotional energy of convincing us to do better, we are left in a state of complicity.

Title IX was established as part of the Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C §1681. In its federal mandate, the policy prohibits any form of sex discrimination within education systems receiving federal funding. In 2001 sex discrimination was expanded to cover sexual harassment (U.S. Department of Education) and then sexual violence in 2011 (Ali, 2011). The 2001 *Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance* specifically outlines that Title IX refers exclusively to sex discrimination rather than gender discrimination. It claims gender discrimination holds less weight than sex discrimination, therefore making it difficult to reach Title IX’s standard for triggering an intervention (p. v). Legal definitions of sex and gender are very unclear, but research shows that perception of gender is a leading factor in the majority of
sexual assaults against transgender individuals (Cook-Daniels, Munson, 2015). At its core, Title IX simplifies sexual harassment and sexual assault down to its most basic narrative that erases the nuances of violence and discrimination against the trans community. The pervasive imagery of the victimized white, cisgender woman attacked by the drunk, white cisgender man or dangerous cisgender man of color permeates much of the scholarship surrounding Title IX-regulated grievance policies and general survivor support services (Marine, 2017).

Trans survivors do not get to understand or identify their experience within that narrow imagery, also frequently referred to as a dominant narrative of sexual assault, due to the culturally accepted belief of who is affected by sexual assault (Fountain, Potter, and Stapleton, 2012). The narrative also influences service providers, and they tend to form things like crisis centers and similar resources with exclusive consideration to white women, meaning that the particular needs of marginalized communities are overlooked. Transgender anti-violence organizations have recently begun to challenge these imaginaries through data gathering and research. The 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey, a national survey that included responses from 27,715 transgender people, found that 47% of respondents reported experiencing sexual assault at least once in their lifetime. Of these respondents, those with American Indian, Middle Eastern, Black and multiracial backgrounds reported higher rates of sexual assault with Latina/o/x, White, and Asian respondents reported at slightly lower rates. After extensive research, I was able to find a single report on statistics for trans college sexual assault. The American Association of Universities (2015) conducted a nationwide campus climate survey in which 21% of trans respondents reported having experienced sexual assault while in college. My review of higher
education literature found a similar pattern in which trans survivors of sexual assault were either not considered or considered as an afterthought.

In an attempt to challenge this narrative, some researchers have considered various marginalized identities and their experiences with sexual assault. However, very little research has considered the specific needs of transgender survivors. Marine (2017) writes,

Campus administrators who wish to be fully inclusive of and supportive of trans* students must understand and respond effectively to trans* survivors of sexual violence, despite the fact that sexual violence against trans* students is rarely explored in research. (Marine, 2017, p. 84)

Across the interviews, every participant echoed this sentiment. Regardless of this recognition, though, there also seems to be a collective difficulty in identifying exactly how to support transgender students, most likely stemming from that lack of research. The dominant narrative effectively erases other identities and makes it extremely difficult for those in positions of privilege to identify all the gaps that a marginalized group falls into. Once we start to incorporate intersectionality into that, the picture may become even more muddied without clear guidance. Those who are disadvantaged by this structure may be able to name the structures precisely, but it also may be these same structures that prevent them from accessing a course of feedback to influence change. This is how a dominant narrative recreates itself.

Adult Learning Theory creates a pedagogical foundation for higher education program development, yet, its basic structure is not found in guidance for marginalized survivors of sexual assault. This theory identifies the importance of naming a problem, recommending a possible solution, and providing contextual guidance on ways to put the possible solution into action (The Principles of Adult Learning Theory, n.d.). The lack of research into trans survivors of college sexual assault coupled with a named struggle in how to best support them, I argue, has
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fractured the ability to create contextual guidance, thus drastically slowing down the process of raising advocacy and support for trans survivors. I will expand on Marine’s proposed solutions by analyzing the contextual guidance gathered in interviews and found in feminist scholarship outside of higher education research. Next, I will review established structures within higher education and, ultimately, propose solutions to challenge the dominant narrative and create a culture of critical frameworks within student affairs.

I would like to note that this approach does focus on a top-down power redistribution which inherently centers the voices of those in positions of privilege and power. I believe that revolutionary, structural change comes from grassroot organizing (Spade, 2011). If my interviewees have shown me anything it is that the individual professional can choose to do more for our trans students. It is our responsibility to center trans voices, and we cannot do that until we start to make room for them. The trans communities have done beautiful, incredible work to support themselves, like Forge’s Trans Sexual Violence Survivors: A Self-Help Guide to Healing and Understanding (Cook-Daniels, Munson, 2015). It is our duty to read these works, learn from our mistakes, and do better as individuals while we work to fix the system.

LIT REVIEW

In the course of this literature review I immediately recognized gaps in the research on transgender student experiences on college campuses. The lack of research meant that I focused more on interdisciplinary feminist scholarship rather than higher education research. Much of the higher education research on college sexual assault seemed to be influenced by the dominant narrative of sexual assault that perpetuated the single image of the ciswhite girl attacked by a
cisman. For this reason, the literature I cite in this paper focuses on findings and recommendations from broader research into sexual assault. The higher education research that I have chosen to incorporate either adds to the discussion of where to go from here or provides some necessary context on the current climate of the university setting. One piece of literature blended the two fields by directly considering the needs of trans college students and I will refer back to it frequently.

Outside of the university system, some authors have examined community based prevention methods to create recommendations on how to better support queer and trans survivors (Fountain, Potter, and Stapleton, 2012 and Aguilar, Cherre Palacios, 2017). Generally, these works have recommended a restructuring of support services that intentionally challenges the dominant narrative of sexual assault by centering marginalized voices. Fountain, Potter, and Stapleton (2012) recommend a separate training regarding intervention and prevention training for queer and trans survivors, but not to insulate the different communities from one another. They argue that while the complexities of the queer and trans communities require their own training, other prevention trainings need to provide examples of queer and trans survivors and begin the conversations. Through the casual inclusion of their narratives, service providers can rewrite the general public’s imaginary of who may experience sexual assault and what resources they may need.

In order for service providers to begin challenging the public perception of sexual assault, it is these same service providers who must begin to challenge it within themselves and their services. The National Center for Victims of Crime and the National Coalition of Anti-Violence (2010) published a joint policy report reviewing the administration of gender norms in victim
assistance programs. Data for this report was gathered by surveying victim assistance employees across the nation. The authors state that agencies “lack outreach to LGBT victims; lack staff LGBT cultural competence training; did not implement LGBT-specific victim services policies and practices; did not collaborate with LGBT-specific service providers; and were under-resourced to correct these barriers to LGBT-specific services” (pp. 9-10). Despite these findings, only 5% and 6% of transgender survivors reported experiencing discrimination when they attempted to access rape crisis centers and domestic violence shelters, respectively (Seelman, 2010). The low statistic of reported experiences of discrimination in victim services may reflect a fear of accessing resources. Past experiences with discrimination in institutionalized settings such as mental and physical health care systems may affect a person’s decision to reach out for help again (Cook-Daniels, Munson, 2015).

Policy makers responded to inequities within sexual assault services and passed anti-discrimination laws for transgender people in victim assistance programs. These policies were anticipated to better the services provided to trans survivors (Seelman, 2010); however, they were also critiqued by many feminist scholars. Spade (2011) uses a Critical Race Theory lens to problematize anti-discrimination and hate crime laws. Anti-discrimination policies exclusively target the outright discriminatory actions of an individual person and fail to account for implicit biases or the ways that policies and practices, both on the state and private level, disproportionately impact marginalized people. Instead, he urges that policy as change be executed in a manner that mimics the Miami’s Worker Center’s ‘Pillar of Policy’, one of the four Pillars of Social Justice Infrastructure. This framework for change effectively incorporates legislation and grassroots organizing to address the root of oppression and maldistribution of
resources. As a response to the dominant narrative, authors in *Intersections of Identity and Sexual Violence on Campus: Centering Minoritized Students’ Experiences* propose forward movement that is reminiscent of these four pillars. Iverson (2017) addresses policies regarding sexual violence and explores recommendations for approaching the university policies from an intersectional lens. In another chapter, Palacios and Aguilar (2017) cover the other three pillars with their discussion of increasing on-campus support services that address the needs of marginalized communities, preventative education that challenges rape myths, and providing community power through empowering advocate and prevention services.

Spade (2011) cites Alan Freeman’s idea of the “perpetrator perspective” as it attempts to construct equality in the law. Spade writes, “The conditions that created and continue to reproduce such immense disparities are made invisible by the perpetrator's perspective’s insistence that any consideration of the prohibited category is equally damaging” (p. 43). This is the idea that because no consideration is given to identity groups, the law is now neutral, fair, and completely equal. This colorblind (arguably also difference blind) approach promotes the idea that the work is done, allowing systems to promote equality while still enacting violence upon marginalized communities. It changes language, but not impact, and frequently makes life easier only for the more privileged in the community. In higher education’s recent history, there have been legal instances in which policy makers explicitly listed or generally referred to particular identity groups, such as with race in Affirmative Action. Privileged communities who feel as though practices like Affirmative Action negatively impact their opportunities have long opposed these policies. This attack on attempted redistribution may further the incentive to write
policies and recommendations, such as Lake’s (2013) approach to higher education law discussed below, that are blind to identity.

Further, Spade (2011) emphasizes the need to focus on the root of problems regarding maldistribution of resources rather than building treatments for its symptoms. Approaches intended to address the root of sexual assault usually result in the creation of prevention trainings and methods that prioritize proactive education and intervention practices. However, Harris and Linder (2017) argue that, due to the dominant narrative and the institutionalization of many of these practices, the prevention opportunities at work now have increasingly become complicit in recreating the problem. Further, they argue that many college-based prevention trainings also take on victim blaming approaches. This is evident in Lake’s (2013) example of a female college student who parties too much as needing to assume responsibility in her own risk management for sexual assault. Shortly after this, he writes, “students themselves are usually the best first agents of safety. Colleges can do their part; so must the students” (p. 252). While a student may benefit from taking responsibility for their safe consumption of alcohol, the claim that a female student should party or use alcohol less to protect herself from sexual assault is both victim blaming and reinforcing of the dominant narrative of sexual assault.

Centering marginalized voices has, as of late, become a hot topic in higher education student affairs; however, practitioners seem to struggle with how to apply it in a manner that is actually equitable and empowering (Patton, 2016). Patton analyzes the work universities have done in an attempt to enhance the recognition of community members of color. She finds that these approaches only further emphasize the gap of resources, sometimes proving to recreate it, and tend to focus on the satisfactory feelings white people experience while partaking in these
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initiatives. As a white student affairs practitioner myself, I have seen how this feeling of satisfaction can easily drive the initiatives, focusing on compliance with racial anti-discrimination standards (legal or social) rather than social justice work itself. The fear higher education administrators have of litigation if they are alleged to have fallen short of compliance standards has resulted in

a noticeable shift from prioritizing developmental or educational outcomes to reacting only to meet the basics of compliance and protect the institution from liability… Lost in the race to compliance is attention to learning. (O’Bannion, 2018, pp. 160-161)

O’Bannion argues that this fear was built from a lack of clear standards and expectations, which has born what Lake titled the “Compliance University,” or a university focused solely on checking compliance boxes.

Lake (2013), a higher education legal scholar, identified the facilitator university as both the response to the compliance university and an assessment of higher education’s current legal landscape. This structure is unique in that it shares responsibility for student behavior with the student. University officials must be accountable for the demographics of their student body, assess possibility for risk, and offer an educational framework to hopefully litigate any risk before it happens. While this structure appears to prioritize student development opportunities with the secondary goal of offsetting university liability, make no mistake that risk management and the protections this offers the school are the primary focus of a facilitator university.

Interestingly, Lake’s sole mention of cultural diversity builds to his argument that student populations are no longer generalizable and the university recognizes the “tendencies of its populations but ultimately seeks to empower students” (p. 259). Guidance like this, on the surface, may appear as knowledgeable of cultural equality, but offers the very real implication of
prejudices in risk assessment and management. This calls back to Spade’s (2011) use of the perpetrator’s perspective and his argument of the failures of anti-discrimination policy which both allow practices that appear to be color- or difference-blind to remain unchallenged.

Sidestepping identity while recommending a process that would ideally be more equitable for students creates ambiguity that is difficult for practitioners to break down, thus becoming more difficult to apply. Even higher education literature that dares to name inequities in the field struggles to identify contextual responses to the issue, or even recreates identity-blindness in recommendations (Ingarfield, Monohan-Kreishman, 2018). Ambiguity defies the basic principle of adult learning theory which states that adults:

are interested in approaching tasks directly related to their occupation. To thrive in most learning environments, they must be clear on how each lesson fits into their goals for self-advancement (The Principles of Adult Learning Theory, n.d.).

If critical work on how to better support services for trans students is only found in scholarship that assesses community organizations rather than education organizations, a student affairs practitioner may not be incentivized to parse through this knowledge. However, the lack of clarity in identity-blind recommendations may similarly disengage the practitioner, leaving nowhere for them to go to receive guidance.

**METHODOLOGY**

In order to gather data on the experience of trans college students wishing to report their experience with sexual violence, I elected to do semistructured interviews with higher education professionals. Semistructured interviews, when used in conjunction with an interview guide, allow for a set agenda, yet offer space for adaptation based on the answers provided by
interviewees (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Since adequate background knowledge could be gathered prior to interviews, I decided to create an interview guide that immediately focused on the data I was hoping to gather. I began the guide with an overview of the process each professional underwent when working with students and then focused on considerations for identity-specific support.

After receiving Institutional Review Board approval, I began the process of selecting university sites and interview pools. The choice of particular universities initially began as a desire to compare and contrast particular variables within institutional characteristics. Ultimately, I elected instead to broaden the pool of professional positions represented. I decided upon this as my research question aims to describe the general application of support services and the ways higher education professionals support trans people.

The one restriction placed on this interview pool, however, was as follows: interviewees must currently hold a position that, per the job description, is defined as intentionally working with student survivors of sexual violence on a higher education campus. The word “intentionally” is meant to highlight the nuances of mandatory reporting, establishing an unpredictable relationship with student survivors, rather than positions such as conduct investigators or Title IX coordinators through which a job description would establish a predictable and consistent relationship with student survivors. This selection process was originally intended for positions within the adjudication process on college campuses, such as conduct investigators, hearing officers, campus police officers, and any campus affiliated medical providers. Upon further reflection, instigated by Spade’s (2011) critical lens towards anti-discrimination policy, I began to ask myself whether white supremacist roots might be complicit in an approach focused
entirely on public policy. Thus, I expanded the interview pool to include other professionals in
community-based support services, such as campus-based confidential advocates.

The selection process resulted in my interviewing nine current professionals on college
campuses across the nation. While I had originally intended to interview a higher number of
professionals, the window for this process coincided with Sexual Assault Awareness Month. As
such, the professions whom I had hoped to interview were at capacity with other events and
subsequently unable to participate. The final interview pool consisted of conduct officers, Title
IX coordinators, campus police officers, confidential advocates and LGBT support specialists. A
few of the professionals held multiple position titles that fit under more than one of these
categories.

Upon analysis, several themes emerged from the interviews. I utilized these themes to
develop eight different categories of analysis, or codes, and from this to create recommendations
to better support trans survivors. The codes were as follows: Title IX process, Title IX critiques,
instances of systemic control, active policy working in conjunction with Title IX,
identity-specific support, the choice to use complainant versus survivor as labels, areas
professionals would like to do more, and where to go from here. Each instance of these codes
were compared to one another and used to form the analysis section of this paper and develop
three recommendations I present in the conclusion. These recommendations were built with the
foundation of adult learning theory in mind. It is my hope that offering more accessible
recommendations will result in a higher rate of trans-specific support. I will send the report of
these findings, along with my own policy recommendations, to those professionals across the
nation who were kind enough to spend time talking with me.
Throughout the process of this paper, I have had to critically consider my positionality as a white, cisgender woman. I felt it very important to be mindful about which voices I was highlighting and how I was doing so. Due to limitations with interview pools and the nature of the topic at hand, I was incapable of conducting interviews with transgender survivors who went through the process of reporting in a higher education institution. I ultimately decided to design my project plan for this thesis so as to focus on the voices of higher education professionals, what they are doing to center trans experiences, and where the field as a whole could be going further. Due to my position as a current student affairs student employee and aspirations to continue in this field professionally, there are times where I am biased towards the institution of higher education and am probably also rendered complicit to its harmful structures. Further, my own positionality worked in very complex ways due to my conflicting student employee positions in residence life and Dean of Students office. Working in the Dean of Students office means that I interact with and am mentored by professionals overseeing the conduct processes on a daily basis. This has established a particular trust in the system and the employees behind adjudication decisions. Alternatively, as a Resident Assistant and Academic Mentor, I also have provided first responder support in cases of sexual assault and domestic violence. I have been the person to whom students come with feelings of malaise regarding the system and have felt anger when the cases did not go the way we felt they should have. It is a back and forth that requires constant awareness.

FINDINGS + ANALYSIS
Three major themes emerged from the analysis: trans-specific support, survivor agency, and approaches to policy. In the first section, I discuss the theme of trans-specific support and explore the practices that higher education professionals employ and transgender anti-violence organizations recommend. In the section on agency I explore the desire of interviewees to retain survivor’s agency while they grapple with a system that very easily takes it away. Lastly, I examine the varying opinions across interviewees, and sometimes within an individual, on policy and its effectiveness for supporting marginalized students receiving support for sexual assault. Collectively, these findings demonstrate that the majority of the support for trans students is being done through retroactively adapting Title IX to increase its consideration of marginalized students.

Trans Specific Support

The separation between support services and conduct processes was the most prominent finding upon my analysis of the interviews. In the Title IX-dictated, conduct-related work, professionals in positions from Title IX coordinators to hearing officers commented that they were limited in their ability to support marginalized identities. Seven of the respondents worked in this particular area of higher education and all seven highlighted that identity-specific support came from the resources that advocates and counselors could offer. Confidential advocates are not dictated by compliance standards and typically develop a relationship with survivors that allows them to recognize the ways the assault interacts with their positionality. Title IX’s focus on gender as an insulated identity has created a process that lacks a necessary intersectional lens.

In response to the lack of consideration for the complexity of identity, one conduct officer developed a very unique relationship with the confidential advocates. She said that
confidential advocates “help [survivors] advocate for their various intersectional identities in a way that's impactful and that I can hear because I can be tone deaf sometimes like I am missing a piece... I'm trying to think of an example. ‘I need to be able to go into this room at this particular time because that's a huge part of my religion. It doesn't have anything to do with our relationship but I can't go there because [the perpetrator is] next door and it makes me feel apprehensive.’” The survivor in this example was Muslim and attempted to access a prayer room. The conduct officer was only able to recognize and consider this particularity while making sanctions when the advocate helped the survivor express the need. In this relationship between advocate and conduct officer, not only was the advocate a resource to offset some of the pressure the survivor may feel to advocate for themselves, but also served as an equal throughout the process. The advocate offered a lens through which the conduct officer could correct implicit biases in order to remain accountable to the needs of marginalized survivors. The advocate’s role also offered the survivor a way to share their story without putting so much of the onus on the survivor to speak for themselves, which was a recurring concern brought up by interviewees across all positions.

Two conduct officers said that they were aware of the need for better resources geared towards marginalized survivors and offered critiques regarding preemptive approaches to do so. One challenged the possibility of pre-planned resources for survivors with marginalized identities. She argued that it could be problematic to assume that because someone may have a certain marginalized identity we can predict what resources they will need. Instead, she pushed for the “ask them” approach in which the conduct officer takes the time to learn the individual story of this student to understand how the sexual assault affected them. This approach would
allow for the student to understand how some identities may have been impacted more than others. It is an opportunity for a student to claim agency over their identities and their experiences after so much of their agency was stripped of them. Another conduct officer worried that resources planned in response to a general need of one particular group of people may limit the ability for service providers to imagine people of other marginalized identities also benefiting from it. She provided the example that many white students were able to afford legal representation through the process while students of color rarely were able to do so. She argued that, even so, being white does not mean they should be overlooked in resources for legal representation. Students may face similar barriers to access if they come from poor or working class backgrounds or may have limited funds due to being cut off from family after coming out as queer or trans. In this framework, the resource would be developed based off of a recognized community need and then offered to all survivors.

According to my interviews with higher education professionals, the struggle that many face when supporting transgender survivors proves to be a reflection of the dominant narrative, small populations of trans students, who is imagined by the dominant narrative to experience sexual assault, and therefore who is allowed access resources. When I asked the queer and trans support specialist about barriers to equitable resource distribution, he cited the small population of trans students. Administrators lose sight of student support in favor of a more business-like model which causes them to be hesitant towards allocating their limited resources to small populations. The confidential advocate, the support specialist, and two of the conduct officers said that obvious support from the university as a whole, not just through survivor support systems, would increase trans survivor’s desire to report their experiences. Demonstrating trans
competency on a larger scale could show trans college students that both the support and reporting processes would be more skilled in appropriately responding to their experience. Many universities have started this work through opening resource centers or instituting trainings like Safe Zone, an online resource that provides curriculum for LGBT allyship trainings, or contracting with Green Dot, an organization that provides college campuses resources for sexual assault prevention founded in social justice efforts.

Through my analysis of the interviews, examples of how the dominant narrative affects trans college students emerged. The two interviewees in queer and trans identity support positions mirrored much of what I found in the literature regarding the dominant narrative of sexual assault as it promotes images of the cisgender white girl assaulted by a cisgender man. Both argued that this narrative sometimes stripped queer and trans survivors of the agency to even understand their own experience. In many cases, this narrative also affected survivor’s ability to reach out and receive help because support systems were built with this dominant narrative in mind. When trans survivors are able to identify their experience and seek out support, their identity as a trans individual is not accounted for by the professionals tasked with supporting them. One of the confidential advocates said, “I worked with a [trans] student who went through reporting with [campus police] and the student described their body using a certain set of terms and in an effort to seek clarity and understanding the investigator asked questions that triggered the student around their body dysphoria and really harmed the investigation and the students trust in that system.” Additionally, a queer and trans support specialist and the confidential advocate discussed the way a Sexual Assault Nurse Examiner (SANE) may prepare for a SANE exam based on the listed gender identity on a form. The nurse may prepare for a
particular set of body parts which may create similar possibilities for body dysphoria. In both examples, the reporting student was able to access resources only to have staff and support processes not know how to account for their trans identity. Trans-incompetence such as this causes harm that can increase the risk of, or directly cause, retraumatization.

The most important thing I gathered from interviewees’ accounts were the variety of insights these professionals have collectively developed to support their work with transgender survivors. Aside from the two interviewees who work in queer and trans support services, the interviewees overall displayed uncertainty in how to best support trans survivors. Three professionals agreed to an interview with the caveat that they had never worked with a trans survivor (which was the second most common reason for people to turn down interview requests, the first being the overlap with Sexual Assault Awareness Month). All nine interviewees expressed that more needs to be done for trans survivors and two even stated that these interviews had them considering what more could be done. Despite this, all nine interviewees also had developed important practices to better support the trans student population.

Those in queer and trans support services and confidential advocacy discussed the importance of listing trans specific resources, both on and off campuses. This looked like revising mass-produced resource lists to include trans-specific resources, along with resources for other marginalized communities. One confidential advocate explained their process for connecting survivors to resources: “I'll ask about their identity a little bit and see if that's an important consideration for them when discussing possible support services and resources for them.” This approach accounts for intersectional identities in that a survivor is provided the agency to claim which identity, or identities, feels most relevant in the moment to receive
specific support. The same advocate also emphasized the importance of setting realistic expectations for identity specific support through an evaluation of pros and cons. Additionally, Marine (2017) and one of the queer and trans support specialists both complicated the placement of sexual assault resources within a gendered facility such as women’s resource centers, an approach utilized across the nation. A Title IX coordinator recognized this issue herself and discussed her prioritization of a confidential advocate located within LGBT resource centers who had particular knowledge and training around the needs of this group.

All four Title IX Coordinators identified the limits of Title IX in offering support to survivors. These professionals frequently discussed the current proposed guidelines and its recreation of the criminal justice system during investigations into alleged violations. Many marginalized communities, especially people of color and trans people of color, are disproportionately targeted and are frequently victimized by criminal justice procedures. The shift in policy could further limit the safety and desire of students in these communities to reach out for support. All four of the Title IX coordinators also brought up the pressure they experience to remain completely neutral. One of the coordinators even shared an anecdote she had heard about another coordinator who was found to be biased during a Title IX lawsuit because they had “something in their office about Sexual Assault Awareness Month or believing a survivor”.

Despite this concern, Title IX coordinators proved very knowledgeable about the needs of marginalized survivors.

Agency

When interviewees discussed what they wanted to improve regarding Title IX, retaining the agency of survivors was the most prominent concern. Respondents identified agency as the
largest barrier to offering students support. The current system requires survivors to reach out and speak about their experience in order to receive any help. This is a step that necessitates a lot of emotional energy and may prevent a student from reporting. Multiple conduct officers knew this was the biggest problem they had with Title IX, but were unsure how else to structure support services. A Title IX coordinator took that as initiative to provide numerous confidential advocates in a variety of identity-specific spaces. Interestingly, the campus security officer cited a number of practices his department utilized to increase feelings of agency such as coming to the survivor so the survivor may remain in a space they feel safe, holding off on information gathering until the survivor was offered and provided support from advocates or personal support systems, and allowing the survivor to lead the reporting. Many of the interviewees, however, were grappling with this idea of agency in a much more general sense throughout the entire process and named school-specific variables that took this agency away, such as high rates of institutional betrayal, large populations of online students, and low funding for confidential advocates.

Additionally, the confidential advocate, the support specialist, and the campus security officer aligned with much of the literature in recommending practices that do not put the responsibility on the trans survivor to advocate for their own needs. While the other interviewees did not necessarily state this outright themselves, much of what they advocated for and many of their individually developed practices exemplified this. For example, the interviewees allowed the trans survivor to be the first to identify their own body parts. Doing this respected the term that the survivor feels comfortable using, lowering the chances of triggering body dysphoria, and
subsequently the chances for retraumatization. Asking for pronouns and preferred name was another key, yet simple, practice employed by interviewees.

Beyond the use of language, the support specialist and the confidential advocate discussed the importance of allowing survivor autonomy over what resources they access because of the high rates of trans incompetency in these services. It is important to allow space for this, even if you as the professional know that a particular resource is trans competent (Cook-Daniels, Munson, 2015). Many of these services are small parts of a larger system in which trans students have experienced transphobia and trans incompetence. This may be especially pertinent for transwomen, trans survivors of color, undocumented trans survivors, or trans survivors with disabilities (Seelman, 2015). Seelman writes, “In general, those with other marginalized identities tend to experience increased risk for unequal treatment related to their transgender or gender-nonconforming identity” (p. 318). Since many campus support services are housed within individual identity resource centers, like an LGBT resource center or a multicultural resource center, possibility for transphobia, racism, or ableism cannot be ignored. Similar to the Title IX coordinator who employed a confidential advocate through the LGBT resource center, advocates should also be employed in other centers. Additionally, these resource centers need to establish strong connections between cousin centers and incorporate intersectional practices within themselves.

Policy

Professionals across all positions expressed conflicting feelings about the use of policy to better support marginalized students, and a few held conflicting feelings within themselves. Five of the respondents echoed Spade’s (2011) problematization of addressing discrimination and
power differentials through anti-discrimination policy and hate crime laws. Policy written in this manner inappropriately separated the actions of an individual from societal power structures. It placed the responsibility on the victim to prove the discrimination and mistakenly assumed that this language was enough to equalize the system. Five professionals I interviewed, regardless of position, said that policy should not be our go-to response to discrepancies with Title IX. Interestingly, each of the interviewees that took this stance also claimed that anti-discrimination or anti-harassment policies are important. One support specialist identified that it is always helpful to have federal legislation legitimize particular identities, regardless of how supportive the policy actually is. Additionally, a conduct officer said,

The language used around harassment and how intention defines it should be broad in terms of what it encompasses, because… we shouldn't ignore a person that's being harassed based on the glasses they wear simply because it's not covered federally so we're not gonna do anything.... And so if you wanna spell out some [identities] very clearly, great. My concern is there’s something that you're gonna miss if you try to spell every specific category out. Rather, have these broader things so that you can address the way people are treated, and maintain their access to education.

These interview findings demonstrated that policy cannot solve all of our problems of improper distribution of resources, and yet also conveyed a theme that to some degree continuing a system of anti-discrimination policy is the most equitable thing that can be done. Anti-discrimination policies can provide necessary protections, but may offer more to a conduct officer who can use the policy for educational opportunities than the person it is meant to protect.

All of the conduct officers demonstrated a pattern of taking it upon themselves to do the right thing whether or not it was mandated by policy. One believed it necessary to find respondents responsible for their actions under individual university policy when a case fell outside of Title IX parameters. A second conduct officer argued that his job was to facilitate
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educational opportunities around behavior, so whether or not an act was sufficient to be considered a policy violation would not dictate his responsibility to discuss the incident with the respondent. A third conduct officer, interestingly, discussed how the policies we need would be interpreted by white people as taking resources away from them which would affect their ability to be passed. He uses this understanding as motivation to incorporate a critical lens, and necessary identity-specific support in his practices without waiting for policy to require it. This works for these professionals, and it seems to work well, but I wonder if others in similar positions have the knowledge and skill set to do the same. If not, we need to consider the possibilities for reaching that place.

Confidential advocacy as a concept has come up very frequently through this paper and it is important to analyze effective advocacy programs. Title IX in its application requires responsible employees who are charged with reporting any case of sexual assault or domestic violence that is made aware to them. Recently, there has been a documented rise in the number of positions universities are designating as responsible employees, now placing these responsibilities on almost the entire faculty and staff (Holland, Cortina, and Freyd, 2017). Students who are unaware of who is a mandatory reporter or what they are allowed to share before reporting processes are triggered can experience a loss of their agency once again when their story is shared to officials. Advocates serve as a way to give back the agency to these survivors by insulating support and reporting processes from one another when possible. The state of Oregon has a unique set of legislation referred to as the “Privileged and Confidential Law for Campus Based Advocacy” that requires higher education institutions to employ confidential advocates (Certified Advocate-Victim Privilege, 2017). While many schools are
beginning to incorporate this regardless of legislation, it is not consistent everywhere, and a large number of schools have not made forward movement.

Without legislative backing, there seems to be a struggle in securing institutional funding to employ advocates in the way the Oregon system has designed. One interviewee, and many school officials around the country, have applied for and received grants to have a confidential advocate from a local organization work part time on their campus. I would argue that this is an incredibly important transition in the right direction. However, I would challenge this as a completely developed practice, as community based organizations may not have the same knowledge of Title IX conduct processes, college-based support systems, and the unique needs of college students. It is also common that schools rely on counseling services to provide resources similar to confidential advocates. These structures are well-intentioned, but frequently ineffective. First and foremost, a counselor may be able to provide treatment for trauma, but is more than likely not trained nor has capacity to support a survivor through the Title IX conduct system or the criminal justice system. Secondly, whether or not a school offers free access to counseling services, this messaging may not make its way to the student appropriately, leaving them with a barrier to access if they do not have health care or are low income. Variables such as cultural beliefs around mental health may create internal barriers for a student in need of these resources. Additionally, marginalized students may face barriers in access due to past experience with medical providers based on their marginalized identity or due to status as an undocumented person.

Looking further at Oregon’s “Privileged and Confidential Law for Campus Based Advocacy” I would argue it is a responsible example of how policy can address these
discrepancies (Certified Advocate-Victim Privilege, 2017). It is not a piece of legislation that mandates particular treatment or support for marginalized identities. Instead, this was an idea that developed in response to recognized gaps in the system through which many marginalized survivors fell. This is the difference between anti-discrimination laws and the start of redistribution. During an interview, a conduct officer said of Title IX, “It’s a way for people to get their problems fixed, not for the system to fix its own problems.” Policy reform has the possibility to examine the system in detail and begin to fill some of the gaps through action-oriented provision of resources. As we see with the Confidential Law, universities in Oregon must fund confidential advocates on campus. However, other universities are struggling to recreate this same process without the pressure to establish internal funding. This demonstrates that while we may lose some key resources by pushing these ideas through legislative processes, it also necessitates the institution’s implementation. Which, again, leads us to the question: How do we establish a culture of going beyond compliance requirements to do what needs to be done?

**CONCLUSION**

Through the process of conducting this research, I began to notice the ways that higher education literature and the practices I observed around me had settled comfortably within standards of compliance. When Spade (2011) discussed the dangers of assuming that anti-discrimination laws would level the power differentials between identity groups, it seemed to me that he was also talking about higher education’s tendency to rely on compliance trainings (the generalized presentation of broad sweeping experiences held by one insulated identity) and
their satisfactory feelings as a response to the call for centering marginalized voices. In a field that actively promotes theories of adult learning, we seemed to have lost this approach. Perhaps ideas of risk management and liability insurance rampant in this field clouded our processes for critical analysis and problem solving. Perhaps the combination of positions of privilege and internal motivations to help people caused us to become so scared of harming others again that we rushed into the first solution we saw. Whatever the reason, we did not slow down long enough to apply a critical lens to our policies and practices. Without it, we were unable to establish the basic tenets of our own models for learning: the contextual guidance we can put into practice today which leaves many to figure it for themselves. If my analysis of the interviews proved anything, it is that some practitioners in this field have figured it out and it is time we highlight that knowledge.

In this paper, I identified the problematic existence of the dominant narrative of campus sexual assault, argued that its reinforcement was due to a lack in contextual and actionable guidance (a key component of adult learning theory), and ultimately developed the missing guidance through an analysis of literature and interviews. The analysis above is meant to serve as a continuation of all the work that transgender survivors have done to put their voices out there and the emotional labor that current professionals have gone through to get to this point. I simply analyzed it with the goal of contextualizing it in a clear and manageable way. From the same tenets of adult learning theory I used to re-address gaps in literature and practices, I have also developed three recommendations for where to go from here. The following recommendations focus on trans survivors due to the scope of the paper, but many trans people have compounded marginalization therefore it is imperative that sexual assault resources center all marginalized
identities. Additionally, these recommendations are a pathway to aide in a more bottom-up approach to disrupt institutionalized systems. It is my hope that the critical lens that accompanies a professional’s desire to do more for our marginalized students than the basic standards of compliance would also be applied to these recommendations.

#1: Practices for Trans-Specific Support

Trans survivors require particular competencies that other cultural groups may not. Sexual assault is perceived to be an attack on a person’s body fueled by gender relations. Again, research shows that the majority of sexual assaults against trans individuals have to do with the perception of their gender identity as trans (Cook-Daniels, Munson, 2015). This introduces a unique element of gender violence that requires care and attention during the reporting or support processes. Even if it was not a leading factor, the procedures in practice now can center the survivor’s identity as trans in a way that causes retraumatization.

Best practices include: start interviews with survivors by asking names and pronouns. Do not assume the gender of the offender or allow the gender of the offender to mitigate your understanding of the assault. Avoid assumption of body parts based off of gender identity and allow the survivor to name their parts in the way they are comfortable. If there is confusion with what parts the survivor is referring to, work collaboratively with the advocates to clarify so as to avoid triggering gender or body dysphoria. Most importantly, do not wait for a survivor to identify themselves as trans to incorporate these processes. Waiting until the survivor outs themselves to provide appropriate support runs the risk of hurting the relationship despite the services ultimately provided and may show the survivor their needs are difficult to accommodate.
in the first place. These are simple practices that should be implemented from the beginning of a reporting or support process for every survivor.

Confidential advocates need to be located within all resource centers, not just women’s resource centers, and know how to effectively safety plan with trans survivors. By isolating the confidential advocates, the school is sending a message about who experiences sexual assault no matter how much advertising says otherwise. This requires resource centers for the LGBT community, people of color, parents, international students, undocumented students, disabled students, houseless students, etc. Even if a survivor is a woman and would feel comfortable entering a women’s resource center, they may have stronger ties with a community surrounding another aspect of their identity and that could be the deciding factor in reaching out for help. These confidential advocates should be employed by the university and have specialized training for college campuses. When advocates are safety planning, they should also prioritize asking what needs to be accounted for when reviewing pros and cons of different resources or options for support. For trans survivors, and other target populations, it is better to set realistic expectations about what a resource can or cannot do so as to avoid retraumatization or betrayal.

The professionals in sexual assault support services must also incorporate the presence of trans students and queer relationships into their prevention training efforts, their advertising, and their mass resource lists. Advertisements for spaces should have pictures of queer couples and something that outright states consideration of trans individuals. Prevention trainings that utilize examples should take care to include queer couples and trans individuals, as both perpetrator and survivor. It is especially vital to consider intersectional identities through these examples, with examples that are identity-specific, and applying careful consideration as to how these people are
being represented. Beyond this, prevention trainings also need to incorporate the experiences of marginalized communities in relation to sexual assault as a thread throughout rather than a single slide or side note. Trainings that focus on one particular identity should not replace the importance of inclusion in other trainings. Lastly, if the university produces mass publications of resources for sexual assault or domestic violence then the lists should include trans competent or specific resources.

Just as prevention trainings must center marginalized voices, so too should the trainings of the professionals in sexual assault support services. Often, the only identity-specific trainings that campus officials get are one-off cultural competency trainings that are typically done by outside companies. These companies tend to have a lack of understanding as to the nuances of how marginalized identities fall through the cracks in higher education. One of the conduct officer interviewees had developed an incredibly powerful form of training for his employees. Employees met monthly for more training and he would sometimes bring in survivors of different identities to speak on their experience with sexual assault and the services provided to them. Most often, he would develop a fact pattern (a fictional case created for training purposes) and asked the employees in the meeting what considerations they would take, how they would support the student, and how they would recommend going forward. These fact patterns highlight the experiences of marginalized identities and allow the employees to discuss with experts how to best support everyone. This practice fractures the dominant narrative possibly held by everyone involved. Trainings should also incorporate the recommendations above for trans-specific support and identity-specific support for other marginalized identities not discussed here.
#2: Reassessing the Effectiveness of Title IX

Lake (2013) argues that the Bystander University is an outdated form of legal structure. However, the language of this legal framework is still present today in Title IX. In the bystander university, the institution is only responsible for education inside the classroom. Further, student behavior is not the university’s responsibility until officials become sufficiently aware that it is affecting the classroom environment or access to education. Title IX exhibits language that mirrors this legal approach. The Department of Education’s website states,

A school will be in violation of Title IX if the school "has notice" of a sexually hostile environment and fails to take immediate and appropriate corrective action. A school has notice if it actually knew, or in the exercise of reasonable care, should have known about the harassment. In addition, as long as an agent or responsible employee of the school received notice, the school has notice. (Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972)

Placing the responsibility of reporting on a possibly traumatized student is a concern that two of the conduct officers brought up as an issue they took with Title IX. A university may not be aware of a specific instance of sexual assault without the student’s report. However, given the current climate of the #MeToo movement and staggeringly high statistics for college sexual assault, universities can no longer turn a blind eye and pretend that if they do not know about it then it is not happening. If the Title IX process is written to ensure continued access to education, and the most basic foundation of its system renders it inaccessible to marginalized communities, Title IX then determines who is allowed to access education and who is not.

The transition away from a bystander university necessitates a transition away from Title IX. This is not to say that we no longer need what Title IX promises, but that Title IX itself is an outdated policy. Allowing in-office presidential cabinets to define the guidance puts Title IX and all the students it is meant to help at the whim of whichever person is in office at the time. Under
the current administration, the people in positions of power over the Dear Colleague Letters have proven themselves to be rapists and rape apologists. Rapists and rape apologists should not be in charge of sexual assault grievance and support policies. Further, research shows that the consistent release of new Dear Colleague Letters littered with unclear guidance has created a fear of failing compliance tests among higher education professionals (O’Bannion, 2018). Something new should be drafted in Title IX’s place that accepts shared responsibility with the student for an issue that we know is on our campuses.

#3: A New Kind of Facilitator University

Lake’s (2013) legal theory of the facilitator university, the legal landscape that higher education currently exists within, offers potential to be an answer to our problems. To start, there are some concerning aspects to the facilitator university as it has been developed within Lake’s book. Foundationally, these concerns in programmatic development most likely can be tied back to its promise in what it can offer the university and not the student. This is most telling through its focus on facilitation as a tool for risk management and lowering the university’s liability. My application of the facilitator university would necessitate the replacement of risk management with accountable prevention and would be built out of a pedagogy of social justice. This facilitator university recognizes that the university and its officials must take shared responsibility of student behavior. Focusing on student behavior requires us to see the student as a human, in the context of their lives and their identities, and not as a tool to avoid liability. Survivors and their experiences should be considered in the context of their identities and the cultural climate of violence against their communities, such as trans women of color who are disproportionately targeted by violence. This means survivor support services like confidential
advocacy need to be competent and available to all students, those who adjudicate cases must be aware of who experiences violence and sexual violence, and all involved in these services require training that centers marginalized voices. Further research should examine how restorative justice fits into this model of a facilitator university.

The research in this paper shows that we cannot establish proper resources for trans survivors of sexual assault until we begin to challenge that dominant narrative on a micro and macro level. However, it is not just trans students who suffer from this dominant narrative, and there is not only a dominant narrative around sexual assault. Challenging one means challenging all. In order to make a shift towards a social justice-focused facilitator university, student affairs practitioners need clear, contextual guidance. Centering marginalized voices is not identity training once a year. Fostering a critical and social justice framework is not a single required sociology course. These need to come as a foundational value to all aspects of the university.


Certified Advocate-Victim Privilege (2017), ORS 40.264


Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, 20 U.S.C A§1681