

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS in the United States

AUTHORS:

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OVERVIEW

Gender identities that fall outside of the man-woman binary are represented in the scientific and popular literatures, using terms such as *nonbinary*, *gender fluid*, and *genderqueer*.¹ Just as both transgender and cisgender² people use binary identities (i.e., *man*, *woman*), both transgender and cisgender people use nonbinary gender identities. Researchers have found that there are key differences between binary and nonbinary identified transgender people that are relevant to understanding health and well-being, such as higher rates of depression but lower rates of mental health care usage among nonbinary people.³ Far less is known about people who identify with a nonbinary identity who are not transgender. This research brief provides demographics and descriptive statistics on the economic status and health of transgender and cisgender nonbinary LGBTQ adults ages 18-60 years old. See, Methods Note for information about the sampling design and the studies from which these data originate.

¹ Barsigian, L. L., Hammack, P. L., Morrow, Q. J., Wilson, B. D. M., & Russell, S. T. (2020). Narratives of gender, sexuality, and community in three generations of genderqueer sexual minorities. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 7(3), 276–292. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000384

² We use the term *nonbinary* as an umbrella term including other similar personal identities such as *genderqueer*. We use the term cisgender both to refer to those whose sex assigned at birth is the same as their current gender identity and "as a positive identification of a non-trans* identity" (B. Aultman (2014, May 1). Cisgender. TSQ, 1(1–2): 61–62. doi: 10.1215/23289252-2399614). In this study, respondents labeled "cis" or "cisgender" identified as nonbinary in the survey and reported the same sex assigned at birth (e.g., female) as their current gender (e.g., woman) in contrast with transgender people, who identified their current gender as different than their sex assigned at birth. We recognize that this inclusion of cisgender nonbinary-identified people may differ from social and political movement work, which sometimes includes all nonbinary people under the transgender umbrella term.

³ Reisner SL, Hughto JMW. Comparing the health of non-binary and binary transgender adults in a statewide non-probability sample. PLoS One. 2019;14(8):e0221583. Published 2019 Aug 27. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0221583

FINDINGS

About 11% of the LGBTQ adults (age 18-60 years) identify as nonbinary in terms of their gender. While nonbinaryidentified people are among both cisgender and transgender LGBTQ populations, they make up a larger proportion of the transgender population than of the cisgender LGBQ adult population (Table 1).

Table 1. Nonbinary LGBTQ adult population estimates

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS AGES 18 - 60		
% (95% CI*) of LGBTQ adult population	11.1 (9.3, 13.2)	
% (95% CI) of cis LGBQ adults	7.5 (5.9, 9.5)	
% (95% CI) of transgender adult population (across sexual orientations)	32.1 (24.8, 40.4)	
Number of nonbinary LGBTQ adults in the U.S., including transgender and cisgender people (N [95% Cl])	1,219,000 (1,000,000; 1,481,000)	

^{*} CI = Confidence Interval

CHARACTERISTICS OF NONBINARY PEOPLE

The majority of nonbinary LGBTQ adults are young, urban, and born in the U.S. In terms of race/ethnicity identity (Table A.1), respondents identified as White (58%) multiracial (16%), Latinx (15%), and Black (9%). Due to recruitment strategy for the Generations study, American Indian/Native Alaskan and Asian/Pacific Islanders are underrepresented in this report (see Methods Note). Nonbinary LGBTQ adults live in all regions of the U.S., though they are slightly less likely to live in the Midwest (16%) than in the Northeast (25%), South (27%), and West (31%).

Most nonbinary LGBTQ adults did not identify as transgender (Figure 1). When asked about sexual identities, nonbinary respondents reported that they use a broad range of sexual identity terms—a majority reported queer (31%),⁴ bisexual (17%), pansexual (17%), or asexual (14%) identities (Figure 3).⁵

Tables A.1 – A.3 provide more information about nonbinary people's demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status and housing stability, and relationships and parenting. As seen in Figure 4, nonbinary LGBTQ adults report relatively high indicators of economic instability.

⁴ Goldberg, S., Rothblum, E.D., Russell, S.T., & Meyer, I.H. (2020, November). Exploring the q in Igbtq: Demographic characteristics and sexuality of queer people in a U.S. representative sample of sexual minorities. Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity. doi. org/10.1037/sgd0000359. NIMHS: 1058352

⁵ Rothblum, E., Krueger, E.A., Kittle, K.R., & Meyer, I.H. (2019), Asexual and Non-Asexual Respondents from a U.S. Population-Based Study of Sexual Minorities. Archives of Sexual Behavior. doi: 10.1007/s10508-019-01485-0 PMID: 31214906

Figure 1. Gender identity among nonbinary LGBTQ adults

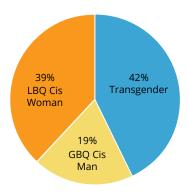


Figure 2. Nonbinary LGBTQ adult demographic characteristics

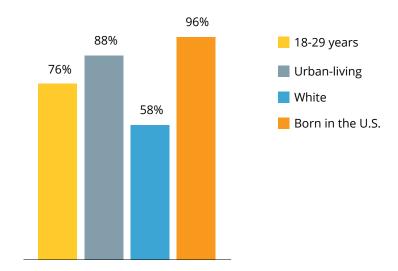
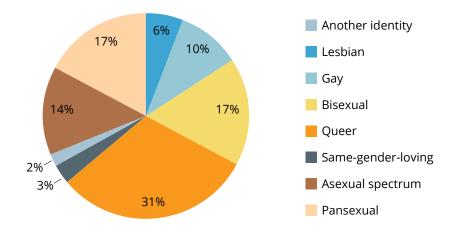


Figure 3. Sexual orientation among nonbinary LGBTQ adults



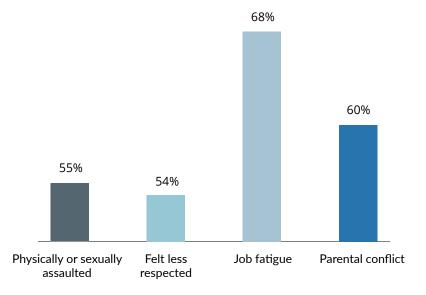
68% 48% 48% Education (high school or less) 43% Employed full time Low-income household (<200% FPL) Unstable housing Not enough money to make ends meet 11%

Figure 4. Economic status of nonbinary LGBTQ adults

STRESSFUL EXPERIENCES IN ADULTHOOD AND BEFORE AGE 18

Tables A.4 – A.10 provide information about stress experiences of nonbinary LGBTQ people. These data show that a majority of nonbinary people were hit, beaten, physically attacked, or sexually assaulted (55%) at some points since they were 18 years old (Figure 5). Also, most felt that they were less respected (54%) than other people over the year prior to being interviewed. Many suffered chronic stressors, including not having enough money to make ends meet (68%), feeling mentally and physically tired because of their job (68%), being alone too much (56%), and having strained or conflicted relationships with their parents (60%). Nonbinary LGBTQ adults also experienced stress in childhood (before age 18, Figure 6), including emotional (82%), physical (40%), and sexual (41%) abuse. More than one in ten nonbinary people (11%) had gone through conversion therapy to change their sexual orientation (cis LGBQ respondents) or gender identity (transgender respondents).





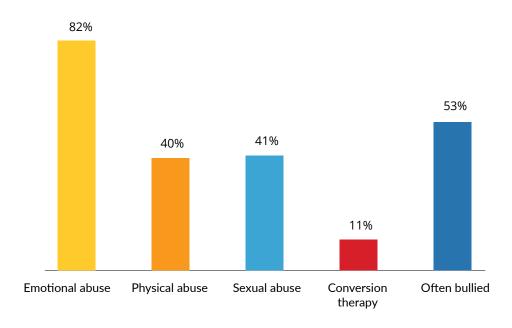
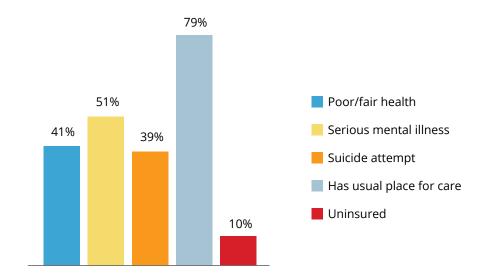


Figure 6. Experienced childhood victimization among nonbinary LGBTQ adults

HEALTH

Tables A.11- A.13 provide information about the health and health care of nonbinary LGBTQ people. In terms of physical and mental health (Figure 7), nonbinary LGBTQ adults reported relatively high rates of mental health concerns, including 41% who said their health was poor or fair, 51% who had symptoms consistent with serious mental illness, and 39% who had attempted suicide. The majority (79%) had a usual place where they received health care and had health insurance, but almost 10% lacked health insurance.

Figure 7. Health and health care access among nonbinary LGBTQ adults



CONCLUSION

Nonbinary people make up approximately 11% of the adult LGBTQ population. While nonbinary identified adults make up a large share of the transgender population (43%), most nonbinary LGBTQ adults are not transgender. Though this brief is not comparative, the findings show that nonbinary LGBTQ adults have similar vulnerabilities in mental health and income as the general LGBTQ population, especially transgender adults. We recognize that identities and terms related to gender and sexuality shift across time and that our 2016-2018 data reflect a particular historical moment. Given data from large scale youth surveys illustrating that 2-10% identify with gender minority labels, and many of them identified with gender nonbinary terms, both cisgender and transgender nonbinary subpopulations are likely to be a growing dimension of the LGBTQ population. Future research should continue to identify whether nonbinary LGBTQ adults and youth have significantly different outcomes than do binary (cisgender and transgender) or other transgender-identified LGBTQ adults. This study also highlights a likely gap in research: the demographics and experiences of nonbinary-identified people who do not identify with LGBTQ labels at all.

METHODS NOTE

This research brief summarizes findings from two related surveys: the Generations Study and the TransPop Study with data collected between 2016 and 2018. The Generations Study is a national probability sample of cisgender sexual minorities (LGBQ) individuals in select groups defined for the purpose of the original research questions posed by the investigators. For example, the Generations Study restricted recruitment to the age groups 18–25, 34-41, and 52-59 based on hypotheses regarding the historical periods in which these people came of age.8 The Generations study did not recruit American Indian/Native Alaskan and Asian/Pacific Islanders, except those who were bi- multi-racial, because an insufficient number of participants representing these groups would have not allowed meaningful statistical analyses. Therefore, these groups are under-represented in this report. More about the project is available on the Generations Study website (www.generationsstudy.com) and the many publications listed on that website. The TransPop Study is a study of transgender individuals, defined as individuals who stated that their current gender identity (e.g., man, woman, transgender) was different than their sex assigned at birth (male, female) across all sexual orientations. The study website (www.transpop.org) describes more about the study and also has extensive methodological notes. The sample for the TransPop Study restricted participants to ages 18-60 to approximate the ages of the Generations Study. Analyses were weighted to account for response biases so that they represent the population of LGBTQ adults in the United States. Estimates of the population size of nonbinary adults in the U.S. were calculated using a 2017 estimate of the percentage of the U.S. population ages 18-60 comprising LGBT people (5.9%) in combination with this analysis of nonbinary respondent data to estimate of the percentage of the LGBT population who are nonbinary identified (11.1%).

Figure 9 illustrates who was counted as a nonbinary LGBTQ adult for this study, starting with the initial LGBT identity question asked by the Gallup Daily Tracking Poll, and progressing through the screener survey used to

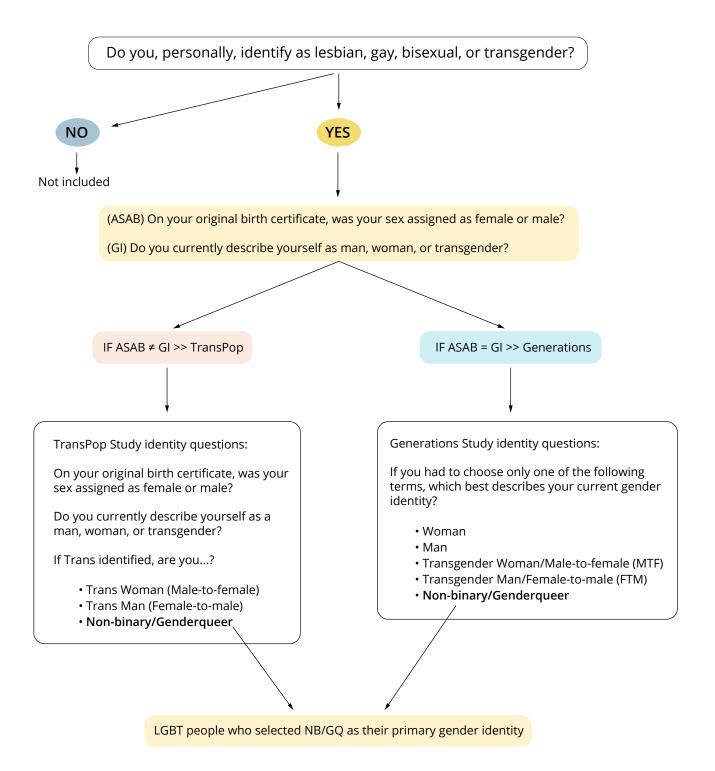
⁶ Meyer, I.H., Wilson, B.D.M., & O'Neill, K. (2021). LGBTQ People in the US: Select Findings from the Generations and TransPop Studies. Los Angeles: The Williams Institute.

⁷ Kidd, K. M., Sequeira, G. M., Douglas, C., Paglisotti, T., Inwards-Breland, D. J., Miller, E., & Coulter, R. W. S. (2021). Prevalence of genderdiverse youth in an urban school district. Pediatrics, 147(6), doi: 10.1542/PEDS.2020-049823; Rider, G. N., McMorris, B. J., Gower, A. L., Coleman, E., & Eisenberg, M. E. (2018). Health and care utilization of transgender and gender nonconforming youth: A population-based study. Pediatrics, 141(3). doi: 10.1542/PEDS.2017-1683

⁸ Meyer, I. H., Russell, S. T., Hammack, P. L., Frost, D. M., & Wilson, B. D. M. (2021). Minority stress, distress, and suicide attempts in three cohorts of sexual minority adults: A U.S. probability sample. PLoS ONE 16(3): e0246827. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0246827

assess who would qualify for the Generations or TransPop research projects. Finally, the surveys administered within the two studies asked about gender identity again in a way that allowed for additional options, including nonbinary/genderqueer.

Figure 9. Identification of nonbinary respondents



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APPENDIX

Table A.1. Demographics characteristics (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) of nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)
	% (95% Cl)
Transgender identity	42.2 (33.1, 51.8)
Education	
High School or less	47.5 (37.9, 57.3)
Some College	28.1 (20.8, 36.9)
College	15.7 (10.9, 22.2)
More than College	8.6 (5.4, 13.6)
Urbanicity	
Non-urban	11.5 (6.7, 18.9)
Age ^a	
18-29	76.2 (68.3, 82.6)
30-45	16.0 (10.8, 23.0)
46-60	7.8 (4.5, 13.1)
60+	N/A
Race/ethnicity	
White	58.3 (48.7, 67.3)
Black/African American	8.7 (4.9, 14.9)
Hispanic/Latinx	14.9 (8.9, 23.9)
Multiracial	16.1 (10.2, 24.5)
Another race/ethnicity	2.0 (0.7,5.2)
Region	
Northeast	25.3 (17.8, 34.6)
Midwest	16.3 (10.4, 24.7)
South	27.3 (19.5, 36.7)
West	31.2 (23.0, 40.7)
Born outside of the United States	3.9^ (1.6, 9.2)
Live within 60 miles of LGBT Health Clinic	79.5 (70.5, 86.2)
Have any children	12.5 (7.6, 19.9)
Have Children under 18 at home	9.1 (5.0, 16)
Served in the Military	2.4^ (0.7, 7.8)

^a The Generations sample included people in three age cohorts from age 18 to 60, so it does not have statistics on people older than 60. The TransPop sample included all age groups, including older than 60. The combined sample is capped at age 60 due to the Generations sample limitation.

Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

Table A.2. Socioeconomic well-being (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) of nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Low-income household	
200% of federal poverty level (FPL) or worse	42.9 (33.8, 52.5)
Employment	
Employed full time (employer)	48.1 (37.4, 59.1)
Employed full time (self)	4.0^ (1.2, 12)
Employed part time, do not want full-time job	8.3^ (3.8, 17.2)
Employed part time but want full-time job	21.3 (13.6, 31.7)
Unemployed	7.0^ (3.07, 15.4)
Not in work force	11.3 (5.8, 20.9)
How often moved residence in past 2 years	
1-2 times	35.7 (27.3, 45.1)
3+ times	20.4 (13.8, 29.0)
Home ownership	
Own	20.7 (14.1, 29.3)
Rent	47.8 (38.4, 57.3)
Other arrangement	31.5 (23, 41.5)
Unstable housing	
Homelessness or living in a shelter or group home, or staying with others temporarily	10.8 (6.5, 17.6)

[^] Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

Table A.3. Relationship and marriage status (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) of nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016-2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)			
	% (95% CI)	% (95% Cl)	% (95% CI)
Has a partner	62.1 (52.1, 71.1)		
Partner's gender	Woman	Man	Trans/Nonbinary
	31.1 (21.8, 42.0)	39.8 (29.2, 51.5)	29.2 (19.3, 41.4)
Lives with partner	76.4 (60.5, 87.2)	58.8 (40.5, 75.0)	54.2 (31.3, 75.4)
Married	17.7 (7.6, 36.0)	7.7^ (3.5, 16.3)	15.7^ (6.3, 34.1)
Registered or civil unions	1.48^ (0.2,10.2)	0.0^	10.6^ (2.19, 38.7)
Not legally married	80.8 (62.7,91.4)	92.3 (83.7, 96.5)	73.7 (50.7, 88.4)

[^] Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

Table A.4. Victimization (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016-2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Victimization since the age of 18	
You were hit, beaten, physically attacked, or sexually assaulted?	54.5 (44.9, 63.8)
You were robbed, or your property was stolen, vandalized, or purposely damaged	38 (29.3, 47.4)
Someone tried to attack you, rob you, or damage your property, but they didn't succeed	28.5 (20.7, 37.8)
Someone threatened you with violence	62.7 (53.0, 71.4)
Someone verbally insulted or abused you	83.4 (74.7, 89.5)
Someone threw an object at you	41.7 (32.6, 51.3)

Table A.5. Employment and housing life events (estimated population percentage and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016-2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Employment and housing adverse life events	
Were you fired from your job or denied a job?	42.5 (33.5, 52.0)
Were you denied a promotion or received a negative evaluation?	29.2 (21.3, 38.5)
Were you prevented from moving into or buying a house or apartment by a landlord or realtor?	6.4 (3.5, 11.6)

Table A.6. Stressful life events experienced over one year (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016-2018

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Life events	
Fired or laid off from a job	17.7 (11.4, 26.5)
Were unemployed and looking for a job for more than a month	37.8 (28.8, 47.7)
Had trouble with your boss or a coworker	39.7 (30.6, 49.5)
Had serious problems with a neighbor, friend, or relative	46.0 (36.6, 55.7)
Experienced a major financial crisis, declared bankruptcy or more than once been unable to pay bills on time	35.3 (26.7, 44.9)
Had serious trouble with the police or the law	2.2^ (0.5, 9.0)
Had something stolen from (inside or outside home)	19.3 (12.8, 28.1)
Someone intentionally damaged or destroyed property	15.7 (10.1, 23.5)

[^] Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

Table A.7. Everyday discrimination (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)		
	% (95% Cl)	
Happened often or sometimes in day-to-day life over a year		
You were treated with less courtesy than other people	57.7 (48.3, 66.7)	
You were treated with less respect than other people	54.4 (44.8, 63.6)	
You received poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores	35.7 (27.1, 45.3)	
People acted as if they thought you were not smart	55.4 (45.8, 64.6)	
People acted as if they were afraid of you	30.3 (22.5, 39.6)	
People acted as if they thought you were dishonest	35.2 (26.7, 44.6)	
People acted as if they were better than you	70.1 (60.7, 78.1)	
You were called names or insulted	42.4 (33.2, 52.2)	
You were threatened or harassed (often or sometimes)	28.7 (20.8, 38.1)	

Table A.8. Current chronic strains (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)		
	% (95% CI)	
Chronic strains		
Very or somewhat true		
You don't have enough money to make ends meet	67.8 (58.3, 75.9)	
Your job often leaves you feeling both mentally and physically tired	67.8 (58.1, 76.2)	
You are looking for a job and can't find the one you want	50.5 (41.0, 60.0)	
You are alone too much	55.8 (46.2, 65.0)	
You wonder whether you will ever find a partner or spouse	45.5 (36.1, 55.2)	
Your relationship with your parents is strained or conflicted	59.8 (50.2, 68.7)	

Table A.9. Adverse childhood experiences (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)		
	% (95% CI)	
Abuse		
Emotional abuse	81.8 (73.6, 87.8)	
Physical abuse	40.4 (31.4, 50)	
Sexual abuse	40.5 (31.5, 50.1)	
Family issues		
Household intimate partner violence	33.7 (25.3, 43.3)	

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)		
	% (95% CI)	
Family issues		
Household substance abuse	46.3 (37, 55.8)	
Household mental illness	65.1 (55.9, 73.4)	
Parental separation or divorce	39.7 (30.8, 49.4)	
Incarceration household member	15.9 (9.93, 24.4)	
Bullying before age 18		
Often	53.1 (43.7, 62.3)	
Sometimes	25.0 (18.0, 33.6)	
Rarely	12.6 (7.9, 19.6)	
Never	9.3 (5.0, 16.7)	

Table A.10. Conversion therapy/sexual orientation and gender identity change efforts (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016-2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Sexual orientation and gender identity change efforts (SOGICE)	11.1 (6.5, 18.3)
Age received treatment	
Under 18 years	69.0 (43.6, 86.5)
Received conversion therapy from a	
healthcare provider	44.0^ (20.7, 70.3)
religious leader	37.6^ (16.3, 65.1)

[^] Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

Table A.11. Health care access (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)		
	% (95% Cl)	
When seeking healthcare, I worry about being negatively judged because of my sexual orientation or gender identity	63.7 (53.9, 72.5)	
Health insurance		
No health insurance ^b	9.8 (5.3, 17.2)	
Employer health insurance	28 (20.3, 37.3)	
Spouse health insurance	3.8 (1.6, 8.9)	
Parent health insurance	40.3 (31.4, 49.9)	

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)		
	% (95% Cl)	
Health insurance		
ACA ("Obamacare")	9.3 (4.7, 17.6)	
Health insurance company	1.8 (0.4, 8.5)	
Medicare Medicaid	8.5 (4.9, 14.4)	
Military health insurance VA health insurance Indian health insurance Else health insurance Other type of health insurance plan	6.7 (3.1, 13.6)	
I have a place that I usually go to when sick or need advice about my health	79.2 (70.4, 86)	
In the past 5 years, how often have you been to an LGBT-specific clinic or provider for your healthcare?		
Often	2.6^ (1, 6.)	
Sometimes	10.6 (6.3, 17.3)	
Never	86.8 (79.9, 91.7)	
In the next year, if it were possible for you to do so, how important would it be for you to go for health care at an LGBT-specific clinic or provider?		
Very important	27.6 (19.9, 36.9)	
Somewhat important	51.5 (41.7, 61.1)	
Not important	20.9 (13.9, 30.1)	
Looked for information about certain health or medical issues on an LGBT- specific website during a year	34.8 (26.5, 44.1)	

^b A person could have multiple health insurance responses; values do not add to 100%.

Table A.12. Health outcomes (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ Adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
General health	
Poor/fair	41.1 (32, 50.8)
Good/Very good/Excellent	58.9 (49.2, 68)
Health conditions	
High blood pressure	13.3 (8.2, 20.8)
High cholesterol	12.7 (7.9, 19.7)
Heart condition/Heart disease/Angina/Heart Attack/Stroke/Blood Clots	9.4 (5.3, 16.1)
Asthma	25.4 (18.1, 34.4)

[^] Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Health conditions	
Sleep Disorder	25.8 (18.7, 34.6)
Ulcer	12 (6.7, 20.5)
Cancer/Malignancy	3^ (1.3, 6.9)
Diabetes/Prediabetes/Glucose Issues	14 (8.6, 22.0)
Arthritis	12.9 (8.0, 20.1)
HIV/AIDS	3^ (0.9, 9.2)
Sexually transmitted infection	7.7 (4.1, 14.2)
Disability	
Debilitating health	75.0 (66.7, 81.9)
Health-related equipment	10.2 (5.9, 17.0)

[^] Some estimates are based on too few respondents to be precise enough for us to rely on the population estimate. We provide these but mark them so that they would be interpreted with caution.

Table A.13. Psychological distress, suicidality and well-being (estimated population percent and 95% confidence interval) among nonbinary LGBTQ adults from the Generations and TransPop US studies (2016–2018)

NONBINARY LGBTQ ADULTS (N=164)	
	% (95% CI)
Psychological distress	
Serious mental illness	51.3 (41.8, 60.7)
Moderate distress or serious mental illness	89.5 (82.7, 93.8)
Suicidality	
Suicidal ideation	93.8 (88.1, 96.9)
Suicide attempt	39.3 (30.4, 48.9)
Non-suicidal self-injury	74.1 (65.4, 81.2)
Happiness	
Very happy	6.4 (3.2, 12.3)
Pretty happy	52.5 (43, 61.9)
Not too happy	41.1 (32, 50.8)
Life satisfaction	
The conditions of my life are excellent (agree)	44.3 (35.1, 53.9)
Satisfied with life (agree)	42.2 (33.2, 51.8)