Transgender population: Barriers and adaptations to employment

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TRANSGENDER POPULATION: BARRIERS
AND ADAPTIONS TO EMPLOYMENT

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ABSTRACT

The Transgender Population: Barriers and Adaptations to Employment

by

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This qualitative study integrated literature and personal interviews to examine issues of employment among people from the transgender population. By incorporating interviews, employment is addressed from the transgender person's reference point. This allows for integral examination of personal or internal and environmental or external factors that impact the transgender person while seeking or maintaining employment. In a study of seven people, common themes appeared to influence employment such as the ability to pass, coming out and transitioning, employer and type of employment, stigmas faced such as being "outed," and attitude. These themes served as the foundation in developing social work intervention for this population, with regard to employment. All desire to be accepted and meld into mainstream, without having past or present gender be the focal point in life or in employment.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

In spending over a year with the transgender population, both in self-help groups and social situations, it became apparent what this researcher believed to be knowledge was in reality ignorance. During this time, this researcher was told through the voices of many that being transgender was not a choice, that from a very young age they knew they were different and that no one would intentionally desire the journey one experiences in changing gender, if it was not necessary. Born into western culture, with strict binary gender definitions, male or female, makes life complicated when birth gender and gender identification are incompatible (Bolin, 1996; Gagne, Tewksbury & McGaughey, 1997; Raymond, 1994).

The term transgender acts as an umbrella to include all gender variant people, not identifying with gender implicated by physical attributes characterized at birth. Inclusive in this are all gender variant persons, pre, post and non-operative transsexuals - MTF (male to female) and FTM (female to male), inter-sexed or hermaphrodites and others who challenge society’s strict gender roles (Bushong, 2001, Feinberg, 1996; Hausman, 1995; Namaste, 1994; Walworth, 1998).
Gender Variant: Those who express gender in forms other than birth gender.

Transsexuals: Those who do not identify with birth gender and seek ways in which to alter gender appearance physically. Inclusive of this are those do not have surgery, those seeking surgery and those who have obtained surgery to change gender.

Transgender: The term encompassing many diverse groups, who do not identify with birth gender, seek to express gender in many different ways and whose expression of gender may differ from mainstream expectations of male or female.

MTF: Those changing from birth sex of male to female.

FTM: Those changing from birth sex of female to male.

Hermaphrodites or inter-sexed: Those born with ambiguous genitalia, not falling into one specific birth gender.

Minority status is held by this population, noted in media misrepresentation delivering sensationalism or silence (Fleras, 1995), and negated ordinances and statues prohibiting gender identity discrimination, rendering life and workplace a venue of little legal protection (McNamara, 2001; Minter, 2000; Namaste, 1996; Priesing, 1999). As Califia (1997) states, “those who transgress gender lines challenge our ideas of right and wrong, politically correct and politically incorrect, mental health and mental dysfunction” (p. 2).

Hargreaves and Midence (1997) suggest that transsexualism, those not identifying with birth gender, is not common and understanding of why it occurs is unclear. Numbers to denote occurrences are taken from citings by Hoenig and Kenna (1974). These indicate a prevalence rate in the United Kingdom of 1:4000.
in men, and 1:11,000 in females. Also cited are Eklund, Gooren and Bezemer (1988) with ratios in the Netherlands of 1:18,000 in men and 1:54,000 in women. Mindence and Hargraves (1997) state that MTF ratios have been reported as 3:1, with males seeking surgery in greater numbers than women.

The transgender population experiences many obstacles in the process of changing genders to live the life they wish. They desire to live in the gender they identify with at home, in public and in the work arena. However, many challenges exist that become a hindrance in obtaining this goal.

"It is abnormal. It is un-natural. And it is an act against God the almighty." This quote originated from an excerpt of congressional record, regarding women who wanted the right to vote. Today those words are correlated with those from the transgender population. Giving indication of the discrimination experienced in and out of the working environment (Transgender at Work, 2001).

Woven into the intricacies of life for this population is the component of seeking and maintaining employment. Many in mainstream view seeking employment challenging. However, if one throws in the element of being transgender, the task can be daunting.

Research Questions

In examining the transgender population and employment, questions considered are: What internal or emotional barriers exist as the transgender person seeks employment? What external barriers occur that are beyond the individual's scope to challenge or correct? What strategies are used to cope with these barriers? How can social work play a part in working with this population?
Significance of Study

Kate Bornstein (1994) states, "I knew from age four on, that something was wrong with me being a guy. I spent most of my life avoiding the issue of my transsexuality. I hid out in textbooks, pulp fiction and drugs and alcohol" (p.59).

As a transgender person, one is impacted in ways that those comfortable in birth gender take for granted or cannot imagine. People coming into contact with this population are often ignorant of what it means to be transgender. Unaware, the steps to change are emotionally, physically and financially painful and overwhelming.

Many transition while employed, as the luxury of being unemployed while transitioning rarely exists. As minority populations who came before, the transgender population faces many discriminating factors inclusive of inequality in jobs, lack of income, lack of support or programs designed to protect and increase empowerment. Further analysis extrapolated additional barriers, such as problems occurring with inaccurate identification, the ability to pass as the gender one desires to portray, and prejudice that exists because being transgender is not well understood or accepted.

It is the hope of this researcher that this study will give education and enlightenment. Feinberg (1998) states that one needs to examine how repression, inclusive of gender, racism and bigotry, controls the economical and social structure that dictates and governs lives.

In listening to this population, it is clear that understanding and knowledge are needed. Without these elements one can only imagine, which sets the stage for inappropriate and incorrect responses. Those attempting to help without a
perspective of what is experienced, often become another external barrier to be faced. In learning about transgender people, social work can develop interventions specific to this population, that will enrich and assist, rather than do harm.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

History

The roots of the transgender person have been found in many cultures and eras. Bolin (1996), Denny (1997) and Feinberg (1996) give extensive accounts that support the presence of transgender people in the pages of history. Denny (1997) writes of cave paintings dating back 15,000 years, rendering images of male/female, priest/priestesses.

Feinberg (1996) suggests that Greek mythology is filled with accounts of "sex changes, inter-sexualism and cross dressing," (p. 56). Feinberg also references past worship of the "Great Mother" and states,

The Roman historian Plutarch, described the Great Mother as an intersexual (hermaphroditic) in whom the sexes had not yet been split. The Great Mother's transsexual priestesses followed an ancient and sacred path of rituals that included castration. Worship of the Great Mother has been documented in Mesopotamian temple archives, dated from the middle of the third millennium, BC. Notation of the Great Mother, are also found in, "Assyrian, Akkadian, and Babylonian records (p.40).

Bolin (1987), Feinberg (1996) and Hausman (1995) suggest that gender variations cannot be defined by exclusively utilizing western mainstream norms, as many native nations have reported diverse gender variations. Citings from military expeditions, missionaries, anthropologists and others depict numerous forms of "sex-change, transgender and inter-sexuality in societies that were of
matrilineal construct" (Feinberg 1996, p.43-44). In Brazil, Pedro de Magalhaes (1922) reported females who dressed, lived and were accepted as men.

Ethnographer Leslie Spier (1930), wrote of Klamath Native Americans where transgender people or berdaches, a derogatory term created by the colonists, lived. She points out though unexplainable, there are men and women who take on the identity of the opposite sex. She also proposes this may be true in other North American Tribes. In 1850, reports were made that within the Crow nation, men were discovered who lived and dressed as women (Feinberg, 1996).

Feinberg (1996) and Bolin (1996) indicate that the Native Americans referred to those not fitting specific gender roles as “Two Spirit.” Though condemned by colonists and missionaries, Native Americans believed “Two Spirits” honored, and included them in religious ceremonies. The Navajo considered those who were hermaphroditic highly valued. Gender definition was defined as male, female and nadle. Within the nadle classification were those with ambiguous genitalia, and those considered pretenders, or it would appear transgender (Bolin, 1996).

However, attitudes toward the transgender people changed. Holly Boswell (1997) states. “Since the replacement of Mother Nature with God the Father (about 5 thousand years ago) the constructs of gender have been defined more narrowly and rigidly to suit the purposes of those in control of each particular society,” (p. 56).

In the middle ages, the church became a dominant force both economically and politically. Nobility contributed large donations in hopes of seeking
placement for relatives, into monasteries which offered extensive educational and employment opportunities (Goetz 1993; La Croix, 1964). Politicians discovered that without support from the church, offices could not be maintained (La Croix, 1964). It was during this time cross-dressing came under scrutiny by the church, dictating morals and behavior. Cross-dressing was allowed during festivals when laws were provisionally lifted. However, the pervasive attitude correlated transgendering and cross-dressing to witchcraft (Feinberg, 1996).

The Medical Perspective of Gender Variance

Medical literature discussing those who differed from mainstreams view of gender, began in the 1800s. This generated books and further terminology appearing to suggest dysfunctional overtones. In 1877, Kraft-Ebing created metamorphosis sexual paranoia. Magnus Hirschfield in 1910, wrote Die Transvestein. Transvestein later became transvestism. Ellis Haveloc. 1936, coined the term sexoesthetic inversion and eonism. In 1953, Harry Benjamin, endocrinologist and sexologist, popularized the term transsexualism and Westphal in 1969, the contrary feeling. Fisk created sexual gender dysphoria in 1974, describing those with divergent gender orientation. This term evolved into gender identity disorder or GID (Pauley, 1992). The term GID was integrated into the DSM-III (1980) third edition. It was the first formal diagnostic classification addressing gender issues.

For the transgender person seeking medical intervention, they must admit to sexual deviance in ways that adhere to DSM diagnosis. This diagnosis is sole
justification for medical intervention or surgery recognized by endocrinologists and surgeons who often provide services to this population (Gagne, et al., 1997; Wilson, 1997).

However, extensive control over the transgender population by the psychiatric community is heatedly being debated, as was done previously by gay and lesbian populations. There is concern that the diagnosis in the DSM only creates isolation, stigma and threatens loss of one's human rights. It is inconsistent to mark cross gender people with pathology due to rarity. If such is the case, then this theory could be applied to homosexuality, which it has been in the past, since that population is smaller than the heterosexual population. Application could also be made to left handed people who are deviant and smaller in number than right-handed people (Bullough and Bullough, 1993; Wilson, 1997).

It appears that pathology is of underlying interest. This can be seen in Betty Steiner's (1990) article, Intake Assessment of Gender-Dysphoric Patients. She states:

It is first important to know that gender-dysphoric patients can be difficult to manage. They can be manipulative, demanding and narcissistic. They may have Axis II diagnosis such as histrionic, borderline, narcissistic, passive-aggressive or antisocial personality disorder. Many of them will have severe depression. Many of them may be poor or unreliable historians. Finally, you should be prepared to see individuals who may present physically looking somewhat bizarre, either flamboyantly dressed, or inappropriately dressed or looking like a man in drag. (p. 95-96).

Kutchins and Kirk (1997) state that in writing the DSM, with its continual revisions, behaviors are increasing being added, needing psychiatric care or diagnosis. They suggest perhaps advocacy for the profession and personal
interest of psychiatry are the real driving forces of the DSM. One is then encouraged to focus attention on what is wrong or defective (Ryan, 1976). In looking at the transgender population, creating pathology is an easy thing to do (Wilson 1997).

Theories of Gender

Debate and research of gender is on going. Due to the fact that society defines sex as the insignia of gender, early theories addressing gender have stemmed from a medical perspective. This viewpoint has proffered interpretations that gender is malleable and can be altered. However, in looking at the transgender person, past medical hallmarks, without appropriate follow-ups, have held little stability in history, cultures and absolutes (Bolin, 1996, San Francisco Human Rights Commission, 1996). Thus divergent theories have emerged, shedding light on gender as innate and cultural. This panorama allows for gender to be explored as a construct not defined by genitalia, but by varied roles incorporating both male and female gender, in one individual.

Nurture over Nature

The psychiatric community has offered theories for the transgender population resembling previous theories for homosexuality (Zucker and Blanchard, 1997). Stoller, Marmor and Beiber (1973) suggested one had to gain autonomy in early childhood. Failure to do so created emasculation and intensified feminine identification in males, leading to homosexuality. As homosexuality was once considered a DSM consideration, so now are those who are transgender (Wilson,
In investigating MTF transsexuals, Stoller (1968) stated that excessive identification with mother, mother's inability to allow separation and absence of a father figure was responsible for transsexualism.

However, Zucker and Bradley (1995) deviated, stating previous studies implicating gender disturbances and mothering were biased. That boys coming from homes with absentee fathers appeared more masculine. Bradley suggested that early cross-dressing was attributed to the absence and unavailability of the mother. Zucker and Blanchard (1997) suggest that adolescent transgender fetishism was associated with mother and son conflict, anger and rejection.

Most imply that psychiatric approaches can resolve gender issues. However, in dissension Feeder (1997) presents a study of a boy diagnosed with GID. Implications are again made that GID can be reversed. Treatment consists of training the mother appropriate responses, for gender appropriate play. Feeder argues that this training consisted of developing “techniques of disciplinary surveillance.” Which only served to individualize this child whose behavior was judged deviant (p.204).

Wilson (1997; 1998) states that with regard to genders issues in the DSM, impairment is stressed without taking into consideration the individual’s happiness or well-being. References made to stereotypical clothing, toys and activities appear displaced in a world that has become unisex. She notes that this psychiatric classification contributes to distress and stigmatization, which may be solely responsible for any psychological tribulations relating to gender.
The San Francisco Human Rights Commission (1996) has called on The American Psychiatric Association to immediately cease, coercive and inappropriate treatment of children based on the GID diagnosis. Studies addressing children with GID have not done appropriate follow-ups, and none of the studies have taken into account those who live fulfilling lives with successful careers.

Money, Hampson and Hampson (1957) suggested that a window existed from birth to 27 months, in which gender identity was formed and alterable. They substantiate this by noting out of 105 people born hermaphrodites and assigned a sex or gender after birth, only five showed indications of conflicting gender identity (Money, 1991). Money and Erhardt (1972) stated that that after birth physiological and environmental factors shaped gender identity. It was proposed that in examining influences of nurture over nature, nurture held a stronger role. Stoller (1976) appeared to concur, noting that with regard to transsexuals, very little evidence of genetic or biochemical abnormalities existed.

However, flaws in Money's theories with regard to changing gender and nurture over nature, are captured in an investigative book examining male twins. Due to a botched circumcision, one twin was castrated at birth and raised as female under the supervision of Money. Money touted this as proof that gender could be altered. However, the girl never adjusted, never identified with female gender, and was depressed until she journeyed back to being male. Money's theory of socialization has been challenged in studies, indicating a strong biological component (Eminence et al., 1997). However, Money never recanted
any inaccuracies, and many still to this day cite his works, as sound material to justify theory of gender (Califia 1997; Colapinto 2001).

Shively and De Cecco (1993) state that the exact process in which boys view themselves as male and girls as female is not known. Although it appears that self-identification is created by gender identity. Those born with ambiguous genitalia, considered hermaphrodites, are coming forward to protest a doctor's right to play God and creator in determining gender. Cosmetic surgery done to normalize genitalia at birth is exaggerated. It often precedes a devastating outcome in which nothing more than mutilation occurs, not just of body, but also of soul (Califia 1997).

**Biological**

Theories exist that base sex and arguably gender on X or Y chromosomes. Research into this area reveals that many variations of the XY and XX chromosome exist. Hood (1996) identifies a study conducted in a penal setting. Here it was found that two percent of the men incarcerated carried a XYY chromosome combination, indicating increased aggressive behavior. Women with Testicular feminization or women with three XXX chromosomes were noted as one per one thousand. Other patterns in chromosomes were discerned such as XXXXY, XXXX and XXXXX.

Oakley (1981) states that from conception to seven weeks in the womb, genitals both internally and externally of a fetus look the same. Therefore, it may be presumed that deviations could occur. Hubard (1996) indicates that some embryos denoted as XY, develop testes that do not respond to the hormone the
testes produce. These children develop vaginas or have androgen insensitivity. Due to this fact they are assigned female gender identification. It may not be determined that undescended testes are present until puberty, when menstruation does not begin.

Those interviewed for this study became aware during the ages of two to five, that something was not right and did not fit. What was amiss at such a young age could not be identified. Reports from other studies confirm this (Gagne, Tewksbury & McGaughey, 1997).

Bradley and Zucker (1997) suggest that prenatal hormones affect sex typed behavior and possible sexual orientation. They indicate studies of girls and women with congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), or the bodies inability to synthesize steroid hormones, as providing support that biological factors may play a part in determining gender.

Bushong (2001) initiates discussion of gender by recanting previous ideals based on variations of X and Y-chromosomes. In a world portraying gender as black or white, male or female, he found that gender is a matrix of both, within the same individual. He structures his thinking on five categories: (1) Genetic Gender or chromosomal inheritance, (2) Physical Gender or primary and secondary sexual characteristics, (3) Brain Gender or functional structure of the brain regarding gender, (4) Brain Sex or love patterns both social, interpersonal and sexual and (5) Gender Identity or how we feel ourselves to be. In doing so he suggests that a male body, can have female gender. He states that most of us fall with in this gender matrix, and few people if any fit one binary definition.
McNamara, (2001) who gives legal counsel to the transgender population notes that due to many factors, gender defined by genitalia at birth is not always the person that is inside.

Cultural Construct

Western culture, finding congruency with sex and gender, is defined by societal structures such as family, legislation, religious conviction, politics, economy, medicine and the media (Gagne et al. 1997). These structures esteem roles of heterosexuality to be acceptable and natural, while portraying diverse relations and persons such as homosexuals or those who are transgender, as deviant and perverted (Irvine, 1990).

Bolin (1996) states that facts of sex and gender defined by Western paradigms have little stability when historically and comparatively examined against other cultures. Feminist theory comes forward to challenge western patriarchal dominance of political, economical, cultural and legal factions, contributing to domination and marginalization (Feinberg, 1996; Irvine, 1990; Robbins, Chatterjee & Canda, 1998).

Bolin (1996) initiates a viewpoint where gender is distinguished by psychological, sociological and cultural factors. Inclusive in these are social constructions with systems of meanings that are multidimensional, giving one a perspective of self.

It would appear that there is congruence in the writings of Butler (1999) who examines gender as a melding of history and anthropology. She theorizes that gender is not fixed, but fluid. Shifting and taking on appearances in varied
contexts and at different times which are not restrictive to binary definitions.

Furthering the explanation that gender is not concrete, but consists of performances moving back and forth between what is considered male and what is measured female. Burke (1996) states that stereotypical views of gender have set parameters for men and women that do not exist, making gender definitions indefinable.

When gender is considered, independent of sex, gender is allowed to be a place where men and women can flow freely through gender lines, not conforming to one or the other. In doing so masculinity can just as easily define a woman and femininity a male. Is gender then assumed or implied? Butler states,

If the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this construct called sex is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all (pp. 10-11).

Minority Employment and Discrimination

In examining transgender employment, history regarding other populations needs to be considered. Maclean (1999) states that in looking at studies examining wage-earning differences between men and women, gender roles play an integral part. These studies, while examining many aspects such as human capital, workers commitment, market, job and industry structures, still do not explain gender gap earnings. (Duncan, 1996; Kilbourne & England, 1996).

Within a wide scope of employment categories, it was determined that women hold different jobs than men and are found in lower paying positions. Men and
women with more traditional gender role ideologies have lower earnings (Firestone, Harris & Lambert, 1999). Reskin and Roos (1990) indicated in mixed sex work settings, segregation ensures that women do not earn as much as their male counterparts. Some types of employment skills, such as secretarial positions, provide lower revenue due to discrimination.

In 1965, jobs allotted to women could not sustain them financially or pull them out of poverty. Disgust with discrimination and low paying dead end jobs brought women together in collective action, assaulting patterns of work, sex, race, segregation, economic inequality and gender expectations. Anti-discrimination and affirmative action challenges, appeared to destabilize gender job expectations regarding employment. However, Cotton (1998) notes that allocation of resources and affirmative action often reflect a mentality of winners at the expense of losers. Mclean (1999) adds that class inequality is still vibrant today.

If women are disproportionately placed in traditionally feminine roles, such as typing and nurturance, this will increase biases already in place and subsequently affect earning power (Firestone et al., 1999). This fact is compounded by those responsible for decisions regarding wages and promotions, holding stereotypical ideas about appropriate roles for men and women (Facteau & Dobbins, 1996).

Gender discrimination is still a large problem. Women entering male dominated fields may experience much prejudice. However, it was found that the opposite held true for men entering fields predominantly held by women.
Maclean (1999) states that when women crossed firm gender boundary lines in employment, they were often met with hostility exhibited in tactics to drive the women out such as hate male, telephone death threats, harassment, anti-female graffiti, groups organizing against them and sexual violence.

Black civil rights groups have struggled for generations regarding employment discrimination. Black women find a greater challenge in that they have had to contend with both gender and race (Evans & Herr, 1991). Social and economical factors such as racism, poverty and oppression have impeded employment perceptions, aspirations, expectations and reality (Brown, 1996).

Black women earn less hourly than white women, and in order to achieve equal income must work longer hours (Brown, 1996). From 1948 to 1965, black family medium income was half of white family income. In 1966, this figure rose to 57% and peaked at 62% in 1974. However, in the 1990's, black income has shown a decline, receding to 55% (Cotton, 1998). Brown (1996) indicates that in comparing salaries of Black women to White women, those with high school educations indicated Blacks to have a $600.00 deficit per year. Black college educated women showed a $1300.00 decrease compared to Whites, per year.

Cotton (1988) estimated that White males made an hourly rate of $5.60, compared to Black males hourly wages of $4.31. White females showed $3.61 per hour, compared to Black female wages of $3.17. In 1970, the largest occupational grouping for blacks was low-wage service industries. In 1990, Blacks are still concentrated in nonprofessional and non-managerial professions (Brown, 1996).
Transgender Employment and Discrimination

In determining that there is a wide gender gap in employment between men and women, whites and minorities, it would appear that the transgender person might experience further discrimination. Limited empirical studies have been done on employment issues with regard to gender and minority status. Studies that have been done are limited in range and scope (Lonborg & Phillips, 1996). However, few if any empirical studies exist, regarding employment of those who are transgender.

Vitale (2001), a counselor who works with the transgender population, suggests that many questions surround the employment issue. Will they be able to earn a living, will they be granted interviews, what about references, will they be wanted and accepted as part of a staff, will issues testing self-confidence get in the way, and if accepted will they then have to deal with sexism? Many feel that enduring the pain of transition should be enough, without confronting difficulties in employment. Isreal (1997) states that many think about changing locations at this time. However, she warns of leaving support groups behind. Mairs (2001) suggests that one needs to consider how “out” they want to be in determining if one can economically afford to transgender all of the way. He suggests some jobs may be better suited for transgender people.

Writings exist regarding tactics to employment. Appearance is paramount in representing gender and desired employment. Role-play is suggested for rehearsing interviews. Honesty is stressed, with a caveat that one only needs to divulge information pertinent to the situation (Isreal, 1997; Walworth, 1998).
Vitale (2001) states in attempting to transition in the workplace, an individual should have company support. Terms of transition should be agreed upon between employee and employer, and she warns about not being rigid in the decision making process.

Conklin (2000) writes of companies who will hire transgender, or gender variant people. Many of these companies are large, incorporating resource groups that address issues of the diversified populations employed. She states that a common fear in sexually variant people is discrimination, which can bring with it demotions or firings. In seeking employment, Walworth (1998) states that a person’s work performance should be the focal point, not gender status.

However, in many cases, gender variance skews the picture. As McNamara (2001) states, “Transsexuals have a history of purposeful discrimination against them. They have experienced grossly unfair discrimination and they are politically powerless” (p.4).

The Seattle Commission for Sexual Minorities (1999) notes that transgender people are seeking equality, with respect to discrimination.

Being denied the opportunity to make a living is the single most damaging and pervasive form of discrimination experienced by transgender people, who are rarely protected under existing laws (p.2).

Anders (1977) from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in testimony to Congress states:

Although all arbitrary discrimination is wrong, workplace discrimination is especially egregious. In most circumstances in America today, employment is essential to any kind of a decent life and can be essential to survival. To deprive anyone of employment is to deprive them of sustenance (p.1)
In the International Bill of Gender Rights (1995), the right to define and express gender identity is addressed. However, Minter (2000), states that of the 50 states, only 10 and the District of Columbia have laws that prohibit employment discrimination, on the basis of sexual identity. And this is not statewide protection, but is noted in only a handful of cities. This greatly impacts seeking and maintaining employment status.

In the employment arena, the transgender population has little recourse. McNamara (2001) notes:

Transsexuals have been purposefully discriminated against. If there were no purposeful discrimination against transsexuals there would be no need to have a yearly law conference on transsexual employment discrimination (p.3).
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Design

In researching transgender employment information, much is found on the internet. Articles discuss problems faced on the job, how to come out to potential or current employers, how to transition in the work place and steps in working with employer resources. However, empirical studies on transgender employment are not easily found or do not exist. Therefore, qualitative research was conducted using the method proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). Miles and Huberman (1994) incorporate the steps of data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification. Data reduction consisted of sorting out themes that occurred with regard to employment among those interviewed. Themes were determined to be of importances due to the fact that reoccurrences appeared that were predominant in interviewees. Data Display connected these themes that indicated commonalities occurring in all of the individuals interviewed. Conclusion drawing and verification developed a holistic picture of employment within this population. Conclusions were drawn by noting the collective concerns of the transgender population, not addressed by social workers previously having contact with this population. The hope of this study is that a greater knowledge base will be developed to create viable assistance and intervention.

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Sampling

The sample was derived from participants that attended a self-help group in a southwest metropolitan area. It consisted of those who considered themselves transgender, had history in employment and could relate employment experiences. In attending this group for over a year, this researcher requested participation for this study. Some of the participants declined to participate after stating they would, due to the fact that the focus was on employment. Many who work in venues such as prostitution, did not desire to discuss employment and some individuals did not consider prostitution employment. It was also determined that many who were employed had the ability to meld into mainstream and desired to remain anonymous. The concluding sample consisted of eight individuals. However, one person unexpectedly died prior to the interview, resulting in a sample of seven.

Participants

Participants were seven adults, all over the age of 21, from the transgender population. Ages ranged from the twenties to the fifties. Specific ages have not been given to protect confidentiality. Five were MTF and two FTM. Employment status varied from those working in birth gender to those who had transitioned completely. There was no delineation with regard to numbers of MTF or FTM participants, as all information was considered valuable. All participants mutually consented and signed an informed consent (See appendix II).
Procedure

Upon consenting to participate interviewees were called, arranging time and location for the interview to take place. Face to face interviews, lasting approximately one to two hours, were done in secluded locations to maintain confidentiality. Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed by this researcher. From the transcriptions, themes were defined as they pertained to all participants. Questions allowing for expansive narration were used, such as:

1) At what age did you know that you were transgender? 2) At what age did you begin your transition? 3) What problems did you face in seeking or maintaining employment? 4) What strategies or coping mechanisms did you use to deal with these situations?
CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Results of data collected indicated commonalities of those interviewed.
Commonalities consisted of knowledge from an early age, four or five, that those in this population were different, though not sure why. All were uncomfortable with birth gender identification and did not identify themselves with birth gender. Many went through periods of depression, some with attempts of suicide, due to the confusion of incorrect gender, or body changes occurring during puberty. Most have stated that at some point it was change gender or die, as they could no longer live life as expected. All experimented with some aspect of cross-dressing in exploring who they were. All are on hormones at present. None have completed surgery, though the majority desire to do so in the future. In profiling the individuals interviewed, names, ages and background information has been altered to protect confidentiality.

Profiles

   Liza is a MTF in her thirties and lives as a woman. Transition for her began after a long period of exploration during her twenties. Prior to transitioning she stated that her behavior was reckless. Since transitioning she has ceased drinking and smoking and maintains good health. She holds several degrees, is self-employed and is building a successful career.
Mary is in her thirties, an MTF who is just beginning to transition. All of her life birth gender has been an issue. She has just begun hormones, electrolysis and laser. She lives moving from male to female. She is a professional with several degrees. Many questions remain relating to the process of coming out to her employer. She has not decided if she will transition all the way due to economics, but desires to do so.

Audra, a MTF, is in her fifties and lives as a female. She began transition in her twenties, though she did not start taking hormones until a few years ago. Currently she is unemployed. She has had a difficult time because she is transgender. In coming out to her parents, she found no support. Teen and young adult life were intermixed, moving from one gender to another, with many periods of depression. She has had a name change that is conflicting, in the fact that this new person has no history. Education and work history consist of birth gender identification.

Susan is a MTF in her forties, who began transition in her thirties. She lives as a woman, but goes to work as birth gender. She states that when she works it is as a professional. In her field of employment gender is neutral. Cosmetics and jewelry are left behind. She is successful in a field that provides quality income. However, health issues create a desire for alternative employment that will allow her to remain financially secure. She has pursued employment as a woman, but attempts have not been successful.

Christopher is a FTM in his thirties. He began transition over a year ago and lives as a male. For Christopher it was change gender or die, since lack of birth
gender identification brought depression. He is employed full time. Employment has been a difficult and hostile experience because he has been “outed.” He is planning to complete transition in his current job and then seek employment elsewhere. He considers becoming an activist. However, another part desires to complete necessary gender changes, enabling him to live life anonymously.

Michael a FTM, is in his thirties and lives and works as a male. He began hormones approximately one year ago. Many physical and emotional changes have taken place. He never identified as being female and when puberty took place became depressed. Prior to transitioning he experienced many health problems. Since taking testosterone, these problems have disappeared and he is happy and healthy. In seeking who he was, Michael found the answers in the movie, Boys Don’t Cry (Hart, Kolodner, Sharp & Vachon 1999). This movie portrays a female transitioning from female to male. In the process of self-discovery Michael lived as a lesbian for some time. However, this role did not fit. He works in a field where much of his work is done independently and has an accepting employer. He contemplates changing jobs in order to increase income, but fears ramifications due to inconsistent identification.

Sandra is a MTF in her fifties who lives as a female. She began transition long ago while married. In the process she suffered divorce and rejection by her children. She feels that she has always been a woman, and states that transition during work was done in a supportive environment. She has worked as both a man and a woman. She states that since her identification is in order, she has not experienced problems obtaining employment as a woman. However, on one
job she was identified as a lesbian and though she states that she is not, the label suited her in maintaining that job.

Employment: Barriers and Adaptations

Appearance and Voice

Portraying appropriate gender allows one to pass and permits unnoticed movement within the mainstream. Those not having the ability to pass are harassed, discriminated against or face physical harm. In interviewing, a common question was asked, “Do I pass? Do I sound like I should?” Obtaining cosmetic effects that create change in gender is time consuming and expensive, inclusive of hormone therapy, electrolysis, laser, and surgery.

For the transgender person, self and others scrutinize one’s appearance and vocals. Vocal intonations are considered essential to some. What is heard reflects gender. Many MTF spend time finding a vocal range that reflects a higher feminine tone. For those FTM, this researcher has observed the lowering of the voice is an effect of the hormone testosterone.

Liza is able to pass. When asked about the process she states,

I have spent thousands of dollars to have the hair removed on my face and my arms. I still need more electrolysis to address other areas, but it all takes money. I portray a conservative appearance due to the female influences in my life. I still have a long journey ahead of me to get to where I want to be. Finances are primary in attaining change.

Changing body features and transitioning at work leaves one exposed. The effects of estrogen are slow and take time to soften hair, skin and body. With regard to transitioning Liza relates,
When I began transitioning, some people were afraid of me. Moving from the physical representation of male to female causes looks and stares that make a person feel uncomfortable and constantly aware of their environment. One always has a sense of heightened alert, as is experienced in post-traumatic stress syndrome. A little bump or comment can connect with something larger in you and then you blow up. One never knows who will notice, what will be said or what retaliation will be delivered. Many have been killed because they were discovered to be transgender. There are still times when people address me in male pronoun. I quickly correct them with appropriate female pronoun reference.

Sandra says,

Even though I have spent a lot of money on electrolysis, I still need to shave. I transitioned at a younger age and did it slowly so that there was not a lot of attention drawn to me. I would like to complete transition, but money always seems to get spent on other things.

She wonders about her voice, which sounds female over the phone and when she is aware that she must present as woman. However, in interviewing this researcher found that in a relaxed situation her voice became deeper. This may be due to the fact that this was not a threatening environment.

Mary has just begun to transition by taking hormones. She is also beginning to do laser or electrolysis. She has quite a lot of body and facial hair, which will be expensive to remove. She also has male patterned baldness, which means that she will need to wear a wig all of the time, if she continues transition, or obtain hair implants.

Susan states.

When I go to work I assume birth gender. My hair is long and my voice is higher. My identification looks more feminine than masculine and I have received comments about that. My voice can fluctuate, but I have control over that. I am in a field where gender does not define work status. I have attempted to work in other areas, but that has not worked out. One time I went to an interview as a woman. The person interviewing looked at my resume, looked at me, and then told me the job had been filled. For
now, I will have to stay in the line of work that I am in to survive. However, I
desire to work in a job where I can present the gender I want to live in.

Audra has long hair and wears make up. She has some features, such as
facial and body structure, that appear masculine. This will make it difficult for her
to completely pass at any time. She has had difficulty with transitioning, and has
suffered long bouts of depression. She takes hormones, but has not pursued
further cosmetic alterations because of finances. In order to survive, she has
worked as a prostitute in the past. At the time of this interview, she was
unemployed.

Those transitioning from FTM often experience visible changes in appearance
after several months on hormones. Body and facial hair begins to grow, the
voice lowers and the body begins to thicken out. This researcher cannot say this
is always true, however, this has what has been observed.

Michael states in the interview,

Prior to transitioning, when I lived as a female, I loathed the feminine uniform I
was expected to wear as a female employee. After much turmoil over the
need to change, feeling as if I was falling apart, I came out to my employer.
My employer was accepting and my work attire was changed to clothing that
was gender neutral. I have been experiencing a lot of changes due to the
hormones that I am taking. Have you ever seen the needle they give you to
inject hormones. It is long and very large, not like an insulin needle. You
inject it into your leg or large muscle. For a long time before I give myself a
shot, I have to psych myself up. I am thrilled with the change. When my
moods change, I can correlate that with the fact that this is close to the time
when I need to give myself hormones. Sometimes, I get so flushed at work
from the hormone changes I have to go lie down for a while, but it’s worth it.
It is just something you have to do.

Christopher looks male and is passable. His voice has deepened and may
depen further as hormone therapy progresses. He states,
It was really embarrassing when my voice began to change. I would be talking and all of a sudden my voice would crack. Just like going through puberty. There was no control and I never knew when it was going to happen. When I started taking testosterone I experienced going through male puberty, which makes you really horny and female menopause at the same time, if you can imagine that. This lasted for many months as the hormones adjusted with my body chemistry. I have met a lot of guys I would just like to hang out with, but I’m afraid of them discovering that I am transgender. I don’t think that I will be able to have a peer relationship with many guys until I can get surgery, which is my main goal. I just want it to be over and get on with my life.

**Coming out and Transitioning**

Change is inevitable if one is transgender and transition is painstaking. Coming out is connected to fear, uncertainty and anxiety in all areas of the person’s life. However if one is employed, barriers in transitioning increase. Problems arise in feelings internalized and factors that are out of one’s control. Coming out is not a spontaneous venture. Factors of coming out have been considered for a long time, before the process is actualized.

Liza began transitioning at one of her first jobs. She says,

When I decided to transition, I was in a situation that was culturally diverse and I knew that one of the supervisors was familiar with trans people. I spoke with her to see if she would be supportive, which she was. That allowed me to know that there would be support and that I was not going to be excommunicated because of it. I felt lucky to have support from her, which made the transition process possible. I was in a somewhat protective place where there was an awareness of multi-culturalism. In the process of transitioning, there were mixed reactions ranging from fear, support, lack of acceptance and harassment. Some did not understand, nor did they want to become educated.

Mary has not come out to her employer yet. She needs more time to explore being transgender and transformation. She is not sure what she will face. She says,
I feel that my diverse educational opportunities may provide alternative places for me to be. I think in coming out, I would first approach the human resource division of my company. However, I don’t know the response that I will get. I might get stuck in a cubicle for the remainder of my employment with this company, but that might be okay. I would like support, but I don’t know that it would happen.

Christopher tells another story. He notes,

I came out on a previous job and was accepted. However, lack of hours and a minimum wage pay scale made it necessary to seek employment elsewhere. On my new job, when initially hired, I was accepted as male by staff and co-workers. The first few weeks were great, until I was called into the supervisor’s office. One of my bosses noticed discrepancies in my application. I panicked. I considered lying, but decided to be truthful because I needed someone to know that I was planning on having surgery in the future. Two weeks later everyone knew. One person said to me that people were mad because they felt I had lied to them. I presented myself as I wanted to be known. My personal life is his my own business. People don’t want to go around work saying they’re gay and neither do transgender people. We want to be accepted for who we are.

Sandra tells of coming out at a time when females were just beginning to move into employment positions previously held by males. She indicates,

I had difficult times during transition. However, I came out early and found support. I feel that my long successful work history with this employer helped. Also, during this time women were desired in the field I was in. I could have been in the right place at the right time. I let people know I am transgender on a need to know basis. So far this approach has worked well for me.

Michael came out at work when pressed by his employer. He stated,

I was a mess, falling apart, crying, knowing that I needed to change, yet afraid of losing my job. My employer was worried I was having a breakdown. which accurately described what was going on. When confronted, I blurted everything out. My employer understood and told me that I should do what I needed to do, that the company would be supportive. My employer also stated that anyone who had a problem with this process could leave, that they would back me 100%. A few people have had problems, mainly due to religious convictions, and have left. I feel bad about that. However, when I found acceptance at work, I began hormone therapy immediately.
Identification

Appearance may be important, however, appropriate identification can be paramount. In changing genders, changing identity becomes a challenge. Many live from paycheck to paycheck, which makes finding additional financial resources for identification changes difficult.

A name change must first be obtained through the court system. Social Security must also be changed. Then driver’s license or DMV identification must be changed. However, the gender marking of M (male) or F (female) is not often changed unless an appropriate birth certificate can be shown. Birth certificates are only changed after the individual can produce a letter from a surgeon stating that sex change surgery has been completed. From what this researcher has heard from this population, some states will not change gender identification even if one has had surgery. What is known is that differences in identification and appearance have devastating affects on employment.

Liza found that in one job, even though the name she gave was female, she was noted as male, due to the fact that she had not legally changed her name.

Audra states,

I have had a name change completed and now am in a quandary because this new person does not have any history. All work and educational history occurred under prior gender. I do not feel comfortable with all the questions that will arise as I attempt to move on with life. Some schools will not transfer credits if gender has changed.

This researcher has not investigated this, as state laws vary.

Michael has not begun to change his name or other identification, due to lack of funds. He states.
I am hoping that my income tax return will allow me to begin the process. I work hard and should get a raise. I would also like to change professions. However, without appropriate identification, being accepted on the job and asking for a raise is a dual edge sword. You don’t know what to expect. I would like to seek other employment opportunities, but fear having to deal with the situations other transgender people have faced. For now I feel stuck and until identification is changed, my options are limited.

Christopher’s story perhaps tells the most devastating tale. Christopher was hired as a male. In relating his experience he says,

The man, who hired me knew that I was female, because the “F” for female was all over everything. A few weeks into employment I was called to my supervisor’s office, where three men were waiting for me. They asked why my identification appeared incorrect. I explained and was told the information would remain confidential. Two weeks later everyone knew and I was ostracized. One man at work indicated that life was going to be hell until identification was changed.

In a recent visit to the DMV to have his driver’s license renewed, the clerk at the DMV took one look at him and thought the F on the license was a typo, so she changed the gender designation from F to M. This brings Christopher one-step closer to his goal.

Sandra changed her identification early in the transition process. This has made future years much easier. Sandra tells a similar story about her driver’s license, with a twist. She tells of getting her drivers licensed renewed. Looking at Sandra the clerk stated there must be an error, because gender specification on her license and gender presentation did not match. Sandra said that she explained about being transgender and the clerk changed the M to an F.

**Employer**

The employment field and the employer determine the safety and support the transgender person is given. There is no doubt that there are safer places to
work than others. However, even though a workplace says that they honor diversity and multiculturalism, this may be superficial when interacting with a transgender person.

Liza stated that though she is in a field that appears to be more supportive of diversity, this fact is not always true. When seeking employment to subsidize income she related,

The interviewer told me that an extensive background check would be done. I had no choice but to say that some of the information would be under another name. Hearing this, the interviewer stated that he could not hire me, funds would be cut, no one would refer. I am fully qualified to hold the position, but it was about someone's own prejudice. Currently, I am self employed and I am in a privileged position.

Audra states that being transgender has turned out to be an advantage. She is currently working on a committee that is represented by several diversified groups in the city. It is due to being transgender that she now represents this population.

Susan shares that working in her area of employment has been a plus. She states,

When I am at work, I am neither male nor female. So gender does not have a part in my job. Dress is unisex, and when at work I am a professional. I don't represent either gender.

Christopher works for a large company that publicizes tolerance of diversity and multi-culturalism. However, since his employer has discovered Christopher is transgender, his life has been hell. He recounts,

Employees are not talking to me and management minimally. Supervisors and human resources are not on my side, which leaves no place to go. I would just like to come to work and do my job. I think that it is only a matter of time before they find some reason to let me go.
Mary states,

I hope that I can get support if I decide to transgender at work. I would like to remain with the same company. The company is conservative and I don’t know how my changing gender would make an impact on the company. There is a lot of homophobia at work; coinciding with various religious groups. I feel that some might be supportive, some not and some probably would not want to have anything to do with it.

**Stigma and Being “Outed”**

Those who identify with birth gender cannot feel the stigma that is correlated with being transgender. As Sandra says,

When one begins to transition, they had better be prepared to lose everything. If a person is not hard as nails they will not survive. Families, friends, jobs, and old sense of self are lost.

For some this is devastating. There is also the chance of being “outed,” or being disclosed to the general public when unexpected. This also creates emotional problems, as there is a sense of loss of control and fear.

Sandra notes,

I operate on a need to know basis only. However, in being confronted with people that have exposed me in the past, I wonder what kind of hatred is going on in them, that they feel the need to be so cruel to another human.

Liza states,

I try to manage information about myself. Sometimes, I get blind-sided. There was an incident when someone made a referral to me and in doing so, “outed” me. I find this to be highly unethical and offensive, since I would like to be allowed the opportunity to cross that bridge with the person I am working with. It could be a rich space. However, when someone discloses information about you, the feeling is, here we go again. Many times I choose to disclose myself so people can be given the correct information. When someone “outs” me, I tell him or her that it is not okay.
Michael says that he has been “outed” at work several times when there is a new employee. However, he just turns the tables, which often makes the person who “outed” him look foolish, since he looks like the gender he is portraying.

For Christopher the stigma that has occurred from having his private affairs made public at work has cost him greatly. He doesn’t feel that there is any trust anywhere, which makes it hard to come to work. He says,

If I can be taken for a male then I would just like to be able to blend in and get on with my life. Transitioning, getting from A to B is difficult. Once you can pass, you just want to be allowed to be who you are.

Walking into a hostile work environment everyday has made Christopher angry, resulting in depression. When asked why he stays, he states that it is just for the paycheck. When he gets everything changed he will leave. His coping mechanism is to isolate himself from the rest of the population at work. It is a good day when he is working alone. Things that were non-issues before have become burdens of employment, such as bathrooms, having to shave his mustache, employees not speaking to him, lack of support from human resources along with supervisors and being told not to discuss his circumstances with anyone, by upper management.

Susan had a negative experience that she communicates:

At one job someone must have been able to read me, or perhaps they saw me out one night. Never the less, this person at work started to say all kinds of nasty things about me. Trashing me to everyone and anyone who would listen. Eventually I lost my job, because his influence was greater than mine. They had more power than I did.
Attitude

Tough skins are developed if transition is going to be successful. Personal attitudes about transitioning must at some point become positive in order to succeed. This done is by coming to terms with who one is and what occurs in gender transition. This is true in the realm of employment.

Susan states that women can perform just as well as men in her line of employment. She states,

We don't have to be men. I have developed professional confidence in what I do, knowing that I can get a job in my field at anytime. It is what I do that counts. I am confident and I don't care what you think. I am here to get the job done, not to look pretty. I have good people around me, I'm a good person and I have a good sense of humor, which makes people laugh. My positive attitude affects others. As I have grown older, I care less what people think about me. Getting older is about less gender. I know that I am not crazy. When I go to work I am just myself, a professional. Much of the time people don't know who I am. I go to work with hundreds of people and I just have to laugh, because they think that I am a guy.

Michael says that he has the soul of a man and always has.

I used to be sick all the time. Since I have started taking hormones to change gender, any previous medical problems have disappeared. I can pass and that is a good thing. In some ways for me, transition has been fun. Yes there are painful parts about it, but I get so happy when I see all the changes that have occurred. I am a million times more vain than I was before. I have learned to be very Zen about certain things that go on. I just work on trying not to get wrapped up in the negatives, even though I worry a lot. However, if you can't laugh about it in some respect, you need to give it up. The same thing goes for employment. You have to be able to have a sense of humor about some of it. The whole thing is a hoot actually.

Audra says that finally, she is who she wants to be. After years of trying to be something else for everyone else, she is coming into her own. She is working on going back to school to gain further education.
Liza says initially, when she walked out the door you knew that she was queer. She states,

At first I felt apprehensive. Now I feel better about myself. I have learned to protect certain parts of myself so I wouldn't get hurt or be self-destructive. I have been tenacious in keeping myself safe. I believe that I have had to be powerful in making this transition. I am self-employed, which in many ways creates empowerment. I don't have to answer to anyone accept those whom I am working with. One needs to feel empowered to manage the changes that occur. I am now secure with myself.

Sandra says,

I have surrounded myself with people who have been supportive. Those who were not supportive left. This is not a place to be unsure about where you need to go, or you won't get there. I have worked hard to be a friend and not an enemy. In the beginning it was rough, but now I am accepting. There are a lot of people with problems in life and I just consider that I have this problem. I have worked on it and feel content with where I am today. I am a good employee, respected at work and I just keep it that way. Many of the people who knew me when I transitioned are still a part of my life.

Christopher says that his attitude seems to ripple.

When I am by myself I think things will be cool. Other days I walk into work and you can cut the tension with a knife. I don't want to be there and I would like to just walk in and say, I quit. I have developed an, I don't care attitude. Screw you all. My personality is changing from outside influences. I am developing a harder exterior. In a way I like it and in a way I don't. Seeing my progress on hormones is giving me a bigger ego, and I like that. I just go to work everyday and tell myself that I am going to get through this. When I leave work, I try not to think about it. I can't back track and be someone different. If I could, I would. I think the guys at work see me as a threat, but I don't know why. I am no different then they are, except I am more open minded and not as dumb.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

In working with this population, terms such as gender and sex take on new meaning. The world is more diverse than the box many find themselves in. Many incorrect interpretations exist regarding what it is to be transgender. And though given the opportunity, few may explore or do the work necessary to learn about this population.

However, for the social worker this appears to be a setting where much can be learned and done. In examining barriers and obstacles faced by this population in seeking and maintaining employment, themes appear that can specifically be addressed by social work intervention.

Coming out, Transitioning and Appearance

In dealing with the process of coming out, transitioning and appearance, it was determined that all are striving to meld into society and live life on their terms. These three aspects have significant impact on the transgender person.

Coming out, a term previously associated with gays and lesbians, is not just about informing others of sexual preference, it includes ones self-exploration of gender and sexual preference (Bullough & Bullough, 1993; Bushong, 2001; Gagne et al., 1997). Many years of questioning and knowing have culminated to a point when self-acknowledgement is necessary. As noted, many have gone
through years of destructive behavior and depression, denying who they are or attempting to be different (Bornstein, 1994; Colapinto, 2001; Gagne, et al. 1997; Hausman, 1997). Many have been rejected, with consequences that are forever painful. Acceptance and rejection has been noted in many venues within many minority populations. As Cotton (1998) states, black communities consist of dilapidation, boarded storefronts and trash-filled lots. Due to these factors many in this population have lower expectations in having the ability to improve their lives because of the discriminatory factors they face (Brown, 1996; Cotton, 1988).

The harsh aspect of transitioning is that most have done it while employed, which often leaves the transgender person vulnerable, open to ridicule, discrimination and danger (McNamara, 2001; Minter, 2000; Namaste, 1996). Feelings of vulnerability, danger and ridicule have also been voiced by women who have attempted to enter predominantly male work vocations, and by other minority groups, finding many inequalities and prejudices in seeking employment (Brown, 1996; Cotton, 1998; Evans and Kerr, 1991; Firestone et al., 1999; Maclean, 1999.)

Social workers trained in the area of gender can assist this process, as attitudes and feelings of the transgender person are traversed. Self-talk can be explored that either assists or inflicts positive or negative attitudes. It is time to be accepting of differences that occur, so that stigmatization is not the focal point (Bullough & Bullough, 1993; Burke, 1996; Bolin, 1996; Butler, 1999). Social
workers can help the person embrace this process, so that it is not closeted within the person, creating negative consequences.

Though society only recognizes polarized genders, the vast majority of cultures historically understood that anatomy does not dictate gender, any more than it does sexual preference (Bolin, 1996; Boswell, 1997; Hausman, 1995; Hood 1996). As the gays and lesbians who came before, society needs to be aware that there are many aspects of gender. Invalid fear occurs in faulty thinking that suggests conditions to be contagious, queer, or something to be sanctioned (McGuffey & Rich, 1999; Namaste, 1994, 1996; Ryan, 1976).

Social workers can be a support system for this population. Listening with understanding, regarding problematic barriers that are faced, when dominant binary gender definitions cannot be followed. As in previous years where the acceptance of gays, lesbians and other minority groups were integrated into the work environment, social worker can act as a catalyst for further educational programs addressing all diverse populations, inclusive of those who are transgender. Addressing a venue where individualism is something to be honored, rather than negated, if not measuring up to societal norms (Brown, 1996; Robbins, Chatterjee & Canada, 1998; Wilson, 1997).

Walworth (1998) states that for those transgendering from male to female, estrogen does not alter the voice and facial hair is rarely reduced. However, those taking testosterone will notice fairly dramatic changes over a few months. Facial hair is stimulated, body hair grows faster and body changes take place
making the figure more masculine and the voice deeper. From what has been observed this researcher's findings concur with Walworth's (1998) writings.

However, for some, especially those moving from male to female, change expectations and what actually occurs may not be congruent. Some will be able to meld into mainstream and some will not. It is here that negotiation needs to occur. Some transgender people as noted in the interviews have chosen to work in birth gender. However, outside of work the expression the gender one identifies with comes into play. Many have found this an acceptable way of living, for the present. As Goldman (1996) states.

Identity is not a bunch of cubby holes stuffed with intellect, race, sex, class, vocation and gender. Identity flows between, over, aspects of a person. Identity is a river – a process (p. 173).

Social workers can assist in the process of negotiation. Self-actualization is key in examining these factors with the transgender person, focusing in on what is right for this person rather than what is expected. Determining how far the person desires to go will create the map of intervention, addressing areas of employment that may or may not fit the individual. A solution-focused approach can be utilized in working out problematic areas in the workplace.

**Nature of Employment**

Findings indicate that support for the transgender person in employment should further be explored. Those in this population are following in the wake of others who have experienced lack of equality in the work force (Brown, 1996; Cotton, 1998; Evans & Kerr, 1991; Feinberg, 1996; Maclean 1999). Various work environments appeared to be supportive because they allowed for
increased diversity. A long history of successful employment appeared to be an asset. However, for those facing the prospect of intense investigation, though diversity was touted, seeking or maintaining employment was not a positive experience, leading to trauma, anger and depression for some.

Questions need to be examined regarding: 1) The value of the job, 2) Changing jobs, 3) Does the job value you, 4) The field of work and economic sector (Mairs, 2001; The Human Rights Campaign, 1999; Vitale, 1996). In assisting the transgender person in areas of employment, social workers need to allow for the autonomy of the individual. Acceptance is paramount, inclusive of an atmosphere of trust and positive regard. Without it, there is no place to go. Anticipation of employer's reactions can be explored (Conklin, 2000). Affects of wage earnings needs to be examined.

Inconsistencies and discriminatory factors currently exist with regard to gender and salary (Cotton, 1996; Duncan, 1996; Evans & Kerr, 1996; Facteau & Dobbins, 1996; Firestone et al., 1999). This must be taken account in examining gender change. Additional discriminatory factors may surface that could impact salary expectations. Cognitively, coping skills can be developed to deal with negative reactions of those who are not accepting. Varied work venues can be explored that might be better suited to the transgender person. Working through these issues can eliminate some of the anxiety that exists when disclosing information that was previously private (Isreal, 1997; Mairs, 2001; Vitale, 1996).

Identification

In seeking out information regarding identification, this researcher could not
find any specific information as to how this impacted both life and employment. However, in every interview this researcher conducted, a change of name and identification were mandatory in seeking employment. When identification was not identical or did not match gender appearance, many were exposed, denied jobs and shunned from employees and management. The ability to change jobs or seek raises was also affected by lack of appropriate identification. Those not prepared for this aspect in employment suffer consequences that may not be readily anticipated, gravely affecting one's ability to work or survive.

Social workers can advocate and empower the transgender population by mapping out the process that needs to occur, step by step. Those new to the transition process may not be aware of the impact that appropriate identification can have. Booklets could be created, that note agencies needing to be contacted, and what purpose they serve. Addresses could be given along with cost of services, to help facilitate changing names and identification. Legal impasses should also be noted, with regard to impact and requirements of changing a birth certificate. Some transgender people have stated that some states will not change birth certificates even after surgery. Forms could be provided to assist this population in the process. Social workers could advocate through centers that act as employee assistance programs to diverse populations.

**Psychological Aspects**

Last but not least, are psychological issues that transgender people face, both in and out of the work environment. As Namaste (1996) suggests, violence and
gender bashing are escalating in America. Perceived gender transgression appears to be the catalyst and those who become aggressors do not inquire, but make assumptions based on predisposed gender or racial cues. In looking at history, violence to other populations has been seen. It is important to find ways to protect, in a world that does not appear to be about equal justice (Cotton, 1996; Dempsey, 1994, Evans & Herr, 1991; Maclean, 1999).

Signs of discrimination in this population, have been related as a sense of heightened awareness, feelings of post-traumatic stress syndrome, being shunned and ignored by management and employees, being called names or singled out, loosing a job, and being “outed.” Other issues addressed are loss of self, as a new person is created and the old one left behind (Gagne et al., 1997). Maclean, (1999) relates similar incidents in women who sought jobs as firefighters. As women progressed up the ranks, the qualifications regarding employment appeared to change, allowing for further segregation and discrimination.

Social workers in the mental health field can assist the transgender person in working through feelings of isolation leading to anxiety, depression and suicide. Addressing issues that occur with gender transition is complex. If one is not equipped, intervention should not be attempted and the person should be referred to another resource. Comprehension of what is faced in seeking employment needs to be addressed by an individual well versed in what this population faces. Inclusive in this are services addressing transgender youth who face their own life and employment problems (Pazos, 1992).
In dealing with this population, the DSM needs to be left behind, as has been done for those who are gay or lesbian (Wilson, 1998; 1997). The transgender population has no voice. Social work can intervene, lobbying and campaigning for the reduction or elimination of stigmatization currently associated with this population. Advocating for the removal of a diagnosis that impedes and labels. In viewing the transgender person holistically, social work, together with this population can create a voice that can be heard. Making healthy and successful lives of those who are transgender the focal point.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The transgender people have held an extensive place in history. With western society's patriarchal influence and binary gender definitions, those falling in gender variant positions are at odds. Laws to protect them are limited if nonexistent. In many areas discrimination is rampant, as it is for other minority groups (Califia, 1997; Cotton, 1998; Feinberg, 1996; Goldman, 1996; Maclean, 1999).

Theory first addressing this population originated from a psychiatric viewpoint. Proclaiming those differing from mainstream's heterosexual views as deviant, something to be fixed (American Psychiatric Association, 1980; Bradley and Zucker, 1997; Money, 1991; Money & Ehrardt, 1972; Pauley, 1992; Stoller 1978, 1976, 1968). However, studies from this venue have not proven that intervention with this population has done much, except to stigmatize the transgender people further (Feeder, 1997; Feinberg, 1996; Gagne et al., 1997; Wilson, 1998, 1997). Biological science is still being studied, indicating that there are many variations of chromosomal determinants. Creating the possibility that gender cannot be confined to XX or XY coordinates (Bushong, 2001; Hood, 1996). Issues of gender are increasingly being debated as cultural. Noting that a human being is not necessarily just male or female, but travels through a continuum that has
characteristics representing both male and female gender (Burke, 1996; Butler, 1999; Fleras, 1995, Goldman, 1996).

Process of study was a qualitative approach derived from Miles & Huberman (1994), incorporating, "Data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification" (pp. 10-11). The transgender population was examined due to minority status, misrepresentation and employment. In examining employment through interviews, themes occurred that greatly impacted this population, regarding internal and external barriers. These themes allowed for discussion on how social work intervention can assist, enable and empower this population.

Limitations of this study can be noted by the sample size of seven, which is small in comparison to the reality of this population size. A larger sample may alter areas addressed in examining employment. Much background information that enriched the picture of this study was omitted, due to issues of confidentiality. The ratio of those transitioning to females was larger than those transitioning to male. Equal ratio size may have changed underlying issues of employment, further enhancing avenues of social work involvement.

Contributions of this qualitative study are that issues of employment were addressed utilizing the worldview of this minority population. In doing so a foundation has been laid, in which social work intervention can be constructed using a strengths approach. Though sample size was small, interviews gave an enriched picture of what was faced, which assisted in defining direction for social work.
In studying the transgender population and employment, it is clear there is much to be done. For the transgender person, change is an absolute. So the question remains, how can the field of social work further assist this minority population?

In examining the reactions one gets in mentioning the transgender or transsexual population, even among social workers, it appears that education is key. Little is known about this population, even to those whose focus is service to populations in need. Incorporating education regarding issues of gender is needed in social work programs and continuing education. There are many misnomers that have been accepted to define the transgender people. Obtaining a clear understanding of this population, will lead to acknowledgment and comprehension of obstacles faced in life as well as employment.

In practice this population is often seen as freaks of nature, or of having numbers so low that they are not worthy of attention. It is time to alter the way populations are viewed (Califia, 1996; Cotton, 1998; Firestone et al., 1999). Changing past ideals to fix, with those of how to support and integrate. A focus on success in transition, rather than pathology, needs to be highlighted (Wilson, 1998, 1997). In studying this population there are many avenues social work can be a viable resource, such as counseling, advocacy, enabling, brokering and teaching.

Further quantitative studies addressing the transgender population and employment, would greatly benefit the transgender person, as well as those who attempt intervention. Larger qualitative studies may reveal areas that did not
appear in this study. Areas of discrimination need extensive examination to prioritize intervention. In examining the transgender person and employment, further questions to research are: How do employers in local areas regard hiring a transgender person? Can educational forums alleviate some of the stigmas that are applied to the transgender person? How can organizations such as the NASW serve this population to gain legal rights and decrease discrimination? What elements or vehicles would be needed to change mainstreams ideals of what it means to be transgender?

Social workers can lobby in many venues for those who are transgender. Representation appears to be sparse, inclusive of settings offering support for gays, lesbian, bisexuals and transgender people (GLBT). Legislation needs to be developed that will mandate protection from discrimination, both in the personal and professional arenas. Equal opportunity acts need to include the transgender population, so that employment can be secured. Social work can bring this population to the forefront by educating themselves, hence disseminating accurate information.

Rosenhan (1973) appears to accurately sum up the problem. Noting that people are unable to acknowledge the unknown. Rather than seeking education and understanding, people are continually labeled. As if in labeling, an essence of what was occurring was understood. Many questions remain. However, in educating oneself, social workers can begin to address and give assistance to this population in gaining equality in society. After all, equality is a human right, and human rights are the foundation of social work, and social work intervention.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Human Subject Protocol Approval
DATE: May 15, 2001

TO: Cecilie Evans
   Social Work
   M/S 5032

FROM: Dr. Fred Preston, Chair
      UNLV Social/Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board

RE: Status of Human Subject Protocol Entitled:
   "Group Participation in Transgender Self-Help Group at Community
   Counseling: Issues in Transgender Community with Regard to Social
   Work Intervention"

OPRS# 386s0101-210

The UNLV Social/Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board reviewed your request
for a revision of the subject protocol. The change is approved and work on the project
may continue. A copy of the approved informed consent form is attached.

Should the use of human subjects described in this protocol continue beyond one year
after the original approval notification, dated February 15, 2002, it will be necessary to
request an extension. Should you require any further change(s) to the protocol, it will be
necessary to request such change through the Office for the Protection of Research
Subjects in writing.

If you have any questions regarding this approval, please contact the Office for the
Protection of Research Subjects at 895-2794.

cc: OPRS File

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
4505 Maryland Parkway • Rm 451046 • Las Vegas, Nevada 89154-1046
I am Cecilie Evans, a Masters student from the School of Social Work, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. I am conducting a qualitative research study to examine the transgender population and the barriers that exist regarding employment. I will also be looking for strategies and characteristics that are used to obtain and maintain employment. To gather this information, I am conducting recorded interviews lasting approximately 1½ - 2 hours. The time and location of the interview will be determined by the participant and myself. From the collected data I will write a thesis addressing this issue.

A risk factor that has been identified is that interviewing an individual may create vulnerability and discomfort. This may be due to the fact that the subject matter being addressed is or has been problematic for this person. Another risk factor is that the individual may feel that their identity may be disclosed and anonymity will be lost. In order to address these risk factors, the following practices will be implemented:

- The interview will cease, if the person being interviewed does not wish to continue. Counseling will be made available, if necessary.
- Confidentiality will be maintained at all times. Names will not be used and ages will be changed.
- All consent forms, interviews and transcriptions, will be stored at the researcher’s residence, in a locked cabinet. These items will be kept for a period of three years. However, after that time limit, all of these items will be destroyed.

One benefit of the study is that accurate information concerning employment and the transgender population will be obtained. Another benefit is that this information can be used in developing social work interventions specific to this population’s needs. Insight into this area will also increase cultural competency, which may be beneficial to many disciplines.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research, please call the UNLV Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at: (702) 895-2794.

If you have any further questions, with regard to the interview or interviewing process you can contact Cecilie Evans at: (702) 631-9411.

By signing this form, I acknowledge my understanding of the information provided to me about this study, and agree to willingly participate.

Name: ____________________________ Date: ____________________
REFERENCES


http://www.willamette.edu/~rrunkel/gwr/mcnamara


http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/polisci/pcurrah/genderlaw/translaw.htm

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