Regular Manuscript

"I Want to Be Safe…And I Also Want a Job": Career Considerations and Decision-Making Among Transgender Graduate Students

Abbie E. Goldberg[1] ⓘ, Emmie Matsuno[2] ⓘ and Genny Beemyn[3]

Abstract

Trans individuals experience unique stressors related to their careers, such as discrimination, workplace harassment, navigating transition, and disclosure of their identity. The current study examined the experiences of 30 trans graduate students with regard to career decision-making. In total, 19 identified as at least one nonbinary identity and 11 were binary trans-identified (trans men and trans women). Thematic analysis of in-depth interview transcripts revealed the following major themes: (a) Role of Gender Minority Stress During Graduate School in Career Development, (b) Key Considerations Related to Future Jobs or Career Paths (e.g., whether fields or specific jobs are trans-friendly), (c) Outness as a Key Consideration in the Job Application Process, and (d) the Role of Resources and Supports in Career Development. Our findings highlight the unique stressors for trans individuals in the career

[1]Department of Psychology, Clark University, Worcester MA, USA
[2]Department of Psychology, Palo Alto University, Palo Alto, CA, USA
[3]The Stonewall Center, UMass Amherst, MA, USA

Corresponding Author:
Abbie E. Goldberg, Department of Psychology, Clark University, 950 Main St, Worcester MA 01610, USA.
Email: agoldberg@clarku.edu

decision-making and job application processes and the unique challenges faced by nonbinary job seekers.

Keywords
transgender, nonbinary, career, minority stress, graduate students

---

Significance of the Scholarship to the Public
The current study highlights unique considerations in the career decision-making process for trans individuals, such as assessing the trans-inclusiveness of their chosen field and/or various job opportunities. Our findings also highlight unique stressors for trans individuals in the job application process, such as deciding whether to be out or to use their affirmed pronouns on application materials. Trans graduate students drew on university resources, therapists, and online supports to relieve career-related stress.

Trans people are exposed to discrimination in a wide range of settings, including educational institutions and workplaces (James et al., 2016; Schilt, 2006). Because of this discrimination, as well as the emotional and practical issues involved in coming out and being their authentic selves, trans people may experience more educational and workplace transitions and disruptions, including transferring colleges and switching jobs (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & Black, 2019; Stolzenberg & Hughes, 2017). Such disruptions, as well as discrimination in the hiring process (Rainey et al., 2015), may result in lower earnings and less financial mobility (Movement Advancement Project, 2020). For example, among the more than 27,000 trans participants in the 2015 United States Transgender Survey, the unemployment rate was 15%, three times higher than the 5% national unemployment rate, and 29% of respondents were living in poverty, double the rate of the US adult population (14%; James et al., 2016). Research on trans people's workplace experiences highlight the difficulties they face in maintaining paid employment commensurate with their education and skills, especially when they transition on the job (Brewster et al., 2014; Budge et al., 2010). Trans employees routinely face discrimination and hostility, which may culminate in them leaving their jobs due to distress or being "let go" (Budge et al., 2010). Currently, trans people are not protected from workplace discrimination in 30 states (Movement Advancement Project, 2020).

Supportive workplace environments and job satisfaction are consistently linked to life satisfaction, financial stability, and positive mental and physical health (Bowling et al., 2010; Warren et al., 2004). Workplace climate and job satisfaction have especially important implications for the well-being of members of marginalized groups. For example, workplace discrimination is associated with greater psychological distress and lower job satisfaction among LGB employees (Velez et al., 2013), and trans employees consistently report negative effects of workplace discrimination and harassment on their well-being and career trajectories (e.g., Brewster et al., 2014). Thus, career decisions have the potential to make a significant impact on trans people's overall well-being. Yet, limited research has explored trans people's career decisions and trajectories, despite continued calls for such work (Prince, 2013; Sangganjanavanich, 2009). The current study examines the experiences and perceptions of 30 trans graduate students with regard to career planning and decision-making.

Trans People's Career Development

Trans people represent a stigmatized group that experiences routine microaggressions as well as intermittent or chronic anxiety about discrimination (Dispenza et al., 2012; Pepper & Lorah, 2008). These likely impact career development processes, including career choices and decisions (C. Brown et al., 2012; Budge et al., 2010; Dispenza et al., 2012). Visible evidence of a social transition (e.g., change of name or pronouns) or a medical transition (e.g., changing voice due to hormone treatment) may prompt discrimination by coworkers and supervisors, including distancing, gossip, scrutiny, and demotion (Sangganjanavanich, 2009; Sangganjanavanich & Headley, 2013). Such experiences help to explain why many trans people do not disclose their gender identity to supervisors, if they can avoid doing so (almost half of respondents in the United States Transgender Survey; James et al., 2016). Those whose gender presentation is "ambiguous" or "gender blending" may encounter added scrutiny in the workplace because they do not conform to a gender binary and may be pressured to "align" with "either" gender (Budge et al., 2010; Schilt, 2006). Many workplaces have gendered expectations for professional dress, for example, and those who do not conform to binary standards may be reprimanded (Valentine, 2015).

Early writings about trans career development issues emphasized the experiences of trans people who transitioned in their current workplace and, to a lesser extent, the nuances of applying for a new job (M. L. Brown & Rounsley, 1996; Pepper & Lorah, 2008; Schilt, 2006). Some more recent work has explored aspects of the career decision-making process for trans people. Using a sample of 18 participants (13 trans women, 2 trans

men, 2 genderqueer people, and 1 cross-dresser), Budge et al. (2010) focused on transitioning at work and the ways in which identifying as trans impacted career decisions. Most participants felt that coming out as trans had constrained the range of occupational options available to them, narrowing their career trajectory. Some described how they had altered their career aspirations amidst awareness that certain paths (e.g., early childhood education) might be very difficult for them, echoing other findings that for a wide range of trans people, highly gendered environments (e.g., those with gendered clothing requirements, those mostly occupied by male- or female-identified people) may be quite stressful (Brewster et al., 2014; C. Brown et al., 2012). Some participants also invoked location as a context affecting their career prospects: having moved to places with legal protections for trans people, they were reluctant to move again. In sum, participants described how their career decisions and trajectories were uniquely impacted by their trans identities, and more precisely, by gender minority stress.

No work has examined the career decision-making processes of trans people who are attending or who have recently completed graduate school and are thus in the early stages of their professional careers. However, some scholars (Sangganjanavanich, 2009; Scott et al., 2011) have written about the unique professional challenges that trans people and students face. According to Scott et al. (2011), trans undergraduate and graduate students are uniquely disadvantaged with regard to career development and preparation. Many university career centers lack trans-specific resources and programming, leaving staff members unable to advise trans students on job-related challenges and issues. In turn, trans students typically lack guidance in navigating issues that arise in the job application process, such as explaining name changes in one's educational or job-related materials, or deciding how much to share about one's gender transition (Scott et al., 2011).

Beyond Budge et al.'s (2010) inclusion of two genderqueer participants, little work has examined the career development experiences of nonbinary trans people. One exception is a report on 895 nonbinary people in Scotland, that documented that only 4% of respondents always felt comfortable sharing their nonbinary identity at work, 52% never felt comfortable, and 55% worried it would impact their career progression (Valentine, 2015). Much of the guidance given to career counselors for working with trans people presumes a binary trans identity, and thus, the specific concerns of nonbinary people, such as managing gendered expectations for interview attire, are underexplored (Scott et al., 2011). Career considerations may be different for nonbinary people, who are more likely to be misgendered than binary trans people, and face unique challenges in settings that rely heavily on the gender binary (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & dickey, 2019). For example, nonbinary trans people may encounter pressure to look more traditionally female or male in

work environments that are highly gendered and may not have access to gender-inclusive restrooms.

In addition, much of the research on trans people focuses on workplace discrimination in the context of medical gender transitions, thus ignoring the experiences of trans people who do not medically transition, and also failing to consider other issues, like precareer experiences or career pathways (Brewster et al., 2014; Dispenza et al., 2012; Schilt, 2006; Tebbe et al., 2019). Little is known about how trans people decide on a compatible career or how they weigh trans identity-related considerations, such as timing of gender transition, health insurance, location, and community climate (Budge et al., 2010; Chope & Strom, 2008). The career development literature is also limited in its consideration of how trans people evaluate different career paths and job opportunities in relation to the dynamics of their chosen field (e.g., its trans-inclusiveness). Qualitative research suggests that trans people may alter their career trajectories to avoid discrimination in transphobic or highly gendered industries (Ozturk & Tatli, 2016; Schneider et al., 2019). In turn, trans people may be underrepresented in some fields and overrepresented in others. According to the 2017 National Survey of Student Engagement, compared to cisgender students, trans students were less likely to major in business (4% vs. 16%) and the health sciences (5% vs. 15%), and more likely to major in the arts and humanities (33% vs. 9%; Greathouse, 2019). Although slightly less likely to be STEM majors than cis men (22% vs. 25%), trans students were more likely to be STEM majors than cis women (22% vs. 6%; Greathouse et al., 2018).

A final limitation of the literature on the career development of trans people is that it largely ignores broader contextual factors as well as how these factors intersect with their multiple identities and personal agency, thereby influencing their career considerations (Budge et al., 2010; Dispenza et al., 2019). There is therefore a need to examine how environmental conditions and events affect the career development and decisions of trans people, who may consider geographic and legislative factors, such as whether a particular region or state is LGBTQ-affirming and/or has LGBTQ-protective policies, in evaluating career options (Budge et al., 2010; Datti, 2009). It is also important to examine how social network factors, such as support from family, friends, and mentors, impact trans people's pursuit of career aspirations (Mulcahy et al., 2016), and how, in the absence of such support, trans people may seek out LGBTQ- or trans-specific professional organizations and/or online communities for career guidance (Jourian & Simmons, 2017; Nicolazzo et al., 2017).

The Transition from Graduate School to Employment

Preparing for and entering the workforce can be a challenging, anxiety-laden process, characterized by numerous stressors, such as uncertainty about

employability, feeling unprepared, and a lack of support (García-Aracil et al., 2021). Ideally, graduate students receive professional guidance from advisors, graduate programs, and university career counseling services. Faculty mentors, in particular, play a key role in professional development by providing research and publication opportunities, contributing to career advancement, and facilitating job placement (Noy & Reay, 2012). For their part, graduate students often depend heavily on faculty mentors for career guidance, networking help, and recommendation letters (Noy & Reay, 2012).

Minoritized students (e.g., LGBTQ students and Students of Color) are particularly vulnerable to inadequate, ineffective mentoring (Fletcher et al., 2015) and often lack mentors who share their identities, can guide them through the job application and negotiation processes, and support them in evaluating job "fit" and climate (Fletcher et al., 2015). Trans students are less likely to be mentored in graduate school (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & dickey, 2019), which may impact their career development. Trans graduate students who are routinely misgendered by their advisors tend to feel unsupported and are less likely to rely on their advisors for professional guidance and letters of support (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & dickey, 2019). Furthermore, feeling misunderstood by and alienated from their advisors may also render trans students at greater risk for leaving their graduate program (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & Black, 2019).

Theoretical Framework

This study draws from person–environment (P–E) fit theories of career decision-making integrated with minority stress theory. Although P–E fit theories have not yet been applied to trans populations, these theories have been used to examine the career decisions of LGB people and the ways in which their stigmatized status may make them more likely than heterosexual people to make decisions in light of workplace culture (Lyons et al., 2005).

The theory of work adjustment (TWA; Dawis, 2002), a well-known P–E fit theory, conceptualizes P–E fit in terms of personal values and environmental reinforcers, whereby correspondence in values and reinforcers predicts job satisfaction. The TWA outlines six core values that may impact job satisfaction: achievement (using one's abilities and feeling accomplished), comfort (feeling comfortable and not stressed), status (achieving recognition and being in a dominant position), altruism (being of service to and at harmony with others), safety (having a stable and predictable work environment), and autonomy (being independent and having a sense of control; Dawis, 2002). This theory posits that if one's values and work environment do not align, it creates "disequilibrium," which may then motivate a person to change

themselves or their environment (Dawis, 2002). The TWA has also been applied to career exploration and decision-making. Dawis (2005) suggests that evaluating an individual's work-related values and abilities, as well as occupational possibilities that correspond with those values and abilities, can help promote satisfactory career choices.

There are many ways that the TWA can be applied to trans populations. Similar to LGB people, values and work environment reinforcers likely influence job satisfaction for trans people and may specifically be influenced by experiences of gender minority stress. For example, one's trans identity may influence their work values (e.g., wanting to give back to marginalized communities), as well as their work environment reinforcers (e.g., discrimination that results in a lower level of comfort). There may also be additional values not identified in the TWA that may be important for P–E fit among trans people, such as values related to outness, proximity of supportive family, and access to trans communities and medical transition resources. In addition to the workplace environment, other contextual factors, such as location and political climate, may be key indicators of P–E fit and job satisfaction for trans people (Prince, 2013).

Gender minority stress theory (GMST; Testa et al., 2015) is a useful framework for considering how gender identity-related stressors may impact trans students' career decision-making. According to GMST, trans people experience stressors, including discrimination and victimization, that can negatively impact their well-being. In addition, negative gender identity-related experiences can result in greater expectations of similar events occurring in the future, which has been identified as a proximal stressor that can also impact well-being (Rood et al., 2016). Amidst a desire to achieve one's ideal occupation, combined with a history of experiences of invisibility or mistreatment (James et al., 2016), trans people's approach to career decisions may reflect an acute awareness of barriers to securing and thriving in a particular job—barriers that might be greater for individuals with particular gender identities (e.g., genderqueer) or disciplines (e.g., STEM; Yoder & Mattheis, 2016). For example, research on LGB students in STEM fields suggests that such fields pose challenges for students whose identities do not align with dominant stereotypes (e.g., White heterosexual male engineers; Cech & Waidzunas, 2011); and, students whose dress or appearance violate gender rules may be pressured to conform to gendered expectations (Moss-Racusin et al., 2010). Amidst safety concerns, trans people may also modify their occupational goals, forgoing some career paths in favor of others. Alternatively, some trans students may persist in fields that are unwelcoming to nondominant groups (e.g., STEM) and face greater difficulties finding a supportive workplace. Exacerbating the stress that trans students in these situations may experience is a lack of access to mentors or other resources that can provide appropriate career guidance.

The Current Study

The current study of 30 trans graduate students aims to understand their career experiences and decision-making. We sought to address the following key research questions:

1. How does gender minority stress impact trans students' career trajectories?
2. What considerations do trans graduate students emphasize as impacting their career path, and what tensions emerge amongst these considerations?
3. What challenges, issues, or tensions emerge for trans graduate students in the job application process, specifically?
4. What individuals, resources, and supports do trans graduate students find helpful or unhelpful in navigating career decisions and the job application process, specifically?

Method

Design

We recruited 30 participants by contacting individuals ($n = 506$) who took part in a survey of trans students' experiences in higher education in the summer and fall of 2016. Participants in this survey, who were recruited via LGBTQ campus groups and social media sites targeted at trans people and/or students in higher education, identified under the trans umbrella (e.g., trans woman, trans man, and nonbinary) and were enrolled at an undergraduate or graduate institution in the past year. In spring 2017, the first author sent an email to all survey participants who had provided an email address about an interview opportunity that involved speaking about their experiences in graduate school and their professional development. Thirty individuals contacted the first author to participate, and all were included in the study. They completed a 1–1.5 hr telephone interview and a brief online demographics survey.

Participants

Table 1 contains data on the race, age, gender identity, sexual orientation, and discipline for each participant. Regarding race, 26 students identified themselves as White, one as Latinx and White, one as Native American, and two as "another race." In both cases of individuals who selected "another race," respondents indicated that they identified as Jewish, suggesting that they did not feel that the existing racial classification system allowed them to meaningfully express their identity. Twenty-three students were assigned

female at birth and seven were assigned male. Nineteen identified as at least one nonbinary identity (e.g., genderqueer and gender fluid); 11 identified as only binary trans (trans man and trans woman). All students attended masters or doctoral programs. Six participants were enrolled in programs in the humanities (e.g., English), six in counseling/social work, five in the social sciences (e.g., sociology), five in education, three in the medical/health sciences (e.g., physical therapy), and five in STEM (e.g., physical sciences, math, and computer science). Table 2 contains additional demographic data beyond that provided in Table 1.

Procedure

The first author and an advanced doctoral student in developmental psychology conducted the semi-structured interviews, which were transcribed by trained graduate and undergraduate students. The interview questions were informed by the relevant literature and an overarching interest in the experiences of trans graduate students (see Appendix). Probes and follow-up queries generally accompanied these questions.

Reflexivity Statement

The three authors are diverse in gender identity, race, discipline, professional role, and career stage. Two identify as nonbinary and one as cisgender. Two identify as White and one as a Person of Color. Our disciplinary backgrounds include clinical psychology, counseling psychology, and African American Studies/education. We all conduct research on, and have engaged in advocacy work on behalf of, trans people. Two of us are mid-career professionals and one is an early career professional. Our diverse disciplinary backgrounds and roles meant that we were sometimes attentive to different aspects of participants' narratives about career decision-making, which enabled us to conduct a deeper analysis of the data and consider a variety of applications for the findings. At the same time, our backgrounds in the social science and humanities, and lack of experience in STEM and medical fields, inevitably sensitized us to particular themes over others, ultimately impacting coding and data interpretation.

Also relevant is the positionality of the graduate student who interviewed some of the participants, who is not a member of the authorship team. She is a cisgender White woman and a doctoral student in developmental psychology, whose research focuses on LGBTQ emerging adults raised in religious families. Amidst her research foci and developmental lens, she was especially attentive to probing about developmental issues (e.g., identity exploration) and sources of (non)support for gender identity exploration in the interviews.

Table 1. Demographics of Study Participants

Name	Race, ethnicity, religion	Age	Gender identities	NB/B	Sexual orientation	Discipline
Krys	White	25	Trans, gender fluid, feminine-of-center	NB	Queer	Social Sciences
Skye	Native American	25	Trans, nonbinary, gender fluid	NB	Queer	Education
Wren	White	29	Trans, nonbinary, gender nonconforming, demigender	NB	Bisexual/Queer	Education
Bryn	White	29	Trans, genderqueer, agender, androgynous, woman	NB	Queer	Counseling/Social Work
Lennon	White	23	Trans, genderqueer, nonbinary, masculine-of-center	NB	Queer	Medical/Health Sciences
Toby	White	22	Trans, trans man, man, masculine-of-center	B	Queer	Education
Emerson	Latinx/White	35	Trans, genderqueer, nonbinary, gender nonconforming	NB	Queer	Humanities
Addie	White	22	Trans, nonbinary, agender	NB	Pansexual	Humanities
River	White	26	Nonbinary, gender nonconforming	NB	Queer	Humanities
Darren	White	22	Trans man, man	B	Bisexual	Humanities
Max	White	31	Genderqueer, gender nonconforming	NB	Queer	Counseling/Social Work
Ezra	White	26	Trans, genderqueer, nonbinary	NB	Queer	Social Sciences
Ty	White	23	Trans, genderqueer, nonbinary, gender nonconforming, feminine-of-center, androgynous	NB	Bisexual/Queer/Pansexual	Humanities
Andie	Jewish	23	Genderqueer, gender fluid	NB	Queer	Counseling/Social Work
Colin	White	29	Trans, trans man	B	Gay	Medical/Health Sciences

Table 1. (continued)

Name	Race, ethnicity, religion	Age	Gender identities	NB/B	Sexual orientation	Discipline
Logan	White	28	Trans man, man	B	Queer	Social Sciences
Jordan	Jewish	31	Trans, genderqueer, trans man, non-normative male	NB	Queer	STEM
Jonas	White	32	Trans, trans man, man	B	Bisexual	STEM
Darcy	White	65	Trans, trans woman, woman	B	Lesbian	Counseling/Social Work
Sam	White	24	Genderqueer, nonbinary, androgynous	NB	Queer	STEM
Grey	White	27	Trans, nonbinary, gender fluid	NB	Bisexual	STEM
Lou	White	29	Trans, trans man, trans masculine	B	Queer	Counseling/Social Work
Dre	White	26	Nonbinary, butch	NB	Lesbian	Counseling/Social Work
Devon	White	34	Nonbinary, gender fluid, bigender	NB	Pansexual	Social Sciences
Sage	White	47	Genderqueer, gender nonconforming, gender nonspecific	NB	Bisexual	Education
Blake	White	24	Gender nonconforming, androgynous, woman	NB	Gay	Medical/Health Sciences
Elliot	White	25	Trans, trans man	B	Pansexual	Education
Layla	White	23	Trans woman	B	Heterosexual	Social Sciences
Myra	White	28	Trans, trans woman	B	Queer	STEM
Bobbie	White	28	Trans woman	B	Bisexual	Humanities

Note. N = 30. NB = nonbinary, B = binary.

Table 2. Demographic Details of the Study Participants

Variable	Value	n (%)
Race	White	26 (87%)
	Biracial/multiracial	2 (7%)
	Latinx	1 (3%)
	Native American	1 (3%)
Gender identity	Trans	19 (63%)
	Nonbinary	12 (40%)
	Genderqueer	10 (33%)
	Trans man	8 (27%)
	Gender nonconforming	7 (23%)
	Gender fluid	5 (17%)
	Man	5 (17%)
	Androgynous	4 (13%)
	Woman	3 (10%)
	Transgender woman	3 (10%)
	Masculine-of-center	2 (7%)
	Feminine-of-center	2 (7%)
	Agender	2 (7%)
	Bigender	1 (3%)
	Demigender	1 (3%)
	Something else	5 (17%)
Gender categorization	Trans	19 (63%)
	Nonbinary	12 (40%)
Assigned sex at birth	Male	7 (23%)
	Female	23 (77%)
Disabilities	Mental health-related (e.g., anxiety)	6 (20%)
	Chronic headaches	2 (7%)
	Mobility-related	1 (3%)
Health insurance	Yes	27 (90%)
	No	3 (10%)
Wear clothes-matches gender identity in social situations	Yes	29 (97%)
	No	1 (3%)
Wear clothes-matches gender identity to class	Yes	28 (93%)
	No	2 (7%)
Pronouns	He/him/his	9 (30%)
	She/her/hers	5 (17%)
	They/them/their	5 (17%)
	Depends on context/setting	5 (17%)

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

Variable	Value	n (%)
	OK w/multiple pronouns (she/her; they/them)	5 (17%)
	Does not matter	1 (3%)
Body modifications, nonmedical	Binding	18 (60%)
	Packing	11 (37%)
	Tucking	3 (10%)
Body modifications, medical	Hormones (past and/or current)	17 (57%)
	Top surgery (breast removal, implants)	10 (33%)
	Bottom (genital) surgery	3 (10%)
University type	Public	19 (63%)
	Private	11 (37%)
Region	East coast	8 (27%)
	South	8 (27%)
	Midwest	8 (27%)
	West coast	6 (20%)

Note. The 30 participants described their gender identities in various ways (they were able to select as many descriptors as they wished in the survey). Thus, *n*'s and percentages for gender identity add up to over 30 and 100, respectively.

Data Analysis

We utilized thematic analysis, a flexible but standard means for considering responses to open-ended questions that identifies and categorizes primary patterns and themes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Goldberg & Allen, 2015; Levitt et al., 2018) by creating a coding system to organize the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Guided by principles of constructivism, we do not view the themes as arising from the data, but emerging as a result of our interaction with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Levitt et al., 2018). The first author initiated the coding process by immersing herself in the data, reading each transcript multiple times, and highlighting relevant passages. Her analytic interest in career experiences and decisions meant that she attended in particular to data segments that contained references to these domains. She wrote a memo for each participant, in which she summarized their career experiences while attending to particular social locations and demographics that varied across the sample (e.g., gender identity, discipline, and region). Initially, a wide range of preliminary codes were noted, including those related to gender identity, graduate school, and job considerations. At this stage, the second author read through and coded select transcripts, noting salient patterns. The two authors discussed convergences and divergences in their coding, which led to the refinement of emerging codes. The use of multiple

Table 3. Major Themes and Subthemes

Major theme	Subthemes	n (%)
Gender minority stress and career development		
	Encounters with institutional and interpersonal aspects of gender minority stress in graduate school	30 (100%)
	Courses and classwork	7 (23%)
	Gender transition as negatively impacting academics/career	9 (30%)
	Medical transition as source of delay/disruption	6 (20%)
	Accumulated costs of transitioning and graduate school	6 (20%)
Considerations in career decision-making		
	Career goals and interests	30 (100%)
	Shift in career goals due to gender/minority stress	6 (20%)
	Desire to do advocacy/activism	12 (40%)
	Tensions in highly gendered disciplines/careers	8 (27%)
	Geographic climate	13 (43%)
	Possible move outside of the United States	3 (10%)
	Source of tension with other valued job/life factors	6 (20%)
	Workplace climate	7 (23%)
	The role of transphobic job experiences	4 (13%)
	The role of transphobic graduate school experiences	3 (10%)
	Health insurance	5 17%)
Outness in the job application process		
	Plan to be out	5 (17%)
	Plan to not be out	5 (17%)
	Strategic approach to outness	4 (13%)
	Navigating nonbinary identities/signifiers	9 (30%)
	Trans as valued aspect of diversity: Playing it up?	4 (13%)
Supports and resources		
	University supports	
	Lack of professionals that are field + trans informed	4 (13%)

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Major theme	Subthemes	n (%)
	Positive experiences	3 (10%)
	Faculty mentors	
	Lack of trans mentors in field	9 (30%)
	Lack of trans-competent mentors	8 (27%)
	Trans-supportive mentors	12 (40%)
	Outside professional supports	
	Online resources (e.g., listservs/social media resources)	10 (33%)
	Therapy	12 (40%)

coders, as well as descriptions of data that are thick, meaningful, and context-rich (Levitt et al., 2018; Miles et al., 2014), represent efforts to enhance the credibility of our analysis.

Next, codes were further refined, organized, and grouped under several major themes: Role of Gender Minority Stress During Graduate School in Career Development, Key Considerations Related to Jobs and Career Paths, Outness as a Key Consideration in the Job Application Process, and the Role of Resources and Supports in Career Development. At this more conceptual stage of coding, we sought to create a system of categories and subcategories that best synthesized the data (Goldberg & Allen, 2015; Miles et al., 2014). We also drew on sensitizing concepts (e.g., gender minority stress and workplace fit) to help us to make sense of the data. A theoretically-informed analysis meant that we were attentive to ways that the emerging themes reflected, or mapped onto, key constructs in theory and literature (e.g., microaggressions; Braun & Clarke, 2006). At the same time, such concepts did not dictate our reading or coding of the data, as we sought to remain open to participants' interpretations (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We also remained attentive to the ways in which participants experienced these themes differently (e.g., according to discipline and gender identity) and we attended to which, how, and why certain accounts differed from the dominant emerging story (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Miles et al., 2014).

The authors then applied the coding scheme to the data. This resulted in further refinement of the scheme, and enabled the identification of more descriptive coding categories and the generation of themes for which there was the most substantiation in the data. In some cases, themes are described that are not necessarily prevalent but are significant to the area of inquiry (Braun & Clarke, 2006). At this final stage, the third author provided input regarding the scheme, including its coherence, clarity, and the relationships

among codes. Minor edits were made, and the coding scheme was applied once again to all of the data (see Table 3 for the final scheme).

Findings

The findings are organized into four sections: (a) the role of gender minority stress in career development, (b) key considerations in job/career decision-making, (c) navigating decisions about outness in the job application process, and (d) the role of supports and resources in career development (see Table 3 for major themes and subthemes, with frequency data).

Gender Minority Stress in Career Development

All participants described navigating a range of gender minority stressors in their daily lives as graduate students, which took an emotional toll on them.

Institutional and Interpersonal Aspects of Gender Minority Stress

At a basic level, participants contended with systems and structures (e.g., restrooms and forms) that assumed a gender binary identity and thereby caused constant stress as participants tried to navigate their world authentically. They also faced misgendering by students, faculty, and staff. Such experiences of minority stress in graduate school may indirectly affect trans students' career trajectories, such as influencing their perceptions of their field and preventing them from focusing on schoolwork and career preparation. Sam,[1] a White genderqueer, androgynous STEM student, for example, struggled with the constant assumption that they were female, and was "often misgendered and called upon to speak to [the perspective of] women in STEM." Sam's wish to be understood for who they were was in "constant tension" with how they were seen, creating ongoing mental stress.

Courses and classwork

Seven students (23%) described how gender minority stress resulted from genderism in their classes and coursework. Students in the natural and social sciences noted the tendency of professors to conflate anatomy with gender, assert that gender was biological and not social, and assume a gender binary. Blake, a White androgynous student in the health sciences, took a course on humans and stress, which "ironically stresses me out just because of the topics and word choices. [The professor]… believes gender is biological. He believes that a lot of people change their bodies when you could just call on

psychologists and just have them change their mind. I'm like, 'Are you talking about conversion therapy?'" Students pursuing degrees in English or other languages reported feeling constantly invalidated, since "a lot of languages have a gender [binary] built into them." The participants who went by "they/them" pronouns sometimes had to argue with faculty who refused to accept the singular "they" as grammatically correct.

Gender Transition

Nine participants (30%) described how transitioning before and/or during graduate school had interfered with their academic progress and career development. They found that navigating the emotional, psychological, and sometimes medical aspects of gender transition was not a process that could be rushed, which at times meant that other aspects of their lives (e.g., academic) suffered. Krys, a White, gender fluid, feminine-of-center student in the social sciences, had great difficulty staying on top of their academic work amidst the emotional turmoil associated with gender transition: "My peers have essentially left me behind in terms of their academic success just because I cannot keep up. It makes me feel very distant from the whole grad school experience." Andie, a Jewish genderqueer, gender fluid student in social work, noted that their gender exploration and transition was a primary factor in why they were so distracted from schoolwork in their first year of graduate school, which stalled their academic progress and career development: "There was a couple semesters where I felt like the most important thing happening in my life was being able to… be comfortable in my body and walking around in the world."

Medical transition. Six participants (20%) cited aspects of medically transitioning as contributing to delays or disruptions in their progress toward academic and career goals. For example, due to difficulties with insurance coverage, Emerson, a Latinx/White genderqueer student in the humanities, had to reschedule their top surgery, causing an unexpected interruption during the semester. This resulted in needing to "get extensions for papers," although ultimately, "my heart wasn't in it [school]." The surgery and recovery, combined with family-related stress, made it challenging to keep up with coursework and thesis writing: "I kind of fell off the face of the Earth in terms of school."

Accumulated costs. Six participants (20%) spoke to how costs associated with transitioning (e.g., hormones and psychotherapy) and graduate school (e.g., loans) created financial stress, that compounded emotional stress. Toby, a White trans man in the humanities who "sold all [his] stuff" and did a "Go Fund Me for surgery," faced an "overwhelming amount of financial stress in

day-to-day life." Addie, a White, agender student in the humanities, named a constellation of factors that contributed to their financial stress: "I have so much debt. Undergrad was really expensive, my family has no money, grad school was really expensive, and [there's] $1,000 in medical bills that I can't pay."

Key Considerations in Job/Career Decision-Making: Interests, Values, and Context

In thinking about their future careers, participants emphasized their professional interests and goals and often expressed a desire to do work that would impact the lives of LGBTQ and trans communities. At the same time, they seriously considered their safety and comfort as trans people, which involved examining factors that were specific to disciplines, locations, and workplaces.

Career Goals and Interests

Participants' career goals varied and included being a librarian, professor, K–12 teacher, social worker, writer, project manager, mathematician, and computer scientist. In explaining their career choices, participants centered their own interests, such as wanting to work with children or college students, and enjoyment of a particular topic or area of study, such as English, sociology, or science.

Shift in career goals. Six students (20%) noted that they had shifted their career goals prior to graduate school because they realized that their favored field was one that might be inhospitable to them as trans people and, for some, also as queer people. Thus, climate factors were central to their career decision-making (Prince, 2013). Elliot, a White trans man in education, shared how he had considered going into K–12 teaching, but "changed because I saw many teachers getting lawsuits against them for teaching. In elementary schools and middle schools, parents did not like their children being taught by transgender teachers." Elliot decided to pursue a career in higher education because he perceived it as "very committed to diversity," and he desired to be somewhere where he could "make a change, not somewhere where somebody's… going to be blocking… everything [I do]." Sage, a White genderqueer student in education, shared their impression that certain tracks in education were more accepting of trans people, such as "student services and [those] with a social justice focus. The tracks [to become] high school principals and superintendents, not so much… because, 'protect the children.'" Hoping to work with children, Sage began to look at jobs "working with queer youth," as they were aware that working with children in a mainstream setting might be quite challenging as a trans person.

Desire to do advocacy/activism. Twelve participants (40%) shared a desire to make activism a part of their work. Devon, a White gender fluid, bigender student in the social sciences, wanted to "actively be working towards improving the lives of others." Bryn, a White genderqueer, agender, androgynous student, felt that becoming a social worker would give them "opportunities to be more of a skilled advocate and educator… for the [trans] population." For some, being openly trans in their career was part of their advocacy and saw their visibility as a powerful way to facilitate the careers of other LGBTQ individuals. Grey, a White gender fluid student in STEM, wished "to become a very openly queer scientist, because I see the impact that has on people, and I saw the impact it had on me." Max, a White genderqueer student in social work, planned to be "out in the profession, [because] I really wish I had more fellow queer and trans people… to learn from."

Tensions in highly gendered disciplines/careers. Eight participants (27%), many of whom were in STEM majors and the health sciences ($n = 5$; 17%), described tensions involving the highly gendered nature of, and/or heavy reliance on, a gender binary in their fields. Challenges included the expectations associated with their profession (e.g., dress and behavior), the prevailing attitudes and climate (e.g., misogynistic and sexist), and the field's gender makeup (e.g., mostly men). Colin, a White trans man in the health sciences, said, "The handbook is like 'Professional dress for men and women'; that binary is definitely there." Both nonbinary and binary trans participants commented on their field's lack of consideration for identities outside of the gender binary. Jonas, a White trans man, spoke to how most STEM fields remained entrenched in a gender binary: "Our idea of diversity is definitely stuck somewhere in the '80s. We have programs for women in science—that's a big thing. I have no idea how [the field] would do with someone who is nonbinary. You would have to be like, [navigating]—'so are you a woman in STEM or are you not a woman in STEM?'" Jordan, a Jewish genderqueer trans man, noted that in the sciences, "you have some gay people, but you don't really hear a lot of trans people coming out with their stories… Especially finding people who are. . . nonbinary in [the sciences] is kind of tough." In graduate school, Jordan encountered "issues with conforming to dress codes and things like that," and expected to continue to face resistance to their gender presentation in a work environment.

Three participants (10%), two in the humanities and one in a social work program, spoke to a different type of challenge related to the gender binary in their discipline. They noted that the focus on women (e.g., as people in need of empowerment) sometimes meant that trans masculine and nonbinary identities were overlooked or minimized. Bryn, a White genderqueer, agender,

androgynous student in social work, wanted to work in women's centers but felt that these spaces tend not to fully embrace trans populations, even though "it's not just women that are victimized."

Geographic Climate

Thirteen participants (43%) highlighted geographic climate as a central consideration in thinking about future jobs. Some were willing to apply to jobs only in areas that were LGBTQ-friendly, with a few applying blanket selection criteria, such as "avoiding Southern states." Lou, a White trans man in social work, "associated the presence of a large campus with liberal political views, which makes me feel safer," and hoped to live and work in a college town. Noting that "there are only some… cities where I feel like I could get adequate health care," Lou also planned to prioritize areas with trans-competent providers when searching for a job. Blake, a White androgynous student in the health sciences, planned to be "selective in terms of where I choose to apply for jobs, and stay away from certain cities and states just because I know they're more conservative." Blake saw these criteria as essential to their well-being, having never felt so "free and liberated" since "starting to dress [and] cut my hair how I feel comfortable."

Possible move outside of the United States. Three students (10%) were not simply narrowing their job search to certain states or regions but had begun to consider moving abroad, following the 2016 election of President Donald Trump. Emerson, a Latinx/White genderqueer student in the humanities, was currently debating with their trans partner "whether to move out of the country and get interesting and cool jobs," in part because of the administration's policies and their harm to trans people. Wren, a White demigender student in the humanities, was "[looking into] LGBT-friendly European countries… given the political landscape here."

Source of tension with other valued job/life factors. For six individuals (20%), geographic location was not simply a consideration, but a source of tension, wherein they recognized that residing in a particular region meant relinquishing or deprioritizing other valued job (or life) considerations. Some struggled with the fact that they had personal or family connections to areas of the country that were not progressive, and/or were tied to these regions already. They knew that it would be difficult to leave and balanced their awareness of the benefits of a more trans-friendly climate with their geographic rootedness. Ezra, a White gender fluid, masculine-of-center student in the social sciences, asserted, "I want to stay in the South but I don't want to be in such a conservative area. There's some emotional tie to the South even though I have a complicated relationship to it." Andie, a Jewish genderqueer,

gender fluid student in social work, dreamed of "living in cities like Los Angeles and New York," but conceded that they would most likely stay in the large Southern state "where all my friends and family are," even though it was a state where one could be "fired [if you are] a part of the GLBT population." Participants like Andie recognized the likelihood of tensions in their career decision-making, whereby idealized locations and broader safety concerns were weighed against pragmatic factors. Ultimately, they concluded that their rootedness might override other factors when evaluating potential job options. A few participants, too, were aware that the "top jobs" in their field were often in trans-hostile regions and struggled with how much they could, or would, eventually prioritize climate and safety issues in their career decision-making process.

Workplace Climate

Seven students (23%) voiced an awareness of the importance of workplace climate, which they planned to prioritize in their job search. This was especially emphasized by students in STEM and the health sciences, who faced the potential for a more hostile work environment than those in fields like higher education and social work. Jordan, a Jewish genderqueer trans man in STEM, struggled with the gender binary that was so entrenched in their field and was reluctant to apply for certain jobs because of having to conform to gendered dress codes: "Do I want to go to someplace where I'm going to be forced to dress very binary, and very normal, and that's just not who I am? I've been thinking about that as far as career options."

At the same time, participants were also aware of the risk of overly prioritizing workplace climate in the job selection process. Sam, a White genderqueer, androgynous student in STEM, had thought "a lot about teaching at women's colleges," where they felt that their trans identity would be more accepted. Yet, Sam worried about narrowing their job search too much, given the competitiveness of the academic job market, and thus had to weigh the appeal of a progressive workplace climate against the pragmatic need for employment.

The role of transphobic job experiences. Four participants (13%) explained that their prioritization of workplace climate resulted from working in jobs where their trans identity was disrespected. Workplace climate took on added significance because of the participants' awareness of the potential for stigma and stress (Lyons et al., 2005; Prince, 2013). Lou, a White trans man in social work, had previously applied and interviewed for a job under his birth name, even though he had begun to socially and medically transition because he "thought that was legally what I was supposed to do, and that if someone Googled me then they could verify all of the information on my resume."

When Lou was offered the job, he came out to the employer, who still hired him, but made him use a gender-inclusive restroom a block away from the building where he worked. This experience informed Lou's resolve to seek job opportunities that were explicitly trans-inclusive. Devon, a White gender fluid, bigender student in the social sciences, worked part-time at a retail job, where they were not out because they believed that their supervisor and coworkers "wouldn't be all that supportive." Noting the stress of being closeted, Devon planned to prioritize a trans-affirming workplace.

The role of transphobic graduate school experiences. Three students (10%) prioritized workplace climate because of negative graduate school experiences, further highlighting how discrimination can affect future actions (Rood et al., 2016). Logan, a White trans man in the social sciences, had not been out to many people during graduate school, in part because he was concerned about the potential negative impact on his career. Not being out led to an "evolution… [in his] career priorities," such that now, after "conversations with my mentor," Logan preferred to teach at liberal arts colleges, rather than major research universities because the former were "more likely to be the kinds of places that I can be out and have that be seen maybe even as an institutional asset… in terms of the diversity in their faculty."

Health Insurance

Related to workplace climate was access to trans-inclusive health insurance. Five participants (17%) mentioned that health insurance was critical to their ability to stay on or begin hormone treatment, and thus informed their job decision-making. Grey, a White gender-fluid student in STEM, said, "[Transitioning] has affected the job search in that I think a lot more about figuring out insurance. In looking at jobs, I'm [evaluating their] benefits."

Outness as a Key Consideration in the Job Application Process

Beyond considering the varied personal and contextual factors that might impact their career decisions, participants also reflected on whether they would be out as trans in the job application process. In doing so, they carefully weighed the potential consequences of this decision, which differed depending on their particular gender identity or professional field.

Plan to be Out

Five students (17%) said they would not want to work at a place that would not accept them as trans, so felt that they needed to be out. They planned to take a

"preventive" approach to discrimination using their trans identity to "weed out" potentially discriminatory employers. Elliot, a White trans man in education, said, "I don't want to be at a place and… [then find out] they aren't going to be affirming." Colin, a White trans man in the health sciences, stated, "I would never want to work for a company or a hospital that is not going to embrace who I am. So if that's a problem, the fact that I'm trans, that's one big red flag that we're not compatible. Employability is something I think about, but I also [want to be out]." Only a few of the students who noted that they planned to prioritize workplace climate were among those who said that they would definitely be out in the application process, underscoring the reality that examining jobs for evidence of trans-friendliness did not always translate to a commitment to being out on all job applications.

Do Not Plan To Be Out

In contrast, five participants (17%), all but one of whom were nonbinary individuals, stated that they did not plan to be out, fearing that it would overly limit their employment possibilities. Ty, a White genderqueer, androgynous, feminine-of-center student in the humanities, shared: "I would rather not be out when I'm applying for a job to avoid discrimination… After I actually get hired… then I would probably come out. It seems like it's a lot easier to make a case for discrimination if someone fires you for coming out rather than not hiring you in the first place."

Participants like Ty viewed the risks of being out as trans as outweighing the benefits and sought to reduce the possibility of discrimination at the job application stage. Similarly, Lennon, a White genderqueer, masculine-of-center student in the health sciences, felt they could not "afford" to be out in the application process because of the competitive nature of the job market, and had not been out online in anticipation of potential employers' searching for them on the internet:

> I've always been a little bit… wary to publicly be out or draw attention to myself as trans [online] because I'm worried about—there's like two jobs in the country [in my area]… [these jobs] are so highly competitive, and they're just looking for any reason to throw you out at all. And oftentimes that's like, "Oh, this person just doesn't fit with us," which can be pretty broadly used for all sorts of reasons; it doesn't have to be justified.

Strategic Approach to Outness: "It Depends"

Four participants (13%) described a more strategic and contextualized approach, noting that whether they would be out depended on the job and how competitive the market was, as well as how safe a particular employment

setting seemed. Skye, a Native American gender fluid student in higher education, said: "I would hope [to be out] but it depends on what area I go into [and] on the location and how safe and comfortable I feel. Because I'm doing a national search, and I don't even know if I'll have a support system [there], I'm much more cautious to share."

Navigating nonbinary identities and signifiers. Nine nonbinary students (30%) voiced concerns about facing job discrimination specifically because of their nonbinary gender identities, including their use of they/them pronouns. Emerson, a Latinx/White genderqueer student in the humanities, spoke to the risks of being out as nonbinary on their job application: "You can have a great resume, but if you're a trans woman or genderqueer… some people are going to be transphobic, and you're not going to get the job because of that… I think everyone thinks that nonbinary genders are pretty 'made-up' in general, a fake thing that people invented." Emerson's concerns, then, were heightened amidst the recognition that nonbinary gender identities were even more inaccessible and stigmatized in society than binary gender identities (Beemyn, 2019).

Sharing one's pronouns on a job application or in an interview was seen as risky by some participants. Sam, a White genderqueer, androgynous student in STEM, shared:

> I have a feeling that applying to faculty jobs using gender neutral pronouns maybe could be a bad idea, just because they would feel less comfortable talking about me. That's something that concerns me. So I'm trying to be flexible right now about stuff, because I definitely feel like a lot of who I am needs to be tempered to feel comfortable to other people, and I'm concerned about discrimination, conscious or otherwise.

Sam's concern about "tempering" who they were to put others at ease was echoed by other nonbinary participants, who worried that future supervisors and coworkers would take offense at being asked to use they/them pronouns and refuse to do so.

Trans as a valued element of "diversity": playing it up?. Four participants (13%) felt that their trans identity might be viewed favorably as a valued element of diversity in their field. As a result, they regarded coming out as a strategic choice that might increase the likelihood of securing employment. When Bobbie, a White trans woman in the humanities, applied to graduate school, she "made sure I dropped a reference to it in my personal statement, because— like, they like [diversity], so I'm diverse." Bobbie intended to use the same approach in applying for jobs. Jonas, a White trans man in STEM, did not want to be seen as "just some other White dude," and surmised that it might be wise to be explicitly out in at least some job applications: "Some of the places

I'm applying to seem really into the whole diversity thing, so I can show them I'm trans in my cover letter. I don't like playing the card but damn it, I want a job (*laugh*)."

Role of Supports and Resources in Career Development

Of interest was whether and in what form participants had access to LGBTQ- and trans-specific resources and how such supports, or their lack thereof, impacted their career development.

University Supports

Rarely did students mention any LGBTQ-specific, much less trans-specific, university-based career guidance.

Lack of informed professionals. Four (13%) explicitly stated that professionals capable of giving field-related advice were usually unable to give trans-specific career advice, and those who were clued in to LGBTQ identities were generally unable to provide field-specific guidance. They also described their university's resources related to finding and applying for jobs as ignorant about LGBTQ issues, noting the need for staff to be "trained to be competent with trans people," so that they could "[review] and send out transcripts, resumes, things like that" (Myra, a White trans woman in STEM). Participants longed for guidance on "how people have presented being trans to their coworkers and how they've navigated their gender and being out about it at work" (Ty, a White nonbinary student in the humanities). Participants also described career resources as geared toward undergraduates, limiting their usefulness to graduate students.

In one instance, a participant described how their university's career counseling center promised but did not deliver on LGBTQ inclusiveness. Jordan, a Jewish genderqueer trans man in STEM, shared that their career center "promoted that they had someone who could help with LGBT stuff," but Jordan found this staff member unhelpful: "She was a lesbian [who] thought she knew everything about LGBTQ because of that." When Jordan asked questions about how to dress for an interview as a nonbinary person, the staff member said: "You have to look professional, and that means adhering to the gender binary, so just do something that works the best for you within whatever binary side you choose." Jordan took further issue with the fact that this staff member "had a list of 'LGBTQ friendly' companies, but didn't do their due diligence to talk to those companies… Most of them were okay if you were gay or lesbian, but they weren't educated on any special [considerations] for a trans person, including insurance benefits or bathrooms." This lack of support from their career center, coupled with mentors who were

supportive but not especially helpful on trans issues, led Jordan to give up on using institutional career counseling resources; instead, they sought help from trans professionals online.

Positive experiences. Three students (10%) offered positive comments about their campus career center. Darren, a White trans man in the humanities, shared that his university's career center had a staff member whose "specialty is diversity. She gave me some good advice on how to structure my resume and to conduct job interviews [as a trans person]." Elliot, a White trans man in education, noted that his university's career center had brought in a panel of "LGBT professionals. . . to talk with students." Elliot added that the campus women and gender organization was "planning a series of gender and sexuality student leadership [events], with LGBT professionals, an etiquette dinner… we're going to have sessions put on by our career offices on what to do to go out and get a job."

Faculty Mentors

Participants spoke to the important role that mentors—present or absent, positive or negative—had on their lives and career trajectories.

Lack of trans mentors in their field. Nine students (30%) described a dearth of trans mentors in their field that created a sense of uncertainty about their professional futures. Darcy, a White trans woman in social work, said, "[It's been hard] trying to navigate the world without any mentorship or guidance," which indicated that a lack of trans role models, although typical, was difficult for them. Elliot, a White trans man in education, also said, "I was looking for somebody that was like me, and I couldn't see anybody, and that was definitely really hard." Several students did find trans mentors via professional networks or campus LGBTQ resource centers (e.g., through a mentoring program that matched graduate students with faculty or staff with similar identities), but indicated that mentors' helpfulness was sometimes limited by their having only recently come out at work, so that they could not offer personal insights to students who planned to be out in the job application process.

Lack of trans-competent mentors. Eight participants (27%) not only noted the absence of trans mentors but also a lack of access to trans-competent or -affirming mentors to assist them in their professional journeys. Layla, a White trans woman in the social sciences, said, "My advisor…claims to be a very liberal person… but [also] told me that she believes transgender people are pretty much irrational, and the only reason people transition is to fit with societal norms." Especially disappointing, was when faculty presented

themselves as trans-supportive—but then showed that they were not. Andie, a Jewish genderqueer, gender fluid student in social work, had a prior mentor who claimed to be "supportive of trans advocacy… and then wouldn't get my pronouns right." A few mentors were also described as extremely dismissive, asserting that participants could not be out as trans in their given profession.

Trans-supportive mentors. Encouragingly, 12 participants (40%) described having trans-supportive cisgender advisors and mentors. Addie, a White agender student in the humanities, felt fortunate to have two faculty members who provided "solid mentorship" and "offered to write [me] letters of recommendation… it's been really helpful to have that kind of critical engagement with people who are older than me and who have been validated in academia." One of these professors had also approached Addie about working on a peer-reviewed publication together, which delighted them, as this was a powerful signal of their value and standing: "It feels really great that [she thinks] I have something to offer." Sage, a White genderqueer student in education, recalled that their mentor was not particularly knowledgeable about LGBTQ or trans identities or topics when they first met—yet was "willing to acknowledge ignorance and educate herself" and was ultimately a great supporter, whom Sage "love[d] dearly."

Outside Supports

In some cases, inadequate trans-specific professional guidance resulted in participants seeking out support elsewhere.

Online resources. Ten participants (33%) named listservs, Facebook groups, and professionals on Twitter as resources. Skye, a Native American gender fluid student in education, shared: "[Trans professional] put a thing on social media, 'I'll look over any cover letter, resume, for any trans or gender nonconforming [person]. Especially if you're also a Person of Color.' So he looked at my cover letter and gave me a lot of feedback, which I've never gotten before."

Therapy. Although not a professional support per se, therapy was emphasized as a salient context for support by 12 participants (40%). Toby, a White trans man in education, shared that his therapist was such a "queer and trans competent provider, I posted her name all over campus because I want every queer and trans student to know about her. She's a straight cis White lady, but she's just so incredible and so validating." Some articulated how their therapists had provided academic and professional guidance, at times offsetting a lack of support from family, employers, and mentors. Elliot, a White trans man in

education, spoke of how his therapist, who was also a professor, provided valuable support as Elliot medically transitioned and made his way through graduate school. Elliot described his mentor as a professional role model whose ongoing affirmation and guidance had sustained him during "a very rough time."

Discussion

This study is one of the first to explore trans people's career considerations and decisions. With regard to our first research question that centered on how gender minority stress impacts career trajectories, our findings underscore the role of gender minority stressors in contributing to academic and career delays—as well as the potential for various supports and resources to offset gender minority stress and thereby facilitate career development. Our findings also point to the unique gender minority stressors faced by nonbinary people in relation to career development.

Beginning in graduate school, participants as a whole encountered a range of gender minority stressors (Testa et al., 2015), including navigating binary and cis-centric structures at an institutional level, and chronic misgendering at an interpersonal level. The emotionally intense process of transitioning, and the cost and timing of doing so, sometimes caused disruptions in participants' academic progress, affecting their career planning and preparation. This finding somewhat echoes work on LGB individuals, which shows that sexual identity issues (i.e., coming out and dealing with stigma) can result in less attention to career development (Boatwright et al., 1996; Schmidt & Nilsson, 2006). Navigating gender transition during graduate school sometimes meant that gender identity-related stressors were compounded with financial and academic stressors (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & Black, 2019). The complex and interrelated nature of such stressors underscores the potential for trans students to encounter delays in their academic and career progress.

The role of gender minority stress can be further seen in relation to our second research question, which concerned trans students' career considerations and tensions. In explaining the factors that were likely to figure prominently in their job consideration process, participants frequently mentioned geographic climate, although this was often described as being potentially in tension with other work and life considerations, such as job availability and support networks. The salience of geographic climate as important, but possibly at odds with other valued job factors, speaks to the current US national context, where states vary widely in their protections for and acceptance of trans people (Movement Advancement Project, 2020). The centrality of location in exacerbating or minimizing minority stress is supported by research documenting regional variations in stress levels among trans people, such that trans people living in more conservative states report particularly high levels of distress (Sinnard et al., 2016).

When assessing P–E fit, workplace climate was another key consideration. Participants appeared to engage in a strategy referred to as "job tracking," or examining whether an occupation or job position is welcoming to LGBTQ employees to minimize exposure to discrimination (Chung, 2001). Workplace climate was also emphasized by trans students in STEM fields, who were likely aware of their heightened vulnerability to stigma and wished to minimize their exposure to gender minority stressors in the workplace (Rood et al., 2016). STEM has historically been a difficult set of fields for people who do not conform to gender stereotypes (Yoder & Mattheis, 2016)—yet some of these fields also seem to attract trans students, as evidenced by the number of trans students majoring in STEM (Greathouse et al., 2018). Students who had endured trans-hostile work experiences also focused explicitly on workplace climate, as they sought to avoid similar situations in the future (Rood et al., 2016).

Our findings related to career considerations suggest that to more fully capture the career concerns of trans individuals, the personal values outlined in TWA (achievement, comfort, status, altruism, safety, and autonomy; Dawis, 2002) can be expanded to incorporate additional values that may impact trans people's career decisions. Outness, for example, can be conceptualized as a work-related value that may be central to trans people's feelings of authenticity but may be deprioritized because of safety concerns (Rood et al., 2016) or amidst structural constraints (e.g., few jobs in a given discipline; entry into a field that is heavily reliant on the gender binary). Other key values to consider may include trans people's desire for, and wish to ensure access to, support from family, trans communities, and trans-affirming health resources.

Our findings on trans students' process of making career decisions largely aligned with strategies suggested by TWA. For example, when participants encountered disequilibrium between their values and desired career and/or work environment, some adjusted their decisions by changing their career environmental goals (e.g., choosing a trans-friendly field), whereas others altered themselves to better fit with their desired career (e.g., deciding not be out in their job search). Dawis (2002) posits that adjustment styles often depend on the "flexibility" of the person and the environment. Our findings suggest that among trans individuals, the personal need to be out played a key role in whether they aimed to change their environment or change themselves to reduce disequilibrium. Of course, it is important to remember that outness is not dichotomous in nature: indeed, there may be flexibility and nuance in one's choices of disclosure (e.g., nonverbal disclosures via gender expression; disclosing to some but not all coworkers).

In relation to our third research question, which concerned challenges and tensions in the job application process, we see that even as participants valued workplace climate and saw this as a key component of fit (Dawis, 2002), not all anticipated that they would be unconditionally out in the job application

process, as doing so might severely limit the occupational possibilities available to them (Prince, 2013). In this way, participants' value of outness was weighed against other values and needs, such as the pragmatic desire to secure a stable, well-paying job (Dawis, 2002). The job application process was seen as an area in which outness might vary depending on whether one's trans identity was expected to be a limiting factor or a valued aspect of diversity. Nonbinary participants, in particular, expressed uncertainty as to whether and how they would express who they were on job applications, weighing competing considerations of safety, authenticity, and potential discrimination. Because few employers recognize or anticipate the possibility of identities beyond male and female, nonbinary applicants rarely know if their gender would be accepted in a given employment context. Indeed, Elman et al. (2019) found that only 15 out of 450 organizations studied offered gender options beyond female and male to job applicants. For our participants, the job application process seemed to heighten gender minority stress related to both negative expectations (i.e., anticipating rejection or discrimination) and concealment of their gender identity (Testa et al., 2015).

Our fourth research question concerned the role of supports and resources in participants' career journeys and trajectories. We documented that, similar to cisgender LGB people (Prince, 2013), participants often received inadequate vocational guidance, in part because faculty and career counselors lacked competence in working with trans people. Some also found few out trans people within their disciplines and thus did not have trans mentors and resources. This issue is inevitably more pronounced for trans students entering a given discipline or field than cis LGB students, as the former group may encounter a marked lack of visible trans role models and/or mentors. However, therapists and online communities served as valuable sources of refuge when academic settings were lacking, echoing prior work on the importance of competent mental health counselors and online supports, particularly for trans populations (Goldberg, Kuvalanka, & Black, 2019; Nicolazzo et al., 2017) and especially when navigating trans-hostile educational and workplace cultures (Budge et al., 2010).

Given the significance of careers on well-being and financial security, our findings as a whole are important in pointing to the career-related struggles faced by trans people enrolled in institutions of higher education. Yet, it is also important to recognize the resourcefulness and resilience of our participants. Many emphasized their desire to make a difference in the world and to use their careers to work on behalf of marginalized communities. They highly valued altruism (Dawis, 2002), and this drove many of their academic and career-related decisions. Other research on trans people similarly points to the significance of activism in meaning-making but also suggests that it can contribute to stress (Goldberg, Smith, & Beemyn, 2019). Although engaging in advocacy as part of their careers has benefits for trans people, they also have

to be aware of the potential for burnout, especially when advocacy is undertaken in unsupportive workplaces. Finally, it is also worth emphasizing that encounters with gender minority stress may ultimately serve to foster certain strengths and positive qualities in trans individuals, such as enabling them to be more attuned to the perspectives and plight of marginalized individuals. Such qualities may, in turn, enhance trans individuals' success in particular careers and/or professional roles.

Limitations

The lack of People of Color in the sample limits our ability to understand how various intersecting identities affect career considerations. Trans People of Color face greater barriers to being hired and more discrimination on the job (Eger, 2018; James et al., 2016). As a result, they may experience greater anxiety in applying for particular jobs or entering certain disciplines, as well as heightened uncertainty about the source of discrimination, if they experience job rejection.

Our sample consisted mainly of trans people assigned female at birth (AFAB), and thus, our findings may not fully reflect the career experiences and decisions of trans people assigned male at birth (AMAB). Experiences of minority stress inevitably differ for individuals with trans feminine, trans masculine, and nonbinary gender identities and expressions, which result in different gendered expectations and pressures regarding career decisions.

Implications for Practice, Advocacy, Education and Training, and Research

Our findings have wide-ranging implications for practice, advocacy, education and training, and research.

Practice

With regard to practice, we offer the following guidelines for counseling psychologists who wish to support trans people in career decisions and applying for jobs:

1. *Cultivate Knowledge and Flexibility:* To develop an affirming therapeutic environment that does not create additional minority stress for trans clients, psychologists must possess basic knowledge about trans people's identities and career concerns, and not place the burden on trans people to educate them. They should recognize that nonbinary people may have different concerns than binary trans people and may navigate disclosure of their identity in a more context-specific manner (Matsuno, 2019). They should aim to balance general knowledge of trans populations with the flexibility of allowing each client to be an expert on their own identity.

2. Do Not Reinforce the Gender Binary: Psychologists should reflect on their own gendered assumptions related to careers to avoid perpetuating restrictive gender roles. They should not advise clients to become more "gender conforming" in their dress for job interviews or to use gendered pronouns in job applications, even if the intent is to prevent discrimination. Such advice conveys the notion that existing within the gender binary is expected and necessary. Psychologists should aim to help trans clients explore the potential benefits and risks associated with breaking binary norms, and identify potential resources for them, should they experience discrimination.

3. Respect Trans People's Values: Applying TWA in career counseling with trans clients requires an exploration of the client's values in the six core areas outlined in TWA, as well as values related to outness, connection to family, connection to a trans community, and access to trans-related resources. Psychologists should not pressure clients toward a career choice based on their worldview but should center the client's voice and support them in exploring their own values (APA, 2015). For example, a provider might be tempted to encourage a trans client to take a job in a location far from family, if the family is rejecting of the client's gender identity. Yet, familial support may offer the client refuge from other forms of oppression, such as racial discrimination. Psychologists should be cognizant of when their own biases may be influencing the direction of counseling and know that there is no right answer when negotiating tensions that arise among values in career decision-making. It is also important to help trans clients realistically evaluate how various work settings will reinforce or clash with their values and what negotiations can be made to help their values and work environment align.

4. Help Clients Balance Safety and Authenticity: When applying TWA in career counseling with trans clients, a common conflict that may arise is tension between the values of safety and authenticity (Levitt & Ippolito, 2014). Psychologists should be thoughtful about how different professions, jobs, and locations may carry different risks and rewards for out trans people. They should stay current on state and federal laws concerning employment nondiscrimination, workplace harassment, and identity documentation, as these will likely influence trans people's safety in certain workplace and geographic settings. Providers must also recognize that safety and authenticity are complex phenomena, not simple binaries: One can feel physically safe and emotionally vulnerable, or feel safe enough at work, but feel unsafe during one's commute. Psychologists can help trans clients evaluate how they may be able to feel authentic without verbally disclosing their gender identity, such as via subtle cues (e.g., pronouns in an email signature) and expressive behaviors (e.g., clothing; Villicana et al., 2016), as these types of disclosures may feel safer. Psychologists should explore ways that trans clients can negotiate a balance between safety and authenticity that feels right for them, especially in the job application and interview process.

5. *Facilitate Connection to Professional Resources:* Counseling psychologists should acquire knowledge of local, national, and online career resources for trans people. National organizations, such as the Human Rights Campaign, facilitate job fairs and conferences aimed at the LGBTQ community. Within a given field, there are likely professional organizations whose mission is to support LGBTQ members, and who may provide opportunities for mentorship. Providers can support clients in investigating such resources and can also help clients assess whether potential employers will be trans-friendly by researching their policies online (e.g., using the Human Rights Campaign Foundation's (2021) corporate equality index.

Advocacy

Our findings demonstrate the need for counseling psychologists to advocate for greater attention to and integration of the needs and experiences of trans people within the context of graduate training. Counseling psychologists should also advocate on behalf of trans graduate students in counseling psychology and related disciplines, seeking to ensure, for example, that application materials, curricula, and practica are trans-inclusive. Counseling psychologists who work in university settings should partner with other university stakeholders (e.g., career services) to ensure that the needs of trans graduate students specifically (as opposed to just undergraduates) are being considered (e.g., in the form of trans graduate student support groups and trans-specific career-planning services). A recent publication written by five nonbinary psychology trainees provides concrete guidance on action steps that can be taken to empower, and advocate for, trans and nonbinary students (Matsuno et al., 2020) as does the APA of Graduate Studies Subcommittee on Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity (2019) *Guide for Supporting Trans and Gender Diverse Students*.

Education and Training

Our findings suggest that changes need to be made within larger university systems and the resources they provide to fully address the challenges that trans students face when navigating career decisions, and to increase supports for trans students.

1. *Training for Career Counseling Centers*: Many career counselors have little knowledge about the career concerns that impact trans individuals, which likely limits their ability to support trans students (Scott et al., 2011). Also, without training, career counselors may marginalize trans students, such as by promoting binary notions of professional dress or misgendering students in waiting areas. All career services staff should receive training in this area. Task forces within career counseling centers can be created to work toward inclusive services for trans students.

2. Resources for Trans Students: Our participants suggested that it would have been useful to attend workshops or access campus resources related to trans career concerns. Career centers, counseling centers, and other campus offices can provide career-related workshops and events to support trans students. For example, campuses could sponsor a panel that enables trans employees to speak about how they navigate disclosure and other trans-specific concerns, including transitioning at work, the job application process, and job interviews. To facilitate mentor opportunities for trans students, colleges can encourage trans faculty and staff to list themselves online as possible mentors (e.g., https://spectrumcenter.umich.edu/outlist/home). Trans student leaders can also act as mentors for other trans students—although it is important that students not be tokenized or taken advantage of if they serve in this capacity (Jourian & Simmons, 2017).

3. Resources for Trans Graduate Students: Some participants noted that their university lacked specific resources for trans graduate students. Undergraduate resources for trans students may be undesirable to graduate students, who are at a different life/career stage and may wish to avoid nonprofessional interactions with undergraduates. Many participants were exploring their gender identity, transitioning, and coming out in graduate school. These concerns further point to the need for campus resources aimed at trans graduate students.

Research

Our sample was primarily White and AFAB. More work is needed that explores the career experiences and decisions of Trans People of Color and AMAB trans individuals. Our findings on the career experiences of nonbinary individuals highlight the need for more research in this area in particular. Future work should explore nonbinary-specific minority stressors and their effect on career decision-making: indeed, the limited literature on trans people and careers has focused primarily on trans men and women, neglecting the unique issues that nonbinary people face in navigating their careers.

Future research should examine, in depth, how gender identity and profession intersect in highly gendered occupations, such as in STEM fields: as trans men, trans women, and nonbinary people likely have different experiences within STEM, specifically. Research on trans people's experiences in specific fields and disciplines can inform best practices (e.g., how graduate programs within specific disciplines can better support trans students and employees).

Finally, future research can establish further evidence for the relevance of TWA theory and GMST to understanding career-related concerns. For example, research can test TWA theory with trans individuals to evaluate whether alignment of personal values with workplace environment is

associated with job satisfaction and well-being. Future quantitative research can build on our findings by examining the relationships between minority stressors experienced in graduate programs with career-related outcomes (e.g., career satisfaction and career decision stress) and well-being. Quantitative research can also examine the moderating role of the professional supports identified in our study, such as mentorship and university resources.

Conclusion

This study illuminates the challenges and decision-making processes that trans people experience as part of their career development. Our findings can be used as a platform for building training materials and other career resources to support trans students in career planning and decision-making. Given the significance of career satisfaction to financial and emotional well-being, therapists and student support staff must cultivate awareness of trans people's unique career considerations and seek to create more inclusive environments and services.

Declaration of conflicting interests

Funding

ORCID iDs

Abbie E. Goldberg ⓘ https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7654-4539
Emmie Matsuno ⓘ https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6333-7984

Supplementary Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Note

1. All names are pseudonyms. When quoting participants, we describe their gender identities. For brevity, we do not include the descriptors trans, nonbinary, and gender nonconforming, as these are umbrella categories that are typically rendered redundant by participants' more specific gender identities (e.g., trans man and gender fluid). For a thorough description of each participant's gender identities, see Table 1. For more details on trans terminology, see Beemyn (2019).

References

American Psychological Association. (2015). Guidelines for psychological practice with transgender and gender nonconforming people. *The American Psychologist*, *70*(9), 832–864. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039906

American Psychological Association of Graduate Studies Subcommittee on Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity. (2019). *A guide for supporting trans and gender diverse students*. American Psychological Association. https://www.apa.org/apags/governance/subcommittees/supporting-diverse-students.pdf

Beemyn, G. (2019). *Trans people in higher education*. State University of New York Press.

Boatwright, K. J., Gilbert, M. S., Forrest, L., & Ketzenberger, K. (1996). Impact of identity development upon career trajectory: Listening to the voices of lesbian women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *48*(2), 210–228. https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1996.0019

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods* (5th ed.). Pearson.

Bowling, N. A., Eschleman, K. J., & Wang, Q. (2010). A meta-analytic examination of the relationship between job satisfaction and subjective well-being. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *83*(4), 915–934. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317909X478557

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brewster, M. E., Velez, B. L., Mennicke, A., & Tebbe, E. (2014). Voices from beyond: A thematic content analysis of transgender employees' workplace experiences. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*(2), 159–169. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000030

Brown, C., Dashjian, L. T., Acosta, T. J., Mueller, C. T., Kizer, B. E., & Trangsrud, H. B. (2012). The career experiences of male-to-female transsexuals. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *40*(6), 868–894. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000011430098

Brown, M. L., & Rounsley, C. A. (1996). *True selves: Understanding transsexualism—for families, friends, coworkers, and helping professionals*. Jossey-Bass.

Budge, S. L., Tebbe, E. N., & Howard, K. A. S. (2010). The work experiences of transgender individuals: Negotiating the transition and career decision-making processes. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *57*(4), 377–393. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020472

Cech, E. A., & Waidzunas, T. J. (2011). Navigating the heteronormativity of engineering: The experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students. *Engineering Studies*, *3*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/19378629.2010.545065

Chope, R. C., & Strom, L. C. (2008). Critical considerations in career and employment counseling with transgender clients. In G. Walz, J. Bleuer, & R. Yep (Eds.), *Compelling counseling interventions* (pp. 125–135). American Counseling Association.

Chung, Y. B. (2001). Work discrimination and coping strategies: Conceptual frameworks for counseling lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients. *The Career*

Development Quarterly, *50*(1), 33–44. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2001.tb00887.x

Datti, P. A. (2009). Applying social learning theory of career decision making to gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and questioning young adults. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *58*(1), 54–64. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2009.tb00173.x

Dawis, R. V. (2002). Person–environment correspondence theory. In S. Brown (Ed.), *Career choice and development* (4th ed., pp. 427–464). Jossey-Bass.

Dawis, R. V. (2005). The Minnesota theory of work adjustment. In S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work* (pp. 3–23). John Wiley & Sons.

Dispenza, F., Brennaman, C., Harper, L. S., Harrigan, M. A., Chastain, T. E., & Procter, J. E. (2019). Career development of sexual and gender minority persons living with disabilities. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *47*(1), 98–128. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000018819425

Dispenza, F., Watson, L. B., Chung, Y. B., & Brack, G. (2012). Experience of career-related discrimination for female-to-male transgender persons: A qualitative study. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *60*(1), 65–81. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2012.00006.x

Eger, E. K. (2018). Transgender jobseekers navigating closeting communication. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *32*(2), 276–281. https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318917740226

Elman, B., Shimonov, M. A., Halon, H., Bahri, S., & Kupchick, A. A. (2019). Transgender inclusion in online job application forms at Forbes 450 largest companies. *Journal of Business Diversity*, *19*(3), 41–53. https://doi.org/10.33423/jbd.v19i3.2212

Fletcher, J., Bernard, C., Fairtlough, A., & Ahmet, A. (2015). Beyond equal access to equal outcomes: The role of the institutional culture in promoting full participation, positive inter-group interaction and timely progression for minority social work students. *British Journal of Social Work*, *45*(1), 120–137. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct081

García-Aracil, A., Monteiro, S., & Almeida, L. S. (2021). Students' perceptions of their preparedness for transition to work after graduation. *Active Learning in Higher Education*, *22*(1), 49–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469787418791026

Goldberg, A. E., & Allen, K. R. (2015). Communicating qualitative research: Some practical guideposts for scholars. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *77*(1), 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12153

Goldberg, A. E., Kuvalanka, K. A., & Black, K. (2019). Trans students who leave college: An exploratory study of their experiences of gender minority stress. *Journal of College Student Development*, *60*(4), 381–400. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2019.0036

Goldberg, A. E., Kuvalanka, K., & dickey, l. (2019). Transgender graduate students' experiences in higher education: A mixed-methods exploratory study. *Journal*

of *Diversity in Higher Education*, *12*(1), 38–51. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000074

Goldberg, A. E., Smith, J. Z., & Beemyn, G. (2019). Trans activism and advocacy among transgender students in higher education: A mixed methods study. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *13*(1), 66–84. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000125

Greathouse, M. (2019, February 8). Career considerations of LGBTQ students. *NACE Journal*. https://www.naceweb.org/career-development/special-populations/career-considerations-of-lgbtq-students/

Greathouse, M., BrckaLorenz, A., Hoban, M., Huesman, R., Rankin, S., & Stolzenberg, E. B. (2018). *Queer-spectrum and trans-spectrum student experiences in American higher education: The analysis of national survey findings*. Tyler Clementi Center, Rutgers University.

Human Rights Campaign Foundation. (2021). *Corporate equality index 2021*. www.hrc.org/campaigns/corporate-equality-index

James, S., Herman, J., Rankin, S., Keisling, M., Mottet, L., & Anaf, M. (2016). *The report of the 2015 US transgender survey*. National Center for Transgender Equality. http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11990/1299

Jourian, T. J., & Simmons, S. L. (2017). Trans* leadership. *Directions for Student Leadership*, *2017*(154), 59–69. https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.20240

Levitt, H. M., Bamberg, M., Creswell, J. W., Frost, D. M., Josselson, R., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2018). Journal article reporting standards for qualitative primary, qualitative meta-analytic, and mixed methods research in psychology: The APA Publications and Communications Board Task Force report. *American Psychologist*, *73*(1), 26–46. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000151

Levitt, H. M., & Ippolito, M. R. (2014). Being transgender: Navigating minority stressors and developing authentic self-presentation. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *38*(1), 46–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313501644

Lyons, H. Z., Brenner, B. R., & Fassinger, R. E. (2005). A multicultural test of the theory of work adjustment: Investigating the role of heterosexism and fit perceptions in the job satisfaction of lesbian, gay, and bisexual employees. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(4), 537–548. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.537

Matsuno, E. (2019). Nonbinary-affirming psychological interventions. *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice*, *26*(4), 617–628. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cbpra.2018.09.003

Matsuno, E., Dominguez, S., Waagen, T., Roberts, N., & Hashtpari, H. (2020). The importance of empowering nonbinary psychology trainees and guidelines on how to do so. *The Behavior Therapist*, *43*(4), 137–143.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Sage.

Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). When men break the gender rules: Status incongruity and backlash against modest men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *11*(2), 140–151. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018093

Movement Advancement Project. (2020). *Non-discrimination laws*. https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/non_discrimination_laws

Mulcahy, M., Dalton, S., Kolbert, J., & Crothers, L. (2016). Informal mentoring for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender students. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *109*(4), 405–412. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2014.979907

Nicolazzo, Z., Pitcher, E. N., Renn, K. A., & Woodford, M. (2017). An exploration of trans* kinship as a strategy for student success. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *30*(3), 305–319. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2016.1254300

Noy, S., & Reay, R. (2012). Graduate students' perceptions of their advisors: Is there systematicdisadvantage in mentorship? *The Journal of Higher Education*, *83*(6), 876–914. https://doi.org/10.1353/jh e.2012.0036

Ozturk, M. B., & Tatli, A. (2016). Gender identity inclusion in the workplace: Broadening diversity management research and practice through the case of transgender employees in the UK. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *27*(8), 781–802. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2015.1042902

Pepper, S. M., & Lorah, P. (2008). Career issues and workplace considerations for the transsexual community: bridging a gap of knowledge for career counselors and mental heath care providers. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *56*(4), 330–343. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2008.tb00098.x

Prince, J. P. (2013). Career development of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals. In S. Brown & R. Lent (Eds.), *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work* (2nd ed., pp. 275–298). Wiley.

Rainey, T., Imse, E. E., & Pomerantz, A. (2015). *Qualified and transgender: A report on results of resume testing for employment discrimination based on gender identity*. Office of Human Rights, District of Columbia. https://ohr.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/ohr/publication/attachments/QualifiedAndTransgender_FullReport_1.pdf

Rood, B. A., Reisner, S. L., Surace, F. I., Puckett, J. A., Maroney, M. R., & Pant alone, D. W. (2016). Expecting rejection: Understanding the minority stress experiences of transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals. *Transgender Health*, *1*(1), 151–164. https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2016.0012

Sangganjanavanich, V. F. (2009). Career development practitioners as advocates for transgender individuals: Understanding gender transition. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, *46*(3), 128–135. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1920.2009.tb00075.x

Sangganjanavanich, V. F., & Headley, J. A. (2013). Facilitating career development concerns of gender transitioning individuals: Professional standards and competencies. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *61*(4), 354–366. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2013.00061.x

Schilt, K. (2006). Just one of the guys?: How transmen make gender visible at work. *Gender & Society*, *20*(4), 465–490. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206288077

Schmidt, C. K., & Nilsson, J. E. (2006). The effects of simultaneous developmental processes: Factors relating to the career development of lesbian, gay, and bisexual

youth. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *55*(1), 22–37. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2006.tb00002.x

Schneider, J., Page, J., & van Nes, F. (2019). "Now I feel much better than in my previous life": Narratives of occupational transitions in young transgender adults. *Journal of Occupational Science*, *26*(2), 219–232. https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2018.1550726

Scott, D. A., Belke, S. L., & Barfield, H. G. (2011). Career development with transgender college students: Implications for career and employment counselors. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, *48*(3), 105–113. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1920.2011.tb01116.x

Sinnard, M. T., Raines, C. R., & Budge, S. L. (2016). The association between geographic location and anxiety and depression in transgender individuals: An exploratory study of an online sample. *Transgender Health*, *1*(1), 181–186. https://doi.org/10.1089/trgh.2016.0020

Stolzenberg, E. B., & Hughes, B. (2017, Spring). The experiences of incoming transgender college students: New data on gender identity. *Association of American Colleges & Universities*, *103*(2). https://www.aacu.org/liberaleducation/2017/spring/stolzenberg_hughes

Tebbe, E. A., Allan, B. A., & Bell, H. L. (2019). Work and well-being in TGNC adults: The moderating effect of workplace protections. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *66*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000308

Testa, R. J., Habarth, J., Peta, J., Balsam, K., & Bockting, W. (2015). Development of the Gender Minority Stress and Resilience Measure. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *2*(1), 65–77. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000081

Valentine, V. (2015). *Non-binary people's experiences in the UK*. Scottish Trans Alliance. https://www.scottishtrans.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Non-binary-report.pdf

Velez, B. L., Moradi, B., & Brewster, M. E. (2013). Testing the tenets of minority stress theory in workplace contexts. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *60*(4), 532–542. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033346

Villicana, A. J., Delucio, K., & Biernat, M. (2016). "Coming out" among gay Latino and gay White men: implications of verbal disclosure for well-being. *Self and Identity*, *15*(4), 468–487. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2016.1156568

Warren, J. R., Hoonakker, P., Carayon, P., & Brand, J. (2004). Job characteristics as mediators in SES—health relationships. *Social Science & Medicine*, *59*(7), 1367–1378. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.01.035

Yoder, J. B., & Mattheis, A. (2016). Queer in STEM: Workplace experiences reported in a national survey of LGBTQA individuals in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics careers. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *63*(1), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1078632

Author Biographies

Abbie E. Goldberg, PhD, is a professor of clinical psychology at Clark University. Her research focuses on LGBTQ people in the context of larger, systems, including families, schools, health care, and the legal system. She is the author of over 130 peer-reviewed publications and several books, including *Open Adoption and Diverse Families* and *Gay Dads*, and has edited several books, including *The SAGE Encyclopedia of LGBTQ Studies.*

Emmie Matsuno, PhD, is a research postdoctoral fellow at Palo Alto University. Their research focuses on minority stress and resilience among trans and nonbinary people and developing and testing interventions to support trans and nonbinary people.

Genny Beemyn, PhD, is the director of the UMass Amherst Stonewall Center and the coordinator of Campus Pride's Trans Policy Clearinghouse. They have published and spoken extensively on the experiences and needs of trans college students, including writing some of the first articles on the topic. Among the books they have authored are *The Lives of Transgender People* and the anthology *Trans People in Higher Education*.