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The Relation of Job Satisfaction to Degree of Disclosure About One's Sexual Orientation for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Educators

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ABSTRACT

The threat of discrimination and job loss causes many gay, lesbian, and bisexual (g/l/b) Americans to keep their sexual orientation a secret at work. The decision to keep one's personal life hidden increases the level of stress experienced and can coincide with lower levels of job satisfaction. The fear of discrimination is even greater for g/l/b individuals working in K - 12 educational settings due to the more socially conservative environment of schools. This study examined the relationship between degree of disclosure about one's homosexual orientation and one's level of job satisfaction. It was hypothesized that there would be a positive correlation between these two variables. The sample consisted of 98 educators working in a K-12 setting who identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Although the hypothesis was not supported, two correlations were identified as significant (alpha = .05). These findings suggest that the school's perceived acceptance of homosexuality and a teacher's comfort in disclosing sexual orientation are better indicators of job satisfaction ratings. Possible explanations for the findings and suggestions for further research are discussed.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the countless gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender educators, seen and unseen, who are dedicated, against great odds, to teaching and inspiring children. They face homophobia every hour, every day of their lives, yet they continue. Also, to the scores of straight allies working in our schools and communities alongside g/l/b/t educators who often must remain silent. Working together, they are committed to making schools safe for all, regardless of sexual orientation.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter One
Introduction

It's clear that although inroads are being made into protecting gay and lesbian individuals from employment discrimination, there is still significant and justified fear of discrimination among gay men and lesbians. While only 10 states have employment non-discrimination laws protecting homosexuals, 22 states include sexual orientation in their hate crimes statistics statutes (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 1999). Interestingly, 44% of state legislatures acknowledge that homosexuals are victims of discrimination, but only 20% of states attempt to provide protection from it. This homophobic bias can hamper gay men's and lesbians' general attitudes toward work which may contribute to lower levels of job satisfaction (Ellis & Riggle, 1995, Day & Schoenrade, 1997). Conversely one would expect a work environment supportive of homosexuality to foster increased job satisfaction. The effects of homophobia and fear of exposure are even more significant for g/l/b individuals working in education than for those working in other environments. Further, the social nature of teaching requires strong interpersonal relationships among teachers, administrators, students and parents (Grace, 1972). Due to the conservative and generally anti-gay environment of schools, developing these relationships is often difficult for g/l/b educators (Khayatt, 1992, Griffin, 1992 and Harbeck, 1997).

Numerous studies have already shown that homophobic school environments found across the country are extremely detrimental to

the gay or lesbian student (Hetrick & Martin, 1987, Radowsky & Siegel, 1997, Anderson, 1994, and O'Connor, 1994). These studies have found that g/l/b students are more likely to experience isolation, verbal and physical violence, and attempt suicide at three times the rate of their heterosexual peers. Only a few studies have looked at the effects of homophobia on the gay or lesbian teacher (Khayatt, 1992, Griffin, 1992 and Harbeck, 1997). The task of doing such research is fraught with obstacles. In some academic environments, there still exists a stigma associated with researching the topic of homosexuality in general, and in specific, of documenting homosexuals' presence in schools. This study aims to add to this small, but growing body of research.

In this study, variables related to degree of disclosure about one's sexual orientation and level of job satisfaction were measured in order to further understand the effects of homophobia on the population of gay, lesbian, and bisexual educators working in a K-12 setting in the United States. Homosexuals are becoming a more visible minority, as evidenced by an increase in reports of hate crimes against gay men and lesbians (Uniform Crime Reports, 1996, 1997) and an increase in the coming out of both famous and non-famous individuals. In addition, as the number of homosexual educators and students who make themselves known within the school environment continues to gradually increase, schools are being called to respond.

Definitions and Abbreviations

The following terms and abbreviations used throughout this work are listed below with their commonly accepted definitions. Gay refers to men (or women and men) whose primary affectional/sexual orientation is toward other men. Lesbian refers to women whose primary affectional/sexual orientation is toward other women. Homosexual can be used to describe both lesbians and gay men. Bisexual refers to men or women whose primary affectional/sexual orientation is toward members of either gender. Coming out refers to the process of self-identifying and sharing with others a homosexual or bisexual orientation. In the phrase, "coming out of the closet," closet refers to being secretive about one's orientation. If one is closeted in a particular situation or environment, then the individual has not shared his/her orientation in that circle. Homophobia is the irrational and excessive fear or hatred of gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and anyone who is perceived to be a member of these groups. Heterosexism is the belief that a heterosexual orientation is superior or preferred over any other sexual orientation. The words gay, lesbian, and bisexual will often be abbreviated as g/l/b. In addition, at times, only gay and lesbian will be used in text, but will refer to individuals who are bisexual as well. The terms educator and teacher will be used interchangeably. They both refer to any professional, working in a K-12 setting as a classroom teacher, special education provider, special area teacher (art, music, p.e., library, etc.), occupational, speech, or physical therapist, and teaching assistant.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

In order to present a thorough picture of the environment in which gay, lesbian, and bisexual educators work, this section will summarize a broad scope of the relevant literature. First, several theories explaining the process of coming out as a gay or lesbian individual will be described. Next, the work environment for g/l/b individuals is described, including statistics and trends concerning employment discrimination and the effects of homophobia on the g/l/b work force. Narrowing the scope, the focus proceeds to the K -12 school as a work environment for g/l/b individuals. Here, the characteristics are discussed which distinguish the educational work environment from other work environments. Next, several theoretical models describing job satisfaction are outlined. Then, the characteristics of job satisfaction, for educators in particular, are presented. Finally, the factors affecting the job satisfaction of g/l/b educators are discussed.

Theoretical Models on The Coming Out Process

The process of coming out (self-identifying and developing a homosexual orientation) is arguably the most significant event in the lives of most gay men and lesbian women. Few other life issues can prompt such significant ramifications as identifying as homosexual (Morris, 1997). A variety of theories have been developed which

describe the process of coming out. Three commonly known theories will be summarized.

Cass (1979) defines the process in a six stage model. The first stage, Identity Confusion, is characterized by inner turmoil between homosexuality and heterosexuality. The second stage, Identity Comparison, includes feelings of difference and sometimes isolation. The thought associated with this stage is, "I may be homosexual." During the third stage, Identity Tolerance, one tries to overcome the isolation associated with an identity perceived as incongruent with societal expectations. Here, the message is, "I probably am homosexual." The fourth stage, Identity Acceptance, occurs as the individual is able to resolve the incongruity between a previous identity of heterosexual and the current identity as homosexual. Identity Pride, stage five, is marked by feelings of anger in response to the oppression of gay men and lesbians. Here, one's response is to embrace activism. The philosophy behind this stage is summed up by the statement, "How dare you assume I'm heterosexual!" Stage six, Identity Synthesis, is recognized by a rejection of former activism and full integration of one's homosexuality. At this point, one's sexual orientation is just one component of an individual's identity, no longer a defining factor.

A second, well-cited theory of coming out is that of Coleman (1982). Coleman describes his theory as reductionary because, in his view, the coming out process is not linear. Individuals may move from one stage to another in no particular order and may, indeed,

identify with more than one stage at a time. In addition, he explains that by reaching the final stage, one has not "finished" coming out. Because one is continually confronted with new situations, one moves into different stages as they relate to the current situation. To illustrate this idea, consider the different environments one may encounter: work, religious community, family, neighborhood, etc. One may identify with a different stage in relation to each of these environments, all within a short span of time.

Coleman's theory includes five stages and, differs from Cass's in that it focuses on the process of relationship development. The first stage, Pre-Coming Out, is identified by feelings of difference. Coleman theorizes that sexual orientation develops at the same time as gender identity, at about the age of three. At this time, individuals experience conflict as they begin to have feelings of difference relating to their same gender sexual feelings. Coming Out, the second stage, features self-acknowledgement of homosexual feelings, and sharing this information with others. The third stage is Exploration which refers to sexual exploration. Coleman's fourth stage is First Relationship. In this stage, one's desire for intimacy calls the individual to move from sexual exploration to the fulfillment of a committed relationship. The fifth and final stage of Coleman's model is Integration. Here, one is more successful at both achieving and terminating intimate relationships.

A more recently developed model of coming out is provided by Hanley-Hackenbruck (1989, in Morris, 1997). Her model focuses on

modification of the superego and ego development. It is developed for use by psychotherapists who work with gay and lesbian clients. She takes a more comprehensive approach to defining this process. She acknowledges that a central goal in the coming out process is the debunking of the negative stereotypes about gay men and lesbians. In order for individuals to move through the process, they must define for themselves what it means to be homosexual, rather than integrating the negative and erroneous images offered by a homophobic society. In addition, Hanley-Hackenbruck's model encompasses the other factors affecting the coming out process. Gender, ethnicity, race, values of the historical period, and place where an individual lives all have an effect on the coming out process.

Hanley-Hackenbruck's model includes three stages. The first stage, Prohibition, is subdivided into three phases. The first is Denial. Here, the statement, "I can't be gay because I'm a real man" is prevalent. The second phase is Shock or Identity Crisis which is marked by the statement, " I must not be a real man because I'm gay." The statement, "Perhaps not all gay men are effeminate," characterizes the third phase, Negative or Ambivalent Labeling. Here, the individual reconsiders formerly accepted assumptions about lesbianism or gayness, and replaces them with more accurate and positive beliefs, thereby changing the superego to accommodate the new information. Then a new ego ideal is developed after grieving the loss of perceiving oneself as heterosexual.

The second stage is Ambivalence/Practicing or Compulsion/

Exploration. Here the statement, "I *am* a good person, and I *a m* a homosexual" is central. The third stage is Consolidation/Resolution. Consolidation is achieved by having positive role models, and by grieving the loss of a heterosexual identity, including all the privileges associated with that identity. Resolution is characterized by accepting the anxiety over the desire to disclose homosexual identity coupled with the fear of rejection and stigmatization which may follow such disclosure.

The Difference Between Coming Out and Being Out

In order to more fully understand the particular challenges of being homosexual and the process of coming out, a distinction must be made. There is an important differentiation between coming out and being out (Harry, 1993). According to the coming out theories previously outlined, one may have come out, but not *b e* out in all situations. Being out is situation-specific, and coming out can be thought of as more global. For instance, one may self-identify as gay or lesbian (coming out), but choose to disclose this only in certain environments (being out).

"In their daily lives, lesbians [and gay men] must repeatedly make decisions about whether or not to disclose their sexual orientation to others in the face of potential rejection, discrimination, alienation, or violence" (Anderson & Mavis, 1996, p. 38). These decisions require gay men and lesbians to monitor themselves, their motivation, and the potential consequences of the disclosure before

making each decision. Many gay men and lesbians report having a constant hyper-awareness of their surroundings which serves to gather information about the likely degree of acceptance they may receive from those around them (McNaught, 1993). Positive comments about other minority groups may be an indication of support for gay and lesbian individuals, while bigoted remarks may indicate non-acceptance of homosexuals. This monitoring behavior occurs in every facet of one's life: work, family, neighborhood, religious or professional organizations. In each of these areas, one must consider the consequences of disclosing sexual orientation. "People adapt their degree of self-disclosure to the circumstances in which they live" (Harry, 1993, p. 38).

Motivations for Not Being Out

Almost all homosexuals identify compelling reasons for not being out. It is understood that often "the audience would react punitively through sanctions which can be economic, violent, or ones of social disapproval and loss of prestige" (Harry, 1993, p. 28). Depending upon the audience, one might face rejection by family, friends, or co-workers, loss of employment or residence, or one may become the target of violence. Increased incidents of gay-bashing (violence against homosexuals) are reported across the country. In 1997 national reports of hate crimes against homosexuals went up 7% while the overall crime rate decreased by 4% (Uniform Crime Reports, 1991, 1996, 1997). The same report notes that in 1997, anti-gay hate crimes

accounted for nearly 14% of all hate crimes statistics collected. This number is up from 8.9% in 1991 and 12% in 1996. One might like to think that it's the hate-filled stranger who commits such crimes. Unfortunately, a significant number of gay and lesbian individuals must cope with violence within their own families. 19% of gay men and 25% of lesbians report suffering physical violence at the hands of a family member as a result of their sexual orientation (Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force, 1992). As part of the National Lesbian Health Care Survey with 1,925 lesbians responding, 52% said they had been verbally attacked and 6% had been physically attacked for being lesbian (Bradford, Ryan, & Rothblum, 1994). All of these facts make a compelling argument for homosexuals to remain closeted. By keeping their orientation hidden, g/l/b individuals hope to avoid experiencing any of these consequences.

Motivations for Being Out

Why do individuals choose to be out when such grave consequences exist? Depending upon the audience, there can be a variety of reasons for disclosing one's sexual orientation (Harry, 1993). Gay men and lesbians often choose to come out to those who are most significant to them. This allows these significant relationships to be based on "valuation for what one is rather than on what one pretends to be" (Harry, 1993, p. 27). Coming out increases one's sense of integrity. Once one has disclosed his/her orientation to others, the desire to increase integrity by coming out to additional groups is likely

to follow (Harry, 1993).

In addition, being out can decrease the anxiety caused by hiding one's gay identity. It reduces the amount of monitoring one must do (asking oneself, "Who knows here? What can or can't I say?"). This point is supported by Cass's (1979) theory of homosexual identity development. She explains that movement through the stages of coming out is motivated by a desire to reconcile the discrepancies between self-identity and others' perceptions of the self. Increased authenticity and growth are the outcome of reconciling these discrepancies.

Some final reasons exist for being out. If the audience is gay or lesbian, one might be seeking validation as a gay individual by other gay men and lesbians. One also may be seeking others for friendship or dating. The only way to achieve these goals is by being at least somewhat out (Harry, 1993).

Work Environment for Individuals Who Are Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual

Previous research makes it clear that most gay men and lesbians fear employment discrimination if their sexual orientation were known. In addition, the National Lesbian Health Care Survey included a series of questions concerning disclosure about lesbians' sexual orientation (Bradford, Ryan, & Rothblum, 1994). Of the four categories: heterosexual friends, gay and lesbian friends, family, and co-workers, respondents were more closeted with co-workers than with any other group. Eighty-eight percent were out to all of their gay

friends, 28% were out to all of their straight friends, 27% were out to their entire families, and only 17% were out to all of their co-workers. Studies conducted with gay men found similar results (Harry, 1993, Day & Schoenrade, 1997).

The result of this very real fear is that they often choose to conceal their sexual orientation at work. What is the cost to the individual, and in turn, to the employer when the employee chooses to conceal his/her orientation? "Gay people expend enormous amounts of energy hiding their private lives" at work (McNaught, 1993, p. 66).

In a study of employees who were openly gay, gay and closeted, and heterosexual, variables such as affective commitment, continuance commitment, job satisfaction, job stress, perceived top management support, role ambiguity, role conflict and conflict between work and home were measured (Day & Schoenrade, 1993). The sample of 1,063 respondents worked in a variety of fields, including clerical, service, teaching, sales, technical, professional, and other. The study found that "more open homosexual workers showed higher affective commitment, higher job satisfaction, higher perceived top management support, lower role ambiguity, lower role confusion and lower conflict between work and home" (1993, p. 157). In addition, the group of more closeted employees showed lower affective commitment, lower job satisfaction, lower belief in top management support, higher role ambiguity, higher role conflict, and higher conflict between work and home (Day & Schoenrade, 1993). In short, energy

which could be devoted to job related tasks is instead used to conceal one's identity.

Information gathered from several thousand American corporate participants in "Homophobia in the Workplace," a training session offered by Brian McNaught, sheds light on the environment gay and lesbian employees face. In the session, McNaught (1993) first asks employees to assess the level of acceptance in the workplace, ranging from "very hostile" to "very accepting." Then the group decides whether they think it's best for their gay and lesbian co-workers to "stay in the closet," "come out to only a few close friends," "come out to their supervisors," or "come out to everyone." After participants make these two ratings, they are invited to an imaginary company/employer picnic. At this picnic, all employees are invited to bring their significant others and children if they have them. They are asked if they'd be most comfortable if their gay, lesbian, and bisexual co-workers "came with a date of the other sex," "came alone," "came with a date of the same sex but showed no signs of affection," or "came with a same sex date and felt as comfortable as their heterosexual co-workers in showing signs of affection."

The results from these questions are eye-opening. A majority of respondents rate their organization as "somewhat accepting," but the same majority suggests that gay and lesbian co-workers "stay in the closet" at work even when the employer has a nondiscrimination clause protecting homosexuals. Finally, more than half of the respondents suggest that their co-workers come to the picnic with a

social interactions (at work), causing these workers to experience lower (job) satisfaction (Smith, Kendall & Hulin, 1969).

Some gay employees report that their decision to remain closeted is interpreted by co-workers as aloofness or reluctance to be completely invested in the company. This "aloofness" can serve as a communication barrier, inhibiting the development of vital business relationships. Misinterpreted, non-disclosing behaviors can also lead to negative performance evaluations which could affect career advancement, or even lead to dismissal (McNaught, 1993).

Ellis and Riggle (1995) found that there is a relationship between gay men's and lesbians' satisfaction with co-workers and their openness about their sexual orientation in the workplace. The study involved 167 gay and lesbian participants from cities on the West Coast and in the Midwest. The study concluded that individuals who were "totally open" were more satisfied with their co-workers than those who were less open in the workplace. The study also found that those who were less open were also more satisfied with their pay. A causal relationship was not indicated between the variables, so it is not clear whether openness at work influences job satisfaction or vice versa, or if an unidentified factor influences both variables. However, it is likely that by acknowledging this relationship, employers may increase elements of gay and lesbian employees' job satisfaction by working to create more accepting work environments (Ellis &Riggle, 1995).

School as a Work Environment for Individuals Who Are Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual

It is clear that while societal tolerance or even acceptance of gay men and lesbians may be growing (Pratte, 1993), an invisible line is drawn excluding gay and lesbian teachers (Vaid, 1995). Vaid addresses the issue of homophobia as it pertains to teachers. In *Virtual Equality,* she states, "Poll takers tell us that the public supports fair and equal treatment for gays in most jobs, but when asked about certain job categories (like teachers or child care workers) . . . the public's support withers" (1995, p. 18). As evidence, 74 to 81 percent of Americans answered yes to the question "Should homosexuals have equal rights in terms of job opportunities" in polls done over the past several years. Not surprisingly, the percentage of support for equal employment measures dropped significantly when asked about specific job categories. Only 41 percent favored nondiscrimination against a gay person employed as an elementary school teacher, and 47 percent to 53 percent supported nondiscrimination in employment of homosexuals who were high school teachers (Vaid , 1995).

The message here is, "We think discrimination against gays and lesbians is wrong. Homosexuals should be able to work openly in some professions, but when it comes to teaching, well, that's just different." These attitudes reflect a long held, false image of homosexuals as child molesters. They are also fueled by the irrational belief that g/l/b educators could possibly "recruit" children to become gay. It can also be argued that these attitudes are rooted in an even

older historical context.

The tradition of regulating teachers' behavior both inside and outside the classroom is relevant when searching for explanations to this apparent double standard. In the early 1900's teachers in the United States were held to higher moral standards than those in other professions and their lives away from the classroom were monitored carefully (Harbeck, 1997, Khayatt, 1992). Teachers, who were by this time predominantly female, were often boarded from home to home for weeks at a time. This saved money for the community in which she taught and it allowed for the community members to scrutinize her "personality, beliefs, and behaviors" (Harbeck, 1997, p. 104).

Harbeck cites a teacher's contract from 1915 which required her to "not dress in bright colors, not dye her hair, to wear at least two petticoats, and not wear dresses more than two inches above the ankles" (1997, p. 107). A contract from 1923 forbade marriage, being in the company of someone of the opposite sex. It also forbade drinking and required the teacher to be home between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. "unless in attendance at a school function" (Apple, 1987, p. 62). This contract went on to require teachers to request permission to travel out of town (Apple, 1987).

As late as the 1960's women teachers were required to wear heels and dresses. By this time a female teacher could be married, but as soon as it was known that she was pregnant, she was forced to quit her job (Harbeck, 1997). A teacher in 1935 noted, "How I conduct my classes seems to be of no great interest to the school authorities, but what I do

when school is not in session concerns them tremendously" (in Harbeck, 1997, p. 108). Teachers were expected to set examples of morality for their students as defined by the community. "The control of teaching has always had close connections to social and ideological pressures outside of education" (Apple, 1987, p. 63). This "moral policing" of teachers seems to parallel the present attitudes toward teachers who may identify as gay or lesbian. As Apple (1987) observes, "history does have a habit of not remaining past" (p. 63).

Further evidence of the widespread negative public opinion of g/l/b educators exists. During Congress' consideration of the Employment Non-discrimination Act of 1997 (NGLTF, 1999), which would have protected homosexuals in all careers from employment discrimination, an amendment was proposed. The amendment would have excluded protection for gay men and lesbians working with children, such as in day care and education. Some members of congress felt that excluding homosexuals working with children would increase the legislation's chances of passing. Again, the message is, "let homosexuals work, but not near children." Additional evidence of the public's negative attitudes towards homosexuals exists in the numerous firings of teachers who disclose their sexual orientation. Examples of challenges to a small percentage of those firings include Gaylord v. Tacoma School District No. 10 in 1977, Rowland v. Mad River Local School District in 1984, National Gay Task Force v. Board of Education of the City of Oklahoma City in 1984 (cited in Leonard, 1993).

Knowing that there is no national law protecting them from

being fired solely on the basis of their sexual orientation, how do g/l/b educators cope with this possibility? Harry (1993) found that among the range of occupational groups including arts-entertainer, helping, business, teaching, manual, science/technical, traditional professions, and service, the group most likely to be closeted at work are teachers. "Most of these teachers work in primary and secondary education where being openly homosexual could result in complaints from parents and possible firings" (1993, p. 35). In short, g/l/b teachers carefully choose when and with whom they share their sexual orientations.

In a study of gay and lesbian educators, Griffin (1992) found that participants used four main strategies in order to maintain their homosexual identities at work. Sixteen self-identified gay and lesbian educators participated in Griffin's research. At different times, and in different situations, the educators described themselves as passing, covering, being implicitly out, or being explicitly out. Figure 1 shows the range of strategies used and the behaviors, internal messages, and emotions associated with each strategy.

Griffin's (1992) theory explains that on the continuum, as one moves from being totally closeted through the stages of passing, covering, being implicitly out, then explicitly out, one's feelings of fear diminish while the degree of self-integrity increases. In addition, one's sense of integration between personal and professional self is increased as one increases self-disclosure about sexual orientation.

The message here, is not that in order to achieve greater job

figure 1

Lesbian And Gay Educators' Identity Management Strategies*

TOTALLY CLOSETED	PASSING	COVERING	IMPLICITLY OUT	EXPLICITLY OUT	PUBLICLY OUT
Out to no one at school	Lying	Censoring	Telling Truth w/o Gay/Lesbian Labels	Affirming Lesbian/Gay Identity	Out to school community
	I assume you don't know.	I assume you don't know.	I assume you know, but I'm not sure.	I know you know. You know I know you know.	
	See me as Heterosexual	Don't see me as Lesbian/Gay	You can see me as Lesbian/Gay if you want to	See me as Lesbian/Gay	

SEPARATION —— PERSONAL/PROFESSIONAL SELF —— INTEGRATION

Note. * From Griffin, P. (1992) From hiding out to coming out: Empowering lesbian and gay educators. In K. M. Harbeck, (Ed.) Coming out of the classroom closet: Gay and lesbian students, teachers, and curricula. (p. 177). New York, NY: Harrington Park Press.

satisfaction, one must fully disclose at work. Many work environments would not permit that. However, it would seem that school climates which are supportive and accepting of educators who identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual are ones in which educators will likely perceive being out as a realistic option. In these supportive work environments, g/l/b educators will have the opportunity to integrate their personal and professional selves.

The extent to which the participants used these strategies is striking:

> Most participants . . . used more than one management strategy, and sometimes three or four, with different people during the school day. Consequently, these gay and lesbian educators were working within a complicated and ever changing web of different relationships with their colleagues and students that required their constant and careful attention. Since participants perceived the stakes to be high (they could lose their jobs and reputation), choosing the appropriate management strategies was an exhausting and stressful process. All participants talked about the tremendous energy they expended daily in managing their identities (Griffin, 1992, p. 179).

Jennings, (1992) and (Kissen, 1996) found that g/l/b educators who used passing and covering experienced inhibited collegial relationships, high levels of stress, and in the most severe cases, physical illness.

Theories of Job Satisfaction

This section will explore several of the theories of job satisfaction which have been offered. Blazer, et al. (1997), define job satisfaction as "the feelings a worker has about his or her job or job experiences in relation to previous experiences, current expectations, or available alternatives" (p. 10). While it is agreed that job satisfaction is made up of a number of elements, there have been two primary approaches to its measurement. One, proposed by Smith, et al. (1969) states, "Job satisfactions are feelings or affective responses to facets of the situation" (p. 6). This view led to the development of a process of identifying and measuring the facet components which represent a measure of job satisfaction. These components may include, but are not limited to: work (the particular activities or duties of the job), pay, opportunity for promotion, quality and type of supervision, and co-workers. This approach stresses that by measuring each of the component parts, one will arrive at an accurate representative measure of one's job satisfaction. The Job Descriptive Index grew out of this theory (Blazer, et al., 1997).

The second approach to measuring job satisfaction is more global. It views the concept as an overall, integrative feeling of satisfaction one has when considering all the aspects of a job. This approach guided the development of the Job in General scale, a comprehensive measure of job satisfaction (Blazer, et al., 1997).

Why do researchers, such as psychologists and management consultants, and practitioners, such as managers, supervisors, and

human resource administrators, care to measure job satisfaction? There are at least three fundamental answers to this question. The first could be described as humanitarian concerns. Blazer, et al. (1997) explain that management prefers that workers be satisfied with their jobs. Since job satisfaction has been found to be linked to life satisfaction and physical and mental health, management has even more reason to concern itself with job satisfaction.

A second answer is economic concerns. Blazer, et al. (1997), Scarpello, & Campbell (1983), and Zytowski (1968) cite the significant and repeated findings which link job satisfaction with factors such as job performance, job stress and discord within the work group. Although these relationships are not necessarily causal, it makes good business sense for management to work to increase workers' job satisfaction. It may be a bonus to the organization by decreasing employee absenteeism and decreasing work accidents. This can bring the organization monetary savings due to: fewer health insurance claims; decreased training costs due to less absenteeism and turnover; and increased productivity caused by using fewer substitute workers. In addition, management can use measures of job satisfaction to locate areas of their organizations with lower than average satisfaction ratings. This provides opportunities for intervention to identify and remedy problems within the organization.

Finally, there are theoretical concerns. These concerns fall into three schools of thought. Blazer et al. (1997) explains that some researchers view job satisfaction "as a direct cause of such behavior as

attending work, maintaining quality standards, seeking improved work methods, and cooperating with other employees" (p. 11). Other theorists see it as a consequence of these behaviors because good work behavior leads to rewards from supervisors and then to feelings of job satisfaction. Finally, some theorists see job satisfaction as a symptom or by-product coexisting with these behaviors (e.g., poor supervision leads to both job dissatisfaction and to uncooperative behavior). In any case, job satisfaction is a pertinent index.

Researchers whose concern is the general well-being of the worker rather than that of the organization might subscribe to theory outlined by Super (1968). Based on a self-concept theory of vocational development, a connection is made among the development of the self, development of a vocation and job satisfaction. He explains that "in expressing a vocational preference, a person puts into occupational terminology his idea of the kind of person he is; that in entering an occupation, he seeks to implement a concept of himself; that in getting established in an occupation he achieves self actualization" (1968, p. 194). In this view, the concept of job satisfaction becomes quite personal and less global. Not only does a job bring the worker various rewards and difficulties, it may well in part, *define* the worker.

Super (1968) additionally summarizes several studies (Brophy, 1959, Englander, 1960, and Tageson, 1960) which link self-concept to job satisfaction. Participants (including nurses, teachers, and seminarians) were asked to rate their view of themselves, their ideal selves, and their perceived occupational role requirements (what they believe their

jobs expect of them). Participants were also given a measure of job satisfaction. The findings supported the hypothesis that similarity of the self concept with occupational role expectations was correlated with job satisfaction. These research findings present an additional view of the role job satisfaction may play in an individual's or an organization's existence.

Theories of Teacher Job Satisfaction

Grace (1972) begins his book, *Role Conflict and the Teacher,* "the school is a social system and in that system teachers are significant actors . . ." (p. ix). This statement is representative of many theories of the nature of teaching. Holland (1973) and Super (1970) (in Ashton, 1986) found that teachers in particular tend to have strong social needs. The nature of the job essentially requires this. Educators must be concerned with the emotional and social well-being of students. Indeed, when asked about the nature of the job, teachers' responses nearly always include an emotion-laden story about a success or challenge with a particular student (Ashton, 1986). And because most educators spend a majority of their time with students, separated from other adults, they depend heavily on the social and professional support and guidance available from their colleagues. Ashton (1986) states that "strong collegial support may bolster and sustain teachers' sense of efficacy, enabling teachers to be more effective with their students" (p. 18).

Many of the identified aspects which comprise teacher job

satisfaction are social in nature or involve relationships. An early study which attempted to measure teachers' job satisfaction was conducted by Hoppock in 1935 (cited by Blocker & Richardson, 1963). Teachers who rated high on the measure were separated from those with low ratings. Even then, the teachers who rated highest reported better relationships with superiors and co-workers, showed less evidence of emotional maladjustment, and worked in cities with a population above 10,000.

Blocker and Richardson (1963) also state that in their review of 25 years of teacher morale research, the school administrator was consistently identified as an influential factor. The teacher's relationship with the administrator or principal, in terms of supervision, communication, and leadership style, has been shown to be strongly related to teachers' morale (Blocker & Richardson, 1963).

Cruickshank and Callahan (1983) define areas of concern for teachers which relate directly to how satisfied they are with their jobs. These problem areas include: affiliation - relationships with colleagues and principals, classroom control, parental relationships, student success, and time management. Again, relationships are an important aspect of defining teacher efficacy and satisfaction.

Similar findings are outlined by Ashton (1986), who identified several variables which combine to influence teachers' sense of self-efficacy. These include "size and demographic characteristics of the school, school norms, collegial relationships, principal-teacher relationships, school decision-making structures, and teachers'

relationships with their students' families" (p. 18). Again, the focus on relationships within the school environment is present.

Carss and Grassie (1972) define teacher job satisfaction as part of a larger, somewhat cyclical framework involving a number of other factors. At the center is an educator's orientation to teaching, or the associated beliefs and the manner in which the individual comes to the profession. Then, three factors enter the cycle: the perceptions of school organizational climate, school structure, and actual experience in teaching. These factors comprise job satisfaction, which in turn, influences the teacher's developing perceptions of climate and structure.

Reinforcing the cyclical and interrelational nature of the elements comprising teacher job satisfaction, Ashton (1986) states:

> "If teachers doubt their competence as teachers, it is unlikely that they will be satisfied with their chosen profession. Similarly, if teachers are dissatisfied with teaching, they may come to question their professional competence (p. 94).

Job Satisfaction for Educators Who Are Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual

Because gay and lesbian teachers *are* teachers, the way in which they experience job satisfaction is, in some ways, identical to the experience of their heterosexual peers. They are likely to be equally concerned with the demographics of the school, collegial relationships, principal - teacher relationships, decision-making structure, curriculum, and relationships with students and students' parents.

But, due to the essential difference of their sexual orientation, there are additional distinct elements which come into play. As outlined earlier, the added stress caused by societal heterosexism, discrimination against homosexuals, and lack of legal protection against such treatment, drastically changes any work environment for gay and lesbian individuals. The historical reality of education as a confining and conservative field contributes additionally to the challenges facing gay and lesbian teachers.

In order to better understand the factors contributing to g/l/b educators' job satisfaction, some aspects of earlier summarized theories will be reviewed. As outlined by Cass (1979), Coleman (1982), and Hanley-Hackenbruck (1989, in Morris, 1997), coming out/being out increases the sense of integrity that g/l/b individuals experience. With each additional environment where they can be authentic in disclosing their true identities, they gain a sense of integration of the facets of their lives (Harry, 1993). Their self-concept develops as they embrace and disclose their sexual orientation.

Turning attention to job satisfaction theory, Super (1968) views self-concept development as directly related to career development. As one experiences success in a chosen career, one's self-concept is further developed. Super also (1968) summarized findings which link self-concept and occupational role requirements to job satisfaction. A self-concept which closely matches the occupational role requirements of a chosen career was associated with increased job satisfaction.

Combined, these concepts create a challenging scenario for g/l/b

educators. For if being out increases integrity and development of self-concept, which in turn, is further developed by identifying and succeeding in a chosen occupation (Super, 1968), then one would expect successful teachers with well-developed self-concepts to experience high levels of job satisfaction (Ashton, 1986).

But this is likely not the case for g/l/b educators who feel called to teaching, are experiencing success, and believe they have the right to work in their chosen field. They face a unique struggle. Even though they feel well-suited to the career, the traditional role of teacher is not generally perceived as including a homosexual identity. Significant dissonance must exist for them as they view themselves worthy of teaching, yet know that more than half of the public disagrees (Griffin, 1992, Vaid, 1995). Super's (1968) outlined findings would indicate that g/l/b educators experiencing this dissonance would suffer in terms of job satisfaction. In other words, if one's view of self does not match one's perception of the job role, lower job satisfaction will be experienced.

An additional theory related to an educator's degree of disclosure exists. Referring to Griffin's model (1992) of identity management strategies, consider the individual who uses passing or covering to hide his/her orientation at work. One who does this would experience increased feelings of fear and separation. For these more closeted educators, the school environment may be either accepting or non-accepting of a homosexual orientation, but it's likely that a non-accepting environment would correlate with a lower degree of

disclosure. In either case, the g/l/b educator's choice to remain closeted has been shown to correlate with dissatisfying colleague relationships, higher levels of stress, and even physical illness as a result of the added stress (Jennings, 1994, Kissen, 1996). Additionally, when g/l/b educators use a significant amount of energy to monitor and conceal their identities (Griffin, 1992, McNaught, 1993), this energy cannot be directed toward teaching. This may lead to a decreased sense of competence in teaching. Educators who doubt their professional competence will experience decreased job satisfaction (Ashton, 1986).

Another possible influence on job satisfaction is illustrated by numerous g/l/b teachers who describe making a commitment to being beyond reproach professionally (Harbeck, 1992, Khayatt, 1992, Jennings, 1994, and Kissen, 1996). They believe that a spotless record, impeccable lesson plans, and good evaluations could keep them from being fired if their sexual orientation became known. This additional effort could correlate with either increased or diminished job satisfaction. The commitment to work would likely lead to improved performance, which, in turn may lead to increased satisfaction with work (Ashton, 1986). However, resentment could develop as a result of the added work, especially if the teacher perceives co-workers as being less committed to their work. In this case, g/l/b educators who overachieve, may experience lower job satisfaction, viewing themselves as potentially under constant scrutiny.

In spite of the aforementioned hypotheses which indicate that closeted g/l/b educators experience lower job satisfaction, the contrary

is possible as well. Due to the fact that job satisfaction is comprised of many factors, it's possible that a totally closeted teacher working in a non-accepting school could experience a high degree of job satisfaction. Some closeted g/l/b educators may be satisfied with enough aspects of teaching to compensate for the negative impact of concealing their orientation.

Another theory relating to career choice suggests an outcome of increased job satisfaction. It is possible that because of the homophobic atmosphere of the education community, many potential g/l/b educators choose other careers. Rather than entering a profession where they must choose between remaining closeted or risk great loss by disclosing their sexual orientation, they choose a career which is perceived as more accepting. As a result, those g/l/b individuals who do choose a career in education, are possibly more committed to the career than is the average educator. In effect, the existing homophobia serves to "weed out" the less dedicated g/l/b teacher candidates. If this is the case, then one would expect the levels of job satisfaction experienced by g/l/b educators to be higher because they are a group highly devoted to teaching.

Hypothesis

The process of coming out/being out significantly impacts the lives of gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals. They are constantly presented with situations in which they must choose whether or not to disclose their sexual orientations. Because of the generally anti-gay

society in which all individuals work and due to the lack of employment discrimination laws protecting homosexuals, interactions within the work place are difficult to navigate when considering one's sexual orientation. The K - 12 educational work environment is an especially challenging work setting for g/l/b individuals considering society's stereotypes against homosexuals. Open homosexuals who want to work as teachers are often perceived as pedophiles or "recruiters" hoping to sway students to "become" gay. In addition, because of the higher moral standard to which educators are held, teachers' private lives are of more interest to their employers than are the lives of those in most other occupations. This makes the educational work environment a difficult one for anyone who strays outside the norm.

Elements of job satisfaction and career choice are related to self-concept development. Workers who see themselves as fitting the expectations of their chosen career stand to further develop a positive self-concept. This process is difficult for g/l/b educators who receive society's message that homosexuals are unacceptable candidates to work as teachers.

Many of the factors contributing to job satisfaction for teachers concern the way in which they relate to others. Relationships with co-workers, students, and supervisors all affect a teacher's sense of job satisfaction. Because of the anti-gay environment present in most K - 12 schools, g/l/b educators face challenges in developing those important relationships. Many choose to hide their orientation at

work, often at great cost to them.

These influences lead to the expectation of a positive correlation between elements related to gay, lesbian, and bisexual educators' degree of disclosure and the level of job satisfaction they experience. Related elements of degree of disclosure include the perception of the school's acceptance of homosexuality and the educator's degree of comfort at disclosing sexual orientation. In other words, educators who choose to disclose their sexual orientation and who feel accepted at work do not experience much of the anxiety associated with hiding their identity. Therefore, it is hypothesized that these educators would experience higher levels of job satisfaction.

Chapter Three

Methods

This study was conducted as a correlational research study using a survey as the method of data collection. No causal relationships were sought.

Subjects

Participants were self-identified gay, lesbian, or bisexual individuals currently working in a K-12 educational setting. Participants were sought through a variety of methods. Approximately 20 participants were present at a Gay Pride Festival in St. Louis, MO in June, 1998. Approximately 25 participants were members of the Gay and Lesbian Caucus at the National Education Association's meeting in New Orleans, LA in July, 1998. The remaining participants received information through their association with the Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), a national organization working to end homophobia in schools. A request for participants was posted on GLSEN's internet list serve and interested parties contacted the researcher to receive a survey.

A total of 98 usable surveys were compiled. Of these, 41 (41.8%) of the participants were male, 56 (57.1%) were female, one participant did not indicate a gender. Ninety-three of the respondents identified as homosexual, 5 identified as bisexual. The sample was not racially diverse. 93% were Caucasian, 1% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 1% Hispanic, 2% were Native American, and 3% indicated Other as their

ethnicity. No respondents indicated African American ethnicity. Of the 98 participants, 42 reside in the Midwest, 35 in the West, 10 in the Northeast, 4 in the Southwest, 3 in the Northwest, 3 in the Southeast, and 1 in the East.

The participants were more balanced in terms of the environment in which they worked: 40 taught at the high school level, 16 at middle school, and 39 at the elementary. Eighty-eight percent of the teachers worked in public schools, while 5% worked in private education, and 6% worked in parochial schools. An additional 1% identified their work environment as Other. The group varied greatly in terms of number of years in the field of education. The range was from one year of experience to 39 years. The sample had a mean number of 14 years (SD = 8.65) working in education and a mean of 9 years (SD = 7.72) working within the current building or district.

The majority of the group had a long history of identifying as homosexual/bisexual. Seventy-one percent of the group first self-identified as g/l/b 10 or more years ago, but 80% of the group first questioned their sexual orientation more than 10 years ago. The participants were more likely to be in a committed relationship than not: 64.3% identified themselves as being in a committed relationship or with a life partner while 35.7% were single and either not dating or dating casually. A majority (75%) of the participants described themselves as being involved in the gay community in their town/city of residence.

Instrumentation

To obtain a measure of teachers' level of job satisfaction, the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) and Job in General scale (JIG) were used. These instruments are designed to be used together to gain ratings on job satisfaction. The JDI measures five facets including the work itself (18 items), promotional opportunities (9 items), supervision (18 items), co-workers (18 items), and pay (9 items). The JIG scale consists of 18 items which provide a general job satisfaction rating.

The instrument asks the individual to rate adjectives or adjective phrases as descriptive or not descriptive of their jobs. Participants are asked to respond with yes, no, or cannot decide (?) to each item. The format is straightforward and easy to understand. The two instruments take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

The JDI has been the subject of extensive research, a majority conducted by researchers other than the authors. It has been normed with a wide range of employees working in a variety of fields. The JDI has high internal consistency (averaging .88 among the five scales). The internal consistency of the JIG was above .90. Construct validity of the JIG was supported by its high correlation with other job satisfaction measures.

Several reviewers expressed high satisfaction with both the JDI and the JIG especially when used together. One reviewer did mention a possible drawback with the JDI in that it should not be used to generate an overall job satisfaction rating. The intercorrelation across the scales is only moderate - from .08 to .76. (Crites, 1985). Therefore

the authors caution that the scale scores not be combined for this purpose. The JIG is a more appropriate instrument for this use.

The Degree of Disclosure Survey (DODS), developed by the researcher, will be used to measure the degree to which teachers have shared their sexual orientation with others (see Appendix B). It consists of two scales, Work Environment and Personal Environment. Each contains 8 items to which individuals respond to the statement, "I have disclosed my sexual orientation to my _____." For the Work Environment, categories include: co-workers, supervisor(s), principal(s), students, students' parents, school board members, professional organizations, and other. Categories for the Personal Environment scale include: friends, siblings, parents, children, extended family, neighbors, religious/faith community, and other. Response options are yes, no, and N/A. For each Yes answer, respondents are asked to indicate the percentage of individuals in that category to whom they have disclosed their orientation. The responses were categorized into five levels: 1 = 1-25%, 2 = 26-50%, 3 = 51-75%, 4 = 76-99%, and 5 = 100%. An additional index was computed to obtain a broader measure of degree of disclosure, by summing the level of disclosure (0 - 5) in each of the following categories: co-worker(s), supervisor(s), principal(s), students, students' parents, and school board members. This index is referred to as the Work Environment Degree of Disclosure (WEDOD).

Several survey items (numbers 16 17, 20, and 21 see Appendix B) measure the degree of comfort or acceptance participants felt regarding

sexual orientation. The items include: comfort with self-identifying as g/l/b, general comfort at disclosing to others, perceived acceptance of school, and comfort with disclosing at work. The response format is for these items is a Likert-type scale (1 = least comfortable / accepting and 7 = most comfortable / accepting).

Each survey packet included the following components: a cover letter explaining the general purpose of the study; the demographic questions; the Degree of Disclosure Scales; and the Job Descriptive Index. The contents of the packet can be found in the appendices.

Sampling and Procedures

The sample for this study was drawn from the population of gay, lesbian, and bisexual educators who have shared their orientation with at least one other individual. It is understood that the group of g/l/b educators who have not disclosed their orientation to others could not be identified, and therefore are not represented in this sample. Clearly, significant sampling bias could not be avoided due to the challenge in working with a population so difficult to access.

The difficulty of identifying gay, lesbian, and bisexual educators, necessitated using snowballing as the primary method of sampling. The self-selected individuals became participants in several ways. A request for participants was posted on a gay and lesbian organization's listserve and interested individuals were mailed the survey. Eighty-three surveys were mailed through this method. An additional 30 surveys were distributed at the National Education Association's Gay

and Lesbian Caucus meeting in July, 1998. Completed surveys were returned by mail to the researcher. Both NEA participants and those located through the list serve were provided stamped return mail envelopes. Finally, 20 surveys were collected at the St. Louis Gay Pride Festival in June, 1998.

Of the 133 total surveys distributed, 117 (87%) were returned. Of these, 19 (17%) were either incomplete or did not fit the qualifications for participation and therefore were not used. Of the total 133 surveys distributed, 98 (74%) usable surveys were obtained.

Data Analysis

Pearson r correlations will be calculated to measure the relationships among each of the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) scales with the Degree of Disclosure Scale (work). The JDI scales will also be compared to ratings on items pertaining to comfort at disclosing sexual orientation at work and perceived acceptance of homosexuality in the work environment. Also, a one way analysis of variance will be conducted to measure any difference in degree of disclosure for educators working in elementary, middle school and high school settings.

Chapter Four

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Of the 98 participants, 41 were male, 56 female, and one participant did not indicate a gender. Ninety-three identified themselves as homosexual while 5 identified as bisexual. In terms of ethnicity, 91 participants were Caucasian, 1 was Asian/Pacific Islander, 1 was Hispanic, 2 were Native American, 3 indicated Other, and none were African American.

Regarding disclosure of sexual orientation in their personal environments, the results were varied. As shown in Table 1, the participants were more likely to have disclosed completely to their siblings than to any of the other groups: 76% had done so. Nearly as many (72%), had completely disclosed to their parents. However, 89% of the participants had disclosed to more than three quarters of their friends. Only 22% of the g/l/b educators had completely disclosed to their extended families while 18% had completely disclosed to their neighbors. It is important to note, however, that more than half (58%) of the respondents listed no religious/faith community affiliation.

In professional organizations with supervisors, and with principals, educators tended to choose to either completely disclose or to not disclose at all in their work environments. As Table 2 shows, the percentages indicating disclosure for these categories are heavily weighted at both ends of the continuum with smaller percentages

represented in between. This reflects extreme responses; either educators were completely out or completely closeted with these categories of individuals. For instance, 37% had not disclosed to principals, while 43% had complete disclosure. Nearly half of the educators were at least substantially disclosed to their co-workers (46%). More than half (56%) were completely closeted with their students and even more (60%) had not disclosed to their students' parents. Finally, the group with which g/l/b educators were most closeted with was school board members (61%).

Table 1

Degree of Disclosure Within Personal Environment

Individuals with whom orientation has been disclosed	N/A	non-disclosure 0%	limited disclosure 1 - 25%	moderate disclosure 26 - 50%	significant disclosure 51 -75%	substantial disclosure 76 - 99%	complete disclosure 100%
Friends	1.00*	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.10	39.80	49.00
Siblings	8.20	5.10	3.10	2.00	3.10	3.10	75.50
Parents	6.10	11.20	1.00	4.10	1.00	4.10	72.40
Children	82.70	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	13.30	17.30
Extended Family	5.10	20.40	8.20	11.20	14.30	18.40	22.40
Neighbors	6.10	25.50	14.30	3.10	19.40	13.30	18.40
Religious / Faith Community	58.20	9.20	4.10	1.00	5.10	5.10	17.3
Other	90.80	1.00	2.00	1.00	4.10	1.00	9.20

Note. * Values represent percentages.

Table 2 Degree of Disclosure Within Work Environment

Individuals with whom orientation has been disclosed	N/A	non-disclosure 0%	limited disclosure 1 - 25%	moderate disclosure 26 - 50%	significant disclosure 51 -75%	substantial disclosure 76 - 99%	complete disclosure 100%
Co-Workers	0.00*	11.20	23.50	11.20	8.20	21.40	24.50
Supervisor(s)	6.10	30.60	8.20	4.10	1.00	15.30	34.70
Principal(s)	0.00	36.70	6.10	4.10	3.10	6.10	43.90
Students	0.00	56.10	17.30	8.20	2.00	5.10	11.20
Students' Parents	1.00	60.20	16.30	10.20	5.10	4.10	3.10
School Board Members	8.20	61.20	5.10	2.00	5.10	5.10	13.30
Professional Organizations	7.10	31.60	11.20	5.10	10.20	13.30	21.40
Other	99.00	0.00	0 .00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00

Note * Values represent percentages.

Table 3 shows results from survey items 16 17, 20, and 21 (see Appendix B). Respondents rated the degree of comfort or acceptance in response to four items using a Likert-type scale (1 = least comfortable / accepting and 7 = most comfortable / accepting). Scores rating comfort at identifying oneself as g/l/b had little variance and were quite high (M = 6.40, SD = .91) while scores on the other measures varied more. Educators were overall less comfortable disclosing their orientation to others (M = 5.17, SD = 1.34), and were even less comfortable disclosing within their work environment (M = 4.24, SD = 2.15). The ratings for disclosing at work varied quite a bit. Not surprisingly, the perceived level of acceptance of schools concerning homosexuality received the lowest overall rating (M = 3.98, SD = 1.78).

Table 3 Measures of Comfort Regarding Sexual Orientation

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Comfort with self-identifying asG/L/B	6.40	.91	3.00	7.00
General comfort disclosing to others	5.17	1.34	2.00	7.00
Perceived acceptance of school	3.98	1.78	1.00	7.00
Comfort with disclosing at work	4.24	2.15	1.00	7.00

Note. Item responses are on a 7 point Likert-type scale (1 = least comfort/acceptance, 7 = most comfort/acceptance).

Table 4 shows the results of the Job Descriptive Index (JDI). Means and standard deviations are listed for each of the six scales of the JDI. Participants' scores on the Job Descriptive Index were quite high for most of the scales, but there was considerable variance in the scores. As shown in Table 4, the scores on the Work, Supervision, Co-Workers and Job in General scales were all well above the midpoint of 27, indicating a high level of satisfaction. There was much less variance in the scores on the Work scale than for the other scales (SD = 7.76). The scores for Pay fell just above 27 (M = 27.56, SD = 14.97) with the greatest amount of variance among the scales. Opportunities for Promotion scale scores were the lowest (M = 17.67, SD = 12.29).

Table 4 Job Descriptive Index Scores

JDI Scales	Mean	SD
Work on Present Job	46.54	7.76
Present Pay	27.56	14.97
Opportunities for Promotion	17.67	12.29
Supervision	8.41	14.35
Co-Workers	39.34	12.20
Job in General	38.41	14.34

Note. Possible scores on each scale range from 0 - 54.

Correlational Statistics

In order to facilitate meaningful interpretation of the data, a new index was calculated. Work environment degree of disclosure (WEDOD) was created by summing the level of disclosure for the following categories: co-workers, supervisor(s), principal(s), students, students' parents and school board members. The new index scores range from 0 indicating non-disclosure, to 30 indicating complete disclosure in each category. This provides an overall work environment degree of disclosure measure. Table 5 shows the correlations between the total (WEDOD) and separate categories of the work environment degree of disclosure and (perceived) school's acceptance of homosexuality. There are several correlations significant at the 0.01 level. Perceived acceptance of school (item 20) correlated to several categories of degree of disclosure within the school environment, including disclosure to co-workers (.636), disclosure to supervisor(s) (.607), disclosure to principal(s) (.552), and disclosure to all aspects of the school environment (WEDOD) (.618). These correlational values indicate moderately high relationships.

Table 6 illustrates the correlations between JDI scales, (perceived) school's acceptance of homosexuality and work environment degree of disclosure. Not surprisingly, a strong correlation was found between perceived acceptance of school and comfort disclosing at work (.696 significant at the 0.01 level). A weak correlation of .304 (0.01 significance level) was found between perceived acceptance of school and the JDI Work scale. No significant correlations between any

Table 5

Correlations Among Work Environment Degree of Disclosure and Perceived School's Acceptance of Homosexuality

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Acceptance	-								
2. Coworkers	.636	-							
3. Supervisor(s)	.607	.886	-						
4. Principal(s)	.552	.759	.780	-					
5. Students	.439	.638	.539	.522	-				
6. Students' Parents	.356	.587	.530	.467	.776	-			
7. School Board	.420	.601	.592	.543	.580	.613	-		
8. Prof. Org.	.495	.802	.744	.587	.455	.520	.621	-	
9. WEDOD	.618	.907	.910	.862	.801	.746	.684	.729	-

Note WEDOD (Work Environment Degree of Disclosure) is obtained by summing level of disclosure for the following categories: co-worker(s), supervisor(s), principal(s), students, students' parents, and school board.

Table 6 Correlations Among Perceived School's Acceptance of Homosexuality, Comfort of Disclosing at Work, JDI Scales, and WEDOD*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Acceptance	-								
2. Disclose Wk.	.696	-							
3. Work	.304	.225	-						
4. Present Pay	.078	.008	.255	-					
5. Promotion	.152	.167	.118	.338	-				
6. Supervision	.049	-.015	.158	.298	.327	-			
7. Co-Workers	.106	.106	.270	.273	.180	.241	-		
8. JIG	.251	.156	.533	.238	.294	.457	.476	-	
9. WEDOD	.618	.752	.050	.013	.107	.013	.184	.096	-

Note *WEDOD (Work Environment Degree of Disclosure) is obtained by summing level of disclosure for the following categories: co-worker(s), supervisor(s), principal(s), students, students' parents, and school board. Items 3 - 8 represent Job Descriptive Index (JDI) scale scores.

measure of job satisfaction and actual degree of disclosure were found.

In order to examine for difference in comfort in disclosing sexual orientation and in actual disclosure at work (WEDOD) between elementary, middle school, and high school educators, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted. Tables 7 and 8 show these results. No significant difference was found in the actual degree of disclosure at work (WEDOD) for educators working in elementary, middle school, or high school buildings. Neither was a significant difference found among these groups for their comfort level at disclosing their sexual orientation at work.

Table 7

One-Way ANOVA for Comfort with Disclosing Sexual Orientation at Work Between Elementary, Middle School, and High School Educators

	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	12.61	2	6.30	1.35	.26
Within groups	428.82	92	4.66		
Total	441.43	94			

Table 8

One-Way ANOVA for Work Environment Degree of Disclosure (WEDOD) Between Elementary, Middle School, and High School Educators

	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between groups	224.35	2	112.17	1.68	.19
Within groups	6134.97	92	66.68		
Total	6359.33	94			

Chapter Five

Discussion

Summary of findings

In measuring the degree of disclosure of sexual orientation at work and job satisfaction, no significant correlations were found. This indicates that actual degree of disclosure was not a predominant factor in determining any measure of job satisfaction. This section will interpret findings related to the hypothesis including several variables related to comfort with a gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity.

Much of the data regarding degree of disclosure within personal environments (Table 1) is not surprising. The majority of g/l/b educators do not have children, but the majority of those who are parents have disclosed to their children. Because g/l/b individuals tend to disclose to those close to them, it follows that a significant percentage would have disclosed to their parents and siblings. This also helps explain the small percentages of g/l/b educators who've disclosed to extended family and neighbors. These findings are in line with those found in other research (Bradford, Ryan, & Rothblum, 1994, Harry, 1993, and Day & Schoenrade, 1997). The most interesting finding here, pertains to religion. More than half (58%) of the respondents indicated no religious/faith community. This, in part, may be due to the anti-homosexual stance prevalent in most organized religious doctrine.

The results of the Work Environment Degree of Disclosure

(WEDOD) scale showed some interesting findings as well. The extreme scores shown in disclosure to principals; 44% had completely disclosed while 37% had not, may be accounted for in cases where there is only one principal, thus only two response options. Looking at the same percentages, more g/l/b educators had disclosed to their principals (44%) than had not (37%). This may reflect the differences which exist among principals. The considerable power a principal has over a teacher's work environment must be considered. Their leadership style, communication patterns and level of acceptance, as well as other factors, all influence an educator's decision to disclose. More than half of the respondents had not disclosed to students' parents or to school board members. This may reflect the great influence teachers perceive these groups to have.

Table 3 summarizes the responses to survey items 16, 17, 20, and 21 (see Appendix B) regarding comfort with sexual orientation. Respondents were less comfortable disclosing to others than self-disclosing that they are gay, lesbian, or bisexual because when disclosing to others, there is more at stake. This finding supports much of the reviewed literature including McNaught (1993), Harry (1995), and Morris (1997). Respondents were even less comfortable disclosing in the school environment, findings which also support those of Griffin (1992), Harbeck (1992), and Kissen (1996) .

Results from the Job Descriptive Index indicate that the group of educators are satisfied with their jobs (Table 4). The authors of the JDI indicate a score of 27 as a midpoint for each scale. Scores well above 27

would indicate satisfaction while those well below 27 would indicate dissatisfaction (Blazer, 1997). As shown in table 4, the scores on the Work, Supervision, Co-Workers and Job in General scales were all well above 27, indicating that overall, this is a group of quite satisfied workers. The Work scale had the highest mean score (M = 46.54) and had the least amount of variance, indicating that these educators truly enjoy the daily activities and responsibilities involved in their jobs. This supports the idea that this group of educators has a higher level of commitment to teaching evidenced by the fact that they remain in a profession amid such adversity.

The mean score for Pay was at the midpoint of 27, but with a great degree of variance (SD = 14.97). This may be accounted for by the great variance in salary based on years of experience and amount of education earned. However, one might expect the mean score to be lower based on commonly held opinions that teachers are vastly underpaid. In addition, the pay scales vary so much from state to state and even among districts. The very low scores on the Opportunities for Promotion scale (M = 17.67, SD = 12.29) are easily understood. Because educators, on the whole, do not earn promotions, this scale is an ill-suited measure. In fact, many surveys included hand-written comments about the inappropriateness of this scale.

As shown in Table 6, the main hypothesis was not supported because no significant relationship between actual degree of disclosure and the measure of any facet of job satisfaction was indicated. These results differ from those of Ellis & Riggle (1995) who found employees

who were most open at work were also more satisfied with their co-workers and their bosses. This discrepancy may be due to the difference in work environments. The Ellis & Riggle's sample worked in a variety of fields while this sample represents solely educators. The school environment is likely so different from others that results from their study could not be applied to educators.

The weak correlation (.304 at the 0.01 significance level) of perceived acceptance of school and the Work scale of the JDI indicates an interesting relationship. This suggests that at least for gay, lesbian, and bisexual educators, the perception of the work environment's acceptance of homosexuality is more associated with job satisfaction than is one's degree of disclosure at work. for these educators, the accepting atmosphere seems to be enough to compensate for societal disapproval. They may feel secure enough in their accepting environment without completely disclosing their sexual orientations. Additionally, since the decision to disclose is subjective and personal, it's likely that no matter how welcoming the environment, there are individuals, who because of particular personality traits, will choose not to disclose. An example would be an educator who tends to be negative in nature. This person would likely have a cynical attitude towards coming out at school regardless of the perceived or actual level of acceptance toward homosexuality.

Limitations

Research regarding sexual orientation is difficult in any

environment because of the highly sensitive nature of the topic. Fearing retribution from a homophobic society, many homosexuals do not publicly disclose their orientations (Vaid, 1995), and therefore cannot be identified for research. Conducting this research among educators is even more challenging because an educator who publicly identifies as gay or lesbian could be fired. The educators who chose to participate in this study likely represent the more "out" and more politically active group of g/l/b educators. Because a random sample of g/l/b educators would be impossible to collect, the results of this study are not generalizable to the population of all g/l/b educators.

Another limitation to this study is that the instrument used to measure job satisfaction was not the most appropriate measure. The Job Descriptive Index has one scale which did not apply to the teaching environment. Since teachers do not regularly earn promotions, per se, the Promotions scale was an irrelevant measure. The very low scores (M = 17.67) reflect this view.

Recommendations for further research

From these findings, it appears the perceived level of acceptance toward homosexuality in a work environment is correlated to increased job satisfaction, rather than actual degree of disclosure. Thus, further research on g/l/b teachers' perceived social support at work and its relationship to job satisfaction would be indicated.

Useful information might be gained from measuring a number of variables among a group of g/l/b educators and comparing those to a

group of heterosexual educators. Such variables might include: job satisfaction, levels of stress, perceived social support, satisfaction of relationships with co-workers and supervisors, and satisfaction of relationships with students and their parents.

It's suggested that many g/l/b educators lead a "double life"to some degree, they experience some degree of occupational role conflict. It would also be interesting to measure how both heterosexual and homosexual educators' self-concepts correlate to their perceived occupational role concepts. In other words, how similar is one's perception of self to one's perception of the expectations of the job one holds?

Implications for Practice

The weak, but significant positive correlation between scores on the Work scale of the JDI and the perceived school's acceptance of homosexuality indicate some relevant implications for practice. Compelling arguments already exist for creating school environments which are free from sexism, racism, homophobia, and discrimination of all kinds. As stated earlier, the homophobic atmosphere of schools is detrimental to the well-being of gay and lesbian adolescents. Administrators who create a school environment which is accepting of gay and lesbian individuals not only improve the learning environment for gay and lesbian students, they may increase the job satisfaction experienced by their gay and lesbian employees.

APPENDIX A

LINDENWOOD UNIVERSITY

209 South Kingshighway • St. Charles, MO 63301
(314) 949-2000

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research project. The data is being collected for use in my thesis, one of the requirements for completion of my masters degree in professional counseling. The findings derived from this study are likely to benefit others in many different fields including education, career counseling and psychology.

This study is concerned with the degree to which one has disclosed his/her sexual orientation and with the level of job satisfaction experienced by gay, lesbian and bisexual educators. The information requested here cannot identify you as an individual and **all responses will be completely anonymous**.

The instructions for completing the questionnaire are located at the beginning of each section. The combined sections should take approximately 12 - 15 minutes to complete.

If you would prefer, packets may be completed at your convenience and returned to me by mail.

If you have any questions concerning the research project, please use the contact information listed below. Thank you again for your interest and participation.

Sincerely,

Jane E. Miles B. S. Ed.
15 Anfred Walk
St. Louis, MO 63132
314-997-1965
Email: mejane@icon-stl.net

APPENDIX B

Part 1

Instructions: Please indicate your response by filling in the blanks or circling the appropriate number.

1. Your age in years:
1) 18-19 2) 20-24 3) 25-34 4) 35-44 5) 45-54 6) 55-64 7) 65 or older

2. Sex: 1) Male 2) Female

3. Ethnicity:

1) Caucasian
2) African American
3) Asian American/Pacific Islander
4) Hispanic
5) Native American
6) Other _____

4. Sexual Orientation:

1) Entirely homosexual
2) Primarily homosexual
3) Bisexual
4) Primarily heterosexual
5) Entirely heterosexual

(If you identify as primarily or entirely heterosexual, please do not continue. This survey is intended for a population other than heterosexuals.)

5. Area of Employment

1) Elementary
2) Middle school
3) High school
4) Administrator
5) Support staff
6) Other (specify) _____

6. Type of school in which you work:

1) Public
2) Private/Independent
3) Parochial/Religious
4) Other (specify)
_____

7. Grade Level and/or Subject Taught

_____

8. Do you live in the same attendance area as the school in which you work?

1) ___ Yes 2) ___ No

9. Number of years employed in present building or district:

_____

10. Number of years employed in the field of education:

_____

11. In which part of the country do you live?

1) North
2) Northeast
3) Northwest
4) South
5) Southeast
6) Southwest
7) Midwest
8) West
9) East

12. Distance you commute to work:

1) Less than 5 miles
2) 6 to 10 miles
3) 11 to 15 miles
4) 16 to 20 miles
5) 21 to 25 miles
6) 26 miles or more

13. Relationship Status:

1) Single, not dating
2) Single, dating casually
3) In a committed relationship
4) With a life partner/spouse

(Duration of relationship _____)

Number of children: _____

14. How many years ago did you first begin questioning your sexual orientation?

1) Within the last year 2) 1-2 years 3) 3-4 years 4) 5-6 years
5) 7-9 years 6) 10 or more

15. How many years ago did you first identify yourself as homosexual?

1) Within the last year 2) 1-2 years 3) 3-4 years 4) 5-6 years
5) 7-9 years 6) 10 or more

16. On a scale from 1 to 7 (with one being completely uncomfortable and seven being completely comfortable) how would you say you are with identifying your sexual orientation as homosexual?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
completely uncomfortable						completely comfortable

17. On a scale from 1 to 7 (with one being completely comfortable and seven being completely uncomfortable) how would you say you are with disclosing your sexual orientation to others?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
completely uncomfortable						completely comfortable

18. On a scale from 1 to 7 (with one being totally unsupportive and seven being totally supportive) how supportive/unsupportive of your sexual orientation do you rate your city/town of residence?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
totally unsupportive						totally supportive

19. Are you involved in the gay community in your area of residence?

1) Yes 2) No

20. On a scale from 1 to 7 (with one being completely unaccepting and seven being completely accepting) how accepting/unaccepting of homosexuality would you rate your school/school district of employment?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
completely unaccepting						completely accepting

21. On a scale from 1 to 7 (with one being completely uncomfortable and seven being completely comfortable) how would you say you are with disclosing your sexual orientation to others in your *work environment*?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
completely uncomfortable						completely comfortable

Part 2

Instructions: Please circle YES, NO, or N/A for each question.
For each YES answer, please also indicate the percentage of individuals who know your sexual orientation by circling 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5.

Personal Environment

The following know my sexual orientation:				limited disclosure	moderate disclosure	significant disclosure	substantial disclosure	complete disclosure
				1 - 25%	26 - 50%	51 -75%	76 - 99%	100%
1. Friends	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
2. Siblings	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
3. Parents	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
4. Children	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
5. Extended Family	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
6. Neighbors	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
7. Religious / Faith Community	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
8. Other	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
please specify _____								
				1 - 25%	26 - 50%	51 -75%	76 - 99%	100%

Reminder: for each Yes answer, please circle a corresponding number.

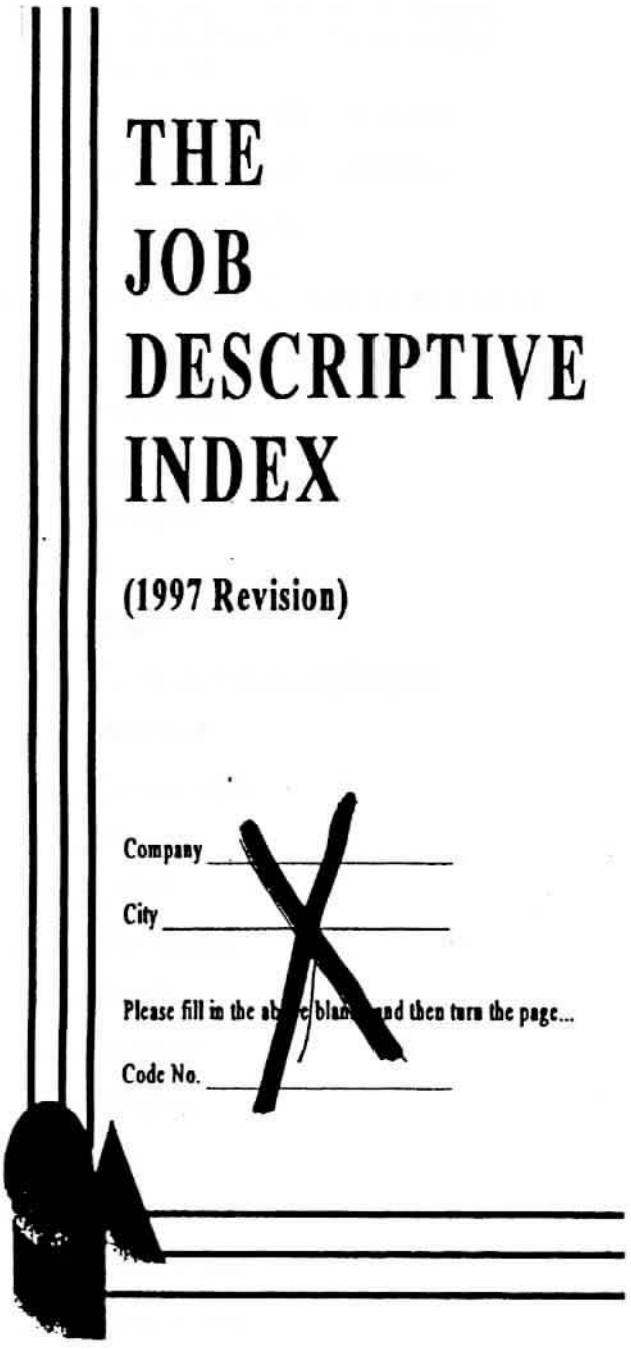
Instructions: Please circle YES, NO, or N/A for each question.
For each YES answer, please also indicate the percentage of individuals who know your sexual orientation by circling 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5.

Work Environment

The following know my sexual orientation:				**limited disclosure**	**moderate disclosure**	**significant disclosure**	**substantial disclosure**	**complete disclosure**
				1 - 25%	**26 - 50%**	**51 -75%**	**76 - 99%**	**100%**
9. **Co-Workers** (with whom you have **daily** contact)	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
10. **Supervisor(s)**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
11. **Principal(s)**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
12. **Students**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
13. **Students' Parents**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
14. **School Board Members**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
15. **Professional Organization(s)**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
16. **Other**	YES	NO	N/A	1	2	3	4	5
please specify _____								
				1 - 25%	**26 - 50%**	**51 -75%**	**76 - 99%**	**100%**

Reminder: for each Yes answer, please circle a corresponding number.

APPENDIX C



Think of the work you do at present. How well does each of the following words or phrases describe your work? In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write

__Y__ for "Yes" if it describes your work

__N__ for "No" if it does NOT describe it

__?__ if you cannot decide

* *

WORK ON PRESENT JOB

______ Fascinating

______ Routine

______ Satisfying

______ Boring

______ Good

______ Gives sense of accomplishment

______ Respected

______ Uncomfortable

______ Pleasant

______ Useful

______ Challenging

______ Simple

______ Repetitive

______ Creative

______ Dull

______ Uninteresting

______ Can see results

______ Uses my abilities

Go on to the next page . . . . .

Think of the pay you get now. How well does each of the following words or phrases describe your present pay? **In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write**

__Y__ for "Yes" if it describes your pay

__N__ for "No" if it does NOT describe it

__?__ if you cannot decide

* *

PRESENT PAY

_____ Income adequate for normal expenses

_____ Fair

_____ Barely live on income

_____ Bad

_____ Income provides luxuries

_____ Insecure

_____ Less than I deserve

_____ Well paid

_____ Underpaid

Go on to the next page . . . . .

Think of the opportunities for promotion that you have now. How well does each of the following words or phrases describe these? **In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write**

__Y__ for "Yes" if it describes your opportunities for promotion

__N__ for "No" if it does NOT describe them

__?__ if you cannot decide

* *

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROMOTION

______ Good opportunities for promotion

______ Opportunities somewhat limited

______ Promotion on ability

______ Dead-end job

______ Good chance for promotion

______ Unfair promotion policy

______ Infrequent promotions

______ Regular promotions

______ Fairly good chance for promotion

Go on to the next page . . . . .

Think of the kind of supervision that you get on your job. How well does each of the following words or phrases describe this? In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write

__Y__ for "Yes" if it describes the supervision you get on your job

__N__ for "No" if it does NOT describe it

__?__ if you cannot decide

* *

SUPERVISION

_____ Asks my advice

_____ Hard to please

_____ Impolite

_____ Praises good work

_____ Tactful

_____ Influential

_____ Up-to-date

_____ Doesn't supervise enough

_____ Has favorites

_____ Tells me where I stand

_____ Annoying

_____ Stubborn

_____ Knows job well

_____ Bad

_____ Intelligent

_____ Poor planner

_____ Around when needed

_____ Lazy

Go on to the next page . . . . .

Think of the majority of the people that you work with now or the people you meet in connection with your work. How well does each of the following words or phrases describe these people? In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write

__Y__ for "Yes" if it describes the people you work with

__N__ for "No" if it does NOT describe them

__?__ if you cannot decide

CO-WORKERS (PEOPLE)

_____ Stimulating

_____ Boring

_____ Slow

_____ Helpful

_____ Stupid

_____ Responsible

_____ Fast

_____ Intelligent

_____ Easy to make enemies

_____ Talk too much

_____ Smart

_____ Lazy

_____ Unpleasant

_____ Gossipy

_____ Active

_____ Narrow interests

_____ Loyal

_____ Stubborn

Go on to the next page . . . . .

Think of your job in general. All in all, what is it like most of the time? In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write

__Y__ for "Yes" if it describes your job

__N__ for "No" if it does NOT describe it

__?__ if you cannot decide

* *

JOB IN GENERAL

_____ Pleasant

_____ Bad

_____ Ideal

_____ Waste of time

_____ Good

_____ Undesirable

_____ Worthwhile

_____ Worse than most

_____ Acceptable

_____ Superior

_____ Better than most

_____ Disagreeable

_____ Makes me content

_____ Inadequate

_____ Excellent

_____ Rotten

_____ Enjoyable

_____ Poor

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