

A COMPARISON OF GAY AND HETEROSEXUAL TEACHERS
ON PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL DIMENSIONS

BY
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The purpose of the study was to provide more sophisticated data on gay teachers than the available anecdotal information. Three instruments were used to gather data on volunteer samples of self-labelled gay teachers ($n = 30$) and then self-labelled heterosexual teachers ($n = 30$) for comparison. The heterosexual teachers were matched with the gays on age, sex, and number of years in teaching. The participants taught grades K-12 in both public and private schools throughout the state of Florida and were obtained primarily through personal contact and referral.

Previously the only available data on gay teachers were found in magazines and legal journals; these data were described. Other areas of information relevant to the characteristics and stereotypes of gay teachers were also reviewed: the development of sexual orientation, femininity and masculinity, child molestation, and proselytization.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) yielded independent scores of femininity and masculinity, based on endorsement of stereotypic attributes. The Teacher Characteristics Schedule (TCS) yielded scores on six scales: attitudes towards pupils and school personnel, religion and religion-associated morality, openness to change/liberal attitudes, social/personal adjustment, dedication to teaching, and validity of response. A personal interview provided information on demographic variables, sexuality as a classroom topic, and perceptions of various aspects of teacher influence on students' sexual identity. Both teacher groups were also compared to normative data from national samples on the two standardized instruments. Variables controlled for in the statistical analyses were sexual orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade level taught (elementary or secondary), and sex (female or male). The level of significance was $p = .05$ for all tests.

Results from the BSRI indicated that gay women scored significantly higher on the masculine scale than did heterosexual women, with no differences on the feminine scale. Gay men scored significantly higher on the feminine scale than did heterosexual men, with no differences on the masculine scale. When compared to the national sample, the gay teacher group scored significantly higher on both the feminine and masculine scales. No differences were found between the national sample and the heterosexual teacher group. Results from the TCS indicated no significant differences between the gay and heterosexual teachers on any of the scales. Compared to the normative sample, gay teachers were more open to change, less

religious, more socially personally adjusted, and less dedicated to teaching; heterosexual teachers were less religious, less dedicated to teaching, and more prone to give valid responses.

For the interview data, questions with quantifiable responses were reported, including descriptive comments by the teachers. Only one interview question produced a significantly different answer for gay and heterosexual teachers: "Do you think that you can influence the development of sexual identity in your students?" Significantly more gay teachers replied "no."

Differences on femininity and masculinity exhibited between gay and heterosexual teachers within sex concur with the results of other studies. Both lesbians and gay men are more likely than heterosexuals to behave in ways considered appropriate to the opposite sex by cultural standards. The failure to find differences on any of the TCS scales has more than one possible interpretation. The finding could be a function of an unreliable instrument, a Type II error, or the result of actual similarity between gay and heterosexual teachers.

Implications of these results and other data on the employment of gay teachers are discussed. Some misconceptions about gay teachers are delineated, accompanied by research which contradicts those assumptions.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

There have always been gay teachers, and it is likely that there always will be. Especially since the crusade against gays began in 1977 (with Anita Bryant's activities), many adults have become concerned about the possible effects gay teachers may have on children's emotional and sexual development. The present study provides demographic, educational, and psychological data collected from a sample of gay teachers in Florida, grades K-12, and from a comparison sample of heterosexual teachers.

Statement of the Problem

Homosexuality in general. A majority of human societies approve of or even encourage various forms of homosexual behavior (Ford & Beach, 1951, p. 125). This is not the case in the United States, as several attitude surveys have shown. The following figures indicate the percentage of those polled who thought homosexuality: "wrong," 58% of university students (Nyberg & Alston, 1977); "very much obscene and vulgar," 65% of adults (Levitt & Klassen, 1974); "should not be legal

between consenting adults," 43% of adults (Gallup Opinion Index, 1977); and "abnormal or unnatural," 78% of adolescents (Sorensen, 1973). Glenn and Weaver (1979) reviewed the results of seven recent national surveys conducted during the 1970's to measure attitudes towards homosexuality. In 1973, 80% of the population thought same-sex relations were always or almost always wrong; in 1977, the percentage dropped to 77.7% (Glenn & Weaver, 1979). ✓

Direct behavioral measures have revealed findings similar to those of survey studies regarding attitudes towards gays (Morin & Garfinkle, 1978). In one study of physical interpersonal distance, for example, participants placed gay persons farther from themselves than all other "marginal figures" (Wolfgang & Wolfgang, 1971). Interestingly, a person known to have been formerly gay was put at a greater social distance than was a currently gay person.

Basis for negative attitudes. The primary source of these negative attitudes is the wide-spread belief that homosexual behavior ✓ is "'unnatural' and 'perverted'" (Levitt & Klassen, 1974, p. 30). The belief that homosexual activity is unnatural can be based on either religious or secular reasoning (Dressler, 1978, p. 435). Analysis of these reasonings is essential to understanding the strong, negative attitudes that gay teachers face.

The secular meaning of "unnatural" is "not being in accordance with nature or consistent with a normal course of events" (Webster's

New Collegiate Dictionary, 1973, p. 1281). From anthropological and historical literature it has been concluded that homosexual behavior is noted in all groups that do not make a pronounced effort to suppress it, and even in groups which condemn it (Churchill, 1967, p. 70). Whenever a society has left behind sufficiently detailed records, descriptions of male homosexuality in some form are apparent (Knight, 1965, p. 434; West, 1977, p. 119). Since homosexual behavior has occurred in cultures throughout history and across the world, it can be described as a natural occurrence. "Homosexuality is an inherent feature and is in accordance with the nature of the human species" (Dressler, 1978, p. 435).

Religious statements are used more often than secular arguments to support antihomosexual sentiment. Under the traditional Judaeo-Christian interpretation of the Old and New Testaments homosexual behavior is considered a sin (Weinberg, 1972, p. 9). The taboo on homosexuality is probably still strongest where there are religious objections to it (Tripp, 1975, p. 8). McNeil (1976, pp. 205-206) has delineated three religious interpretations of homosexual behavior: the homosexual condition is contrary to the will of God, the presence of gays in a community is menacing, and the love between two gay individuals is a sinful love which separates them from the love of God.

Legal sanctions. The socialization of hostile attitudes towards gays can be found in regulations against homosexual behavior.

Twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia have laws which variously name "deviant" sexual behaviors as criminal acts. In four of these states only homosexual acts are specified as criminal (Kansas, Montana, Nevada, and Texas). Twenty-two states have decriminalized adult homosexual behaviors, 13 of these since 1975 (Rivera, 1979; Friedman, 1979). The latter group of statutes permit homosexual acts which occur in private settings and with mutual consent between the participating adults.

Negative attitudes towards homosexuality have been confronted by organizations and individuals "both gay and nongay" who seek an increased understanding and acceptance of homosexuality. Most of the work towards greater acceptance has occurred in the realm of legal provisions. Through challenging existing legal statutes and through enacting specific protections, a few changes have been wrought.

The struggle for equal treatment under the law has included efforts to enact new antidiscrimination protection for gays seeking housing, public accommodations, educational opportunity, recognition of organizations, and employment. At least 40 cities and counties have passed such antidiscrimination ordinances (Mathews, 1977). Some of them (e.g., in Eugene, Ore., and Dade County, Fla.) have since been repealed by public referendum. Evidence of a "backlash" is nationwide ("Why Tide Is Turning," 1978). One group in Los Angeles began a campaign seeking capital punishment for gays (Mathews, 1977).

Gay teachers. Attitudes towards gay teachers are more disdainful than those towards gays in general. Gallup (1977) found that 65% of adults said "homosexuals should not be hired as elementary school teachers" (p.7). Furthermore, half of those polled who said gays should have equal job rights did not think gays should be hired as school teachers. Levitt and Klassen (1974) obtained a nation-wide probability sample of more than 3,000 adults. Seventy-four percent of that sample agreed with the statement "homosexuals are dangerous as teachers or youth leaders because they try to get sexually involved with children" (Levitt & Klassen, 1974, p. 34).

A speaker for Protect America's Children has written about why gay teachers should not be in the schools ("Do Homosexuals Have the Right," 1978). She notes that because gays have not been able to discern the difference between right and wrong in their own behavior, then their ability to correctly make other judgments must be questioned. Max Rafferty focused on the issue of preserving the family: "We cannot have it [gays teaching] because the actual survival of our country in the years ahead will depend upon a generation that will grow up straight--in the best sense of that much abused word--not distorted" (Rafferty, 1977, p. 92).

Conclusion. The problem is essentially a matter of reaching a fair decision about whether to permit or forbid teachers with a homosexual orientation to work in schools. It has been demonstrated

how the prevailing negative attitudes towards homosexuality conflict with more accepting attitudes. In the following chapter psychological and sociological literature will be described which further examines the objections to gays as a group and gay teachers in particular. Legal literature will illustrate how knowledge of a teacher's homosexual preference results in loss of employment in nearly every instance.

Antihomosexual attitudes are based on personal values, not on empirical findings. Because of these negative attitudes, gay teachers must keep hidden a part of their selves which heterosexual teachers can and do talk about freely. Therefore, it seems essential to obtain from a group of gay teachers information which can substantiate or refute the prevailing attitudes.

Need for the Study

To date no research in sociology, psychology, or education has investigated the situation of gay teachers. Without such data and without a better understanding of the development of sexual orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or some other), discussion of possible influences on pupils can only be based on arbitrary assumptions and personal opinion. Parents, teachers, school counselors, administrators, students, judges, and other citizens could gain from increased information about gay teachers. The present study is aimed at increasing available knowledge and current understanding

which can benefit not only the persons mentioned but also society as a whole.

One school administrator has noted, "the imperfect knowledge available on the subject of the homosexual teacher's impact as a role model for students" (Ostrander, 1975, p. 20). The present research provides specific data on samples of gay and heterosexual teachers in order to discern what characteristics of gays might justify the current discrimination against them. Fairchild and Hayward have stated that there is no field of employment in which fear of homosexuality is more pervasive or emotionally loaded than that of teaching (1979). "The subject of whether exposure to gay men and women in classrooms and locker rooms encourages homosexuality in students is hardly ever debated publicly, and in the few instances where this happens, more heat than light is usually generated" (Fairchild & Hayward, 1979, p. 99). Much study and discussion are needed.

Nature of the Present Study

Due to the lack of research on gay teachers, the present study is by nature exploratory. "The first step in the development of science is the accumulation and clarification of experience" (Mouly, 1978, p. 27). To that end, demographic, educational, personality, and other psychometric data are provided on a sample of gay teachers. This information is then compared to a sample of heterosexual teachers

similar in age, grade level taught, and number of years working as a teacher.

Several areas of information are particularly important when discussing sexual orientation as it relates to teaching. One area involves the teachers' self-perceptions of sex-role behaviors and attitudes. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory was administered to provide measures of femininity and masculinity. Another area is of general teacher behaviors and attitudes: do gay and heterosexual act differently towards their students or school staff? To provide data in this area, the Teacher Characteristics Schedule was used. Specific scales were selected to measure social and personal adjustment, attitudes towards pupils and school personnel, dedication to teaching, religiousness and belief in cultural traditions, value of innovation and "liberal" policies, and social desirability. In addition, the two teacher samples from Florida were compared to national scores on these measures.

The teachers described here volunteered for the study and therefore are not assumed to represent teachers in Florida. The gay teachers are individuals willing to be recognized as gay and to talk with a stranger (in most cases) about personal beliefs and activities. So long as a social stigma is attached to homosexuality, gay people cannot be expected to be public about their sexual orientation. Gay teachers are understandably even more sensitive to the likely

repercussions of public exposure. A representative sample of gay teachers would be practically impossible to obtain at this time. The heterosexual teachers were matched to the obtained gay teachers, on the factors mentioned above.

The study is not based on a particular theory; rather it draws upon principles of social learning theory (Bandura & Walters, 1976), psychological femininity and masculinity (Bem, 1974, 1977; Heilbrun & Thompson, 1977) and the characteristics of teachers (Ryans, 1960, 1971). It is hoped that the results will yield data that can clarify present and generate future hypotheses about the effects of gay teachers on their students.

Terminology

This study describes a sample of teachers in Florida who--for whatever reason--prefer to share their sexuality with people of the same sex. In the past the term "homosexual" has been applied to such individuals. It denoted a person who engaged in homosexual behavior, in contrast to heterosexual behavior (opposite-sex preference). In the last decade, however, the matter of connotation in the labelling of "homosexual" has emerged as a crucial issue.

Due to prevalent negative attitudes towards homosexuality, "homosexual" came to be regarded as a negative label to persons of same-sex preference (Dressler, 1978; Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Jay &

Young, 1977; Katz, 1976). A person who identifies herself or himself as "homosexual" accepts, to some degree at least, society's devaluation of her or his sexuality. In contrast, the word "gay" has been used as a positive label.

Being called "gay" is different from being called "homosexual"; the former is a positive term, the latter, negative (Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Riddle, 1978). In The Gay Report, Jay and Young (1977) indicate the importance of "what's in a name":

Perhaps the greatest single signpost of community has been the insistence by most homosexual people in recent years on the use of their own names--gay, lesbian, and for an earlier generation, homophile--instead of the clinical "homosexual." The appropriation of the word "gay" by gay people--irksome as it is for some straights--has been a cornerstone of self-determination. (p. 766)

The gay-identified individual rejects society's condemnation (Morin & Schultz, 1978).

The censure of "homosexual" is evident in more than merely public attitudes. Even though the professional organizations for psychiatry and psychology have removed "homosexual" from their classification of mental disorders, individual psychiatrists and psychologists continue to maintain the negative connotations of the term. They do so both through their condemning attitudes and through active programs aimed at eliminating homosexual behavior (Garfinkle & Morin, 1978; Gramick, 1973). Some psychiatrists and psychologists attempt to "treat"

homosexual patterns (Bieber, 1976, p. 165) and even seek out "pre-homosexual" children (particularly boys) in an effort to prevent homosexuality (Rekers, Rosen, Lovaas, & Bentler, 1978).

In a readership survey of psychiatrists, Lief (1977) reported that 69% of responding psychiatrists considered homosexuality to usually be a "pathological adaptation (as opposed to a normal variation)" (p. 110). Nearly three-fourths of the respondents believed that "problems in living" for gays are more a result of personal conflicts rather than of social stigmatization. Lief suggest three possible explanations for these responses which are contrary to the American Psychiatric Association's declassification in 1974: 1) the organization's vote was influenced by social and political considerations, in that the vote was perceived as a move toward stopping the denial of gay rights; 2) psychiatrists with strong feelings on this issue were more inclined to answer the survey; 3) opinions of psychiatrists have changed since 1974.

Gay people are influenced, directly and indirectly, by the attitudes and actions of mental health professionals. The message prevails beyond their offices that "homosexual" is not an identity to like or accept in oneself. Katz has noted, "psychological-psychiatric professionals must be divested of their power to define homosexuals; gay people must acquire the power to define ourselves" (1976, p. 7).

Because many gays feel devalued by the term "homosexual," it will not be used in the present study to identify a person of same-sex preference unless the intention is to illustrate an existing negative connotation. "Homosexual" will also be used as an adjective to denote specific activities, overt or mental, that involve same-sex individuals. The term "lesbian" will also be used to describe gay women.

"Homosexuality" will be used to describe the social reality shared by all gay women and men, simply because they experience the same conditions in a heterosexual society. Bell and Weinberg (1978) explain how this term indicates the importance of the social context, and not merely a sexual affinity:

Homosexuality encompasses far more than people's sexual proclivities. Too often homosexuals have been viewed simply with reference to their sexual interests and activity. Usually the social context and psychological correlates of homosexual experience are largely ignored, making for a highly constricted image of the persons involved. (pp. 24--25)

"Homosexuality" will also denote the general phenomenon of same-sex erotic desire or activity (Dressler, 1978).

The word "heterosexual" will be used as an adjective and noun to describe those individuals and behaviors involving opposite-sex erotic activity and/or attraction. "Straight" is the counterpart to "gay," but it also carries negative connotations: rigid, undeviating. Although the terms "gay" and "heterosexual" are not precisely parallel, they will be used in this study as the most acceptable descriptions of the two sexual orientations.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is no literature specifically on gay teachers in the fields of education and psychology. To date there has been a lack of research in this area. The information available on gay teachers appears in two sources: articles in popular and education magazines and in the legal literature. This chapter will describe the information from these two sources.

Other areas of literature bear upon the issue of gay teachers. Reviews of the psychological data on development of sexual orientation, child molestation, and proselytization will also be included in this chapter. The chapter concludes with a statement on the prevalence of homosexuality in the United States.

Before proceeding with the review of relevant literature, it is appropriate to differentiate between several terms used in discussing sexual identity. The following definitions are a synthesis of those used by several authors (Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; DeCecco & Shively, 1977; Green, 1974a; Riddle, 1978).

A person's sexual identity is a basic personality feature. It can be described as having four components, listed here in chronological order of their usual development:

1. biological sex--defined by chromosomal configuration and ordinarily by anatomical appearance; determined before birth; male or female.
2. gender identity--sense of being female or male; not necessarily contingent upon biological sex; starts to form at age 2-3 and once established (by age 5-6) is extremely resistant to change; often referred to as a "conviction of femaleness or maleness."
3. sex-role identity--socially-determined constellation of traits which characterize females or males in a given culture; can be redefined as cultural emphasis changes; in present psychological terminology, categorized into feminine, masculine, androgynous (more than average amounts of both), undifferentiated (little of either); largely based on stereotypes.
4. sexual orientation--sexual preference; defined primarily by the biological sex of preferred sexual partner: same biological sex (gay orientation), opposite biological sex (heterosexual orientation), both sexes (bisexual orientation), or neither sex (asexual); a generalized label, since the preference may be a function of particular circumstances and changing individual needs (e.g., emotional, affectional; see the last section of this chapter).

The four components are in some ways related; for instance a woman usually has a female gender identity, but she may not. A man with a masculine sex-role identity does not necessarily have a heterosexual orientation. Furthermore, sexual identity (with its four aspects) is simply one part of a person's identity.

Magazine Articles

Articles about gay teachers have appeared in several national magazines, such as Psychology Today, Parents', Saturday Review, and Instructor. The articles range from short humorous comments to large, more complex discussions of the issues. These magazine articles illustrate both the range of published opinion and the state of knowledge about gay teachers.

Some articles are brief anecdotes which relate personal experiences of gay teachers (e.g., "Teachers as Role Models," 1977; Trent, 1978). One magazine conducted a brief reader survey on attitudes towards gay teachers ("Gay Teachers and Parents," 1979). Other writings are comments on one or more aspects of the gay teacher issue. Generally these are found in popular magazines like Newsweek (Lubow, 1978) and Saturday Review (Schrag, 1977). Such articles contain various opinions and often factual information. The Lubow article, for instance, included comments by a San Francisco elementary

teacher who does not keep his homosexual preference a secret. "I like to touch kids and they like to sit on my lap . . . I do it as a loving, giving adult, not a pervert. I couldn't deny a kid a comforting arm around the shoulder because of someone else's fantasy" (1978).

Two articles cover the subject of gay teachers in greater detail, including discussions of current psychological knowledge of sexual orientation development; both of these articles merit special attention. One was written for Parents' Magazine by a former teacher who now produces public radio shows (Morrow, 1977). Morrow writes about parents' fears of what effect a gay teacher may have in leading a child to homosexuality, and provides evidence that such fears are unfounded. He even suggests the strong parental and social censure of homosexuality may actually make some youngsters turn to it. Morrow's main point is that the real issue is sexuality, not merely homosexuality. He considers the problems of adolescent abortions and births, for example, to be far more serious than the narrow question of the influence of gay teachers.

The other article of special merit appeared in McCall's magazine (Hechinger & Hechinger, 1978). The report reflects a balance of comments by teachers, administrators, and leaders of churches and gay organizations. The authors note that a commonsense discussion of the gay teacher issue is precluded by "exaggerated claims and irresponsible fearmongering" from individuals on both sides (Hechinger & Hechinger,

1978, p. 163). The article concludes with a statement that no rational obstacles should prevent gays from teaching, so long as they are subject to the same standards and controls as are all teachers.

In conjunction with the Hechingers' article, McCall's polled public school principals regarding the employment of gay teachers ("How School Principals Feel," 1978). Four thousand principals of elementary and secondary schools were randomly selected throughout the country to receive a questionnaire; over one-third returned their responses. In answering the question, "If you learned that one of your teachers was homosexual, would you consider that automatic grounds for dismissal?" 42% of the principals answered "yes." Several commented that such dismissal involves not just the attitudes of the principal (and, they added, school boards and superintendents) but legal issues as well.

I would consider it grounds, but I don't think I could make it stick in today's society. If it became a court case, I am certain I would lose. Therefore, I would seek other reasons for dismissal. ("How School Principals Feel," 1978, p. 161)

Seven percent of the principals had received complaints of homosexual contact between students and teachers; 90% of those complaints were isolated (nonrecurring) occurrences. Thirteen percent of the principals had received complaints of heterosexual contact between students and teachers; 83% were isolated occurrences. In most

cases, simply the number of complaints was reported, with no indication of whether the complaint was investigated and found justifiable. Only 2% of the principals knew of instances in which teachers allegedly discussed their homosexuality in class. In general, the principals' remarks reflect attitudes which vary as widely as those of other Americans.

The educational magazines that have published information on gay teachers are few. Instructor presented a one page forum on the right of gays to teach in schools ("Do Homosexuals Have the Right," 1978). Brief responses to the question were provided by representatives from Protect America's Children and the National Gay Task Force. The American Educator published an opinion article (Bennett 1978) and welcomed readers' replies. The author's view is represented by the following statement:

I believe that homosexuals who are overt and self-declared about their homosexuality, who have an interest in arguing for homosexuality as a lifestyle, and who make efforts to change student values about homosexuality in ways fundamentally inconsistent with values that the school and community affirm, should not be teaching in public schools. (Bennett, 1978, p. 23)

Phi Delta Kappan has furnished the most information to educators. One article on court rulings and "the teacher's right to privacy" was printed in 1975 (Ostrander). In 1977 several articles on the topic of gay teachers were printed in one issue. A wide range of viewpoints was represented. At one end of the range was the following opinion:

The very fact that there are voices in our profession . . . raised on behalf of a cause as noxious, as unsavory, as tainted as this one goes a long, long way to explain why said profession sinks daily into the public opinion doghouse. (Rafferty, 1977, p. 92)

A contrasting opinion was presented by a gay teacher. He wrote, "Schools have the responsibility and obligation, with the rest of society, to help in the demystification and correction of misinformation concerning gay people" (Anonymous, 1977, p. 93).

On the editor's page for the 1977 Phi Delta Kappan issue, Elam noted that he had talked with superintendents in every major U.S. region about employing gay teachers (Elam, 1977). Only one of the superintendents (all men) said he would knowingly hire a gay teacher, and then acknowledged that the school board members would not approve of such an action should they find out.

In summary, magazines have published various kinds of articles on gay teachers. The information provided, while representing a wide range of opinions, is generally tolerant of teachers who are gay. Generally the strongest negative opinions were expressed by education administrators and religious groups. Two "mass media" publications, Parents' Magazine and McCall's, presented the most balanced and lengthy discussions of the gay teacher issue (Hechinger & Hechinger, 1978; Merrow, 1977).

Legal Cases and Reviews

Because of negative attitudes toward homosexuality, gay teachers are almost automatically subject to dismissal if their sexual orientation becomes known. At least twelve legal cases involving gay teachers in dismissal or certificate revocation have been heard in courts since 1967. Several excellent reviews of the principles and decisions of these and related cases have been published in legal journals (Dressler, 1978; Fleming, 1978; Ghent, 1977; Scholz, 1979; Tewksbury, 1978).

Cases under scholarly and legal examination are predominately those with a considerable basis for appeal (Fleming, 1978). An unknown number of situations involving gay teachers are settled outside of the courts, either through unchallenged dismissals, resignations, or nonrenewal of certification. In fact, this unknown number may constitute a majority. The vice-president of a national organization concerned with legal and personal counseling for gays has stated, "In my experience in the Mattachine Society I have been consulted by nearly a hundred teachers, in the last five years, facing dismissal . . . none that I can recall have taken their cases to the courts"--they resigned out of fear (Horenstein, 1971, p. 131). Such a report concurs with a statement by a school board officer: "In the Board's [Cleveland] history, teachers that have been accused of homosexuality which influenced their job have always resigned" (Horenstein, 1971, p. 131). The phrase "which influenced their job" has little meaning since the personnel officer said that no individual would be hired to teach who

was known to be gay. Homosexuality itself was considered to be negatively influential; an adverse influence did not have to be substantiated.

The following review of legal information will discuss unfitness to teach, a concept crucial in litigation to determine whether to retain or employ gay teachers. This concept includes the issues of exemplar role of the teacher and morality. A distinction will then be made between regulation of teacher behavior and protection of teacher rights.

Exemplar. Historically our society has regarded education as a crucial function of the government (Dressler, 1978). Teachers are assumed to affect both the intellectual and moral development of youths with whom they spend so much time. Probably more than any other group of public employees, teachers are expected to be models of good behavior, adhering to the popular moral code of the community in which they work (Francis & Stacey, 1977). A teacher who has served competently for years may suddenly be deemed unfit if her or his sexual orientation becomes known to school officials, simply because standards of employment are equated with majoritarian moral values (Scholz, 1979).

In view of the high expectations set for teachers, it has been necessary for the judicial system to determine whether a teacher's sexual preference and/or conduct lie within the permissible ground for

dismissal. To that end the courts have used general notions, including that of exemplar. The term has been used in litigation with teachers on numerous charges, not only those dealing with homosexuality. Teachers are regarded by the public as an exemplar, "whose words and actions are likely to be followed by the children coming under his [sic] care and protection (Ghent, 1977, p. 34).

There is some indication that this high expectation for teachers is inconsistently applied in the courts. In one instance (Board of Education v. Millette, 1976), the court criticized casting teachers as role models. The judge stated that a teacher cannot be expected to mirror every quality which society desires in its children (Dressler, 1978). A dissenting (minority) opinion was espoused in a nonhomosexual case (Pettit v. State Board of Education, 1973): "the majority opinion is blind to the reality of sexual behavior. Its view that teachers in their private lives should exemplify Victorian principles of sexual morality . . . is hopelessly unrealistic and atavistic" (La Morte, 1975, p. 466).

~ Immorality. Morality is ever changing, affected by both time, culture, and locale (Horenstein, 1971). In the past teachers have been dismissed from their positions--not merely reprimanded--for such infractions as becoming intoxicated at a private party (in 1902); applying for a marriage license, contrary to the teaching contract (in 1935); assigning the book Brave New World to a class (in 1965); and

having an opposite-sex friend spend the night (in 1972) (Dressler, 1978; Horenstein, 1971). When a teacher fails to obey laws or otherwise "act in accordance with traditional moral principles," sufficient ground for dismissal has been considered present (Ghent, 1977, p. 34).

The problem in applying the principle of morality is in determining a consistent and satisfying definition. Understandably, the interpretation of what constitutes morality and immorality will be based on values and beliefs. In our heterogeneous society, no single description of immoral sexual behavior can be successfully invoked. Indeed, a review of case law involving the disqualification of gay employees reveals the operation of subjective moral attitudes in the decisions of the courts and school boards (Scholz, 1979). Tewksbury found one theme outstanding in the present treatment of homosexuality by the courts: a community may justify discrimination by imposing a single morality on all citizens (1978).

Some courts have declared that immorality cannot be determined by the personal ethical principles of the court (i.e., of the judges), but must be based on the moral standards existing in the community (Tewksbury, 1978). Such an interpretation creates problems because of conflicting standards. So broad an application would be likely as to subject to discipline virtually every teacher in the state, since in the opinion of many people, laziness, gluttony, and selfishness

constitute immoral conduct (Ghent, 1977). It would seem to be no more fair or rational to base dismissal of a gay teacher on adverse community sentiment than to dismiss a teacher for her or his unpopular religious or political affiliations (Scholz, 1979).

Unfitness to teach. Fitness to teach depends on a wide range of factors, not simply based on a teacher's proficiency in the classroom or the absence of misconduct (Ghent, 1977). Since the principle of immorality is too vague to be meaningful, one court (Morrison v. State Board of Education, 1969) held that an adverse effect of a teacher's questionable conduct must be shown (Fleming, 1978).

To avoid mere switching labels from "immoral" to "unfit to teach," the Morrison court detailed a list of factors in determining if homosexuality makes one unfit to teach (Tewksbury, 1978). The court suggested that school authorities consider the following:

The board may consider such matters as likelihood that the conduct may adversely affect students or fellow teachers, degree of such adversity anticipated, proximity or remoteness of the time of conduct, type of teaching certificate held by the party involved, extenuating or aggravating circumstances, if any, surrounding the conduct, likelihood or recurrence of the questioned conduct, and the extent to which disciplinary action may inflict adverse impact of chilling effect on the constitutional rights of the teacher involved or other teachers. (Fleming, 1978, p. 426)

The use of this test requires the school and its officials to "establish a nexus" between conduct and teaching performance (La Morte, 1975, p. 460).

The above list has been the only attempt by the judiciary to set standards in determination of gay teacher cases. Subsequent decisions, however, indicate that most courts have either sidestepped the test of standards for fitness (Tewksbury, 1978) or simply avoided the issue (Scholz, 1979). Indeed some courts have become increasingly willing to base unfitness on "expert" testimony that is devoid of substance, thus indicating that the dictates of Morrison have not been implemented (Dressler, 1978). In one case (Governing Board of Mountain View School Dist. v. Metcalf, 1974) the expert opinion of the school's principal concerning the impact of the teacher's action on pupils and staff was regarded as sufficient evidence of unfitness to teach (Francis & Stacey, 1977). Expert testimony on unfitness cannot be discredited simply because it is based in part on personal moral views (Ghent, 1977).

Gay orientation without specified act. In several instances, no particular sexual act was charged to a teacher, but her or his discharge was executed on the basis of homosexual status or, in one case, membership in a gay organization (Ghent, 1977; Scholz, 1979). In these cases, discovery of gay status was never announced in the school setting. Generally the gay teachers acknowledged their status upon questioning by a school administrator who acted on suspicion. In three such cases (Burton v. Cascade Sch. Dist. Union High Sch., 1978; Gaylord v. Tacoma School Dist. No. 10, 1975; Gish v. Board of

Education, 1976) allegations were never presented that the individuals were not competent teachers.

Teacher behavior and teacher rights. The behavior of teachers is regulated by legislative decree in each of the fifty states. The substance and power of the regulation is a matter of statutes (Horenstein, 1971). In Florida, teacher certification is granted when five basic requirements are met, the last of which is "be of good moral character" ("Certificates Granted," 1979). Within a state, each school district provides the specific grounds for teacher dismissal, and for certificate revocation or denial (Ghent, 1977). Thus, a local school district can determine the majoritarian moral values (Scholz, 1979) which were discussed previously.

The responsibilities and rights of a teacher as a professional are governed by state codes; the freedoms and rights of a teacher as a citizen are secured under the federal Constitution. In general, the issue of teacher disqualification is solely a matter of state jurisdiction unless the constitutional rights of the individual have been violated (Fleming, 1978). The First Amendment freedoms of speech and expression are unaffected by the absence or presence of tenure under state law. In order for a state to restrict First Amendment rights, sexual conduct must materially and substantially interfere in the operation of a school (Ghent, 1977).

The distinction between state regulation and federal protection does not, however, provide a clear path for resolving the issue of employing gay teachers. Circuit court decisions in two cases (Acanfora v. Board of Educ. of Montgomery Cty, 1973 and McConnel v. Anderson, 1970) conflict on the question of First Amendment rights for gay teachers (La Morte, 1975). In Acanfora public statements about homosexuals received First Amendment protection; in McConnell participation in the gay movement was not protected.

Questions of academic freedom and private conduct for a teacher ultimately revolve around matters of personal judgment. School boards and courts can reflect the values of both the individuals who comprise them and the majority of the community they represent. Here lies the problem: the majority in most communities holds distinctly negative attitudes towards homosexuality, attitudes which are based on stereotypical fears and misconceptions (see Introduction). In one case (Gaylord) the personal objections of one student and three parents and teachers to Gaylord's continued presence in the school were accepted as sufficient evidence of unfitness to teach (Dressler, 1978).

General findings. Even though one district court refused to reinstate a dismissed teacher, it noted that homosexuality does not preclude teaching competence (Tewksbury, 1978). In addition, the court commented that:

So long as the freedoms of others are not affected, a government intended to promote the life, liberty and happiness of its citizens must abstain from interference

with individual pursuits, no matter how unorthodox or repulsive to the majority. (Tewksbury, 1978, p. 176)

Ghent (1977) reviewed cases where sexual matters were grounds for denial or revocation of a teaching certificate or for dismissal of a teacher. He categorized each instance by heterosexual or homosexual content, and then by type of charge against the teacher. In each of the homosexual cases based on specific sexual acts, the partner involved was a consenting adult. All other cases involving gays were based on homosexual status or relationship without specified act. In contrast, the heterosexual instances were categorized as heterosexual act with student, heterosexual act with former or nonstudent, and heterosexual association. The evidence from case law indicates that gay teachers are neither having sexual relationships with their pupils, nor with nonconsenting adults.

Friedman (1979) reviewed legal cases of discrimination in employment based on sexual orientation. He concluded that the judiciary has not been willing to afford to gays the same protections that it has asserted on behalf of persons suffering from discrimination on the basis of race, heritage, or gender. Speaking from the bench, judges in various courts have described homosexuality as "immoral, indecent, lewd, and obscene" (in 1970), "repugnant" (in 1972), "sickening, disgusting, and depraved" (in 1977) (Dressler, 1978, p. 415).

Summary. The reported judicial decisions dealing with gays in public education suggest that the relevant case law is neither consistent nor well-established (La Morte, 1975). Although an attempt was made in the Morrison decision to establish guidelines, subsequent cases have not followed them.

In situations where no distinct precedent exists, appeals are usually made to a higher court. Although presented with more than one opportunity to provide guidance, the Supreme Court has declined to address the issue of gay employment (Scholz, 1979). Furthermore, the Supreme Court's sanction of another decision (Doe v. Commonwealth's Attorney, 1976), indicates that gay employment will not be protected under the federal Constitution (Scholz, 1979). It is evident that the courts have not squarely addressed hiring practices involving gays in public education (La Morte, 1975).

Study of case law and commentaries illustrates that gay teachers have not been charged with illegal actions: They have been charged with being of a homosexual orientation. Conflict arises from the opinions of some school officials and parents who assume that gays are by nature a menace to children. Judicial decisions usually coincide with these assumptions, in spite of the fact that evidence has not been presented which substantiates claims that gay teachers may be unfit to teach.

Development of Sexual Orientation

Mistaken notions about the influence of gay teachers on students are associated with mistaken notions about homosexuality in general.

As Fairchild and Hayward note,

There is a lot of confusion in people's minds concerning the matter of role models, including a widespread misconception that the presence of homosexual people in a child's environment can cause homosexuality, as if it were catching, like measles." (1979, p. 89).

This section will describe what has been published in the psychological literature on the development of sexual orientation. How such development occurs is still a relatively unknown process, yet it is evident that no one factor "causes" a gay orientation.

Several approaches to studying the formation of sexual orientation have been followed. Within research, two approaches are evident: the recollections of adult gays (retrospective assessment) and the diagnosis of "childhood indicators" (prospective assessment) (Green, 1979). Half of the articles using these approaches have studied only boys' development; the other half studied boys primarily while furnishing some information on girls.

None of the studies have empirically examined the process of role modelling in the development of sexual orientation. However, some theorists have discussed and substantiated the applicability of role theory to the formation of sexual preference. These writings will also be described.

Retrospective studies. Saghir and Robins (1973) reported that 70% of gay women and 16% of heterosexual women considered themselves "tomboys" as children; the percentages were 35% and 0%, respectively, as adolescents. "Tomboy" was described using several dimensions, the discriminating factor being lack of interest in doll play (Saghir & Robins, 1973, p. 193). A similar proportion of gay men (67%) and only 3% of heterosexual men considered themselves "sissy" in childhood and early adolescence (Saghir & Robins, 1973, p. 19). This syndrome was primarily characterized by a persistent aversion to playing with other boys.

The following childhood activities and characteristics were measured in another sample of gay and heterosexual men: doll interest, cross-dressing, preference for company of and play with girls rather than boys, preference for company of women rather than men, being known as "sissy," and sexual interests in boys rather than girls in sex play (Whitam, 1977). Self-report data on all six measures were found to distinguish between gays and heterosexuals. Not every child who shows "cross-gender" behaviors is bound to develop homosexual preferences (Green, 1979). It simply appears that a greater proportion of gays than heterosexuals recall non-traditional play activities.

Responses from a sample of 5,000 gay women and men in the United States and Canada are of relevance (Jay & Young, 1977). One question asked "At what age did you first realize that you were [gay] or somehow sexually different from other people?" Thirty-eight percent of women and 69% of men said the realization occurred before age 16 (Jay &

Young, 1977, pp. 52, 105). In response to another question, only 23% of women and 47% of men stated that (by age 16) they associated this difference with homosexual acts. From these responses it can be inferred that a gay orientation is not always formed at the time of sexual awakening. Furthermore, a person's sexual preference is not necessarily defined by actual behaviors.

Actual sexual behavior in childhood and adolescence is another consideration. For males at least, sex play is not a predictor of adult sexual preference (Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979, p. 7; Kremer, Zimpfer, & Wiggers, 1975). For instance, Schofield (1965) found that nearly one-third of gay men had no homosexual activity until after high school. The majority of boys who engage in same-sex sexual relating do not identify as gays in adulthood (Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin, 1948, p. 113). Practically no data are available on childhood sex play for females.

Prospective studies. An illuminating work using this approach is information collected by Green (1978) on 37 children of gay and transsexual parents. Of the total sample, the 13 older children who report erotic fantasies or overt sexual behavior were all heterosexually oriented. Twenty-one of the children were being raised in seven families where the mother was gay and either living alone or with another woman. (In some instances both women had children.) No male gay parents with children were studied. Reported measures of

sexual orientation included toy, game, and clothing preference; roles played in fantasy games; vocational aspiration; and peer group composition.

Another prospective study described the sexual preference of adolescent boys who had in previous years exhibited "markedly atypical early childhood behavior" (Green, 1979, p. 108). The measures were masturbation fantasies, interpersonal genital experiences, and reported erectile responses to homosexual and heterosexual stimuli. The emerging sexual orientation of these boys showed considerable variation: most are exclusively heterosexual, one is bisexual, and two show stronger tendencies towards homosexuality than heterosexuality. (The total number of boys studied was not reported.)

Role modelling of sexual orientation. Literature on actual role modelling of sexual orientation is only in the conceptual stages. DeCecco and Shively (1977) have written about what influence adult caretakers, including teachers, can have on the development of sexual orientation as it is influenced by sex-role identity. They describe how teachers may and probably do affect children's development by imposing social norms or by acting as arbitrators as to what is appropriate behavior for females and males. Arbitration is said to take place in conflicts between child and social institutions.

Dressler has postulated three hypothetical possibilities of how a gay teacher could be a model for students (1978). Then, using the role

theory of Bandura and Walters and others, Dressler analyzed each possibility for its consequences on a child's sexual orientation. After describing the contingencies of modelling (e.g., reinforced, punished, or ignored behaviors), he concluded that the likelihood is remote that a gay teacher will affect a child's decision regarding her or his sexual preference. A crucial aspect in this analysis is Dressler's reliance on the modelling of sex-role behaviors (e.g., effeminate mannerisms, aggressiveness) rather than actual homosexual behaviors (which are not likely to be displayed in the classroom).

Riddle has provided the most extensive literature review and original formulations about gays as role models (1978). She notes that naivete regarding the complexity of sexual preference formation lends itself to ideas that a single "deviant" event (e.g., contact with a gay adult) could irrevocably shape a child's sexual orientation. Sexual preference, unlike sex-role identity, is not fixed in childhood. Rather, Riddle summarizes, changes in sexual preference may take place throughout adulthood.

This latter notion coincides with the "highway of life" theory proposed by researchers of sexual orientation development in lesbians (Hotvedt & Mandel, Note 1). They found that several factors affected eventual choice of sexual partner for these women: sexual experimentation, the climate of feminism, existence of flexible sex-role behaviors and chance. Hotvedt and Mandel concluded that adult

experiences may alter completely one's orientation or only reinforce childhood experiences and tendencies.

Bandura and Walters, who have studied identification and role modelling for twenty years, emphasize the influence of external social-learning variables (such as the rewarding power of family members) on the formation of deviant sex-role behavior (1976, p. 431). Unfortunately Bandura and Walters see sex-roles and "deviant sexuality" as being essentially identical behaviors to learn. They do not make the distinctions presented at the beginning of this chapter.

Summary. Research on the development of sexual orientation is sparse and cannot be regarded as definitive. Feminine boyhood behavior--as defined by preferences in toys, clothing, role playing, and sex of peer group members--does not consistently predict a later homosexual orientation; it does appear, however, to load in favor of such an outcome for some individuals (Green, 1979). There does seem to be some evidence that gay women are more likely than heterosexual women to have displayed nontraditional behaviors in childhood.

The course of homosexual development runs differently in females and males (West, 1977, p. 169). Adult gay men recall an earlier and stronger awareness of being "different" in their sexual attractions. Unfortunately nearly all information about the development of sexual orientation is self-report and most of that is recalled years after the development takes place.

Child Molestation

A belief predominant in our society is that gay adults, especially men, molest children. This belief is highly significant to the issue of gay teachers. The survey by Levitt and Klassen (1974) showed that 74% of adults in the U.S. considered gay teachers dangerous because they try to get sexually involved with children. Similarly, 71% thought gays try to play sexually with children if they cannot get an adult partner.

Sometimes child molesters are also called pedophiliacs although the terms are not synonymous (Swanson, 1971). Pedophilia is the preference of children as sexual partners, and may be fulfilled through fantasy without actual participation by a child. Pedophilia is an unusual deviation in adults regardless of sexual orientation, and apparently one which occurs almost exclusively in males (West, 1977, p. 212). Child molestation, on the other hand, is an act involving the forceable intrusion by an adult on a child (Newton, 1978). Such a definition often leads to difficulty in defining "child." No identifiable "personality" has been ascertained for either of these conditions; moreover neither can be associated with homosexuality per se.

Researchers who have categorized child molesters by sexual orientation report that the offenders are usually heterosexual, and likely married (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy & Christenson, 1965; Groth &

Birnbaum, 1978; Schofield, 1965). These findings support the principals' report that complaints about teacher-student sexual contact are more frequently heterosexual in nature ("How School Principals Feel," 1978).

Even though the sexes of the offender and the victim are usually noted in criminal reports of child molestation, notations are rarely made about the offender's sexual orientation (Newton, 1978). In the most comprehensive report to date on incarcerated sex offenders (all male), orientation was determined and the offenses were divided into three groups: with a child, with a minor, or with an adult (Gebhard, Gagnon et al., 1965, p. 11). Of the homosexual groups, the homosexual offender vs. children was the least oriented toward his own sex (Gebhard et al., 1965, p. 285). The same study found the use of force in homosexual offenses so rare (in comparison with heterosexual offenses) that it was not considered as a separate factor.

There have been several publications providing information specifically about pedophilia and gay adults. The most recent is a review of available evidence on the subject; it concludes that no data exist which associates child molestation with homosexual behavior (Newton, 1978). Newton states that clearly the molestation of children is an important social problem, but it is a detracting line of reasoning to assume that the problem is some variant of homosexual behavior. Indeed, statistics show that child molesters are usually

relatives of the abused child (Walters, 1975, p. 112). In Florida in 1977-78, 67% of molesters were parents of the victim, and another 11% were other relatives ("What You Should Know," Note 2).

One study did carefully examine the sexual orientation of incarcerated child molesters, all male. Groth and Birnbaum (1978) reported that a gay orientation and homosexual pedophilia are not synonymous. The offenders who selected male child victims either have always chosen child partners throughout their lives or have done so after regressing from adult sexual relationships with women. No peer-oriented gays were found in the sample of 175 men.

In conclusion, the adult heterosexual male apparently constitutes a greater risk sexually to underage children than does the adult gay male (Geiser, 1979, p. 79). Gay people as a group are not child molesters, contrary to popular belief. The majority of gays, like the majority of heterosexuals, do not seek young partners (Walters, 1975, p. 130).

Proselytization

Many people believe that gays recruit persons to their sexual preference. In the Levitt and Klassen survey (1974), 43% of the general population thought this to be the origin of homosexuality in more than half the gay individuals. Nearly 20% thought recruitment was the origin of homosexuality in all gays. However, there is no evidence that gay people act to proselytize nongays to increase their numbers ↓

(Dressler, 1978; Tripp, 1975, p. 91; West, 1977, p. 214). Indeed, at least one writer has noted that the reverse is true: Heterosexuals are more interested in "converting" gays to a heterosexual orientation (Friedman, 1979). This is exemplified by most psychotherapists who regard homosexuality as undesirable if not pathological (Davison, 1976; Garfinkle & Morin, 1978; Lief, 1977).

Femininity and Masculinity

Over the years a number of personality tests have been used in an attempt to demonstrate that gays produce responses untypical of their own sex in terms of cultural expectations. The results have generally been variable (West, 1977, p. 38). Researchers of sex-role identities in gay individuals have acknowledged the complexity and difficulty of their task (Heilbrun and Thompson, 1977). Hooberman (1979) states that the relationship of homosexuality to sex-role behavior is likely multidimensional and multidetermined.

Psychological characteristics. One kind of research in this area focuses on the psychological characteristics of sex-role behaviors. (Data on appearance, such as dress and mannerisms, are described separately below.) A relatively consistent finding is that, for both females and males, proportionately more gays than heterosexuals behave in ways considered by the society as appropriate to the opposite sex (Heilbrun & Thompson, 1977; Hooberman, 1979; McGovern, 1977; Saghir & Robins, 1973; Siegelman, 1972a, 1972b). That is, gay women are more

likely than heterosexual women to display stereotypic masculine behaviors such as being goal-directed, self-accepting, and competitive; gay men are more likely than heterosexual men to display stereotypic feminine behaviors such as being affectionate, emotionally expressive, and having their feelings easily hurt. As with the entire study of homosexuality, sex roles have been more often investigated in gay males than in lesbians.

Appearance. Certain characteristics such as hand movements, gait, body structure, voice pitch, and choice of apparel are distinctly associated with women or men in this society. Characteristics appropriate to the opposite sex have been frequently attributed to persons with a homosexual orientation (Churchill, 1967, p. 39; Saghir & Robins, 1973, pp. 106; 267). In two studies which measured such characteristics, only a minority of gays were, in fact, found to exhibit opposite-sex appearance or mannerisms.

One study was the mammoth project of Alfred Kinsey and his staff. From their data only about 5% of lesbians and 15% of gay men could be identified by their appearance (McCary, 1978, p. 340). Effeminacy was evident in a higher proportion of gay males under the age of 26, with the percentage dropping to 7% as the men grew older.

Saghir and Robins assessed masculinity in lesbians and femininity in gay men by observation of overt behavior and demeanor. The women were judged on wearing "severely tailored clothes or with men's

sportswear," appearing without makeup, looking muscular and heavily set (Saghir & Robins, 1973, p. 268); under these criteria 32% of the lesbians were considered masculine. The men were assessed on "exaggerated feminine gestures, makeup, voice and walk" (Saghir & Robins, 1973, p. 107); 16% of the gay men were judged feminine.

Thus, as West (1977, p. 37) has noted, only a minority of gays display to a pronounced degree the social mannerisms and attributes generally considered more appropriate to members of the opposite biological sex. The majority of gay men and lesbians adhere to society's ideal of feminine and masculine appearance.

Prevalence of Homosexuality

It is difficult to make any precise statement about the prevalence of homosexuality in our society since heterosexual and homosexual are not discreetly definable categories (Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin, 1948, p. 638). Measurements of the extent of homosexuality in the United States' population vary with the definition used. Frequency and duration of homosexual feelings and/or behavior, opportunity and emotional aspects are all concomitants which can be considered in defining sexual orientation. In fact, one researcher is developing an instrument to measure orientation by accounting for past, present, and ideal sexual feelings and activities on seven dimensions (Klein, Note 3).

The Institute for Sex Research has recently calculated that between 5% to 10% of the adult population is gay (Williams, Note 4). If it can be assumed that, in spite of societal pressures, gays are equally distributed among all occupational groups (Dressler, 1978), a conservative estimate is that there are presently in the United States at least 50,000 male teachers and 40,000 female teachers who are gay (Elam, 1977).

Conclusion

Probably because of the sensitive nature of the topic no research has been done on teachers who are gay. The present study was undertaken in an effort to at least partially fill this void and to provide helpful information for the current dilemma of employing gay teachers. The next chapter describes the design of the study as well as the teacher samples.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN

In an endeavor to describe a sample of gay teachers, self-report information was sought from volunteer participants in two parts: a written questionnaire and a personal interview. The same information was then gathered from a sample of heterosexual teachers in order to observe how, if at all, gay teachers differ from heterosexual teachers on the measures used to assess personality and teacher behaviors.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) was selected to measure dimensions of femininity and masculinity in all the teachers. These two sex-role attributes were considered of interest due to a prevailing stereotype about gays: gay women resemble men and gay men resemble women (West, 1977, p. 37). Data were collected to examine a possible basis for these stereotypes.

Various instruments assessing other professional and personality qualities were considered. The Teacher Characteristics Schedule (TCS) was chosen because it was specifically designed to describe teachers, the target population. It also offered measures of numerous and wide-ranging qualities.

A written questionnaire was composed of the BSRI and a particularly relevant scales of the TCS. Each teacher completed the questionnaire individually, at her or his convenience. A separate interview was conducted with a structured sequence of questions developed by the researcher. The following delineation of the design includes descriptions of the samples and the three instruments used to gather information, as well as the hypotheses used to test that information.

Instruments

Bem Sex-Role Inventory

Description. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory was developed to measure a person's endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics, and therefore to what extent a person can be described as having "internalized society's sex-typed standards of desirable behaviors for men and women" (Bem 1974, p. 155). Feminine characteristics were those selected by female and male judges to be significantly more desirable for women than men in American society; masculine characteristics were those judged to be more desirable for men than women.

The BSRI consists of 60 adjectives: 20 each of "feminine," "masculine," and "neutral." A respondent is instructed to indicate on a 7-point scale how "true of you these various characteristics are." A

rating of 1 indicates never or almost never true (i.e., low endorsement); a rating of 7 indicates always or almost always true (i.e., high endorsement). (The adjectives for the inventory can be found as Appendix A.)

The feminine and masculine scales are independent of each other. That is, femininity and masculinity are not conceptualized as ends of a single bipolar dimension but rather as two distinct dimensions. By averaging the adjective ratings, a feminine score and a masculine score are obtained for each respondent.

A person who receives both a feminine and masculine score above the median is termed androgynous by Bem (1974, 1975). The concept of psychological androgyny is not a recent development. Beauvoir in 1952 and Jung in 1953 discussed integration of feminine and masculine personality features (Alter, Note 5). In the last several years, the women's movement has also evoked a reexamination of what constitutes femininity and masculinity (Spence, Note 6).

The measurement of androgyny, however, is a fairly new endeavor in psychology. Two instruments have been used frequently in measuring femininity and masculinity and therefore androgyny. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapps were both published in 1974. The feminine and masculine scores produced by these instruments are used to classify a

person as to sex-role type. Classification of sex-role types can be derived by several methods (Bem, 1977; Orlofsky, Aslin & Ginsburg, 1977; Spence & Helmreich, 1979b). Most methods of classification yield four sex-role types: feminine, masculine, androgynous, and undifferentiated.

Androgyny as a sex-role type, and indeed the concept of androgyny itself, are in the formative stage of intellectual and empirical study. Debate prevails about the meaning of androgyny, its bases and manifestations, how to assess it, and even how to score the instruments already designed to assess it (e.g., Bem, 1977, 1979; Kelly & Worell, 1977; Locksley & Colton, 1979; Orlofsky et al., 1977; Spence & Helmreich, 1979a, 1979b; Strahan, 1975). Because of the ambiguity and unclear assumptions surrounding the concept of androgyny, the present study uses feminine and masculine scores--not sex-role types--to describe participants.

Norms. The original normative data were obtained from college students in California (Bem, 1974) and have since been replicated on students from institutions elsewhere (La Torre, 1978; Orlofsky & Windle, 1978). All students were enrolled in undergraduate psychology or sociology classes. The normative means and medians are reported in the results section. It should be noted that the normative sample could in fact include individuals with a gay orientation.

Reliability and validity

Test-retest reliability for the BSRI was measured in a subsample of the normative group (Bem, 1974). Both the feminine and masculine scores produced product-moment correlations of .90. Internal consistency was estimated by computation of alpha coefficients in two samples. The results provided alphas of .80 and .82 for femininity scores and .86 and .86 for masculinity scores.

The validity of the BSRI was tested by administering two other measures of femininity and masculinity to the normative group (Bem, 1974). The appropriate scales of the California Psychological Inventory and the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey were chosen because of their previous use in sex role research. None of the correlations exceeded .25. Bem (1974) concluded that the BSRI is measuring an aspect of sex roles which is not directly tapped by these two scales (Bem, 1974).

Teacher Characteristics Schedule

Description. The Teacher Characteristics Schedule (TCS) was the product of a six-year research project of the American Council on Education. Its stated purpose was the "accumulation of evidence permitting extension of understanding of the personal, social, and intellectual attributes of persons who teach in the schools" (Ryans, 1960, p. 9).

The specific objectives of the research project were first, to identify and analyze some patterns of teachers' classroom behavior,

attitudes, viewpoints, and emotional and intellectual qualities, and secondly, to develop suitable paper and pencil instruments for estimating these patterns. Consequently the TCS reflects correlates that have proven capable of predicting the major factors of teacher classroom behavior and of traits such as emotional adjustment (Ryans, 1960, 1971).

The form of the TCS used here, G-70/2, is an updated and extended revision of the original 1954 schedule (Ryans, 1972). The G-70/2 version has 450 questions representing 19 scales. Each question on the TCS consists of an inquiry and specified responses from which to choose. (Sample questions can be found as Appendix B.)

Out of consideration for the teachers who volunteered their time and efforts to the present study, a shortened version of the TCS was prepared. Six of the 19 scales were selected as most relevant to the stated purposes of this study, yielding a total of 195 questions.

The six scales are, with their symbolic notation: value placed on innovation, change, and "liberal" education/social policy and action (C); favorable opinions/attitudes about pupils and other school personnel (R); value placed on religion and religion-associated morality, conventions, and cultural traditions (Re); concomitants of general personal/social adjustment (S); viewpoints/beliefs reflecting commitment or dedication to teaching and professional involvement in teaching (T); and validity of response, tendency to give responses that

accurately describe the respondent's activities, preferences, opinions, etc.-avoidance of preponderantly "socially desirable" responses (V).

Norms. The TCS G-70/2 was standardized in 1970 on two randomly selected, stratified samples (Ryans, 1972). In-service teachers were selected from all 50 states, stratified on the factors of sex, national racial heritage, and grade or level of students taught. The total number of persons with valid scores for all scales was 3,552. Scores from the normative group are reported in the results section. It should be noted that the normative sample could in fact include individuals with a gay orientation.

Reliability and validity. Alpha reliabilities were computed for all nineteen of the TCS scales; figures were not reported for the scales by name (Ryans, 1972). Reliabilities of .75 - .82 were obtained for nine scales, of .66 - .74 for nine scales, and .58 for one scale.

The only information available on content validity for the TCS was provided on three scales not used in the present study (Ryans, 1971). Those coefficients ranged from .2 - .4.

Interview

Description. "The flexibility of the interview is, of course, of greatest value in exploratory studies where the structure of the field emerges as the investigation proceeds" (Mouly, 1970, p. 265). In order to obtain information pertinent to the topic of gay teachers, a structured interview schedule was constructed by the researcher. The schedule was composed of 24 questions for demographic information and

55 questions regarding the teacher's personal and professional life. Interviews were conducted in an oral format, on an individual basis. Most questions were open-ended to accommodate a diverse range of response.

The interview questions were concerned with several different areas: self and parents' education, religion, family background, organizational activities and hobbies, sexual behavior and attitudes, perception of the development of sexual orientation, teaching behavior and attitudes, the perceived effects of teachers' sexual orientation on students, etc.

Determination of Sexual Orientation.

The sexual orientation of gay or heterosexual was assigned by the use of a standardized scale used extensively in research on sexual identity. Named after Alfred Kinsey who developed it, the scale provides ratings of 0 through 6, as follows:

- 0 - exclusively heterosexual
- 1 - almost entirely heterosexual with only incidental homosexual contacts
- 2 - have more than incidental homosexual contacts but still have stronger responses to the opposite sex
- 3 - equally homosexual and heterosexual
- 4 - have more than incidental heterosexual contacts but still have stronger responses to the same sex

5 - almost entirely homosexual with only incidental heterosexual contacts

6 - exclusively homosexual

"Contacts" were defined to each participant as physical touching in a sexual context.

Each participant was asked about mid-way through the interview, "Using this scale, how would you rate yourself in two ways--first, in terms of your sexual thoughts and fantasies, and secondly, in terms of actual sexual behavior." A typed copy of the rating scale was handed to each participant.

An average of these two ratings was taken as the overall rating of sexual orientation. No overall rating fell between 2 and 4 on the scale, indicating that all participants were clearly self-identified as either gay or heterosexual. The ratings from the scales concurred with the assignation attributed to each teacher when she or he was asked to participate in the study.

Hypotheses

The primary purpose of the study was to ascertain existing differences between gay and heterosexual teachers. In the case of sex-role attributes (femininity and masculinity) differences between

females and males within each orientation group were also examined. The following null hypotheses were formulated and no directions of differences were expected.

The null hypotheses tested for the BSRI were:

1. There is no significant difference between gay and heterosexual teachers on feminine scores.
2. There is no significant difference between gay and heterosexual teachers on masculine scores.
3. There are no significant differences in two-way or three-way interaction between levels of orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade level taught (elementary or secondary), and biological sex (female or male) on feminine scores.
4. There are no significant differences in two-way or three-way interaction between levels of orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade taught (elementary or secondary), and biological sex (female or male) on masculine scores.
5. There are no significant differences between gay and heterosexual female teachers on feminine and masculine scores.
6. There are no significant differences between gay and heterosexual male teachers on feminine and masculine scores.
7. There are no significant differences between female and male gay teachers on feminine and masculine scores.

8. There are no significant differences between female and male heterosexual teachers on feminine and masculine scores.
9. The gay sample means do not differ significantly from the national means on the feminine and masculine scales.
10. The heterosexual sample means do not differ significantly from the national means on the feminine and masculine scales.

The null hypotheses tested for the TCS (G-70/2) were:

11. There are no significant differences between gay and heterosexual teachers on each of the six scales.
12. There are no significant differences in two-way or three-way interaction between levels of orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade taught (elementary or secondary), and biological sex (female or male) on each of the six scales.
13. The gay sample means do not differ significantly from the national normative means on each of the six scales.
14. The heterosexual sample means do not differ significantly from the national normative means on each of the six scales.

No specific null hypotheses were proposed for the interview data. Questions with multiple choice responses were tested for significant differences when the disparity between gay and heterosexual responses was great. Most of the interview data was amenable to simple nonstatistical interpretation.

Samples

The volunteer gay participants were obtained first. Then heterosexual teachers were obtained who approximated the gay group on the dimensions of age, sex, and number of years in teaching. Matching was undertaken to minimize differences which may have been a function of these variables and thereby hopefully maximize differences which may be a function of sexual orientation.

Neither group of teachers was intended to be a representative sample. Comparison of these teachers responses to normative data, however, indicates that both groups are similar to national groups of teachers and adults.

Description

A total of 60 teachers participated in the study: 30 gay and 30 heterosexual. There were 59 white teachers and one black teacher. In the gay group there were 22 females and 8 males; 12 elementary teachers and 18 secondary; 26 work in public schools, 4 in private. In the heterosexual group there were 20 females and 10 males; 16 elementary teachers and 14 secondary; 27 work in public schools, 3 in private.

The mean, standard deviation, and range for the number of years being a teacher are: gay group--11.12, 8.06, 0.5 - 31; heterosexual

group--8.28, 6.68, 0.5 - 28. The mean, standard deviation, and range for age of the teachers are: gay group--36.97, 9.63, 23 - 63; heterosexual group--34.27, 8.91, 24 - 58.

The distribution of subject areas taught by the teachers is: all areas--3 gay, 12 heterosexual; special education--5, 3; cultural arts--5, 2; vocational arts and sciences--1, 1; reading and English--3, 2; physical education--8, 2; math and sciences--3, 3; social sciences--2, 5. Distribution of the highest educational level obtained by the teachers is: bachelor degree--12 gay, 14 heterosexual; some post-graduate work--1, 3; master's degree--13, 11; specialist's degree--3, 2; Ph.D.--1, 0.

Marital status of the gay group is: currently married 1, divorced 8, never married 21. Five gay teachers have children of their own. For the heterosexual group the marital status is: currently married 17, divorced 5, never married 8. Thirteen of the heterosexual teachers have children of their own.

Obtaining gay participants

A guarantee of absolute anonymity was essential for approaching gay teachers with a request to take part in the study. This assurance was provided to allay fears of "exposure" which would likely result in personal discomfort and/or loss of employment. The usual procedure for obtaining signatures of the participants was waived by the University's Human Subjects Committee.

Several methods were used in obtaining gay teachers for this study. The most frequent approach was through a personal referral by another gay teacher or a close friend. Another method was the use of research announcements--brief descriptions of the study, including a statement about anonymity. These announcements were sent to two publications produced primarily for gay individuals (one national and one local publication). Two participants contacted the researcher in response to the announcement appearing in the national publication. Research announcements were also sent to three gay community service organizations in Miami and one in Gainesville; three to Metropolitan Community Churches in Jacksonville, Miami, and Tampa; and one was posted at a Gainesville health institution. None of these provided any participants.

Five of the gay teachers who participated were known personally to the researcher and were contacted directly. Six teachers, who were contacted either through referral or by the researcher, declined to take part. Two other teachers initially showed a willingness to participate but failed to reply to follow-up inquiries by the researcher.

Obtaining heterosexual participants

The heterosexual teachers were also primarily obtained through personal referral by another teacher or a friend. A secondary source

was graduate education classes at the University of Florida during the summer session, when teachers from around the state enroll for professional continuing education.

Three of the heterosexual teachers were known personally to the researcher and were contacted directly. One teacher agreed to participate but never completed the questionnaire.

Procedure

Gay sample

Gay participants were fully informed of the purpose and nature of the study from the initial contact. They were also told of the anticipated time involved and of the two parts: the questionnaire and the interview. Gay teachers were interviewed first and then given the questionnaire for later completion.

The interview took place in a setting agreeable to both the gay teacher and the researcher; privacy and lack of interruptions were required. Usually the setting was the individual's home. In a few instances a classroom, office, or the researcher's home were used. After the interview, discussion of the study was invited. Then the questionnaire was left with the participant, along with a self-addressed, stamped envelope for return to the researcher.

Heterosexual sample

The heterosexual teachers were asked to participate in a study on the characteristics of teachers. They were told of the anticipated time involved and of the two parts. Due to the highly controversial nature of the topic of homosexuality, stating the full purpose of the study at the outset would likely alter a participant's responses. For this reason, the questionnaire was administered first, without divulging the comparison-to-gay-teachers aspect of the study.

The American Psychological Association's Ethical Principles manual states, "The scientific purposes of research may invite the use of deception for a variety of reasons, one of those being when it may be demonstrated that the research objectives cannot be realized without deception" (1973, p. 37). Deceiving the heterosexual teachers while obtaining their agreement to participate is a serious matter. However, the ethical consideration of withholding information from participants here is not destructive. Since no treatment is given to any of the teachers, but merely the collection of self-report data, the goal of acquiring unbiased responses on the questionnaire justifies the use of deception.

Each of the heterosexual teachers was given a questionnaire upon agreeing to participate in the study. After its completion, a date was arranged for the interview. At the beginning of that meeting--before the questionnaire was received by the researcher--the full purpose and

nature of the study was revealed. Explanations were provided of the necessity for the deception and use of the participant's responses as comparison data. Any questions about the study were answered.

At this point the teacher was given the choice of retaining or submitting her or his questionnaire responses for inclusion into the study. Special care was taken to avoid exerting pressure while the teacher made that choice. Submission was tendered in every instance, and the meeting proceeded with the interview.

The deception was revealed before the interview rather than after since questions relating to relationships and sexuality were asked therein. The deception, therefore, affected only the questionnaire data from the heterosexual teachers--that portion which is more indicative of professional behaviors and attitudes rather than of personal behaviors and attitudes.

C scale problem

The written questionnaire distributed to all participants omitted five questions of the Teacher Characteristics C scale. This error was not discovered until all the questionnaires had been submitted and calculations completed. A follow-up telephone call or letter (with enclosed self-addressed, stamped post card) was successful in reaching 56 of the 60 teachers and obtaining their responses to the missing five questions.

Scale statistics were recalculated with the complete C scale responses for those teachers who answered the omitted items. Those teachers who could not be reached (2 gay and 2 heterosexual) were deleted from the calculations of the C scale.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Data were obtained from two samples ($n = 30$ for each) of teachers with gay and heterosexual orientations. The data were self-report responses from personality and teacher behavior inventories. This chapter reports compilation of those responses and appropriate analyses.

The data were analyzed variously to test the null hypotheses presented in the previous chapter. Analyses of variance (ANOVA) were calculated using the scores of the questionnaire measures as the dependent variables. The independent variables were sexual orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade level taught (elementary or secondary), and sex (female or male). T tests were computed for examining the factor of sex within each sexual orientation on the feminine and masculine variables. T statistics and interval estimates were used to compare scores of the teacher samples to normative scores from a national sample.

The results are organized into three sections: one for each of the instruments used to obtain the data. Each section for the standardized

instruments contains the null hypotheses appropriate to the instrument and the results of testing each hypothesis. For the interview, tabulated answers to the questions are given, showing the results of statistical tests for significant differences where appropriate.

Bem Sex-Role Inventory

As described earlier, the feminine and masculine scores are based on endorsement of the adjectives of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). Scores range from 1 (low endorsement) to 7 (high endorsement). For the gay sample, the feminine mean = 5.15, with a standard deviation (SD) = 0.49; the masculine mean = 5.36, SD = 0.66. For the heterosexual sample, the feminine mean = 4.92, SD = 0.60; the masculine mean = 4.92, SD = 0.65. The means from the teachers sampled here compare to Bem's normative sample of feminine mean = 4.85 and masculine mean = 4.90.

To test the first four null hypotheses, one-way, two-way, and three-way ANOVA were performed. Feminine and masculine scores were the dependent variables. In testing these hypotheses, the ANOVA for unweighted cell means were calculated. The alpha level for statistical significance was set at 0.05.

Hypothesis 1. There is no significant difference between gay and heterosexual teachers on feminine scores. The computed F value for this hypothesis was 5.86. The probability of obtaining a computed F value this large was 0.019 assuming the null hypothesis to be true.

Since the probability value was less than the 0.05 level, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should be rejected. For the feminine scale, gay teachers ($\underline{M} = 5.15$) scored significantly higher than heterosexual teachers ($\underline{M} = 4.92$).

Hypothesis 2. There is no significant difference between gay and heterosexual teachers on masculine scores. The computed \underline{F} value for this hypothesis was 3.09. The probability value was 0.08. Since the probability value was greater than the 0.05 level, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should not be rejected.

Hypothesis 3. There are no significant differences in two-way or three-way interaction between levels of orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade level taught (elementary or secondary), and sex (female or male) on feminine scores. The computed \underline{F} values for the interactions are given in Table 1. Since all of the probability values are greater than the 0.05 level, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should not be rejected.

Hypothesis 4. There are no significant differences in two-way or three-way interaction between levels of orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade level taught (elementary or secondary), and sex (female or male) on masculine scores. The computed \underline{F} values for the interactions are given in Table 2. Since all of the probability values are greater than the 0.05 level, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should not be rejected.

Table 1. Analysis of variance with feminine scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				0.19	0.663
Gay Elem.	12	5.167	0.671		
Gay Sec.	18	5.136	0.353		
Het. Elem.	16	5.109	0.599		
Het. Sec.	14	4.696	0.535		
Sex x Grade				0.71	0.403
Female Elem.	23	5.165	0.631		
Female Sec.	19	4.979	0.464		
Male Elem.	5	4.990	0.606		
Male Sec.	13	4.892	0.535		
Sex x Orientation				3.22	0.079
Female Gay	22	5.091	0.531		
Female Het.	20	5.070	0.610		
Male Gay	8	5.306	0.357		
Male Het.	10	4.610	0.458		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.30	0.584
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	5.128	0.742		
Gay Elem. Male	3	5.283	0.501		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	5.065	0.354		
Gay Sec. Male	5	5.320	0.311		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	5.189	0.579		
Het. Elem. Male	2	4.550	0.566		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	4.791	0.642		
Het. Sec. Male	8	4.625	0.472		

p = 0.05 two-tailed test

Table 2. Analysis of variance with masculine scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				0.35	0.556
Gay Elem.	12	5.113	0.833		
Gay Sec.	18	5.531	0.463		
Het. Elem.	16	4.728	0.626		
Het. Sec.	14	5.139	0.630		
Sex x Grade				1.75	0.192
Female Elem.	23	4.920	0.704		
Female Sec.	19	5.287	0.572		
Male Elem.	5	4.770	0.939		
Male Sec.	13	5.465	0.568		
Sex x Orientation				1.02	0.317
Female Gay	22	5.375	0.595		
Female Het.	20	4.768	0.603		
Male Gay	8	5.331	0.853		
Male Het.	10	5.225	0.668		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.17	0.686
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	5.233	0.706		
Gay Elem. Male	3	4.750	1.249		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	5.473	0.511		
Gay Sec. Male	5	5.680	0.297		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	4.718	0.648		
Het. Elem. Male	2	4.800	0.636		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	4.883	0.516		
Het. Sec. Male	8	5.331	0.670		

p = 0.05 two-tailed test

The next four null hypotheses examine the differences on feminine and masculine scores of the teachers divided in another manner. For all females and then all males, orientation was examined as a possible significant variable. Next, for all gays and then all heterosexuals, sex was examined as a possible significant variable. Table 3 gives the means and standard deviations of feminine and masculine scores within these divisions.

To test the four hypotheses below, t tests for independent samples were performed. These t tests require that the within group variance be equal. The hypotheses that the variances were equal were tested by calculating the ratio of the variances and using a standard F distribution. None of the hypotheses of equal variance were rejected at the 0.10 level. Consequently the following tests for the null hypotheses assume equal variances.

Hypothesis 5. There are no significant differences between gay and heterosexual female teachers on feminine scores and masculine scores. The t statistic for feminine scores was 0.119, with a probability of a greater absolute value of t = 0.906 (df = 40). Since the probability value was greater than the 0.05 level chosen for statistical significance, the results indicate that gay and heterosexual female teachers did not have significantly different feminine scores.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of feminine and masculine scores: by orientation within sex and by sex within orientation.

Independent variable	<u>n</u>	Feminine mean	Feminine st. dev.	Masculine mean	Masculine st. dev.
Females					
Gay	22	5.091	0.531	5.375	0.595
Het.	20	5.070	0.610	4.768 *	0.603
Males					
Gay	8	5.306 *	0.357	5.331	0.853
Het.	10	4.610	0.458	5.225	0.667
Gays					
Female	22	5.091	0.531	5.375	0.595
Male	8	5.306	0.357	5.331	0.853
Heterosexuals					
Female	20	5.070 *	0.610	4.768	0.603
Male	10	4.610	0.458	5.225	0.667

*Significant difference at $p = 0.05$

The t statistic for masculine scores was 3.285, $pr > |t| = 0.002$, ($df = 40$). Since the probability value was less than 0.05, the results indicate that the gay and heterosexual female teachers did have significantly different masculine scores. The mean scores show the direction of the significance. Gay female teachers ($M = 5.375$) more highly endorsed masculine adjectives than did heterosexual female teachers ($M = 4.768$).

Hypothesis 6. There are no significant differences between gay and heterosexual male teachers on feminine scores and masculine scores. The t statistic for feminine scores was 3.521, $pr > |t| = 0.003$ ($df = 16$). Since the probability value is less than 0.05, the results indicate that the gay and heterosexual male teachers did have significantly different feminine scores. The mean scores show the direction of the significance. Gay male teachers ($M = 5.306$) more highly endorsed feminine adjectives than did heterosexual male teachers ($M = 4.61$).

The t statistic for masculine scores was 0.297, $pr > |t| = 0.770$, ($df = 16$). Since the probability value was greater than 0.05, the results indicate that gay and heterosexual male teachers did not have significantly different masculine scores.

Hypothesis 7. There are no significant differences between female and male gay teachers on feminine scores and masculine scores. The t statistic for feminine scores was -1.057, $pr > |t| = 0.300$, ($df = 28$). Since the probability value was greater than 0.05, the results indicate

that the female and male gay teachers did not have significantly different feminine scores.

The t statistic for masculine scores was 0.158, $pr > |t| = 0.875$, ($df = 28$). Since the probability value was greater than 0.05, the results indicate that the female and male gay teachers did not have significantly different masculine scores.

Hypothesis 8. There are no significant differences between female and male heterosexual teachers on feminine scores and masculine scores. The t statistic for feminine scores was 2.099, $pr > |t| = 0.045$, ($df = 28$). Since the probability value was less than 0.05, the results indicate that female and male heterosexual teachers did have significantly different feminine scores. The mean scores show the direction of the significance. Female heterosexual teachers ($M = 5.07$) more highly endorsed feminine adjectives than did male heterosexual teachers ($M = 4.61$).

The t statistic for masculine scores was -1.893, $pr > |t| = 0.067$, ($df = 28$). Since the probability value is greater than 0.05, the results indicate that female and male heterosexual teachers did not have significantly different masculine scores.

The following two null hypotheses examine how different are the gay and heterosexual teacher samples from Bem's normative sample. I statistics were computed, and interval estimates calculated for inclusion at an 0.95 confidence interval. Table 4 gives the means and

Table 4. Means, standard deviations, and medians of gay, heterosexual, and national samples on feminine and masculine scales.

	<u>National Sample</u> (<u>n</u> = 665)	<u>Gay Teachers</u> (<u>n</u> = 30)	<u>Heterosexual Teachers</u> (<u>n</u> = 30)
Feminine Scale			
Mean	4.85	5.148	4.917
St. dev.	—*	0.494	0.598
Median	4.76	5.15	5.05
Masculine Scale			
Mean	4.9	5.363	4.92
St. dev.	—*	0.658	0.651
Median	4.89	5.50	5.00

*Standard deviations not available for national sample.

standard deviations of feminine and masculine scales for the gay and heterosexual samples and the national sample.

Hypothesis 9. The gay sample means do not differ significantly from the national means on the feminine and masculine scales. The computed t value for feminine means, with interval estimates, = 3.314 (0.114, 0.482). The computed t value for masculine means, with interval estimates = 3.86 (0.218, 0.709). The critical t value ($df = 29$) at the 0.05 level = 2.045. Therefore the null hypothesis was rejected. Gay teachers ($M = 5.148$) scored significantly higher on the feminine scale than the normative sample ($M = 4.85$). Gay teachers ($M = 5.363$) also scored significantly higher on the masculine scale than the normative sample ($M = 4.90$).

Hypothesis 10. The heterosexual sample means do not differ significantly from the national means on the feminine and masculine scales. The computed t value for feminine means, with interval estimates, = 0.612 (-0.156, 0.290). The computed t value for masculine means, with interval estimates, = 0.168 (-0.223, 0.263). The critical t value ($df = 29$) at the 0.05 level = 2.045. Therefore the null hypothesis is not rejected. Heterosexual teachers did not score significantly different than the normative sample on both feminine and masculine scales.

Teacher Characteristics Schedule

Questions for the six selected scales of the Teacher Characteristics Schedule (TCS) were administered to all teachers.

Abbreviated descriptions of the scales, mean scores, and standard deviations of the gay and heterosexual teacher samples are given in Table 5.

The first null hypothesis for the TCS examines the differences between gay and heterosexual teachers on their scores for each of the six scales. The next hypothesis examines the interaction of the main effects of orientation, grade taught, and sex on scores of the six scales. Two-way and three-way ANOVA were calculated to test for significant differences. Each hypothesis was tested at the 0.05 level of significance.

Hypothesis 11. There are no significant differences between gay and heterosexual teachers on each of the six scales. The computed F values and the probabilities of a greater F value for each scale are also given in Table 5. Since each of the probability values was greater than the 0.05 level, the results indicate that gay and heterosexual teachers did not differ on TCS scale scores.

Hypothesis 12. There are no significant differences in two-way or three-way interaction between levels of orientation (gay or heterosexual), grade taught (elementary or secondary), and sex (female or male) on each of the six scales. The computed F values for the interactions, along with the means and standard deviations, are given in Tables 6-11 (one table for each scale).

Table 5. Means, standard deviations, F values, and probability values of the TCS scales.

Scale	Gay Teachers ^a	Hetero. Teachers ^a	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Change, Liberalism (C)			1.47	0.231
Mean	20.393	18.607		
St. dev.	4.491	5.653		
Approving of pupils and others (R)			1.47	0.230
Mean	32.033	31.000		
St. dev.	5.768	6.497		
Religion and associated morality (Re)			3.26	0.077
Mean	7.633	9.000		
St. dev.	2.930	3.667		
Social/personal adjustments (S)			0.77	0.386
Mean	19.933	19.100		
St. dev.	4.540	5.169		
Dedication to teaching (T)			0.77	0.384
Mean	26.133	25.467		
St. dev.	4.725	5.894		
Validity of response (V)			1.35	0.250
Mean	24.533	25.300		
St. dev.	3.501	3.631		

n = 30, except where n = 28
 $\alpha = 0.05$ two-tailed test

Table 6. Analysis of variance with C scale scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				0.01	0.944
Gay Elem.	11	21.273	4.839		
Gay Sec.	17	19.824	4.305		
Het. Elem.	16	19.625	6.238		
Het. Sec.	12	17.250	4.673		
Sex x Grade				0.06	0.815
Female Elem.	23	20.391	5.695		
Female Sec.	18	19.000	4.406		
Male Elem.	4	19.750	6.344		
Male Sec.	11	18.364	5.005		
Orientation x Sex				0.08	0.779
Gay Female	21	20.714	4.797		
Gay Male	7	19.429	3.552		
Het. Female	20	18.800	5.454		
Het. Male	8	18.125	6.490		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.30	0.584
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	21.333	5.385		
Gay Elem. Male	2	21.000	1.414		
Gay Sec. Fem.	12	20.250	4.495		
Gay Sec. Male	5	18.800	4.087		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	19.786	6.002		
Het. Elem. Male	2	18.500	10.607		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	16.500	3.209		
Het. Sec. Male	6	18.000	6.033		

Table 7. Analysis of variance with R scale scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				1.05	0.310
Gay Elem.	12	30.917	5.854		
Gay Sec.	18	32.778	5.755		
Het. Elem.	16	33.500	5.610		
Het. Sec.	14	28.143	6.431		
Sex x Grade				0.07	0.791
Female Elem.	23	32.739	5.730		
Female Sec.	19	31.684	6.281		
Male Elem.	5	30.800	6.261		
Male Sec.	13	29.385	6.577		
Orientation x Sex				0.81	0.373
Gay Female	22	32.091	5.895		
Gay Male	8	31.875	5.793		
Het. Female	20	32.450	6.126		
Het. Male	10	28.100	6.540		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				1.94	0.169
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	30.333	5.612		
Gay Elem. Male	3	32.667	7.506		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	33.308	5.991		
Gay Sec. Male	5	31.400	5.459		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	34.286	5.441		
Het. Elem. Male	2	28.000	4.243		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	28.167	5.845		
Het. Sec. Male	8	28.125	7.240		

Table 8. Analysis of variance with Re scale scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				0.75	0.392
Gay Elem.	12	6.333	2.839		
Gay Sec.	18	8.500	2.728		
Het. Elem.	16	8.375	3.649		
Het. Sec.	14	9.714	3.688		
Sex x Grade				0.44	0.508
Female Elem.	23	7.565	3.628		
Female Sec.	19	8.316	3.110		
Male Elem.	5	7.200	2.588		
Male Sec.	13	10.007	3.121		
Orientation x Sex				1.50	0.227
Gay Female	22	7.682	3.092		
Gay Male	8	7.500	2.619		
Het. Female	20	8.150	3.746		
Het. Male	10	10.700	2.983		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.03	0.868
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	6.556	3.206		
Gay Elem. Male	3	5.667	1.528		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	8.462	2.876		
Gay Sec. Male	5	8.600	2.608		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	8.214	3.847		
Het. Elem. Male	2	9.500	2.121		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	8.000	3.847		
Het. Sec. Male	8	11.00	3.207		

Table 9. Analysis of variance with S scale scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				0.54	0.464
Gay Elem.	12	20.417	4.078		
Gay Sec.	18	19.611	4.913		
Het. Elem.	16	17.688	4.771		
Het. Sec.	14	20.714	5.298		
Sex x Grade				5.57	0.022
Female Elem.	23	19.087	4.532		
Female Sec.	19	18.105	4.701		
Male Elem.	5	17.800	5.404		
Male Sec.	13	23.000	4.103		
Orientation x Sex				0.56	0.456
Gay Female	22	19.591	4.372		
Gay Male	8	20.875	5.167		
Het. Female	20	17.600	4.684		
Het. Male	10	22.100	4.977		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.00	0.951
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	21.111	3.219		
Gay Elem. Male	3	18.333	6.429		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	18.538	4.858		
Gay Sec. Male	5	22.400	4.278		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	17.786	4.870		
Het. Elem. Male	2	17.000	5.657		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	17.167	4.622		
Het. Sec. Male	8	23.375	4.241		

Table 10. Analysis of variance with T scale scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				2.06	0.157
Gay Elem.	12	24.750	4.901		
Gay Sec.	18	27.056	4.505		
Het. Elem.	16	26.563	5.428		
Het. Sec.	14	24.214	6.351		
Sex x Grade				0.46	0.502
Female Elem.	23	25.783	5.493		
Female Sec.	19	25.211	4.022		
Male Elem.	5	25.800	4.025		
Male Sec.	13	26.692	7.216		
Orientation x Sex				1.12	0.294
Gay Female	22	25.182	4.553		
Gay Male	8	28.750	4.432		
Het. Female	20	25.900	5.220		
Het. Male	10	24.600	7.291		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.04	0.839
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	24.333	5.408		
Gay Elem. Male	3	26.000	3.464		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	25.769	3.982		
Gay Sec. Male	5	30.400	4.393		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	26.714	5.539		
Het. Elem. Male	2	25.500	6.364		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	24.000	4.195		
Het. Sec. Male	8	24.375	7.891		

Table 11. Analysis of variance with V scale scores as the dependent variable.

Source	<u>n</u>	Mean	St. Dev.	<u>F</u> value	Prob > <u>F</u>
Orientation x Grade				0.08	0.779
Gay Elem.	12	24.417	3.895		
Gay Sec.	18	24.611	3.328		
Het. Elem.	16	25.688	3.198		
Het. Sec.	14	24.857	4.148		
Sex x Grade				0.82	0.370
Female Elem.	23	25.261	3.695		
Female Sec.	19	25.579	2.775		
Male Elem.	5	24.600	2.702		
Male Sec.	13	23.462	4.465		
Orientation x Sex				0.22	0.642
Gay Female	22	25.091	3.191		
Gay Male	8	23.000	4.071		
Het. Female	20	25.750	3.416		
Het. Male	10	24.400	4.061		
Orientation x Grade x Sex				0.02	0.901
Gay Elem. Fem.	9	24.667	4.243		
Gay Elem. Male	3	23.667	3.215		
Gay Sec. Fem.	13	25.385	2.364		
Gay Sec. Male	5	22.600	4.827		
Het. Elem. Fem.	14	25.643	3.411		
Het. Elem. Male	2	26.000	1.414		
Het. Sec. Fem.	6	26.000	3.742		
Het. Sec. Male	8	24.000	4.472		

Only one of the probability values was less than the 0.05 level: the interaction of sex and grade on the social/personal adjustment scale. That F value was 5.57, $pr > |F| = 0.022$. The significant difference can be accounted for by examining the means of the sex x grade groups. Male elementary teachers ($M = 17.8$) scored significantly lower than male secondary teachers ($M = 23.0$). Female elementary and secondary teachers did not influence this interaction effect. On the basis of the one significant interaction, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should be rejected. However, sexual orientation was not a significant factor on the adjustment scale scores.

The next two null hypotheses examine how different were the gay and heterosexual teacher samples from Ryans' national normative sample. T statistics and interval estimates were calculated. The interval estimates were computed for inclusion at an 0.95 confidence interval.

Hypothesis 13. The gay sample means do not differ significantly from the national normative means on each of the six scales. Table 12 gives the computed t values with interval estimates for each scale. The relevant critical t values at the 0.05 level are also included. For gay teachers, four of the six computed t values exceeded the appropriate critical values. Since four of the sample means are significantly different from the normative means, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should be rejected.

Table 12. Computed t values (with interval estimates) of comparing gay sample and heterosexual sample means with national normative means on TCS scales.

Scale	Gay Teachers ^a	Het. Teachers ^a	National Sample
Change, liberalism (C)			
Mean	20.393	18.607	16.885
t value	4.137	1.612	
(int. est.)	(1.768, 5.248)	(-0.470, 3.914)	
Approving of pupils and others (R)			
Mean	32.033	31.000	31.184
t value	0.806	-0.155	
(int. est.)	(-1.304, 3.002)*	(-2.609, 2.241)	
Religion and associated morality (Re)			
Mean	7.633	9.000	11.956
t value	-8.082	-4.416	
(int. est.)	(-5.417, -3.229)*	(-4.324, -1.588)*	
Social/personal adjustments (S)			
Mean	19.933	19.100	17.434
t value	3.015	1.765	
(int. est.)	(0.804, 4.194)*	(-0.264, 3.596)	
Dedication to teaching (T)			
Mean	26.133	25.467	29.100
t value	-3.439	-3.377	
(int. est.)	(-4.732, -1.202)*	(-5.833, -1.433)*	
Validity of response (V)			
Mean	24.533	25.300	23.901
t value	0.989	2.11	
(int. est.)	(-0.679, 1.939)	(0.044, 2.756)*	

^a $n = 30$, except, where $n = 28$

*Significant at $p = 0.05$ two-tailed test; critical t values:
($df = 27$) $|t| = 2.052$; ($df = 29$) $|t| = 2.045$

Elaborating on the values of Table 12, the gay teachers can be described as significantly more open to change than the normative teachers. The means are 20.296 vs. 16.885, with a 1.77 to 5.25 confidence interval estimate. Likewise, the gay teachers can also be described as less religious (\underline{M} = 7.633 vs. 11.956), more socially/personally adjusted (\underline{M} = 19.933 vs. 17.434), and less dedicated to teaching (\underline{M} = 26.133 vs. 29.100) than teachers in the normative sample.

Hypothesis 14. The heterosexual sample means do not differ significantly from the national normative means on each of the six scales. Table 12 gives the computed \underline{t} values with interval estimates for each scale, as well as relevant critical \underline{t} values.

For heterosexual teachers, three of the six computed \underline{t} values exceeded the appropriate critical values. Since three of the sample means were significantly different from the normative means, the results indicate that the null hypothesis should be rejected. The heterosexual teachers can be described as significantly less religious (\underline{M} = 9.000 vs. 11.956), less dedicated to teaching (\underline{M} = 25.467 vs. 29.100), and more prone to give valid responses (\underline{M} = 25.300 vs. 23.901) than teachers in the normative sample.

A word of caution needs to be stated about the likelihood of making a Type I error (i.e., rejecting a true hypothesis) with these results. The probability of making at least one Type I error per hypothesis equals the number of statistical tests performed multiplied

by the level of significance at which each was tested. For the BSRI, that probability would be $7 \times 0.05 = 0.35$, for each of the two scales in the ANOVA testing. For the within variable groupings of orientation and sex, the probability would be $4 \times 0.05 = 0.20$. For the TCS, the probability would be $7 \times 0.05 = 0.35$ for each of the six scales. There may not have been any Type I errors committed, but it is possible that there were.

Interview

Not all of the information acquired by the interview is reported in this paper. Most of the open-ended questions elicited responses which were difficult to quantify and those responses were not compiled. The reported interview questions are presented below with the teachers' responses tabulated. In a few instances the number does not total 30 for each teacher group. The missing individuals reflect a failure on the part of the researcher to ask the question either originally or in clarifying an indirect answer.

In reporting the tabulated answers, comments are included whenever they are elucidating. These comments are not necessarily representative of the groups but rather indicate the range of responses given by the gay and heterosexual teachers.

Question 1. Do you now subscribe to any religious faith? The answers were tabulated by the three broad categories prevalent in our

culture including a category for "other." The answers were (gay and heterosexual responses respectively): no 15, 13; Protestant 7, 13; Jewish 2, 0; Catholic 5, 3; and other 1, 1 (who indicated spirituality and Unitarian, respectively).

For the next question there was a list of categories from which to choose. The categories but not the rating numbers were read to the participant.

Question 2. In the traditional sense, do you consider yourself to be extremely religious (rating of 4), fairly to very religious (3), average interest in religion (2), slightly religious (1), or not at all religious (0). The mean rating for gay teachers = 1.4, SD = 1.303. The mean rating for heterosexual teachers = 1.6, SD = 1.248.

The scale for the next question regarding sexual orientation was typed on a sheet of paper. The sheet was handed to each participant as the question was being asked. (A copy of the scale in its entirety can be found in the Design chapter.)

Question 3. Using this scale, how would you rate yourself in two ways: first, in terms of your sexual thoughts and fantasies, and secondly, in terms of actual sexual behavior? The tabulated answers for fantasy ratings are (gay and heterosexual responses respectively): exclusively heterosexual 0, 20; almost entirely heterosexual (etc.) 0, 7; stronger responses to the opposite sex (etc.) 1, 2; equally homosexual and heterosexual 0, 0; stronger responses to the same sex

(etc.) 2, 0; almost entirely homosexual (etc.) 15, 1; exclusively homosexual 10, 0. Two gay teachers said the scale did not fit their fantasies and they could not choose a rating.

The tabulated answers for actual behavior ratings are (gay and heterosexual responses respectively): exclusively heterosexual 0, 27; almost entirely heterosexual (etc.) 0, 3; stronger responses to the opposite sex (etc.) 0, 0; equally homosexual and heterosexual 0, 0; stronger responses to the same sex (etc.) 0, 0; almost entirely homosexual (etc.) 5, 0; exclusively homosexual 25, 0.

Question 4. Were you influenced by any of your teachers in the development of your sexual identity? The tabulated answers are (gay and heterosexual responses respectively): yes 1, 2; no or not that I'm aware of 29, 25; don't know 0, 2. One heterosexual teacher, a female, gave a yes and no reply: "If poise and attractiveness is part of sexual identity, yes. I modelled myself periodically after female teachers, was influenced in being around them. Otherwise, no." Her response was not counted.

One "don't know" teacher (heterosexual) said, "I'm not real sure. It could be either way. . . . Its hard to say if they influenced you."

The other said, "I never thought about it, who would influence. . . I really don't know."

The comments accompanying the "yes" responses are: (gay teacher) "Three of us gals used to hang around her [high school biology teacher]

and her lover. . . they took care of me, were dear, dear friends. But I never saw their situation as a possibility for me until much later. I never did talk about it [being gay] with her [the teacher]. . . . they [teacher and lover] weren't affectionate with each other around us, but very caring"; (heterosexual teachers) "In a negative way - by nuns"; "we always practiced and tried so hard to be perfect little ladies because this was what he [5th grade teacher] seemed to get the most pleasure from."

Some of the comments accompanying the "no" responses are: (gay teachers) "the teacher was just the boss"; "I admired my teachers but they had no part in me becoming gay"; "I never even thought teachers were real people, that they just folded up behind their desks at night"; "teachers taught their subjects"; "I wasn't influenced but was supported after I came to the realization myself"; "I was aware then [only in college] that gayness existed"; "I've even tried to look back like on some of my teachers, and think maybe was there something along the line that would have caused me to be homosexual"; (heterosexual teachers) "I think its more friends and parents"; "not as far as sexuality but [for] other things"; "I used to fantasize a bit about an 8th grade teacher but that was it"; "I wasn't influenced too much by any of my teachers, to tell you the truth"; "In fact, I don't remember most of them; the lady teachers weren't that feminine, and I didn't identify with somebody I had to put up with for a little while."

Question 5. Is sex talked about in your classes? The responses were (gay and heterosexual responses respectively): yes 16, 18; no 14, 10. The answers for the most part were a function of what subject area was being taught. The "yes" responses tended to come from social science and health classes, and those classes which met in informal groupings, like art and physical education. The "no" responses tended to come from English, math, and other less personal subject areas.

Almost half of all teachers who responded "yes" indicated that the occurrence was not frequent and/or occurred only when the students broached the matter themselves. Some of the comments accompanying the "yes" responses are: (gay teachers) "I try not to join in those discussions"; "[in the context of] living together, solving problems, and building relationships. . . . There's not anything we [avoid]. . . . We've talked with girls in the classroom who were giving birth, certain girls have made up their minds to have abortions in here. . . . We talk about venereal disease when we need to"; "I separate the boys and the girls [when we discuss reproduction]"; (heterosexual teachers) "a little bit in evolution and history--an intellectual approach"; "it's constantly referred to indirectly and I try to--if there's a question that's asked about sexual behavior--deal with the question"; "it really does have to be discussed. I know the little bit of discussion my parents had with me led me to believe that you're not supposed to do it until you're married. . . .I don't want my [own] children put in that kind of bind. . . .the emotions of sex are

completely different than marriage [which] calls for so many other demands and traits: faithfulness, loyalty, and really being able to pull together in the long run."

Some comments accompanying "no" responses are: (gay teachers) "they still have not gotten that far in this country"; (heterosexual teachers) "nothing of major consequence . . . occasionally dirty words will come up with the children"; "for the most part [no], sometimes reproduction will come up, in natural experience."

Question 6. Do you discuss [the topic of] sexual preference or identity in your classes? The responses were (gay and heterosexual teachers respectively): yes 8, 9; no 22, 20.

Some comments accompanying "yes" responses are: (gay teachers) "I let them know that I don't condemn anyone if they are homosexual; that's not something you consider when you measure a man. . . but I don't defend them [homosexuals] as vigorously as I did before Anita Bryant"; "only when they ask questions"; "the kids discuss it, I don't"; "they brought up transsexualism on their t.v. show; if something comes up . . . I will talk about it"; (heterosexual teachers) "it seems to come up most in relation to current events"; "most of the students have the same ideas as the coaches . . . that homosexuality is wrong."

Some comments accompanying "no" responses are: (gay teachers) "but it's gonna happen--they're getting more open now"; "I've never had

a kid approach me about any crisis as far as which they prefer"; "I don't know that I would include this to any degree in a sex education course, except to just merely touch on it, for the benefit of the boys who are interacting"; "its mentioned only when boys tease each other"; (heterosexual teachers) "one little boy called another little boy gay one day, so I know they're aware of it in 3rd grade"; "they're too young for that"; "[but] they make derogatory comments about homosexuality."

Question 7. Do you think that you can influence the development of sexual identity in your students? The responses were (gay and heterosexual teachers respectively): yes 6, 11; no 19, 9; don't know 5, 7. A chi square test of independence was calculated on the "yes" and "no" responses; "don't know" was eliminated from consideration because those individuals did not give a definitive answer. The responses were found to be significantly different for gay and heterosexual teachers. The computed $\chi^2 = 4.543$; the critical value was $\chi^2 = 3.841$, (df = 1).

Some comments accompanying the "yes" responses were: (gay teachers) "just to get them in touch with their own sexuality--whatever it is"; "by them seeing me in a gay bar"; "teachers are with kids more than parents"; (heterosexual teachers) "by those things I haven't examined"; "I hope that I do it"; "I'm not sure how but I think it's

there"; "if by peripheral areas, like valuing family life, enjoying being married, then yes"; "and I think it's an important role"; "just being myself would influence some of them."

Some comments accompanying "no" responses were: (gay teachers) "I'm role modelling other things but not sexual identity"; "I don't think you could make a kid gay or straight, just comfortable with whatever they were feeling"; "sex roles but not orientation"; "a function of my job is to say 'This is reality' and build the students' egos"; "I find it inconceivable for someone to be heterosexual or homosexual because of the influence of a teacher"; "why would I want to influence them? Life style's not really important, it's what you do in that life"; "because I'm not willing to tell them how I feel about personal things--I refer them to the guidance counselor"; "I think you can foster understanding of what's already there and you can foster self-acceptance. But you cannot really influence someone's sexual identity nor his sexual preference. You might fear the fire out of him and he would play a role, but underneath he knows all the time that he's playing that role"; (heterosexual teachers) "I don't think you have to in most cases"; "I think you can culturally be influenced but there has to be consistency"; "only [in the way of] my husband brings me lunch sometimes and kisses me."

Some comments accompanying "I don't know" responses were: (gay teachers) "how you come across as a teacher is primary [not your sexual

identity]"; "I think that a good role model can certainly influence whether that choice--if there is a choice--is a positive one or whether the student feels good about it. And I mean that both ways because I'm sure that there are alot of people who become heterosexual who don't feel good about being heterosexual"; "I don't know what influences people, or what influenced me"; (heterosexual teachers) "I know I influence sex roles"; "indirectly, maybe, as a model"; "I think I can for one year--have no idea in the big picture"; "I try to influence in terms of sex roles"; "it just depends on how the teacher handles certain situations and the individual teacher . . . just how they respond to the kids and the kind of questions you asked me before."

The following questions pertain to being solicited for sexual activity, both by students and other school personnel.

Question 8. Have you ever been approached by a student for homosexual contact? (gay and heterosexual responses) yes 6, 1; no 24, 25.

Question 9. Have you ever been approached by a student for heterosexual contact? (gay and heterosexual responses) yes 6, 2; no 24, 24.

Question 10. Have you ever been approached by another teacher or staff member for homosexual contact? (gay and heterosexual responses) yes 10, 0; no 20, 26.

Question 11. Have you ever been approached by another teacher or

Question 11. Have you ever been approached by another teacher or staff member for heterosexual contact? (gay and heterosexual responses) yes 19, 8; no 10, 18.

Summary

Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Gay teachers scored significantly higher on the feminine scale than heterosexual teachers, with no significant difference on the masculine scale. Within group comparisons showed the following significant differences: gay women scored higher on the masculine scale than heterosexual women; gay men scored higher on the feminine scale than heterosexual men; and heterosexual women scored higher on the feminine scale than heterosexual men. Gay teachers scored significantly higher on both the feminine and masculine scales than did the normative sample.

Teacher Characteristics Schedule. There were no significant differences between the gay and heterosexual teachers on any of the six scales. The only significant interaction effect was found between sex and grade on the social/personal adjustment scale. In comparing gay teachers to the normative sample, gays were significantly more open to change, less religious, more socially/personally adjusted, and less dedicated to teaching. In comparing heterosexual teachers to the normative sample, heterosexuals were significantly less religious, less dedicated to teaching, and more prone to give valid responses.

Interview. Of the reported questions, only one produced significantly different answers between gay and heterosexual teachers. Fewer gay teachers thought they could influence the development of sexual identity in their students.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study was designed to compare a sample of gay teachers to a sample of heterosexual teachers on measures of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors, both personal and professional. Results from the three instruments used to measure these dimensions illustrate more similarity than differences between the gay and heterosexual participants. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) provided a difference on feminine characteristics for male teachers and a difference on masculine characteristics for female teachers. Using the Teacher Characteristics Scale (TCS) no differences were found on any of the six scales measured. Interview questions prompted similar responses from gay and heterosexual teachers on all but one of the questions reported. The results of the instruments will be discussed in relationship to the literature reviewed earlier, including implications for employment of gay teachers. Possibilities for future research and limitations of the present study will also be described.

Femininity and Masculinity

Gay teachers as a group scored significantly higher on the BSRI feminine scale than did heterosexual teachers. No significant difference occurred on the masculine scale. Comparisons between the two groups by sex were undertaken for greater meaningfulness. Gay women scored significantly higher than heterosexual women on the masculine

scale; gay men scored significantly higher than heterosexual men on the feminine scale. To fully understand these findings, the literature on BSRI must be recalled. As noted earlier, the BSRI is comprised of adjectives which represent stereotyped behaviors deemed desirable for women and men. Research on feminine and masculine characteristics in gays has been done on females and males separately. Therefore the higher feminine scores for gay teachers as a group cannot be contrasted with previous findings.

The feminine or masculine differences exhibited between gay and heterosexual women and between gay and heterosexual men concur with the results of other studies (Heilbrun & Thompson, 1977; Hooberman, 1979; Saghir & Robins, 1973). Both lesbians and gay men are more likely than heterosexuals to behave in ways considered appropriate to the opposite sex by cultural standards. Gays do not necessarily exhibit fewer qualities of their own sex; they simply have incorporated other role behaviors as well.

One theoretical explanation is that gay people are free from the usual sex role constraints. (Fairchild & Hayward, 1979, p. 95). Perhaps due to the lack of overt role models, gay men and lesbians have to forge their own ways of relating to other people, because they do

not and can not follow the heterosexual models. This theory is further substantiated by the results obtained from comparison of the present samples to national norms on the BSRI. When so compared, the gays scored significantly higher on both the feminine and masculine scales, whereas the heterosexuals scored basically the same as the national group.

One question from the interview instrument sought information regarding the possible influences on each teacher's sexual identity by their own former teachers. Only one of the 30 gay teachers acknowledged such an influence. As described in the Results, her response was qualified to note that she was not prompted into a similar lifestyle herself because of her lesbian high school teacher; she said she only became aware that adult women could live together. Therefore, it can be concluded that only one of the gays in this study was possibly influenced into a gay orientation because of a gay teacher in her or his educational history.

Two heterosexual teachers of the group of 30 acknowledged that former teachers did influence their sexual identity. One specified a change in his attitudes towards sex in general and another mentioned practice in being attractive. These responses indicate an influence in other components of sexual identity, not in sexual orientation.

Sex roles are probably learned through a combination of modelling, cognitive development, and reinforcement (Williams, J., 1977, p.

159-160). A teacher can be influential in all three areas: by being a healthy woman or man whom children may imitate, by fostering the conceptualization of sex roles, and by rewarding desirable behaviors and attitudes (and punishing undesirable ones). These components warrant particular attention in the present discussion.

Modelling. A review of psychological research provided no evidence that gay teachers cause children to become gay. Data from the present study also fail to indicate an influence. Modelling theory explains the situation thusly:

When a child is exposed to a variety of models, he may select one or more of them as the primary source of behavior, but he rarely reproduces all the elements of a single model's repertory or confines his imitation to that model. (Bandura & Walters, 1976, p. 431)

It can be concluded that the acquisition of a gay sexual orientation is not the result of imitating any one individual. Consequently, even though gay teachers may be opposite-sex typed for some role behaviors, they are not a threat to the heterosexual development which most children pursue. Sex-role behaviors do not cause a particular sexual preference.

Cognitive development. A teacher is in a position of authority in the classroom. Consequently, teachers have a certain power which students may or may not be aware of, but to which they respond nonetheless (Bandura & Walters, 1976, p.430). Sex-role behaviors, although not a subject in the formal curriculum, are taught by teachers

presentation of general and specific matters. For example, in physical education, it is common for the girls to be encouraged to play rather inactive games, near the teacher, while the boys are encouraged to play strenuous games over a big area (Brooks-Gunn & Mathews, 1979).

Wise (1978) has shown that teachers tend to differentiate between female and male students, and that their differentiations are consistent with the sex-role stereotypes popular in American society. No data are available on whether gay teachers promote the same stereotypes as heterosexual teachers. However, since gay teachers are less likely to display prevalent sex-role stereotypes it is likely that they would be less prone to actively foster stereotypic sex roles in their students. The implications of less narrowly-defined sex roles for females and males will be discussed in a later section.

Reinforcement. Reinforcers and punishers are powerful tools which shape a child's actions. Sex-role behaviors, like other behaviors, are learned in part by the reinforcement or punishment they receive. However, it is unrealistic to rely on such simple principles to explain the acquisition of sex-role identities which are complex (Williams, J., 1977, p. 160). As other role theorists have noted, " It would be difficult to imagine that any kind of direct tuition could provide for the learning of such elaborate behavioral, attitudinal, and manneristic patterns as are subsumed under the rubrics of masculinity and femininity (Sears, Rau & Alpert, 1965, p. 171).

The crucial issue at hand is acquisition of sexual orientation. At present only minimal data exist on how a sex-role identity is associated with a gay orientation. As noted earlier in the definitions of sexual identity's components, sometimes sex role and sex preference are related and sometimes they are not. No cause and effect conclusions can be drawn, in either direction, between sex roles and sexual orientation. The present study did not measure ways in which teachers could reinforce behaviors characteristic of a particular sexual orientation. Such measures would need to be highly complex, unobtrusive, and valid. The promotion of homosexuality as a life style by teachers is simpler to examine. Since most gay teachers report that they do not mention the topic of homosexuality in or out of their classes, it can not be assumed that most gay teachers reinforce the notion of a gay life style.

Professional and Other Personal Characteristics

Results of the TCS will be discussed here. First the outcomes of comparing the gay and heterosexual scores are described. Then the outcome of comparing the gay teacher sample to the TCS normative data is detailed, including the heterosexual sample and normative data comparison where important. Relevant interview data are also included wherever applicable.

Gays no different than heterosexual controls. No significant differences were found between gay and heterosexual teachers on each of

the TCS scales measured: valuing innovation, change, and 'liberal' educational/social policy and action; favorable opinions and attitudes about pupils and other school personnel; valuing religion and religion-associated morality, conventions and cultural traditions; general social and personal adjustment; commitment and dedication to teaching; and the tendency to give socially desirable responses. Since the two groups were so similar, it may be concluded that sexual orientation was not a distinguishing factor on these dimensions for these teachers. Even with the variables of sex (female and male) and grade taught (elementary or secondary) included in the analysis of variance, sexual orientation did not emerge as a significant factor.

The lack of any differences between gay and heterosexual teachers on all six TCS measures seems unusual. One partial explanation could be that the matching process produced very similar groups of teachers, in spite of differences on such demographics as urban/rural residence and subject taught. Or it could be that gay and heterosexual teachers are similar.

Another explanation could be that a Type I error was committed. Some differences could, in fact, be present; but due to the level of significance being so large ($p = .05$), a false null hypothesis was incorrectly accepted.

Gays more liberal than national teachers. The gay teachers were found to be more liberal and open to change than the national

population of teachers. This quality is perhaps understandable when one considers the political, social and personal consequences of living with an unpopular sexual preference. Having dealt with oppression at an intimate level and on a daily basis, gays are probably more sensitive to recognizing and comprehending other aspects of society which they take to be unjust.

Homosexuals, both men and women being members of a socially marginal group, tended to view the world through the mirror of their own conflicts, difficulties, and what they perceive as the long standing inequities against them. To many of them war, poverty, discrimination and racism are the manifestation of an aggressive and callous social system and as such they are on the non-conservative side of the spectrum. However, most homosexual men and women are far from radical or militant. (Saghir & Robins, 1973, pp. 306-307)

In the Saghir and Robins study, a significantly higher percentage of gays than heterosexuals were affiliated with an organized political party. Interestingly, far more gays called themselves Democrats and Republicans than Independents.

A similar percentage of the gay and heterosexual teachers (about 90%) stated in the interview that they were not very involved in politics and social issues. Although they have liberal attitudes, they may not--as teachers--have the time to devote to political activities. Also, the previously described "exemplar" status (Dressler, 1978; Ghent, 1977) can dampen a gay person's inclination to become involved in social and political action.

Gays less religious. Both the gay and heterosexual groups scored significantly lower on the religiousness scale than the normative sample. This could be a function of the recent population growth in Florida, one result of which is that many newcomers have not put down roots in their communities that might lead to religious affiliation. Only 24% of Florida teachers in Lortie's study (1975) were born in the state (data which was collected in the mid 60's). Another possible influence is that since most of the participants (both gay and heterosexual) were contacted through networks of friends, they may all have a similar disinterest in religion.

The religion scale included valuing of religion-associated conventions and cultural traditions. It is possible that these two teacher groups scored low because of their failure to endorse traditional notions, not necessarily religion per se. Incidentally, one-half of the gays and one-tenth of the heterosexuals in this study live in urban centers, where a greater exposure to non-traditional activities and ideas may be expected.

Responses to the interview questions about religion validate the lower scores. Of the 30 teachers in each group, 15 gays and 13 heterosexuals said "no," they do not subscribe to any religious faith. Another question asked how religious the participant considered herself or himself. Both teacher groups gave a mean response between "slightly religious" and "average interest in religion."

Gays less dedicated to teaching. Both the gay and heterosexual groups scored significantly lower on the dedication to teaching scale than did the national sample. Florida teachers may confront more dramatically than the national average the problems of low pay and lack of student motivation (De Loache, 1979). One teacher in the present study who is in his first year of teaching in Florida (from New England) mentioned precisely this phenomenon.

Gays more socially and personally adjusted. A significantly higher level of social and personal adjustment was obtained by the gay group when compared to the national norm. This result supports some research which has found gays (as compared to heterosexuals): higher on measures of healthy interpersonal relationships (McGovern, 1977); and being more goal-directed and nurturant, and less depressive (Siegelman, 1972b). Most comparisons of gays and heterosexual on adjustment factors find no differences between the groups (Adelman, 1977; Freedman, 1971; Hooberman, 1979; Saghir & Robins, 1973). This latter body of research is substantiated by the failure to find significant differences between the present gay and heterosexual teacher groups on the scale of social and personal adjustment.

Views on sexual identity development. One interview question asked the teachers, "Do you think you can influence the development of sexual identity in your students?". The responses were significantly different for the gay and heterosexual teachers. More gays replied

"no" and fewer replied "yes." About the same proportion of gay and heterosexual teachers replied "I don't know."

From the teachers' comments on this question it appears that gay teachers may simply have thought more about such development. Because of their own situations and perhaps through study gays are evidently more aware of what is involved in the development of a person's sexual identity. This fits with the general notion that a minority group member will realize more than a majority group member what are the concomitants of that minority status. The fact that significantly more gays do not believe that teachers can influence sexual identity in students can be a result of their greater sensitivity to and knowledge of what does (and what does not) affect a gay orientation (Clark, 1977, pp. 29-30).

Another explanation for the differences in scores is that gay teachers may personally believe they can influence children's sexual orientation, they do not wish to admit it. It is possible that some gay teachers would lie about their influence out of concern for the image of gays in general or because they want to protect themselves. This researcher, however, considers it unlikely that all thirty gay teachers in the sample would fabricate their answers, especially in view of the varied explanatory comments of the teachers.

Homosexuality as a Classroom Topic

More than two-thirds of all the teachers in the present study do not discuss the topic of sexual preference in their classes. The teachers who do talk about homosexuality do so only when students raise the issue. Gay teachers are apparently not using their positions in the classrooms to proselytize young people; most of them do not talk about homosexuality at all.

Although this finding may surprise some people, homosexuality as a subject is avoided in school programs in general--even in sex education classes (Greenberg, 1975). It is regarded as a taboo subject among school administrators and parents, consistent with the prevalent negative attitudes described in the Introduction.

Lack of information about homosexuality in the schools, especially at the grades past middle school, is thought by many sexologists to be unfortunate. The withholding of available information, maintains condemnatory views of gays which are based on misconceptions and falsehoods. It appears that the topic of homosexuality is so negatively-charged that it can not be broached in sex education courses even by teachers who are "known to be safely heterosexual."

Ramifications for the Employment of Gay Teachers

Having openly gay teachers in the classrooms is an improbable event in today's society. So long as homosexuality is regarded with such wide-spread disapproval, most homosexual teachers will continue to be discreet about their sexual preference. The cycle of negative societal attitudes and concealed gay identities will not be altered easily.

Attitudes can change only when people accept exposure to new ideas, accurate facts, and a willingness to investigate all sides of a question. Education, as a conveyor of truth, plays a large role in the reshaping of people's attitudes. Solid education about homosexuality and homosexuals must replace the stereotypes with the truth, the myths with the realities. (Gramick, 1973, p. 105)

In order to critically address the issue of employing gay teachers it is necessary to delineate the myths about homosexuality and misconceptions about gay teachers. The false notions which prevent the recognition of gay teachers can be stated as follows. Each of the notions is accompanied by data which contradict the myth. (Detailed review of the data is presented in Chapter 2.)

Homosexuals are out to molest children. A review of the data on sexual offenses against children clearly illuminates the lack of substance to this statement. Most crimes of sexual molestation are cases of adult men abusing underage girls. Even in those cases where a man abuses a boy, it has been shown that the man usually has a heterosexual orientation. In addition, the available figures indicate that most child molestation is perpetrated by family members or close friends of the victim (Newton, 1978).

Homosexuals want to convert youngsters to their ranks. The no evidence does not support this notion. Results of the present study do not show that gay teachers are out to convert their students. Data

from psychologists and psychiatrists indicate that there are far more attempts to convert gays to a heterosexual orientation than vice versa (Garfinkle & Morin, 1978).

Teachers are role models for children and gay teachers may turn impressionable children and adolescents into developing a homosexual orientation. This myth illustrates a misconception about the formation of a person's sexual preference. Although the development of sexual orientation is far from being fully understood, certain things are known about the process. One consistent finding is that no one incident "causes" a gay identity in another person. The developmental process is more complex than to be thusly affected. Studies have shown that even the children of gay parents do not become gay themselves (Green, 1978).

Female homosexuals are tough butches and male homosexuals are limp-wristed swishers. The few studies which have actually measured appearance and mannerisms in gays report that only about 12% meet this stereotype (Saghir & Robins, 1973, pp. 107; 268). No data are available on how many heterosexuals fit these images. Furthermore, some of the ways in which gays are supposedly "marked" are becoming more acceptable for non-gays: e.g., women wearing pants and sportswear, and men wearing colorful clothes and carrying handbags.

In summary, the misconceptions about gays and gay teachers receive no substantiation in psychological literature. The stereotypes do not

fit the majority of lesbians and gay men. Lacking justification of these misconceptions, no sensible reasons prevail for denying gays the opportunity to practice their teaching profession while having to hide their sexual orientation.

In fact, there may be advantages to having gay teachers be public about their sexual orientation. In spite of the current environment which is unreceptive to such an occurrence, these advantages should be mentioned.

The most obvious benefit would be to the gay teachers themselves; they could live without the constant fear of losing their jobs because of their sexual preference. Those who find it necessary to publicly present a heterosexual life style--for example, by attending school functions with an opposite-sex friend--could stop maintaining a deceptive "front." Openly gay teachers could also be natural in their relationships with students. Several gay teachers in the interview said they are regretfully aware of withholding affection and other physical contact from young children because such behavior could be construed as molestation should their gay orientation be discovered.

The presence of openly gay teachers could also help to dispel the myths about all homosexuals. People associated with the school would have personal experience in seeing and learning that gays are pretty much like non-gays. The stereotypes of freak, child-attacker and social derelict would eventually be replaced with more realistic perceptions.

Another advantage would be a favorable improvement to all children. Gay women and men have been found to be more flexible than heterosexuals in their sex-role behaviors. In so far as a wider range of possible behaviors is a positive improvement on traditional roles (Bem, 1975, 1979; Hooberman, 1979), gay teachers can offer a different sort of role model to young people. Children would have the opportunity to learn it is possible and may be rewarding to resist narrow sex-role socialization (Riddle, 1978). Recalling that sex-role identity is not directly related to sexual orientation, all children could benefit from actually perceiving nontraditional behaviors by their teachers. Examples of such behaviors are a female teacher who moves her own desk, and a male teacher who cooks the class refreshments.

A particular group of students would especially benefit: those young people who are already sensing that they are attracted to members of their own sex. These students currently have no information about homosexuality from which to learn about their feelings, and thus explore who they are. The presence of recognized gay teachers in their school would give validity to a minority life style of which they may later be a part. If the psychological welfare of the child is deemed important in educational settings, this is a crucial consideration. Many children will be helped: recall the 5% to 10% figure for the

prevalence of homosexuality in the United States population.

Those of us [gays] who grew up in ignorance about homosexuality feel that it was wrong for the world we lived in to keep us in ignorance and refuse to let us know that there were admirable, competent people all around us who were gay--and that some of them were our school teachers. Let us be concerned that those students who someday will be gay will come to terms with their feelings instead of living in sexual repression and without self-esteem. ("Do Homosexuals Have the Right," 1978, p. 29)

Finally, keeping homosexuality out of the curriculum and gay teachers silent about their sexual preference fails to serve society at large. A re-evaluation of cultural condemnation of homosexuality would help promote better relationships between all citizens. The society could become enriched by accommodating sexual pluralism (Crew & Norton, 1974). As one judge has written, "Public opinion is the ultimate reliance of our society only if it be disciplined and responsible. It can be disciplined and responsible only if habits of open-mindedness . . . are acquired" (Dressler, 1978, p. 445).

Limitations of the Present Study

The present study relied upon existing instruments for assessing sex-role behaviors and the characteristics of teachers. Both tools lacked particular desirable qualities while providing useful data.

The BSRI was based on unexplained theoretical notions about masculinity, femininity, and androgyny: e.g., that a cultural

proscription for a sex-role behavior could be directly related to lower levels of psychological adjustment. Consequently the femininity and masculinity scales were used here to indicate to what degree gay teachers were similar to the heterosexual teachers, and not whether they were feminine or masculine on some absolute sense. The aforementioned notions are still awaiting critical formulation.

Ryans made some improvements in the TCS as he has used it over a 15 year period, but it needs review by other users. Because of its length, it is not often employed in research. The lack of replication data is therefore understandable but not excusable. The validity scale in particular was of questionable construction.

One big limitation of the present study was the unmanageability of the bulk of the interview data. A larger pilot sample would likely have aided in the refinement of the interview questions. Many were too ambiguous to elicit comparable answers; other were simply too broad.

Implications for Future Research

Research on the association between femininity and masculinity and homosexuality is needed. No one has specifically investigated how and why gays are less likely to adhere to the traditional sex-role ascriptions. With all the current promotion of androgyny, such a study seems particularly relevant and necessary.

The effects of gay teachers on their students is a ripe area for study. One approach could be the investigation of how students respond

to known gay teachers (as those in San Francisco). These pupils can be overtly and covertly studied, some questions being "Do children exposed to recognized gay teachers have different attitudes towards homosexuals than those children who are not so exposed?" and "Are these children more likely to display non-traditional sex-role behaviors?"

An additional area of research would be to obtain any possible information on the sexual identities of such students as they develop. The formation of a heterosexual orientation has yet to be examined in any manner. The developmental level (not age) of the children is a prime factor when deciding how and what to ask of children and adolescents regarding their perceptions of sexual matters. Some adults, for instance, report feelings of sexual attraction before puberty and others not even after an adult sexual experience.

Sexual orientation must be regarded as only a part of the whole of one's identity. "An important lesson from our data is that homosexual men and women are best understood when they are seen as whole human beings, not just in terms of what they do sexually, despite the connection between sex and other aspects of their lives" (Bell & Weinberg, 1978, p. 218). Further research on the development of sexual orientation should also take into account the ingrained complex of values, emotions, and past experiences which affect a person's total sexuality. Studying one's habits of sexual release does not describe one's sexual life style. Sexuality, after all, has as much to do with one's heart and head as with one's genitals.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to obtain direct information about teachers who are gay. More information and less emotion are needed to promote more educated discussion about gay teachers and their influences on students. The current findings do not support many of the popular notions about gay teachers. Hopefully further investigations will continue to enhance what can be discussed as verifiable data and what is personal opinion.

APPENDIX A

ADJECTIVES OF THE BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY

Feminine

yielding
cheerful
shy
affectionate
flatterable
loyal
feminine
sympathetic
sensitive to the needs of others
understanding
compassionate
eager to soothe hurt feelings
soft-spoken
warm
tender
gullible
childlike
does not use harsh language
loves children
gentle

Masculine

self-reliant
defends own beliefs
independent
athletic
assertive
strong personality
forceful
analytical
has leadership abilities
willing to take risks
makes decisions easily
self-sufficient
dominant
masculine
willing to take a stand
aggressive
acts as a leader
individualistic
competitive
ambitious

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM THE TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS SCHEDULE

The Teacher Characteristics Schedule has been prepared to survey the experiences, activities, and preferences of teachers. Materials included in the Schedule are presented in several different forms. Some ask questions about your preferences. Other inquire of your activities--things you frequently do. There are also statements with regard to which you are asked to indicate degree of agreement.

You will not be as familiar with some of the situations and activities as with others. However, try to make your choices as though you were equally familiar with all of the experiences or activities.

1. In light of your acquaintance with teachers, what do you think of the following statement? "Most teachers are willing to assume their share of the less enjoyable tasks associated with teaching."
 - a. strongly disagree
 - b. tend to disagree
 - c. tend to agree
 - d. strongly agree
2. Which of the following best applies to you?
 - a. I feel blue much of the time.
 - b. I seldom have occasion to feel "low" or blue.
3. If you were to help someone give a children's party, which of the following would you prefer to do?
 - a. serve the refreshments
 - b. send out the invitations
 - c. direct the games
4. Which of the following did you do during the past year?
 - a. listened to religious programs on the radio
 - b. read articles about church or religious activities in a newspaper or magazine
 - c. volunteered to serve on some church committee
 - d. volunteered to teach a Sunday-school class
 - e. was a member of some church group
5. Most people place too much emphasis on morals.
 - a. strongly disagree
 - b. tend to disagree
 - c. tend to agree
 - d. strongly agree

6. Which of the following best applies to you?
 - a. I sometimes pretend to know a little more than I really do.
 - b. I like everyone I know.
7. It is a person's duty to be concerned about moral issues and to try to live a good moral life.
 - a. strongly disagree
 - b. tend to disagree
 - c. tend to agree
 - d. strongly agree
8. It is important to pray regularly.
 - a. strongly disagree
 - b. tend to disagree
 - c. tend to agree
 - d. strongly agree
9. Which of the following did you do during the past year?
 - a. attended sports events at least once a month
 - b. watched sports events on television or listened to broadcasts on the radio
 - c. read the sports column in my newspaper regularly
 - d. participated actively in sports at least once a month
10. About how many people do you judge are influenced in their opinions and attitudes towards others by feelings of jealousy?
 - a. about 10% or less; very few
 - b. about 40%; about a third
 - c. about 60%; about two-thirds
 - d. about 80% or more
11. I would want a child of mine to feel responsible for his or her acts and never try to escape blame for his or her mistakes.
 - a. strongly disagree
 - b. tend to disagree
 - c. tend to agree
 - d. strongly agree
12. It is better to be idealistic than to be practical.
 - a. strongly disagree
 - b. tend to disagree
 - c. tend to agree
 - d. strongly agree
13. What persons have advised you to become a teacher? (Mark as many responses as apply to you.)
 - a. no one
 - b. family
 - c. teacher
 - d. counselor
 - e. friends

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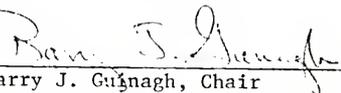
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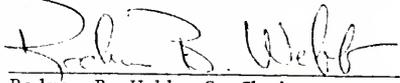
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author was born before dawn one day in 1946. Ever since she's been squeezing as many activities into each day as possible: e.g., climbing trees, writing multitudinous letters, eating more than her share of ice cream, dancing to Average White Band, preferring left field to first base, and working to slow the destruction of the Earth. Her favorite color is red.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Barry J. Guinagh, Chair
Associate Professor of Foundations
of Education

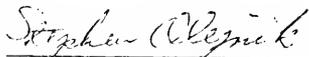
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Rodman B. Webb, Co-Chair
Associate Professor of Foundations
of Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


David I. Suchman
Associate Professor of Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Foundations of Education in the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August, 1980

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Arthur D. Chula". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Chair, Foundations of Education

Dean, Graduate School

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