

BEHIND THE DESK: THE EXPERIENCES OF LGBT HIGHER EDUCATION
ADMINISTRATORS

By

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Abstract

This study addressed the following questions: 1. What are the professional experiences of LGBT people working as administrators in higher education? 2. What changes in university/college climate and/or culture, if any, have occurred during their career spans regarding LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?

Emergent themes included the existence of disparate microclimates towards queer administrators within the different University departments and levels. The second major theme was the use of passing and covering by some LGBT administrators as a means for professional survival.

The personal stories and archival data in this study make it clear that the creation of inclusive policies that promote equality for all employees is an important step for creating a welcoming climate that encourages diversity within any organization. However, policies must only be the *first* step. Equally important, departmental microclimates must be considered when measuring policy efficacy and institutional climates towards LGBT communities.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my father, the late Dr. Herminio A. Astorga. I lost my father during my master's program. He saw me start graduate school and was one of my biggest supporters. Sadly he was taken away from us before he could see me complete any of my graduate degrees. His impressive educational achievements have been a constant inspiration for me to keep reaching for the stars. I have thought of you, Dad, all through this doctoral journey and I know you have been with me every step of the way. I know you will be there by my side as I cross the threshold on graduation day, as I get hooded for my doctorate and receive my diploma. Thank you for looking out for me. Thank you for everything. I hope I have made you proud.

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Chapter I - Introduction

In June 2009, President Barack Obama issued the “Memorandum on Federal Benefits and Non-Discrimination” which essentially extended benefits to same-sex domestic partners of Federal employees for the first time in history.¹ The following year, he signed the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell Repeal Act of 2010,” which began the process of overturning the seventeen-year ban on homosexuals openly serving in the military.² Several months later, President Obama appointed Amanda Simpson – formerly Mitchell Simpson – as the first transgender appointee to the Federal government. Amanda, who underwent sexual reassignment surgery a decade earlier, now serves as Senior Technical Advisor at the Commerce Department.³ Then, in 2011, in a striking legal and political shift, President Obama determined that the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) was unconstitutional and ordered the Justice Department to cease its defense in the Federal court system.⁴ By 2013, the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) made a landmark decision by striking down key parts of DOMA declaring them unconstitutional. In so doing, they overturned a law that denied Federal benefits to same-sex couples. This 2013 decision did not legalize same-sex marriage nationwide. However, it was a crucial step in finally providing legally married same-sex couples with important Federal spousal benefits they had

¹ Obama, Barack. “Memorandum on Federal Benefits and Non-Discrimination”. 17 June, 2009. Retrieved on March 14, 2010 from http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Memorandum-for-the-Heads-of-Executive-Departments-and-Agencies-on-Federal-Benefits-and-Non-Discrimination-6-17-09/

² Stolberg, Sheryl Gay. “Obama Signs Away ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’”. Web. *New York Times*. 22 December, 2010.

³ Saul, Michael. “Amanda Simpson, Formerly Test Pilot Mitchell Simpson, Gets Senior Post in Commerce Department.” Web. *NY Daily News*. 4 January, 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/amanda-simpson-test-pilot-mitchell-simpson-senior-post-commerce-department-article-1.460198>

⁴ Savage, Charlie and Stolberg, Sheryl Gay. “In Shift, U.S. Says Marriage Act Blocks Gay Rights.” *New York Times*. Web. 23 February, 2011.

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previously been denied such as immigration, tax status and health care.⁵ In June of 2015, in deciding on the Obergefell vs. Hodges case, the Supreme Court declared that the United States Constitution guarantees the right to same-sex marriage.⁶ The court held that the Fourteenth Amendment required every state to perform and to recognize marriages between individuals of the same sex.⁷ And through this decision, same-sex marriage became a guaranteed right for all nationally.

In the United States, the issue of same sex marriage has been prominently featured in the media recently. Yet even today queer men and women remain vulnerable in the workplace in the absence of Federal laws that protect against discrimination on the basis of one's sexual orientation. This fact comes as a shock to many who hear it since most assume that a seemingly basic protection would already be in place prior to the legalization of gay marriage. Around three-quarters of the public assume that LGBT workers already receive Federal workplace protections.⁸ They are sadly mistaken. This important issue has been relegated to the individual states to regulate. Of the fifty states in the nation, only twenty-four include protections for sexual orientation in their hate crime laws. An even smaller number of those states – twelve - also include sexual orientation in their non-discrimination laws.⁹

⁵ Savage, Charlie and Stolberg, Sheryl Gay. "In Shift, U.S. Says Marriage Act Blocks Gay Rights." Web. *New York Times*. 23 February, 2011.

⁶ Liptak, Adam. "Equal Dignity", *New York Times*, 27 June, 2015, pg. A-1.

⁷ Yoshino, Kenji (2005). "A New Birth of Freedom?: Obergefell V. Hodges". *Harvard Law Review*, 129 (1), pgs.147-179.

⁸ Barrington Wolff, T. "How ENDA Still Allows Discrimination Against LGBT Workers", Web. *The Nation*, 20 June, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.thenation.com/article/how-enda-still-allows-discrimination-against-lgbt-workers/>

⁹ Anonymous. "An Overview of This New Profession in Higher Education." Our Place on Campus: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Services and Programs in Higher Education. Ed. Ronni Sanlo, Sue Rankin and Robert Schoenberg. Westport: Greenwood, 2002. pg. 7.

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The Employment Non Discrimination Act (ENDA) has had a long history. Its beginnings can be traced back as far as 1974 – just five years after the Stonewall riots - to the Equality Act introduced by then Representative Ed Koch and Bella Abzug. It was a broad bill that sought to prohibit discrimination in employment, housing and public accommodations. The Equality Act was never passed. It re-emerged once again in the early 1990s with a narrower focus only on employment discrimination. Its backers believed that by limiting the scope of the bill to only employment discrimination, they would be able to garner wider support. They were wrong.¹⁰

In April of 2007, H.R. 2015 was introduced in the United States Congress. H.R. 2015, known as the Employment Non Discrimination Act (ENDA), provided comprehensive protections against gender identity and sexual orientation discrimination. This version would have protected transgendered and transsexual individuals as well. This bill was defeated in the House. Later that year, a modified version was passed by the House of Representatives. Unlike its predecessor, this new bill, H.R. 3685, clearly did not include transgender or transsexual in its protected categories. This bill only covered gays, lesbians and bisexuals.¹¹ The exclusion of gender identity-protection for transgendered persons caused such a rift within the LGBT-rights movement that it prevented passage of this bill in the Senate. Many have considered the use of more inclusive terminology in the bill to have been its major stumbling block.¹²

ENDA was resurrected anew in 2013. Seven Republicans joined fifty-four Democrats in the Senate in passing the bill. However, even before the bill arrived at the House, House Speaker,

¹⁰ Socarides, R. “Kennedy’s ENDA: A Seventeen-Year Gay-Rights Fight”, Web. *The New Yorker*. 5 November, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/kennedys-enda-a-seventeen-year-gay-rights-fight>

¹¹ Anonymous. “Questions and Answers About the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), S. 1248 / H.R. 2692.” Retrieved from <http://www.aclu.org/lgbt/discrim/11853leg20020226.html>

¹² Socarides, R. “Kennedy’s ENDA: A Seventeen-Year Gay-Rights Fight”, Web. *The New Yorker*. Web. 5 November, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/kennedys-enda-a-seventeen-year-gay-rights-fight>

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John Boehner, signaled that Republicans in the House would block it.¹³ Several months later, the Supreme Court struck down a key part of President Obama's healthcare law. SCOTUS ruled that family-owned businesses do not have to offer their employees contraceptive coverage that conflicts with the owners' religious beliefs. This decision in the Hobby Lobby case had devastating implications for ENDA. Gay rights activists who had originally been determined to bring the ENDA fight to the House of Representatives began to withdraw their support for the bill in large numbers. The version of ENDA that was to be voted on included a religious exemptions clause. These activist groups felt that ENDA's discriminatory provision, which at the time was unprecedented in Federal laws prohibiting employment discrimination, could inadvertently give religiously affiliated organizations – including Hobby Lobby, hospitals, nursing homes and universities – a blank check to engage in workplace discrimination against LGBT people. They believed that if passed in that form, ENDA would leave too many jobs and too many LGBT workers without protection. Not surprisingly, this version of ENDA ultimately died before the House of Representatives could vote on it.¹⁴ No other versions of ENDA have been brought back to the House or Senate since.

While the country has made strides in recent years in advancing the civil rights of LGBT persons, the potential for workplace harassment and denial of benefits remain very real issues for many in this community. A report published by the Government Accountability Office in 2013 found that in states with laws protecting LGBT employees from workplace discrimination, there were still 4,991 administrative complaints filed during the period of 2007 – 2012 alleging

¹³ Socarides, R. "Kennedy's ENDA: A Seventeen-Year Gay-Rights Fight", Web. *The New Yorker*. 5 November, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/kennedys-enda-a-seventeen-year-gay-rights-fight>

¹⁴ O'Keefe, Ed. "Gay Rights Groups Withdraw Support of ENDA After Hobby Lobby Decision". Web. *The Washington Post*, 8 July, 2014. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2014/07/08/gay-rights-group-withdrawing-support-of-enda-after-hobby-lobby-decision/>

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discrimination based on sexual orientation.¹⁵ A 2011 report found that 90% of transgender Americans experience harassment or discrimination in their workplaces due to their gender identity. Forty-seven percent of transgender employees said they experienced an adverse job outcome, such as being fired, not hired or denied promotion because they were trans or gender non-confirming.¹⁶ These statistics grossly undercount the level of discrimination that exists. Since most states and localities do not *explicitly* prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, most victims see little reason to report the discrimination at all. Moreover, even when there are such laws in place, LGBT employees are often reluctant to complain because doing so would out them to the communities in which they live, as well as prospective employers.¹⁷

Academe has grappled with some of these same LGBT issues for many years now. In 2015, the Department of Justice took on the case of Rachel Tudor, alleging that Southeastern Oklahoma State University violated a civil rights law when it fired Tudor, a transgender woman. Tudor was denied tenure in 2010, despite positive recommendations from the Tenure Review Board and her department chair. Tudor, an English professor, was initially hired in 2004. At the time, Tudor presented as a man, going by a traditionally male name. When Tudor advised school officials in 2007 of her plans to transition to a woman, school administrators reacted in disgust. The lawsuit contends that the school's vice president for academic affairs was particularly off put by the news of Tudor's transition. Tudor was informed that her lifestyle was a grave offense to the vice president's religious sensibilities. Tudor's tenure was approved by both the Tenure

¹⁵ United States Senate. (2013, September). The Employment Non-Discrimination Act of 2013: As Reported by As Reported by the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee with Additional Views (Report 113-105). Retrieved from <https://www.congress.gov/113/crpt/srpt105/CRPT-113srpt105.pdf>

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

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Review Board and by her department in 2009. However, her tenure was ultimately denied by top brass at the university offering little explanation for their decision.¹⁸

In July 2015, presidents of eight Minnesota colleges joined a petition sent to President Obama asking for exemptions in his executive order barring Federal contractors from discriminating based on sexual orientation and gender identity. The schools wanted to be able to continue receiving Federal funds while continuing discriminatory practices under the guise of religious preference.¹⁹ An excerpt of their letter to the President reads:

“As leaders and supporters of faith-based service we ask that you include explicit religious freedom protections in any executive order providing nondiscrimination guarantees for LGBT employees of Federal contractors. We have a variety of views on the merits of such an executive order. However, we are united in asking that any such executive order be written in a way that protects the religious freedom of faith-based service providers. Any executive order that does not fully protect religious freedom will face widespread opposition and will further fragment our nation.”²⁰

The eight Minnesota schools that signed this petition were: the University of Northwestern,

¹⁸ Davis, Owen. “Transgender Professor’s Discrimination Suit Reveals Uneven LGBT Workplace Rights”. Web. *International Business Times*. 31 March, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.ibtimes.com/transgender-professors-discrimination-suit-reveals-uneven-lgbt-workplace-rights-1865378>

¹⁹ Birky, Andy. (15 July, 2015). “Eight Minnesota Colleges Discriminate Against LGBT Students, Staff, and Faculty”. The ColuMN. Retrieved from <http://thecolu.mn/16845/eight-minnesota-colleges-discriminate-against-lgbt-students-staff-and-faculty>

²⁰ Multiple Authors – Letter to President Barack Obama organized by Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance. 25 June, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.irfalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/LGBT-EO-letter-to-President-6-25-2014-w-additional-signatures.pdf>

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Bethel University, Crown College, North Central University, Bethany Lutheran College, Oak Hills Christian College, Martin Luther College, and Crossroads College. All eight schools are seeking to preserve their ability to receive Federal funds for students enrolled at their institutions. These schools took in an estimated \$15,400,000 in Federal student aid, grants, and loans in 2014.²¹

In addition to seeking exemptions from Obama's Federal nondiscrimination order, it is also being reported that some Christian schools are beginning to petition the Federal government for exemptions from Title IX which the Obama administration ruled must include transgender students. Thus far, three Christian colleges have been granted this exemption.²²

In contrast to this, there is Western Washington University. In a controversial move in 2011, the university president banned Liberty University's School of Law from participating in a law school fair on campus. In his on-line blog, President Bruce Shepard cited that Liberty Law explicitly stated that they discriminate in employment and admissions on the basis of homosexual conduct. President Shepard said that including Liberty in an on-campus event would be a violation of Western Washington's own policies of inclusion and non-discrimination.²³ In one fell swoop, President Shepard re-affirmed the value of the LGBT community to the WWU family and the importance of creating a campus climate that was hospitable to diverse groups. One year later in 2012, a study was conducted at WWU to examine the experiences of LGBT faculty at the school. One motivation for the study was to explore ways that WWU, could

²¹ Birky, Andy. (15 July, 2015). "Eight Minnesota Colleges Discriminate Against LGBT Students, Staff, and Faculty". The ColuMN. Retrieved from <http://thecolu.mn/16845/eight-minnesota-colleges-discriminate-against-lgbt-students-staff-and-faculty>

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Shepard, Bruce. (15 November, 2011). "Why Did You Ban Liberty University's School of Law from Participating in Western's Law School Information Fair?" Retrieved from <http://www.wvu.edu/president/blog/posts/14.shtml>

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compete for top LGBT faculty through other incentives when their salaries were typically lower than those of their competitor schools. Other incentives included better quality of life as well a hospitable, collegial environment towards queers on campus²⁴.

Given the great disparity in state and organizational policies governing workplace non-discrimination protections for gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered (LGBT) individuals, there is an evident need for Federal intervention on this matter. Comprehensive protections that have long been available to non-queer people must finally be extended to members of the LGBT community. Federal legislation on this matter is of urgent importance since this is not merely a gay rights issue. At the heart of it all, this truly is a civil rights issue.

As a supposed bastion of freedom and individuality, the academy must take an active stand in this fight for equal rights. Within the marketplace, there is a pragmatic need for colleges and universities to remain competitive by fostering a safe and hospitable climate for members of the LGBT community on campus. Research has always been a key weapon in the academy's arsenal for advocacy and activism. In addition to institutional policy changes providing truly equal protections for all university employees and their spouses, the academy must also use their research to focus attention to the urgent need for enhanced rights and protections for all queer workers. Part of this work would include giving a voice to *all* members of the LGBT community so that their stories and experiences can be heard. While much has been written on the experiences of the LGBT community on college campuses, previous work has tended to only focus on the experiences of students and faculty. To date, very little has been written about the workplace experiences of LGBT administrators within colleges and universities. The academy must use research as the means by which a voice is finally lent to this often silenced and

²⁴ Dozier, Raine. "The Experiences of LGBT Faculty at Western Washington University: A Report Submitted to the LGBT Advocacy Council". 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.wvu.edu/president/docs/Experiences%20of%20LGBT%20Faculty%20at%20WWU.pdf>

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marginalized group. Care must all the more be taken to ensure that research covers the experiences of *all* members of the college LGBT community so as not to perpetuate the system of exclusion that has left them out of important discussions and conversations.

As early as 1974, people had written about the experiences of gay faculty at universities. Author Dolores Noll wrote of her struggles as a lesbian feminist at Kent State. She discussed her journey from being a closeted lesbian to an out and proud faculty member who eventually created several courses at the school on gay studies and even served as the faculty advisor for the Kent Gay Liberation Front. It was a painful and arduous journey for her but one that ultimately proved liberating for her and her gay students.²⁵

In 1981, authors Crew and Keener reported on the results of a survey circulated in 1978 among members of the Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns of the National Council of Teachers of English. Among respondents, they identified a widespread fear of professional ramifications for revealing one's homosexuality in the workplace. This fear ultimately led to feelings of isolation and shame among queer educators and was a reason why many ultimately decided to leave teaching.²⁶

In 1992, Pat Griffin worked with a group of thirteen closeted educators over the course of fifteen months. Through the course of her study, Griffin discovered that most queer educators choose to remain in the closet rather than risk professional prejudice by revealing their true sexual orientation. All the while, they yearned to reconcile their gay and lesbian identities with their professional personas. Their time in this study – while sometimes challenging and painful – helped all of them find strength within themselves and others in the group to be more honest

²⁵ Noll, Dolores (1974). "A Gay Feminist in Academia." *College English - The Homosexual Imagination*, Volume (3), pg. 312.

²⁶ Crew, Louie and Keener, Karen (1981). "Homophobia in the Academy: A Report of the Committee on Gay / Lesbian Concerns." *College English*, Volume 43 (7), pgs. 682-689.

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about their sexual orientation. Some participants even found the courage to finally come out at their jobs.²⁷

Adelman and Lugg examined the plight of LGBT school workers within the American public school system. The authors identified improving conditions for LGBT students within schools and LGBT workers in corporate America. And yet, despite these strides, queer public school workers remain vulnerable to work place discrimination. Given the absence of Federal workplace protections against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, teachers' organizations have historically been reticent about lending their support to their colleagues. The authors assert the importance of better understanding the hostile workplace climate for queer public school workers and seek to bring about much-needed improvements. The plight of these LGBT school workers is of great importance because they work tirelessly to administer districts, inspire children and sustain our educational institutions. It is only fair that they be given a hospitable workplace where they can safely come out as their true selves without fear of workplace retribution.²⁸

One of the most prolific writers on the issue of rights for gay faculty at colleges and universities is Dr. William Tierney. In 1993, he authored the book, *Building Communities of Difference*. Through a series of four fictitious case studies about LGBT faculty, Tierney illustrates the alienation suffered by gay faculty within academe as well as their lack of voice and

²⁷ Griffin, Pat (1992). "From Hiding Out to Coming Out: Empowering Lesbian and Gay Educators. Coming Out of the Classroom Closet Gay and Lesbian Students, Teachers, and Curricula. Routledge: London, pgs.167-196.

²⁸ Adelman, Madelaine and Lugg, Catherine (2012). "Public Schools as Workplaces: The Queer Gap Between 'Workplace Equality' and 'Safe Schools.'" *Law Journal for Social Justice*, Volume 3 (Fall 2012), pgs. 27 – 46.

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agency as LGBT individuals in their workplace. To Tierney, critical leadership within universities is crucial to devising a permanent solution to homophobia on college campuses.²⁹

He follows up this book with 1997's *Academic Outlaws: Queer Theory and Cultural Studies in the Academy*. In this book, Tierney only features one case study– his own. Tierney shares his own experiences of discrimination as a gay faculty member at the various colleges and universities where he has worked. This book is a clear call to arms that policy reform regarding LGBT policies and protections at schools is urgently needed. This book is less esoteric than his previous work and differs greatly in that he offers very specific real-world recommendations on programmatic and policy changes schools must implement to protect their queer faculty.³⁰

Some work has been done on the experiences of queer school administrators. Author Autumn Tooms found that while there was much written on the LGBT experience in the context of education, research was primarily focused on teachers and coaches. She documented the experiences of K-12 queer administrators in her 2007 article, “The Right Kind of Queer: Fit and the Politics of School Leadership”. In this piece, Tooms explored the experiences of closeted and semi-closeted queer school administrators who lived and worked in a community that did not support sexual diversity. Tooms argued that it was important to learn how and why queers negotiate their sexual identities because many members of the LGBT community feel forced to mask their sexual orientations in multiple contexts. The participants in Tooms’ study believed that their job security depended in some ways on their ability to successfully participate in the political game of “fit.” In trying to demonstrate that they are the best fit for the job,

²⁹ Tierney, William (1993). Building Communities of Difference: Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century. Bergin & Garvey: Connecticut, pg. 141.

³⁰ Tierney, William (1997). Academic Outlaws: Queer Theory and Cultural Studies in the Academy. Sage Publications: California, pg. 2.

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administrators regularly seek to understand, obey and perpetuate rules that often sacrifice their personal truths and kept them living in the closet.³¹

Like Tooms, authors Donald Fraynd and Colleen Capper also found that most research on the experiences of LGBT educators focused on those of queer teachers. They sought to bridge this gap by also researching the experiences of gay and lesbian administrators. Fraynd and Capper found that while American society at large expressed support for the LGBT community, most did not want gays and lesbians running their schools. As with those in Tooms' study, Fraynd and Capper's participants also feared professional ramifications in disclosing their true sexual identity.³²

In 2010, Kristen Renn surveyed the existing literature on LGBT issues within higher education. She found that while higher education institutions produced the majority of research on queer issues, relatively little of this work actually focused on these issues within colleges and universities. Furthermore, upon closer examination, Renn discovered that the majority of research on LGBT issues within higher education focused primarily on the experiences of students with research on the experiences of queer faculty trailing in second. Renn noted that the experiences of LGBT staff and executive leaders have been nearly absent from the research agenda to date. She advocates for a wider, more in-depth discussion on the LGBT experiences within college campuses beyond those of queer students.³³

³¹ Tooms, Autumn. (1997) "The Right Kind of Queer: Fit and the Politics of School Leadership." *Journal of School Leadership*, Volume 17 (5), pgs. 601-630.

³² Fraynd, Donald and Capper, Colleen (2003). "Do You Have Any Idea Who You Just Hired?!?! A Study of Open and Closeted Sexual Minority K-12 Administrators." *Journal of School Leadership*, Volume 13 (1), pgs. 86-125.

³³ Renn, Kristen (2010). "LGBT and Queer Research in Higher Education: The State and status of the Field." *Educational Researcher*, Volume 39, pgs. 132-134.

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The discussion of LGBT people working in colleges and universities must give a voice to *all* affected groups. Unfortunately research on this topic has overlooked the experiences of higher education LGBT administrators. Queer administrators play key roles in the day-to-day operations of a school, as well as their contributions to the successful implementation of any college's mission, goals and policies. They also address the needs of LGBT students and faculty on campus. The time has come for this research gap to be bridged and for this group to finally be heard. This dissertation will attempt to begin to fill this gap.

This dissertation was an exploratory study to examine how college and university administrators experienced their work environments in the absence of Federal legislation to protect them from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. The goal of this study was to address the following questions:

1. What are the professional experiences of LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?
2. What changes in university/college climate and/or culture, if any, have occurred during their career spans regarding LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?

At the heart of this issue lies the provision of equal rights and protections despite differences in sexual orientation. Since diversity is at its core, it is necessary to use a theoretical framework for this study that acknowledges, respects and values difference. We cannot employ a framework that will seek to homogenize the differential experiences of LGBT university administrators. To do so would only serve to minimize or even dismiss the rich experiences they add to this conversation. Of the various theoretical schools of thought, queer theory would be the best framework for this research.

First introduced in 1990, queer theory was a reaction against the complacency of lesbian and gay studies at the time when gender had come to be seen through the lens of a very basic gay

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and lesbian binary.³⁴ Queer theorists view such identity categories as reflective of regulatory regimes based on larger oppressive structures benefitting from the perpetuation of the status quo.³⁵ Queer theory aims to undo this neutralization of texts and practices that had been taken for granted. It is a process of problematizing and scrutinizing categories and revealing the inadequacies of binary constructs.³⁶ Queer theory embraces the indeterminacy of the gay category and acknowledges the difficulty in defining the population whose interests are at stake in queer politics.³⁷ For queer theorists, sexual identity has the potential to be refined as more than sexual acts, while acknowledging that culture is interpretive and political.³⁸

Queer theory was a clear choice for the theoretical framework for this study since it was created to lend a more complex voice to members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community. Queer theory allows this research to scrutinize the institutions wherein study participants work and are located. A queering of organizational culture, climate and history will help reveal artificially created institutional norms and values which may have impacted participants' professional experiences and even possibly their success within that organization.

Legal scholar Kenji Yoshino took queer theory and operationalized it to create a lens for viewing legal trends in this country as it relates to civil rights for the LGBT community. He writes extensively about the concepts of homosexual "passing" and "covering" as they relate to cultural and legal norms in the United States.

³⁴ Halperin, David (2003). "The Normalization of Queer Theory." *Journal of Homosexuality*. Volume 45 (2-3-4). pgs. 339-340.

³⁵ Green, Adam (2002). "Gay But Not Queer: Toward a Post-Queer Study of Sexuality." *Theory and Society*, Volume 31(4), pg. 525.

³⁶ Watson, Katherine (2005). "Queer Theory." *Group Analysis*. Volume 38 (67), pg. 74.

³⁷ Stein, Arlene and Plummer, Ken (1994). "I Can't Even Think Straight: Queer Theory and the Missing Sexual Revolution in Sociology." *Sociological Theory*, Volume 12 (2), pg. 181.

³⁸ Watson, Katherine (2002). "Queer Theory." *Group Analysis*, Volume 38 (67), pgs. 74-75.

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When used in the concept of human identity, “to pass” means to be judged, or more exactly - to be misjudged and accepted as a member of a group other than one’s own.³⁹ For gay men and women, passing means the ability to masquerade as a heterosexual. “Covering” is another assimilationist tactic. Covering requires a homosexual to modulate their conduct to make their difference easy for those around them to disattend their known stigmatized trait (homosexuality). Covering involves behavior and affect minimization and alteration so as not to openly flaunt one’s homosexuality. Passing is about visibility while covering is about obtrusiveness.⁴⁰

As a work place for queer administrators, academe is not immune to issues of passing and covering. Yoshino’s writings can effectively serve as a complementary theoretical framework for the analysis of this study. His concepts can help provide an explanation for some of the workplace experiences of the study participants. In turn, their experiences will help illuminate organizational norms, cultures and climates towards homosexuality and LGBT communities. Much has been written on the experiences of gay and lesbian college students and faculty. It will be equally interesting to learn of the experiences of college administrators interviewed in this study. Yoshino’s work can help uncover implicit institutional values and attitudes that shape the experiences of queer administrators and staff in higher education. Unpacking them as I begin to do in this dissertation, will inform the ongoing discourse on the queer experience in academe.

Accordingly, this dissertation is comprised of five chapters. Chapter one, herein, is introductory. In Chapter Two, I provide a literature review and theoretical framework for the subsequent chapters and discussions. Chapter Three details my methodology which included a combination of anonymized interviews of six queer university administrators, archival research

³⁹ Yoshino, Kenji (2002). “Covering”. *Yale Law Journal*, Volume 111 (4), pgs. 769, 813.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

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and document analysis. In Chapter Four, I present the results of my interviews and discuss emergent themes. Chapter Five contains my findings and conclusions as well as study limitations and implications of this dissertation for policy and future research.

Chapter II - Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

“Matthew is a 21-year old gay man. He was slight of frame, had been educated abroad, had studied German and Arabic, had a particular interest in the Middle East. He was a political science major who wanted to be a diplomat and went to the University of Wyoming to further his studies. He found friends and joined a queer organization. According to his friends, Matthew was happy and, for the most part, felt safe. On October 8, following a queer organization meeting, Matthew met two men in a local bar. In his usual trusting manner, Matthew came out to them. Allegedly they told him that they, too, were gay. Then they lured him from the meeting place drove him out of town, beat him mercilessly, and hung him on a fence post, leaving him to die.”⁴¹

Academe is no stranger to gay issues. In 1998, the real life story of Matthew Shepard as told above made homophobia an achingly salient issue for colleges and universities across the country. News coverage of Matthew Shepard’s murder spurred many schools to action to create institutional resources to address the needs of their LGBT students. In response to the Shepard case, in 2002, Ronni Sanlo, Sue Rankin and Robert Schoenberg collaboratively edited the text, *Our Place on Campus: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Services and Programs in Higher Education*, which was designed as a comprehensive guide for colleges and universities looking to establish LGBT programs and resources on campus for students.

By starting their book with the stories of several LGBT college students (such as Matthew Shepard), the authors immediately make a compelling case for the urgency and

⁴¹ Anonymous. “An Overview of This New Profession in Higher Education.” *Our Place on Campus: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Services and Programs in Higher Education*. Eds. Ronni Sanlo, Sue Rankin and Robert Schoenberg. Greenwood Press: Connecticut, 2002. pg. 5.

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necessity of establishing LGBT programs at colleges and universities. What then follows are twenty chapters that seek to comprehensively address all aspects involved in the creation of university LGBT programs and resources. Issues such as campus needs assessments, staffing choices for LGBT centers, advocacy, judicial response, mentoring programs, LGBT organizations and LGBT-specific graduation events are covered. The text delivers a resonating message that through institutionalized educational programs, outreach efforts and resources, colleges and universities can play an active role in combating homophobia and promoting tolerance on campus. By sharing the stories of students such as Matthew Shepard, the book sends an implicit message of caution to administrators across the nation that continued institutional inaction and indifference to LGBT issues, may result in more dire (and perhaps tragic) consequences for their students.⁴²

Sadly, merely a decade after Matthew Shepard's murder, America was strongly reminded that homophobia very much remains a problem in our colleges and universities with the suicide of Tyler Clementi, who was a freshman at Rutgers University in New Jersey. On September 22nd, 2010, Tyler Clementi jumped to his death off the George Washington Bridge. His suicide took place just three days after his roommate allegedly streamed live video of Clementi in an intimate encounter with another man in their dorm room. News of Clementi's death quickly spread across the nation and the world as it brought to light the epidemic of gay teen suicide in America. Clementi was the fourth highly publicized teen suicide in the United States over the course of four weeks – making apparent the problems of homophobia and bullying in schools.⁴³

⁴² Our Place on Campus: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Services and Programs in Higher Education. Eds. Ronni Sanlo, Sue Rankin and Robert Schoenberg. Greenwood Press: Connecticut, 2002.

⁴³ Foderaro, Lisa W. "Private Moment Made Public, Then a Lethal Jump." Web. *New York Times*. Web. 29 September, 2010. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/30/nyregion/30suicide.html?_r=0

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Queer issues are just as pressing for university faculty. As early as 1974, author Dolores Noll wrote of her struggles as a lesbian feminist within academia. She was a closeted lesbian at the time that she was granted tenure as a professor of English at Kent State University. Despite the protections granted by her tenured status, she feared a professional backlash in revealing her true sexuality to her students and her colleagues. “For most homosexuals coming out politically is the result of a process whereby the disjunction between one’s private life and one’s public life becomes more and more intolerable. The need for liberation grows from within and blossoms in its own good time. For me that time had come.”⁴⁴ By overcoming her fear of coming out, Dolores empowered not only herself, but also gay students at Kent State. She was responsible for the creation of several courses on gay studies, and also became the faculty advisor for the Kent Gay Liberation Front.⁴⁵

In 1981, Louie Crew and Karen Keener published the article, “Homophobia in the Academy: A Report of the Committee on Gay / Lesbian Concerns.” Crew and Keener reported on the results of a 1978 survey that was sent out to members of the Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns of the National Council of Teachers of English. The results of this anonymous survey documented a widespread fear of professional peril for disclosing one’s homosexuality within the workplace. Even the mere rumor of being gay proved detrimental to the respondents’ professional careers. According to the authors, gay and lesbian educators felt a great deal of shame and isolation often leading to their departure from academia. The loss of many such talented educators is one shared by all within the academy – students and faculty alike. Crew and Keener argued for greater support for faculty from professional associations that can help foster a

⁴⁴ Noll, Dolores (1974). “A Gay Feminist in Academia.” *College English - The Homosexual Imagination*, Volume (3), pg. 312.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pgs. 312-315.

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better sense of community and empowerment for all faculty – gay and straight, as well as influence institutional policies that promote greater civility and tolerance.⁴⁶

In 1992, Pat Griffin of the University of Massachusetts spearheaded a fifteen month participatory research project that described the experiences of thirteen gay and lesbian educators. Griffin's project sought to empower her participants through collective reflection and action. She wrote of their professional experiences and the empowerment process that ultimately changed their lives in the article, "From Hiding Out to Coming Out: Empowering Lesbian and Gay Educators."⁴⁷

Griffin found that lesbian and gay educators constituted a large but often invisible group in schools. Most gay and lesbian educators choose to remain closeted rather than risk professional prejudice, discrimination and accusations that they are child molesters or recruiters to an immoral lifestyle.⁴⁸ In fact, all thirteen of the participants in Griffin's study were not publicly out at their schools at the time her project began. The dishonesty and secrecy required for the participants to protect their homosexual identities was uncomfortable for them. For some, silently working in the shadow of gay and lesbian stereotypes held by students and co-workers at their schools bred shame within themselves for their inability to speak out. All yearned for the ability to reconcile their gay and lesbian identities with their professional persona.⁴⁹

The thirteen educators in this study reported use of a variety of methods in preventing colleagues and students from knowing that they were gay. One common strategy was to establish

⁴⁶ Crew, Louie and Keener, Karen (1981). "Homophobia in the Academy: A Report of the Committee on Gay / Lesbian Concerns." *College English*, Volume 43 (7), pgs. 682-689.

⁴⁷ Griffin, Pat (1992). "From Hiding Out to Coming Out: Empowering Lesbian and Gay Educators". Coming Out of the Classroom Closet Gay and Lesbian Students, Teachers, and Curricula. Routledge: London, pgs.167-196.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

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themselves as super educators: totally competent, extremely hard working and beyond reproach.⁵⁰ Another strategy employed by participants was to regulate how much or how little information about themselves became known in their school. This required constant vigilance and encompassed decisions from clothing, to informal interactions with students and personal sharing with colleagues. Some teachers even chose to live outside of the school district where they worked simply to further the distance between their personal and professional lives.⁵¹

For the fifteen month study, Griffin utilized a series of individual and group interviews. She also transcribed the individual interviews and returned them to each participant for their review. Over the course of the study, Griffin witnessed an evolution in the way her participants viewed their own homosexuality. The opportunity to reflect on their own homosexuality, as it pertained to their work, opened the eyes of these educators to a new-found sense of pride in their gay identities. Participants were also able to find courage and strength from one another in the group. Several of them made the decision to come out at work during the course of Griffin's study. The group even decided to march together in public as LGBT educators at a pride parade. Participants realized that they could be more productive in their schools if they did not expend energy hiding and protecting themselves from the prejudice and ignorance of a homophobic community. Griffin concluded that the entire educational community stood to gain from the empowerment of gay educators. Visible LGBT educators provide young people struggling with their sexual orientation with more realistic and hopeful expectations about what it means to be

⁵⁰ Griffin, Pat (1992). "From Hiding Out to Coming Out: Empowering Lesbian and Gay Educators". Coming Out of the Classroom Closet Gay and Lesbian Students, Teachers, and Curricula. Routledge: London, pgs.167-196.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

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gay. They would learn that there are gay and lesbian adults, some of whom are respected educators, who live happy and productive lives.⁵²

Madelaine Adelman and Catherine Lugg examined the American public schools as a workplace for LGBT workers. They demonstrate that at the core there is a systematic, inherent anti-LGBT bias built into its structure. Ranging from sexual education classes that do not address the true diversity of human sexuality and are taught using textbooks that do not address the LGBT population, to students being barred from bringing same-sex dates to the prom and also LGBT educators who have been passed over for workplace promotions for being openly gay, it is clear that “most schools neither recognize nor address anti-LGBT bias and discrimination.”⁵³ This fight against LGBT discrimination is especially difficult given that schools have historically been the battleground on which religious cultural wars have been fought in this country.⁵⁴

In recent years, mainstream media has drawn attention to several suicides by LGBT students. Friends and families of these students linked their deaths to the hostile climate towards the LGBT community within their schools. As a result, bullying has now been recognized by the U.S. Secret Service, the U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services as a significant social problem.⁵⁵ This attention from the media, coupled with the growing Safe Schools Movement has led to school policy reforms on the district, state and federal levels to include protections for students against LGBT bias in their schools. Other

⁵² Griffin, Pat (1992). “From Hiding Out to Coming Out: Empowering Lesbian and Gay Educators. Coming Out of the Classroom Closet Gay and Lesbian Students, Teachers, and Curricula. Routledge: London, pgs.167-196.

⁵³ Adelman, Madelaine and Lugg, Catherine (2012). “Public Schools as Workplaces: The Queer Gap Between ‘Workplace Equality’ and ‘Safe Schools.’” *Law Journal for Social Justice*, Volume 3 (Fall 2012), pgs. 27 – 28.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pg. 41.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pg. 29.

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improvements to school climate for LGBT students include the creation of Gay-Straight Alliance student groups, as well as the development and implementation of LGBT-inclusive curricula.⁵⁶

Concurrent to this improved climate for LGBT students, authors Adelman and Lugg found that conditions have improved for LGBT workers in corporate America as well. Businesses have realized the marketplace advantages for workplace equality and have moved towards adopting LGBT-friendly policies, programs and practices simply because they make good business sense. By valuing diversity in the workplace, corporations are able to recruit and retain the best talent for their teams, as well as serve and attract a diverse customer base. They are also better able to secure work from public sector contracts that require diversity of their contractors. Just as important, studies have found that a more tolerant workplace climate increases worker productivity.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, despite these strides being made to improve conditions for LGBT students in public schools and LGBT employees in corporate America, the plight of LGBT public school workers remains untouched. Public school workers' vulnerability to anti-LGBT discrimination extends beyond the surveillance of their individual lives – who they are and how they are, but also affects what they are allowed to teach or discuss.⁵⁸ In the absence of definitive Federal legislation banning workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, teacher organizations have historically shied away from lending their support to advance the workplace rights of their LGBT colleagues.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Adelman, Madelaine and Lugg, Catherine (2012). "Public Schools as Workplaces: The Queer Gap Between 'Workplace Equality' and 'Safe Schools.'" *Law Journal for Social Justice*, Volume 3 (Fall 2012), pg. 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pg. 35.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 41.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, pgs. 32 & 39.

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LGBT public school workers are among the men and women who helped found our schools, inspired students, administered districts and sustained our educational institutions.⁶⁰ It is important that we gain an understanding of the hostile climate within which they continue to work and seek to bring improvements to this environment. Adelman and Lugg offer specific solutions to help address this problem. Advances made by the Safe Schools and Workplace Equality movements have unfortunately neglected LGBT education workers. So the authors suggest that both can serve as springboards for much-needed policy changes and protections for these vulnerable workers within our public school system. They suggest strengthening the already existing partnership between the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the AFL-CIO. The authors see the AFL-CIO as a crucial ally in this fight given their previous successes in negotiating for more LGBT-inclusive contracts in the past. They have also lent their support for passage of Federal legislation banning workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation.⁶¹ The authors also suggest an expansion of the Workplace Equity Movement into public schools. With the increasing pressures for schools to operate more efficiently like businesses, and the burgeoning privatization of various school services (such as food services and facilities management), it makes good business sense to carry over workplace equity principles that have succeeded in the corporate setting into the public schools. Their final suggestion is the expansion of the Safe Schools Movement beyond protections only for students. Adelman and Lugg see the Safe Schools Movement as being uniquely positioned to make this shift from championing LGBT student rights, to broadening their scope to include LGBT education workers' rights as well. Such an expansion would truly empower and protect all education

⁶⁰ Adelman, Madelaine and Lugg, Catherine (2012). "Public Schools as Workplaces: The Queer Gap Between 'Workplace Equality' and 'Safe Schools.'" *Law Journal for Social Justice*, Volume 3 (Fall 2012), pg. 36.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pg. 45.

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workers and this in turn would only strengthen the implementation of the Safe School Movement in America's public schools.⁶²

Perhaps the most prolific scholar on the issue of the rights of gay faculty is William Tierney. Dr. Tierney is a gay professor of Higher Education at the University of Southern California as well as the President of the American Educational Research Association, the largest educational research group in the world. In 1993, Dr. Tierney authored the book, *Building Communities of Difference*, where he featured case study interviews on the experiences of four gay professors. In the book, he talks about the alienation suffered by gay faculty within academe as well as their lack of voice and agency as LGBT individuals within the college and university setting. To Tierney, an important part of the solution to this issue is critical leadership within universities. He also calls for cultural citizenship and educational democracy as crucial components of the changes that must occur to ensure a more permanent solution to the issue of homophobia within academe.⁶³

In 1997, Tierney published another book on the topic entitled, *Academic Outlaws: Queer Theory and Cultural Studies in the Academy*. Tierney only features one case study in this book – his own. Throughout the text, Tierney uses his own experiences as a way to humanize the very real issues of discrimination that gay faculty face. Similar to the Sanlo text, Tierney uses a fictional vignette about the death of a gay faculty member and the hardships faced by his partner in the absence of same sex partner benefits, as a way to communicate the urgent need for reform. While Tierney continues to advocate for critical leadership at colleges and universities, compared to his writings four years earlier, this text is more pragmatic and less theoretical,

⁶² Adelman, Madelaine and Lugg, Catherine (2012). "Public Schools as Workplaces: The Queer Gap Between 'Workplace Equality' and 'Safe Schools.'" *Law Journal for Social Justice*, Volume 3 (Fall 2012), pgs. 45-46.

⁶³ Tierney, William (1993). *Building Communities of Difference: Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century*. Bergin & Garvey: Connecticut, pg. 141.

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offering actual suggestions for specific institutional practices that schools may implement to address the needs of its LGBT faculty.⁶⁴

Another author who writes of the rift between faculty cultures and the university administration at large is Ann E. Austin. In 1990 she contributed her piece, “Faculty Cultures, Faculty Values,” to the collection entitled, *Assessing Academic Climates and Cultures*. In this article, Austin focuses on the unique nature of faculty cultures and how they often seem to be located in opposition to the university’s administrative structure. While Austin’s focus is not on LGBT faculty issues per se, she does talk about the importance of accepting and honoring difference as part of the fabric of an academic institution.⁶⁵

William Tierney also discussed the topic of the different cultures within colleges and universities in his article, “Organizational Culture in Higher Education: Defining the Essentials.”⁶⁶ Tierney recognized that an institution of higher learning is greatly influenced by its internal cultures. An organization’s culture is reflected in what is done, how it is done and who is involved in doing it. Culture reflects the values that an organization holds dear. While culture is often taken for granted by those within the group, an understanding of culture is key to solving any problems within an organization.⁶⁷

Tierney describes that different cultures can exist within one organization. In a college or university, varying cultures can be seen within departments and the institution, as well as the university system and the state level. These cultures and sub-cultures can conflict with one

⁶⁴ Tierney, William (1997). *Academic Outlaws: Queer Theory and Cultural Studies in the Academy*. Sage Publications: California, pg. 2.

⁶⁵ Austin, Ann (1990). “Faculty Cultures, Faculty Values.” *Assessing Academic Climates and Cultures*. Jossey-Bass, Inc.: San Francisco, pgs. 61-74.

⁶⁶ Tierney, William (1988). “Organizational Culture in Higher Education: Defining the Essentials.” *Journal of Higher Education*, Volume 59 (1), pgs. 2-21.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

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another. Understanding organizational culture helps to minimize such conflicts and is key to creating and successfully fostering shared goals.⁶⁸

The experiences of queer administrators are the focus of author, Autumn Tooms' 2007 article, "The Right Kind of Queer: Fit and the Politics of School Leadership". In her study, Tooms explored the experiences of closeted and semi-closeted queer school administrators who lived and worked in a community that did not support or embrace sexual diversity. Tooms asserts that studies concerning how and why queers negotiate their sexual identities are important because many members of the LGBT community feel forced to mask their sexual orientations in multiple contexts. And yet, Tooms found that in the context of education, research on this topic was primarily focused on teachers and coaches. She found that research on the experiences of school administrators was almost nonexistent.⁶⁹

There were six participants in Tooms' study, all of whom were administrators in elementary or high schools. Tooms sought to understand how these historically marginalized school leaders managed the intersection of their personal and professional identities. Participants believed that their job security depended in some ways on their ability to successfully participate in the political game of "fit." "Fit" is a game specific to the politics and relationships between school administrators and the community in which they serve. Communities and schools assign administrators a role and an identity that are embedded with rules for how to behave and not to behave. In trying to demonstrate that they are the best fit for the job, administrators regularly seek to understand, obey and perpetuate these rules.

⁶⁸ Tierney, William (1988). "Organizational Culture in Higher Education: Defining the Essentials." *Journal of Higher Education*, Volume 59 (1), pgs. 2-21.

⁶⁹ Tooms, Autumn. (1997) "The Right Kind of Queer: Fit and the Politics of School Leadership." *Journal of School Leadership*, Volume 17 (5), pgs. 601-630.

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The “right kind of queer” is a particular kind of leader – an overachiever and a workaholic bestowed with a different, lesser set of civil rights than their heterosexual counterparts. The “right kind of queer” often self-censors to downplay their homosexuality at work. Whether it is the absence of pictures of their partner displayed in their offices or a conscious switching of pronouns when discussing their personal lives with co-workers, these administrators used a variety of covering and passing strategies to assert their fit for this position. Inadvertently, in seeking to demonstrate that they are the right fit, these administrators perpetuated the same repressive heteronormative community norms that kept them marginalized. Tooms believes that ultimately, this approach robs gay students of support, mentorship and role models to look up to. Tooms concluded that for these administrators, their leadership is ultimately a labor of love rooted in fear.⁷⁰

Authors Donald Fraynd and Colleen Capper also wrote of the experiences of queer administrators. Fraynd and Capper identified an incongruity between American society’s tolerance for the LGBT community at large and its approval of lesbians and gays as educational leaders. The authors found that while the majority may permit the existence of lesbians and gays as individuals, most did not want them to be allowed to run schools. Like Tooms, Fraynd and Capper found that most research on LGBT educators focused on the experiences of teachers. They sought to address this research gap with the intent of opening another window on power and oppression in schools.⁷¹

Fraynd and Capper’s study included two gay males and two lesbian females. Three were principals and the fourth was a superintendent. Echoing themes from Tooms’ study, Fraynd and

⁷⁰ Tooms, Autumn. (1997) “The Right Kind of Queer: Fit and the Politics of School Leadership.” *Journal of School Leadership*, Volume 17 (5), pgs. 601-630.

⁷¹ Fraynd, Donald and Capper, Colleen (2003). “Do You Have Any Idea Who You Just Hired?!?! A Study of Open and Closeted Sexual Minority K-12 Administrators.” *Journal of School Leadership*, Volume 13 (1), pgs. 86-125.

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Capper found that their participants feared professional consequences in disclosing their sexual identity. To varying degrees, all used the strategy of establishing themselves into the role of super educators who were exemplary and without fault. They put in long hours to prove their effectiveness and prevent inquiry into their private lives. They had the shared belief that they had to be flawless administrators to be taken seriously. They did not believe the same pressure existed for their straight counterparts. They believed that professional success up the educational hierarchy would make them more vulnerable to community surveillance, which would in turn increase their risk of losing their jobs. Ironically, in trying so hard to maintain a façade of heteronormativity, these same administrators ended up disciplining the sexuality of others by upholding them to the same restrictive expectations they had chosen to live by. Despite their repressive professional lives, it is important to note that Fraynd and Capper found that their participants used the power from their positions to help marginalized students and staff at their schools.⁷²

Fraynd, Capper and Tooms documented the constant struggle of coming out at work for LGBT school administrators. Authors Kristin Griffith and Michelle Hebl examined this struggle in their 2002 article, “The Disclosure Dilemma for Gay Men and Lesbians: ‘Coming Out’ at Work”. Griffith and Hebl sought to unpack this complicated problem by understanding the various external forces that contribute to this challenge faced daily by 10% - 14% of the US workforce⁷³.

There is a recognized need to better understand minorities working in a majority context. Disclosing one’s sexual orientation is one of the toughest issues faced by LGBT workers because

⁷² Fraynd, Donald and Capper, Colleen (2003). “Do You Have Any Idea Who You Just Hired?!?! A Study of Open and Closeted Sexual Minority K-12 Administrators.” *Journal of School Leadership*, Volume 13 (1), pgs. 86-125.

⁷³ Griffith, Kristin and Hebl, Michelle (2002). “The Disclosure Dilemma for Gay Men and Lesbians: ‘Coming Out’ at Work.” *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Volume 87 (6), pgs. 1191-1199.

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it is the source of considerable emotional turmoil, eliciting fears of rejection and retaliation.

Those who remain closeted report lower levels of psychological well-being and life satisfaction, increased health risks and extensive energy-draining activities focused on covering up their stigmatized homosexual identities. Griffith and Hebl found that disclosure of one's true sexual orientation is directly related to job satisfaction.⁷⁴

Ultimately, it is a combination of factors that comprise a positive workplace for gay and lesbian employees. Official codified organizational non-discrimination policies are a compulsory part of any solution. Such written policies actively show a group's support for gays and lesbians and are often the vehicle by which diversity training on LGBT issues come about. These same policies will serve as cornerstones to embolden current gay and lesbian employees to become more vocal and visible within the group. They will also be instrumental in any recruitment efforts to attract other LGBT candidates to an organization. The other component to a solution is organizational climate. Born out of the fundamental human need to belong, LGBT workers who received favorable and supportive reactions to their disclosure felt happier and less stressed in the workplace. Griffith and Hebl stress the importance of *both* components working in tandem in any organization.⁷⁵ Policies alone will not be effective if the actual climate does not comport with the written mandates. By the same token, an encouraging climate truly needs the support of official policies to institutionalize non-discrimination.

While we see that studies have in fact been conducted on the experiences of gay and lesbian educational administrators, these studies have focused on administrators of high schools

⁷⁴ Griffith, Kristin and Hebl, Michelle (2002). "The Disclosure Dilemma for Gay Men and Lesbians: 'Coming Out' at Work." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Volume 87 (6), pgs. 1191-1199.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

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and elementary schools. To date, little research has been conducted on the experiences of queer administrators within higher education.

In 2010, Kristen Renn provided an overview of the existing literature on LGBT and queer issues within higher education. According to Renn, while colleges and universities have produced the bulk of scholarship on queer topics, relatively little attention has been focused on queer people and organizations within higher education itself.

In surveying the existing research about LGBT issues within higher education, Renn was able to identify three overarching themes:

1. Visibility of LGBT people.
2. Campus climate for LGBT people.
3. LGBT student identities and experiences.⁷⁶

Upon closer examination, Renn found that across these three themes, most writings focused on LGBT students and their experiences on campus. Such research has helped inform the creation of school policies and programs aimed at supporting LGBT students. Renn then found a smaller but informative amount of research on the experiences of LGBT faculty at universities.

However, studies of the experiences of LGBT staff and executive leaders have been nearly absent from the research agenda. Renn calls for more in depth studies on the visibility and experiences of various LGBT communities on campus – not just students. Renn advocates for a wider use of queer theory in the examination of such issues, as a way to illuminate alternate angles and additional questions in this on-going discussion.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Renn, Kristen (2010). "LGBT and Queer Research in Higher Education: The State and status of the Field." *Educational Researcher*, Volume 39, pgs. 132-134.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

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In the discussion of LGBT people working in colleges and universities, it is important that all affected groups be given a voice. As we have seen, higher education LGBT administrators have been left out of the research on this topic. Considering the key roles played by administrators in the day-to-day operations of a school, as well as their pivotal contributions to the successful implementation of any higher education organization's mission and goals, it is important that this gap be bridged and their stories be told. This dissertation will attempt to begin to fill this gap. Too, in the case of LGBT and queer administrators, they may play a pivotal role in addressing the needs of LGBT and queer students who come to them for advice or assistance with queer issues.

Truly, at the heart of this issue lies the provision of equal rights and protections despite differences in sexual orientation. With diversity at its core, it is necessary to use a theoretical framework for this study that acknowledges, respects and values difference. We cannot employ a framework that will seek to homogenize the differential experiences of LGBT university administrators. To do so would only serve to minimize the rich experiences they add to this conversation. Of the various theoretical schools of thought, queer theory would be the best framework for this research.

First introduced at a conference in February 1990 by Teresa de Laurentis, queer theory, was created as a deliberate disruption to unsettle the complacency of lesbian and gay studies.⁷⁸ Scholars like de Laurentis felt that the field of lesbian and gay studies had become all too formulaic, advancing an image of perfect harmony and balance in the relation of lesbian and gay male topics being researched. The co-evolution of the two fields had become implicitly accepted, as was their future co-development. de Laurentis and her peers sought to create a wider space

⁷⁸ Halperin, David (2003). "The Normalization of Queer Theory." *Journal of Homosexuality*. Volume 45 (2-3-4). pgs. 339-340.

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within the field for reflections of a theoretical order, to introduce multiple layers of difference into what had become a monolithic, homogenizing discussion on homosexuality. They were seeking to escape the white, male, middle-class models of analysis.⁷⁹ Queer theory held the promise for new ways of thinking and theorizing.

Many scholars of the era believed the term “lesbian and gay studies” was not inclusive enough – that it did not encapsulate the ambivalence towards sexual categorization felt by many in the field. They also felt that it did not address their difficulties of fitting sexuality into the “ethnicity model,” which had become the guiding template for identity politics of the time. Gay men and lesbians had organized themselves into an ethnic group following the model of the black civil rights movement. However, unlike race, membership in a group defined along the lines of sexuality fluctuates and is largely invisible. Identity as a lesbian or gay man is in some ways ascribed and in other ways the product of the performative act of coming out. Queer theorists criticized the tendency of minority group strategies to rely on conceptual dualisms (male / female gender models, heterosexual / homosexual, essentialist / constructionist intellectual frameworks) which only serve to reinforce the notion of minority as other, creating binary oppositions while leaving the “center” intact, normalized and naturalized. Queer theorists view such identity categories as regulatory regimes of larger oppressive structures benefitting from the perpetuation of the status quo.⁸⁰ Queer theory aims to undo this neutralization of texts and practices that have been taken for granted. It is a process of problematizing and scrutinizing categories and revealing the inadequacies of binary constructs.⁸¹ Queer theory embraces the

⁷⁹ Halperin, David (2003). “The Normalization of Queer Theory.” *Journal of Homosexuality*. Volume 45 (2-3-4). pgs. 339-340.

⁸⁰ Green, Adam (2002). “Gay But Not Queer: Toward a Post-Queer Study of Sexuality.” *Theory and Society*, Volume 31(4), pg. 525.

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indeterminacy of the gay category and acknowledges the difficulty in defining the population whose interests are at stake in queer politics.⁸² For queer theorists, sexual identity has the potential to be refined as more than sexual acts, while acknowledging that culture is interpretive and political.⁸³

At its broadest, queer theory is a plea for massive transgression of all conventional categorizations and analyses. There have been four identifiable hallmarks of queer theory:

1. A conceptualization of sexuality that recognizes sexual power embodied in different levels of social life and enforced through boundaries and binary levels.
2. The problematizing of sexual and gender categories and of identities in general. Identities are always on uncertain ground, entailing displacements of identification and knowing.
3. A rejection of civil rights strategies in favor of a politics of transgression which leads to deconstruction, decentering and anti-assimilationist politics.
4. A willingness to interrogate areas which normally would not be considered terrain of sexuality, and to conduct a re-reading of these ostensibly heterosexual texts through queer lenses.⁸⁴

The use of queer theory for this study is a clear choice since this theoretical framework was explicitly created to lend a more complex voice to members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community. Queer theory allows this study to scrutinize the institutions wherein study participants work and are located. A queering of organizational culture, climate and history

⁸¹ Watson, Katherine (2005). "Queer Theory." *Group Analysis*. Volume 38 (67), pg. 74.

⁸² Stein, Arlene and Plummer, Ken (1994). "I Can't Even Think Straight: Queer Theory and the Missing Sexual Revolution in Sociology." *Sociological Theory*, Volume 12 (2), pg. 181.

⁸³ Watson, Katherine (2002). "Queer Theory." *Group Analysis*, Volume 38 (67), pgs. 74-75.

⁸⁴ Stein, Arlene and Plummer, Ken (1994). "I Can't Even Think Straight: Queer Theory and the Missing Sexual Revolution in Sociology." *Sociological Theory*, Volume 12 (2), pgs. 180-181.

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will help reveal artificially created institutional norms and values which may have impacted participants' professional experiences and even possibly their success within that organization.

Legal scholar Kenji Yoshino has taken queer theory and operationalized it to create a lens for viewing legal norms in this country as it relates to the LGBT community and civil rights. Yoshino writes extensively about the concepts of homosexual "passing" and "covering" as they relate to cultural and legal norms in the United States.

When used in the concept of human identity, "to pass" means to be judged, or more exactly - to be misjudged and accepted as a member of a group other than one's own.⁸⁵ For gay men and women, passing means the ability to masquerade as a heterosexual. "Covering" is another assimilationist tactic. Covering requires a homosexual to modulate their conduct to make their difference easy for those around them to disattend their known stigmatized trait (homosexuality). Covering involves behavior and affect minimization and alteration so as not to openly flaunt one's homosexuality. Passing is about visibility while covering is about obtrusiveness.⁸⁶

Yoshino has been able to identify a legal shift in the United States in support of queer covering in the workplace. Yoshino has seen a legal trend where individuals whose queer-ness was "discreet" or "private" were able to keep their jobs. Those whose queer identity was "open and notorious" or "flagrant" were not as fortunate.⁸⁷ In civil service employment law suits, the courts have rejected the argument that queer identity alone was a sufficient determinant of worker job inefficiency. As such, termination on the sole basis of homosexual status was unacceptable. However, Yoshino found that courts have consistently upheld the bar of employer

⁸⁵ Yoshino, Kenji (2002). "Covering". *Yale Law Journal*, Volume 111 (4), pgs. 769, 813.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pgs. 769, 850.

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embarrassment in such cases. So the argument for wrongful termination of a homosexual employee was often reduced to the employee's performance of his or her homosexuality. The courts have found the public employer to be rational when embarrassed by a flaunting homosexual employee, and thus justified terminating such an employee. In this way, the judicial system is in support of homosexual covering in the workplace.

The academic work place is certainly not immune to these issues. Yoshino's concepts of "passing" and "covering" can effectively serve as a complementary theoretical framework for the analysis of this study. Since this research seeks to lend a voice to the experiences of gay and lesbian college administrators, Yoshino's concepts can help provide an explanation for some of their workplace experiences. These experiences in turn can help illuminate organizational norms, cultures and climates towards homosexuality and LGBT communities. Much has been written on the experiences of gay and lesbian college students and faculty. It will be equally interesting to learn of the experiences of college administrators interviewed in this study. Yoshino's work can help uncover implicit institutional values and attitudes that shape the experiences of queer administrators and staff in higher education. Unpacking them as I begin to do in this dissertation, will inform the ongoing discourse on the queer experience in academe.

Chapter III - Research Questions and Methodology

The lack of federal LGBT workplace protections and rights have inevitably resulted in a disparate array of experiences for gay and lesbian administrators working at colleges and universities, both private and public, across the country. This dissertation was an exploratory study to examine how college and university administrators experienced their work environments when there is no federal legislation in place to protect them from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. The goal of this study was to address the following questions:

1. What are the professional experiences of LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?
2. What changes in university/college climate and/or culture, if any, have occurred during their career span regarding LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?

Methodology

According to Robert Stake, case studies are of value in refining theory and suggesting complexities for further investigations. They also help establish the limits of generalizability.⁸⁸ Case study research involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system.⁸⁹ This proposed research project employs a case study methodology, comparing the experiences of administrators who work at a private university in the United States. It is important to note that these interviews were conducted before the US Supreme Court legalized same-sex marriages nationwide. At the time of these interviews, the University's home state was one of only a few at the time that actually mandated same-sex partner benefits to all employees. Given the historical marginalization of the LGBT community, it was important for

⁸⁸ Stake, Robert (1998). "Case Studies." *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Sage Publications: California, pg. 104.

⁸⁹ Creswell, John (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry Research and Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. California: Sage Publications, pg. 73.

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this study's research design to allow for the richness of the participants' individual stories and experiences to come through. My hope is for this initial study to present compelling information that can be used as a springboard for similar studies conducted on a larger scale.

A case study design allowed for a more in-depth look into the lives of a smaller group of participants, permitting me to weave together a richer tapestry of human experiences. Qualitative researcher Robert K. Yin advocates the use of case studies because they allow an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, etc.⁹⁰ To work with a broad sample for this study would have inevitably resulted in a more shallow approach, sacrificing the richness of the individual stories I was looking to tell. For the same reason, using a survey instrument would have been inappropriate for this study. The very nature of survey instruments seeks to standardize the experiences of the subjects. In the process, individual anecdotes and experiences which may fall out of the norm become ignored. Given the sensitive nature of this research topic and the personal experiences participants were asked to share, the use of a focus group for this research would have been ill advised.

The participants in this research were self-identified LGBT administrators employed at the site school. In total, six subjects were interviewed. Four initial participants were recruited by referral from my own personal contacts at the site school. The final two subjects were recruited via snowball effect. One of the original four participants referred me to the final two. These interviews took place within the course of approximately six months.

⁹⁰ Yin, Robert (1994). Case Study Research: Design and Methods. Sage Publications: California, pg. 3.

Table 1. Demographic Data on Participants

Pseudonym	Ethnicity	Self-Described Sexual Identity	Work Department	Years of Service to the University
D.L.	Caucasian	Gay	Facilities	11
B.D.	Caucasian	Lesbian	Campus Life (formerly in Athletics)	16
N.B.	Caucasian	Lesbian	Campus Police	17
U.E.	Black	Gay	Libraries	9
S.I.	Black	Lesbian	Legal Counsel	3
B.L.S.	South Asian (Indian)	Gay	Central Administration	1

Purposeful sampling techniques were employed in selecting the participants for this study. It was essential to select specific participants who could purposefully inform an understanding of the research and central phenomenon in the study.⁹¹ For this research, two participants were selected for having at least ten years of work experience at the site school. This criterion was necessary in order for me to speak with individuals who had experienced the workplace before and after the state enacted work place protections and partner benefits for the LGBT community. The breadth of their experiences in academia over the years provided insight as to changes in school culture and climate brought on by state legal mandates. Of the six subjects, three self-identified as gay males. The remaining three were self-identified lesbians.

⁹¹ Creswell, John (2007). Qualitative Inquiry Research and Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. California: Sage Publications, pg. 125.

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There were no transgender participants in this study. Half of the subject group was Caucasian while the rest were persons of color – black (two participants both of Caribbean descent) and South Asian (Indian). It was important to represent LGBT people of color in this study since their experiences as gays and lesbians are inevitably influenced by compounding factors such as race and culture.

The interview component of this study was comprised of two in-depth, in-person conversations with each subject. Each interview lasted approximately forty-five minutes. Subjects' actual identities were kept confidential throughout this research project. Pseudonyms were used for the names of study participants and the university where they were employed. Each interview was digitally recorded and transcribed. I personally transcribed all interviews. The transcription process took approximately one hundred hours for completion.

Prior to the initial interview, participants were asked to submit a copy of their resume or curriculum vitae in order to provide pertinent professional background information. Two interview guides were created – one for each set of interviews. It was important to use a guide document rather than a strict scripted questionnaire to allow for the ability to adapt follow up questions based on unexpected emergent information and themes gleaned from our conversations with the participants.

For the first round of interviews, basic demographic and background information about each participant was collected. Subjects were asked to share their personal coming out stories – who they came to, at what age and how that news was received. They were then queried about benefits offered by the University to LGBT employee and their families - if they were aware of the specific benefits and if they used any of them. The first interviews concluded with a

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discussion of the participants' experiences with being out in the workplace and how it may have impacted their professional lives.

The second round of interviews allowed for follow up on any items from interview one that needed to be clarified or expanded on. Subjects were asked to describe the climate at their University workplace towards gays and lesbians. The questions for interview two mainly asked the participants to compare and contrast their experiences - working as LGBT administrators at the University vs. other schools, their workplace experiences before LGBT benefits were introduced vs. after and changes they had observed in societal attitudes towards LGBT populations past vs. present. The second round interviews concluded by asking the subjects to comment on what they perceived would be the future of the LGBT community at the University.

The data code containing information on study participants and the site school were kept in a locked file cabinet in the home of the researcher. All interview materials were accessible only by the researcher. All computer data was stored on computer servers. At the end of the study, all electronic files will be deleted. Any paper notes will be purged, shredded, and disposed of properly.

The aim of this study was to convey the different experiences of the participating LGBT administrators. As such, the recording and transcription of interviews were essential in allowing the most accurate and most vivid telling of the subjects' experiences. After all, it is their personal experiences that can best help the reader understand the consequences of diverse policies and statutes on this issue. Verisimilitude is key in qualitative research since it allows the research to reveal the complexities of real life while engaging the reader in the study.⁹²

⁹² Creswell, John (2007). Qualitative Inquiry Research and Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. California: Sage Publications, pg. 46.

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According to Creswell, case studies involve data collection from multiple sources (e.g. observations, interviews, documents and reports).⁹³ As such, this research also had a document analysis component focused on the specific site school. Archival research of University records was conducted to review past and present school policies on same-sex partner benefits and employee sexual orientation. I also reviewed the archives of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance (LGBA) student group on campus. I was able to identify thirty documents – official memos, correspondence with University officials, letters to outside groups and individuals, meeting notes, progress reports, etc. – that have been incorporated into this dissertation. Additionally, newspaper articles were reviewed for this study. Articles were drawn from two sources: school's campus newspaper as well as the archives of the state's largest daily newspaper. These were selected based on their publication dates and how they coincided with significant state law and school policy changes enacted around LGBT issues. Ninety-one articles were collected from the school's campus paper spanning the post-Stonewall period of 1972 – 2013. These ninety-one articles were then used to construct a timeline depicting the history of the LGBT movement on campus while also providing a window into the campus climate towards the LGBT community during different periods of the school's history. Another thirty articles were collected from the state-wide daily paper archives over the course of twenty-five years (1990-2015). These provided the contextual information on the state-level legal climate towards the issue of gay and lesbian rights.

I began my analysis by reviewing the interviews in search of unifying themes from the experiences of my study participants. Each theme was then examined for how it could address the research questions of this study. Data from archival documents and newspaper articles were

⁹³ *Ibid*, pg. 73.

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brought in to verify the veracity of my findings. Using multiple sources of information allowed me to triangulate these findings - whenever possible - and provide supports for them. Finally, looking beyond the themes of participant experiences, I sought to identify broader, overarching lessons learned from this research that could be used to help inform similar studies moving forward.

Like any study, there were some limitations to this research. First and foremost, while this study was able to include the voices of gay and lesbians, Caucasians and persons of color, noticeably missing is representation of the transgender community. According to our subjects, overall, the trans population remains small on campus. At the time this research was conducted, my contacts and I were not aware of any “out” trans administrators on the University staff. As a result, this study was unfortunately unable to bring in the unique perspective of a transgender administrator into this conversation to speak on their experiences working at the University.

Unforeseen institutional policies at the University also served to limit some of my findings. In the course of researching school archives, the library catalog listed several documents and publications that appeared to be salient to this dissertation. However, I was unable to access some of the items in the catalog. I then learned of the school’s forty-year embargo on administrative documents and publications it deemed sensitive in nature. This included presidential letters, internal memos, human resources records, etc. The process for identifying which documents are included in this four-decade embargo appears to be highly subjective with the library unable to provide me with a clear rubric to guide document selection. Access to some of the documents currently under embargo could have been able to provide more insight into the internal discussions and processes surrounding University decisions about the most controversial LGBT issues and policies discussed in this dissertation.

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Another limitation to this study was my outsider status. To be clear, it was not my outsider status to the LGBT community as a straight woman that was the issue. By and large, I believe that the vast majority of the participants in this study were open, honest and candid in their responses about their experiences working at the University as gay men and lesbian women. In turn, I was honest with them in disclosing my interests in this research. Creswell and Miller are in support of such self-disclosure as it helps to minimize any inequality that study participants might feel.⁹⁴ Being upfront about my research agenda helped maximize participants' comfort with the study and helped most of them respond openly and honestly in their interviews. Rather, it was my outsider status at the University that I believe was more of an issue with one of the subjects. Specifically, I believe that my outsider status at the school, may have affected the responses given by study participant BD. Unlike the others, BD's responses seemed so guarded in an effort to present a utopic image of life for the LGBT community at the University. During both interviews, her answers felt extremely filtered, lacking a sense of sincerity that was present during the interviews with the others. It must be noted that I attempted to include the current Director of the University's LGBT Center in this study. She turned down my invitation because the University refused to officially sponsor this study - further proof of my outsider status at the school.

Experts in qualitative research advocate for prolonged engagement in the field to overcome such problems with interview subjects. Longer stays in the field allow for the collection of more pluralistic perspectives from study participants, as well as to allow the researcher a better understanding of the context of the subjects' views.⁹⁵ Spending more time

⁹⁴ Creswell, John and Miller, Dana (2000). "Determining Validity in Qualitative Research". *Theory into Practice*. Volume 39 (3), pg. 126.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pg. 128.

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with my research participants, such as BD, could have helped me develop a stronger rapport with her which likely could have led to more candor in her responses. Unfortunately, due to time constraints and the limited availability of study participants given their busy schedules, such prolonged engagement in the field was not a possibility.

Researcher bias is also a limitation to this research. Given my close ties to and years of involvement with the LGBT community, I come to the table as a sympathetic ally who supports the queer community's quest for equal rights. That said, I have always been honest about my hope that this study will demonstrate a clear need for additional research on the experiences of this population which is seldom given a voice in discussions.

To properly address the issue of LGBT rights in colleges and universities, it is important that all affected groups be given a voice in the discussion. To date, higher education LGBT administrators have been left out of the research. Considering the key roles played by administrators in the day to day operations of a school, as well as their pivotal contributions in the creation and implementation of policies at colleges and universities, it is important that this gap be bridged and their stories be told.

Chapter IV - University History

The University was established during the Colonial Period and is part of an elite group of schools founded before the birth of the nation. College rankings often put the University as the top school in the nation. Even today, nearly 300 years since its inception, the University's student body remains small compared to its pre-revolutionary war contemporaries. Its total student population – graduate and undergraduate - is approximately 7,500 students.⁹⁶ In comparison, the University of Delaware founded in 1743 has a student body that encompasses over 20,000 undergraduate and graduate students.⁹⁷ Yale, which was founded in 1701, has a total student enrollment of over 12,000.⁹⁸ Regardless, the University's strengths are notable – brilliant faculty (including several Nobel Prize winners), cutting-edge labs for research, and an enviably large endowment.⁹⁹

Of the oldest schools in the nation, the University has historically been slower in enacting changes that would promote diversity among its student body. During the first half of the 20th century, the upper-class eating clubs completely dominated undergraduate student life. Not only did they provide sustenance for alumni sons, but they also became unofficial arbiters as to who should be admitted to the college. Any Jewish or other applicants who were deemed not “clubbable” but defied the unwritten policy by obtaining admission to the University were subjected to years of social isolation. Neither intellectual achievement nor athletic prowess

⁹⁶ Maynard, W. Barksdale (2012), University Campus. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pg. 1.

⁹⁷ “University of Delaware – About Us”, University of Delaware, accessed May 3, 2015, <http://www.udel.edu/aboutus/>.

⁹⁸ Yale University Office of Institutional Research (2014). *Yale Factsheet 2013-2014*. [PDF table facts and statistics]. Retrieved from <http://oir.yale.edu/sites/default/files/FACTSHEET%282013-14%29.pdf>

⁹⁹ Maynard, W. Barksdale. (2012), University Campus. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pg. 1.

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would open the door to the clubs if a man was labeled an outsider. Through these eating clubs, the numbers of Jewish, Catholic and Asian students were systematically kept extremely low. Black students were completely excluded on account of race. Prospective black students were advised to apply elsewhere given the University's strong antebellum connection with the South and its continuing attraction for Southern students.¹⁰⁰

Like most American colleges, the University's enrollment numbers rose in the early 1900's. The growth in student enrollment prompted the creation of a selective admissions system that sought to keep student numbers consistent with the capacity of the physical plant at the time. While originally intended to vet academic excellence, this new admissions system inadvertently became a vehicle for discrimination against outsiders. This system favored sons of alumni as well as sons of wealthy businessmen. The University's methods of exclusion eventually came to be well-known at other colleges. Its first lines of defense against any perceived "ethnic invasion" were undergraduate sentiment and the upper-class clubs that refused Jewish students. The second line – used against those bold enough to apply – was the Selective Admissions process.¹⁰¹

The stronghold of the upper-class club system finally started to unravel when in 1955, the University agreed to build housing on campus for non-clubmen. Meals and other services were also provided to these students at reasonable cost. Around the same time, the University's close-minded policies proved no match for the changes brought about by World War II and the G.I. Bill. Even University alumni – some of whom had served in World War II – criticized the University's policies for excluding blacks. The University was accused of maintaining a racial intolerance nearly worthy of Hitler. The University was pressured to revise its admissions policy

¹⁰⁰ Synnott, Marcia Graham (1979). The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard and Yale 1900 – 1970. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pg. 161-175.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, pg. 189-197.

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so that qualified men would be admitted regardless of the race or color.¹⁰² As a result, it was in the mid-20th century that the University began to admit black students in significant numbers. In 1964, the University hired its first black administrator.¹⁰³

During this same era, many students also clamored for co-education at the school. Panicked alumni formed Committees for the Preservation of the University. The Denver-area chairman who loved the University ever since his undergraduate days during World War I was quoted as saying, “University tradition, closely entwined with the development of our country throughout periods of peace and war, while intangible, is evident and precious. Its conservative and beautiful campus exudes a conception of learning, veneration, warmth and solid substance. Subconsciously, one is affected deeply ... Of vital importance, the University has been male domain; it must remain so.”¹⁰⁴ Despite vocal alumni opposition, by vote of the trustees, the University went co-ed in 1969 and 171 women moved into on-campus housing that September. Doubters questioned whether women could ever love the University the way their fathers and brothers had. The new female students silenced their critics and proved their loyalty to the University when they successfully rallied to save one of the on-campus dormitory buildings from the wrecking ball after it had been condemned by the Fire Marshall.¹⁰⁵ As it stands today, the University has come a long way with a student population that is 48% female and 52% male.

¹⁰² Synnott, Marcia Graham (1979). The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard and Yale 1900 – 1970. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pg. 218-221.

¹⁰³ Maynard, W. Barksdale (2012), University Campus. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pg. 191.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pg. 192.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

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Additionally, 21.4% of the student population is Asian, 8.1% are black, 9% are Hispanic and 11% are international students.¹⁰⁶

Three months before the historic trustees' vote that permitted co-education at the University, important changes were afoot in American society at large. The Stonewall Inn on Christopher Street in Manhattan was a popular gay bar with a mostly male clientele that cut across class and age, and included drag queens. Police raids of the establishment had become a frequent occurrence at the Stonewall. However, on that evening of Friday, June 27th, 1969, bar patrons did not slink off guiltily after the raid, or compliantly board police wagons as they had done in the past. Instead, as police started checking identification, kicking people out, and making a few arrests, a crowd of ejected patrons, nearby residents, and passers-by gathered outside the bar. As they loaded a police van with arrestees, the crowd grew angry and started throwing pennies, bottles, and bricks. With no backup, the police barricaded themselves inside the bar. The crowd escalated its attacks, trapping the police inside. When backup arrived, the police resumed loading the wagon. Riot police arrived around then and tried for hours to disperse the crowd. However, rioters were able to block the street and halt traffic in front of the Inn. Violence continued until the streets were finally cleared at about 3:30 am. Newspapers reported nearly a thousand rioters and several hundred police were present that night. Four policemen were hurt and thirteen people were arrested that first evening.¹⁰⁷

The violence by the rioters side included using a parking meter and a trash can against the door and window and throwing lighter fluid and matches inside, starting a fire. On their side, the

¹⁰⁶ University Office of Undergraduate Admissions (2014). *Admissions Statistics: Statistics for Applicants for the Class of 2018*. [data table]. Retrieved from http://www.university.edu/admission/applyingforadmission/admission_statistics/

¹⁰⁷ Eaklor, Vicki (2008). *Queer America – A GLBT History of the 20th Century*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pg. 123.

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police beat rioters with night-sticks, inciting more anger. Local press, TV and radio reported the fight and the following evening on Saturday, the Stonewall was mobbed. Police arrived and the riot was again underway. Acts of resistance now included not only throwing objects but also public displays of affection between same-sex people, and a chorus line of drag queens. Battles with police occurred through the following Wednesday evening, July 2nd.¹⁰⁸ This five-day rebellion often simply called Stonewall was seen by many as the start of the gay liberation movement in America.

Three years following those historic riots in New York City, the first gay student group was formed at the University. In the Friday, May 12, 1972 issue of the campus daily paper, the following ad ran in the classifieds section: “CLOSET QUEENS UNITE! For information about organization of gay men and women at the University call XXX-2197.”¹⁰⁹ About ten students responded to the ad and attended the meeting.¹¹⁰ Shortly thereafter, an article appeared in the school’s newspaper, authored by an undergraduate student calling for gay liberation on campus.¹¹¹ Following that initial meeting in May, the University Gay Alliance was founded. The self-described service organization stated two goals: to give gay men and lesbians at the University the opportunity to meet in an unthreatening atmosphere and to promote a positive attitude towards homosexuality within campus.¹¹² As with all other student organizations on

¹⁰⁸ Eaklor, Vicki (2008), Queer America – A GLBT History of the 20th Century. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pg. 123.

¹⁰⁹ Anonymous, no title, *University Daily Paper*, 12 May, 1972, pg.7.

¹¹⁰ Gulland, Molly. “LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History”, *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Van Aken, James. (April, 1979). [Letter to Asst. Dean John Hicks-Herschey] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 3), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

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campus, the Alliance applied for funding for its activities. It received an initial allocation of \$328, which was approved both by the University Projects Board and also by the Undergraduate Assembly. Many other students groups on campus received similar funding. However, in December of the same year, the Alliance was the only organization whose funding was officially contested. The objection was brought forth by a student who admitted that his action was motivated by his moral issue with the existence of a gay student group. The student felt that University funds should not be used to fund a group based on sexual orientation. The same student submitted to the Projects Board a petition bearing 200 student signatures calling for a campus referendum on whether the Alliance ought to receive any funding at all. That petition was eventually withdrawn and the referendum never held.¹¹³

Despite this withdrawal, the topic of funding for the UGA remained a divisive topic. Nearly one year later in October of 1973, this topic was debated by candidates vying for the position of Freshman Class President. In fact, one candidate made it a pillar of his campaign to protest the funding of the Alliance, stating that students ought to have a say in how their \$8 annual student fees are allocated to various organizations on campus. He asserted that those fees cannot be used to fund an organization of which a student may disapprove.¹¹⁴ So for the second time in the Alliance's very short history, the group had been singled out from the hundreds of student organizations on campus and had their funding openly contested again. Also in 1973, publicity posters belonging to the Alliance were anonymously vandalized and destroyed throughout campus.¹¹⁵ In May of 1973, the Alliance hosted a gay dance on campus which until

¹¹³ Joe Schubert, "Group Cancels Alliance Funds Petition", *University Daily Paper*, 6 December, 1972, pg.1.

¹¹⁴ Jones, Doris, "Freshman Class Hopefuls Debate UGA Grants to Gay Alliance", *University Daily Paper*, 12 October, 1973, pg.1.

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then had been the largest event of its kind in the state. National news outlets such as the New York Times and CBS even came on campus to cover the event, which received no mention at all in the campus paper.¹¹⁶ Archives of the campus daily paper reveal that hostility towards the LGBT community continued for several years later.

One particularly difficult year was 1976. Alliance members were targeted in bias incidents on campus. In January 1976, two gay members hung an Alliance banner outside of their dorm room window. Their room was subsequently broken into three times and a window was damaged by a snowball thrown into their room.¹¹⁷ Then in February, their room was broken into a fourth time. This time, their furniture and belongings were ransacked and the Alliance banner stolen.¹¹⁸ A few days following the break-in, torn pieces of the banner were mailed to the offices of the campus paper with a note that read “Hetero is bettero.”¹¹⁹ With the help of witness testimony, the University was able to apprehend the students responsible for the break-in. Those students received a two-year academic probation sentence as well as University censure, meaning that their transcripts will include a listing of the break-in incident.¹²⁰

Despite these difficulties, the Alliance remained undeterred in their mission. Archival documents show that immediately following these attacks, the LGBA submitted a formal request to the University to include “sexual or affectational preference” in its list of protected categories

¹¹⁵ Ann Murphy, “The Political Exploitation of the Homosexuals at the University.” *University Daily Paper*, 5 October, 1973, pg.4.

¹¹⁶ Gulland, Molly. “LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History”, *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

¹¹⁷ Lander, Eric, “Eight Intruders Ransack Gays’ Room; Officials Suspect Student Involvement”, *University Daily Paper*, 23 February, 1976, pg.1.

¹¹⁸ Anonymous. “Break-in”. *University Daily Paper*, 24 February, 1976, pg.1.

¹¹⁹ Hochman, David, “Torn GAP Banner Sent to University Daily Paper”, *University Daily Paper*, 26 February, 1976, pg. 2.

¹²⁰ Doyle, Kerry. “Panel Disciplines Takers of GAP Banner”, *University Daily Paper*, 11 March, 1976, pg.1.

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against discrimination on campus.¹²¹ Records show that the University responded quickly and referred the students to meet with the school's Equal Opportunity Coordinator and Assistant Provost at the time.¹²² The Assistant Provost expressed interest in meeting with the group to discuss their concerns and also affirmed the University's dedication to protecting all individuals on campus from discrimination.¹²³ It is of note that this original request eventually became the basis of a resolution that was submitted to the University Council that year. It was similar to one adopted by the student caucus one month earlier.¹²⁴ That resolution drew strong support from the student body, but only modest support from faculty and staff. Ultimately, the University council passed a compromise vote, wherein the requested language changes were not adopted, but instead a re-affirmation of the University's non-discrimination policies and protections of freedom of expression were issued.¹²⁵ The resolution stated:

“Be it further resolved: The University Council strongly censures and abhors personal violence committed with the intent of intimidating, punishing, or interfering with freedom of expression; destruction of property committed with the intent of intimidating, punishing, or interfering with freedom of expression: and threats to

¹²¹ Mintz, Michael and Brown, Douglas (January, 1976). [Letter to A.J. Maruca] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

¹²² Maruca, A.J. (8 January, 1976). [Letter to Michael Mintz and Douglas Brown] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

¹²³ Snowden, Conrad (13 January, 1976). [Letter to Michael Mintz and Douglas Brown] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

¹²⁴ Laramore, Jon and Wolling, Sue, “University Council to Debate Gay Issue, Committee Changes”, *University Daily Paper*, 9 March, 1976, pg.1.

¹²⁵ Hochman, David. “U-Council Votes Compromise on Non-Discrimination Issue”, *University Daily Paper*, 10 March, 1976, pg.1.

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commit either of the above made with the intent of intimidating, punishing, or interfering with freedom of expression.”¹²⁶

Many speculated that the University’s refusal to include sexual or affectational preference in the list of protected categories stemmed from the fear of a backlash by alumni supporters of the University.¹²⁷

The LGBA archives also show the group reaching out to other universities across the country to learn more about their non-discrimination policies. A similar group at an Ohio school lamented about their own disappointment in failing to convince their college to include a non-discrimination policy regarding gays. While their university president told them in private that discrimination would not be allowed on campus, the school was unwilling to change official policy to reflect this.¹²⁸

The LGBA archives reveal that the group also sought addition of sexual preference to categories protected against discrimination within the broader society. They reached out to the sitting member of Congress representing the University’s district. That congresswoman replied back to them thanking them for their letter, but said she felt it unwise to include sexual preference in legal statutes. She went on to say that any public emphasis on sexuality – whether heterosexual or homosexual – should not be an element in certain areas of employment, especially where children are involved.¹²⁹ The group also reached out to the US Commission on

¹²⁶ Anonymous. (March, 1976). [University Council Resolution on Non-Discrimination] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

¹²⁷ Lander, Eric. “Eight Intruders Ransack Gays’ Rooms; Officials Suspect Student Involvement”, *University Daily Paper*, 23 February, 1976, pg.1.

¹²⁸ Sheppe, Walter (19 January, 1976). [Letter to Gay Alliance of University] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

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Civil Rights. They received correspondence stating that the Commissioners were in unanimous agreement that the Commission would not involve itself in the area of discrimination based on sexual orientation unless specifically authorized to do so by the United States Congress and provided them with funds for that purpose. The letter went on to say that this decision was based on legal interpretation of the Commission's mandate and a belief that it did not have adequate resources to carry out its present responsibilities.¹³⁰

The LGBA did receive support from outside groups for their efforts to bring about inclusion for the gay population on campus. The organization's archives included two letters – one from February and then another from March 1976 from a gay activist alliance based in one of the nearby counties in the state.¹³¹ The organization commended the LGBA for their work in advancing civil rights on campus and also cited the group as a continuing inspiration and encouragement for their own work.¹³²

In 1977, homophobia once again took center stage at the University during the campaign for student council president. Supposedly, the winning candidate's team had exploited a competitor's homosexuality in order to win votes. Specifically, supporters used fear tactics by telling voters not to let a "queer" win the post of University Student Government President. There was speculation that these fear tactics resulted in negative votes being cast against the gay

¹²⁹ Fenwick, Millicent (14 January, 1976). [Letter to Gay Alliance of University] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹³⁰ Glick, Lawrence (16 September, 1976). [Letter to LGBA] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 8), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹³¹ Myers, Mike and Mahavia, George (29 February, 1976). [Letter to LGBA] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 3), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹³² Myers, Mike for the Gay Activist Alliance of Morris County (10 March, 1976). [Letter to LGBA] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 3), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

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candidate. Interestingly enough, the winner's reign as USG president was quickly called into question by a recall petition seeking his removal from office just a few months after his win. The recall petition charged the USG President with cronyism and misuse of power.¹³³

The end of the 1970's remained a difficult time for the Alliance. Early in 1979, several Alliance members were physically attacked in a confrontation with other students in the campus pub. On the evening of February 28th, 1979, a group of eight Alliance members were drinking at the pub when several other male customers started verbally harassing them. The Alliance members called on a pub staff member to intervene. Instead of aiding them, the employee sided with the group making the homophobic remarks and joined in the verbal abuse. The confrontation escalated to the point where wood chips from a nearby plant were thrown at the Alliance members, injuring one of them in the eye.¹³⁴ This incident remained a front-page news item in the campus paper for several weeks and also resulted in the immediate closure of the pub.¹³⁵ Initially, the University decided to close the pub for a period of one week while investigations ensued around this incident. However, mid-way through this one week closure, the University reversed its decision and reopened the pub early. The University did not see the attack as a hate crime. The University explained its decision in an open letter to the daily campus paper this way:

“ - the fact that the offenders in the ‘wood-chip throwing incident’ have come forward and apologized; - the achievement of a ‘greater awareness ... that any actions (infringing) on the rights of others

¹³³ Engelberg, Steve. “Shapiro Recall Group Presents Petition.” *University Daily Paper*, 25 May, 1977. pg.1.

¹³⁴ Jachenbach, Joel. “Brown Closes Pub after GAP Altercation”, *University Daily Paper*, 12 March, 1979, pg.1.

¹³⁵ Hardson, David. “Onok Leads Pub Investigation”, *University Daily Paper*, 14 March, 1979, pg.1.

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will not be tolerated'; - the potential 'negative impact' upon student workers by prolonging the disciplinary period.”¹³⁶

The University wanted to make it clear that this reversal should not be interpreted as the administration bowing to pressures from anti-gay students. Rather, they believed that their response to this pub incident demonstrated their serious commitment to student safety.¹³⁷ Four students were ultimately charged for the attack. One student was put on disciplinary probation, while the remaining three received dean's warnings.¹³⁸

Archival data shows that not all gay students on campus agreed that closing the pub was the proper way to address the homophobic assault that occurred. Following the pub incident, an openly gay student wrote an open letter published in the campus paper to the Chairman of the University Committee that was investigating the attack. In it, he cited that homophobic views were indeed rampant on campus. While the pub attack was reprehensible, he believed that closing what he called the “largest social facility on campus” would only serve to create more resentment and animosity towards the gays and lesbians on campus. He went on to criticize the administration saying that since they already had enough evidence to lead them to the attackers, the pub closure was an unnecessary punishment of the whole campus for the crimes of a few.¹³⁹

The Alliance was also unhappy with the University's response to the pub attack. The Alliance maintained its very public denunciations of the University's handling of the incident. In an open letter to the Editor of the campus paper, the President of the Alliance described the

¹³⁶ Weinberger, Jeffrey. “Brown Reverses Decision; Pub to Reopen Tonight”, *University Daily Paper*, 16 March, 1979, pg.1.

¹³⁷ Weinberger, Jeffrey. “Brown Reverses Decision; Pub to Reopen Tonight”, *University Daily Paper*, 16 March, 1979, pg.1.

¹³⁸ Anonymous, “Pub Discipline”, *University Daily Paper*, 23 March, 1979, pg.1.

¹³⁹ Tamez, Javier (13 March, 1979). [Letter to Chairman] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 3), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

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atmosphere at the University as repressive, making a free and enjoyable life on campus impossible for gay students. In that same letter, the Alliance renewed its call for the creation of specific University policy banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. They also called for additional educational training on campus to help combat ignorance towards LGBT communities.¹⁴⁰ The Alliance was quick to follow up with an open letter to the University President – also published in the campus paper - asserting that the Administration had “wavered, fumbled and passed the buck” when it came to dealing with gay rights on campus. They went on to demand that the Administration not only condemn gay bashing, but that they also affirm the rights of gay men and lesbians at the University.¹⁴¹ In response, a meeting was scheduled between the University President and members of the Alliance. At the meeting, the Alliance submitted a formal request to the President that a University-wide committee be created to “investigate all aspects of the situation of gay people on campus.”¹⁴² With this meeting occurring at the end of the spring semester, the President utilized the summer break to consider the Alliance’s request. At the beginning of the fall term, the President announced that he had decided against the establishment of a committee to examine gay life at the University.¹⁴³ So 1979 closed on a negative note for the LGBT community on campus. In a November issue of the campus daily, an interview with a lesbian student was featured where the student described the University as very male-dominated and homophobic. She cited the pub incident in the spring

¹⁴⁰ Blasius, Mark. “Facing the Intimidation”, *University Daily Paper*, 21 March, 1979, pg.4.

¹⁴¹ Mintz, Michael and Nicholson, Peg, “To Act in Good Faith”, *University Daily Paper*, 13 April, 1979, pg.6.

¹⁴² Walzer, Phil. “GAP Seeks New Panel to Study Gay Situation”, *University Daily Paper*, 23 May, 1979, pg.3.

¹⁴³ Prysant, Mark. “Bowen Decides Against Establishing Committee on Gay Life at University”, *University Daily Paper*, 17 September, 1979, pg.1.

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when gay students were harassed and had wood chips thrown at them, as an example of campus hostility.¹⁴⁴

The years that followed into the early 1980s were a less contentious time at the University. Interest in LGBT issues on campus began to build momentum once again in 1984 when in February, an alum of the University sent an open letter to the campus paper denouncing gay students and their “lifestyle,” and questioning their place at the University.

“I have had many gay friends. Few were happy. Over the past 35 years, many committed suicide. Some returned to the straight life. Few past 50 years of age would want to see a young person enter ‘the life’. At the University no one, proclaiming that they were gay, should be admitted into the freshman class. Anyone found to be gay and pridefully defending his proclivity should be summarily removed from the campus.”¹⁴⁵

Despite the hostility of this particular alumnus towards the gay community, 1984 actually saw some improvement in the campus climate for LGBT students. In April, the Alliance partnered with a lesbian student group to host a series of events in celebration of Gertrude Stein Week. This week was designed as a celebration of gay contributions to the arts. The organizers hoped that the arts festival would give people a broader perspective on homosexuals. Organizers were quoted as saying, “Most people categorize gays or lesbians according to their sexual orientation. This will present another point of view.” The goal was to help people feel more comfortable about being gay and open the lines of communication between people on campus.¹⁴⁶ The year closed with another victory for the LGBT community when the lesbian student group received a

¹⁴⁴ Chang, Hemmie. “Gay Women at the University: The Need to Go Beyond the Labels”, *University Daily Paper*, 8 November, 1979, pg. S-7.

¹⁴⁵ Huber II, Charles. “Sleazy Gay Lifestyle”, *University Daily Paper*, 3 February, 1984, pg.6.

¹⁴⁶ Jeffrey, Nancy. “GAP, GWOP to Honor Gays in Arts”, *University Daily Paper*, 2 April, 1984,pg. 3.

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funding allocation of \$600 – which was the largest grant received by a student group that year.¹⁴⁷

To put it into perspective, this award was nearly twice the amount received by the Alliance eight years prior which was even contested by anti-gay students.¹⁴⁸

Then in 1985, the University took a huge stride towards equality by adding sexual orientation to the categories protected in the University's non-discrimination policy. This move was largely credited to the efforts of a very progressive president. This policy shift was singularly important because once it was in place it provided the foundation for all other improvements to follow. Gay leaders on campus were quoted as saying "That policy legitimized all the changes that took place and that continue to take place." This policy was adopted nine years after the Alliance made its original request to the University for inclusion of the LGBT community in protective policies on campus. And yet, the University was still only the second school in the nation to adopt such a progressive policy at the time.¹⁴⁹ It is notable that in November of 1985, a two-page article ran in the campus daily paper that discussed the homophobia experienced by students on campus. Apparently, despite the recent policy shift, the climate on the ground experienced by the students on a day-to-day basis was very different.

"There is an unspoken prejudice against being gay here... The traditional atmosphere of the University makes many gay people feel that if they are open about their sexuality, they will ruin their social life here. They won't make friends, they won't get into the selective clubs – they will lose a lot at the University."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Sosa, Julie Ann. "USG Grants New Stipends for Projects", *University Daily Paper*, 17 December, 1984, pg. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Schubert, Joe. "Group Cancels Alliance Funds Petition", *University Daily Paper*, 6 December, 1972, pg.1.

¹⁴⁹ Gulland, Molly. "LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History", *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Jeffrey Nancy. "University Gays Encounter Social Life of Limited Choices", *University Daily Paper*, 20 November, 1985, pg.1.

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The following year, in 1986, a closeted gay student wrote an open letter to the campus daily paper. In it the student explained why he chose to stay closeted at the University all these years, “The social structure of the open gay community all too often imitates, whether wittingly or not, the larger social problems which are pervasive at the University. Superficial judgment, stereotyping and insensitivity are just as evident among gays as among all students. The University is not a dignified environment for gays, and above all, I cherish my dignity.”¹⁵¹ A follow up letter was then sent to the Editor a few days later. This second letter was authored by a straight ally who attested to the hostility on campus he had witnessed towards LGBT students. He wrote,

“I have seen gays unfairly condemned for their sexual preferences and some straight people for their acceptance of homosexuality. It is because of this prejudice that I write my views anonymously, not only for my own sake, but more importantly for the protection of my friends who could be easily identified if my name were published.”¹⁵²

Despite this climate, the lesbian student group joined forces with the Alliance to form one comprehensive campus group for LGBT students – Gay And Lesbian Alliance (GALA). This union of the two student groups set out to revitalize the gay movement on campus.¹⁵³ Later that year, the Alumni Reunion Fund (ARF) gay alumni group was founded. ARF was created to broaden research opportunities into gay-related areas of study that may have encountered

¹⁵¹ Anonymous, “Gay Life at the University: A View from Inside the Closet”, *University Daily Paper*, 14 February, 1986, pg. 8.

¹⁵² Anonymous, “Secrecy and Prejudice: Problems Gay Face”, *University Daily Paper*, 17 February, 1986, 6.

¹⁵³ Molly, Gulland. “LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History”, *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

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intolerance in the past. ARF began providing support for gay-related theses one year later in 1987.¹⁵⁴

In 1988, public discussion about homophobia at the University continued in the pages of the campus daily paper. In November 1988, an article was published about the lesbian community on campus. Under the protection of pseudonyms, lesbian students talked about the University as being a difficult place to come out and the limited opportunities for gays at the school. One participant discussed the harassment endured at the hands of homophobes on campus from phone calls to notes on her dorm room door after she had “outed” herself in a newspaper article.

“The pressure from men, as well as women to participate in traditional role-playing is greatest freshman year. The clubs, in tandem with the male-female ratio, intensify perceived pressure on lesbians ... The University’s isolated locale contributes to the problem. Lack of peer support, combined with a dearth of faculty and administrative role models at the university makes it more difficult for lesbians and bisexuals to fit into the community.”¹⁵⁵

A few days later, a straight ally wrote of her experiences participating in the gay and lesbian rights march in Washington, DC that year. Walking side by side with her gay classmates, many in the crowd assumed that she was a lesbian. Their interactions with her proved an eye-opening experience that allowed her insight into the experiences of gays and lesbians.

¹⁵⁴ Reitz, Caroline. “Cadden to Teach Gay Literary Texts in Spring Course”, *University Daily Paper*, 13 November, 1987, pg. 11.

¹⁵⁵ Lazarus, Laura. “Lesbians Discuss University Life”, *University Daily Paper*, 4 November, 1987, pgs.1-4.

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“Unless they come out of the closet, homosexuals are treated as part of the straight majority. How many times must a gay man have had a straight friend say ‘Hey isn’t that girl gorgeous?’ only to be thinking ‘Well, actually, I prefer the guy she’s with...’? No one knows their sexual preference, and no one takes the time to find out. And what’s more if a homosexual does come out of the closet, he or she finds a world hostile to those who do not conform to its rigid standards...Maybe I should have admitted to being straight, but if I had, I would have missed out on what may have been the only opportunity I will ever have to really understand the difficulties homosexuals encounter in an often self-righteous world, which labels those who diverge from the norm as ‘perverts’ and ‘sinners’, instead of just accepting them for what they are.”¹⁵⁶

The spring semester of classes in 1988 was monumental for the University because it was the first time that a course focused on homosexuality was offered. The professor teaching this course was one of two University faculty members who were on the board of ARF. The course entitled, “Sexuality and Textuality: Speaking the Unspeakable” sought to turn “invisible men” into visible ones. The course emphasized texts by, and, or about gay men and lesbians. It traced the development of the gay literary tradition and considered the gay writer’s relationship to the prevailing tradition of the time.¹⁵⁷

Student commentary about the homogenous values of the campus continued into 1988. Another article was penned in the school paper about the pervasive culture of conformity on campus, where moderation was the norm. It described that one of the dominant themes in the mainstream University culture was the code of gentlemanly behavior, i.e. non-confrontation, a

¹⁵⁶ Vijayan, Suju. “Difficulties of a Hidden Minority”, *University Daily Paper*, 9 November, 1987, pg.6

¹⁵⁷ Reitz, Caroline. “Cadden to Teach Gay Literary Texts in Spring Course”, *University Daily Paper*, 13 November, 1987, pgs.1-11.

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reluctance to challenge. The article further discussed the lack of radical political organizations at the school, as well as the antagonistic relationship between University administration and the Women's Center on campus. The Director of the Women's Center was quoted in the article as saying, "The administration showed disrespect for women at the outset by housing the new center in what used to be a toilet. You are not going to put the Provost in the toilet, the President in the toilet or any other student organization in the toilet – the University fundamentally lacks respect for women."¹⁵⁸ While not speaking about gay issues, this article is significant in that it supports previous claims of the University's intolerant climate and lack of value for diversity.

Nevertheless, 1989 proved to be another breakthrough year for the University's LGBT community. It was the year that the GALA group organized the first Gay Pride Week at the school. The week of activities focused around October 11th – National Coming Out Day. On this day, GALA held Gay Jeans Day – yet another first at the University. Gay Jeans Day, also known as Blue Jeans Day, was an event held across many college campuses to help bring awareness to gay and lesbian issues.¹⁵⁹ On this particular day, event organizers announced that anyone seen on campus wearing blue jeans – common attire for all college students - was going to automatically be counted by pollsters throughout campus as being homosexual. The pollsters were of course fictitious. The hope was that the event would help college students realize that gays and lesbians were just like everyone else – down to their blue jeans. Unfortunately, the message of Gay Jeans Day was lost on many students on campus. Instead of enlightening people, it enraged many who believed that others would think they were gay simply because they

¹⁵⁸ Gelpert, Anna. "University Lacks Counterculture, Fosters Passivity", *University Daily Paper*, 13 January, 1988, pgs.1-6.

¹⁵⁹ "LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History", *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

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happened to be wearing jeans that day. Event organizers characterized the first Gay Jeans Day in 1989 to be one of the most divisive issues the campus had seen since the Vietnam War.

However, they also believed that the event was a success because it brought simmering issues to the forefront and prompted more open discussions about gay issues.¹⁶⁰ Gay Pride Week remains an annual tradition at the University and is still observed every October.

Starting in 1989 and continuing into 1990, an Ad Hoc committee was created and chaired by the University President's assistant.¹⁶¹ The committee was created in response to public demands made by the Women's Center during a Take Back the Night event on campus. The demands included enhanced campus security, attention to racial harassment and the future of the Sexual Harassment / Assault, Advising Resources and Education program. Also on the list was a demand for the creation of a Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Center on campus to develop programs in the residential colleges and the Counseling Center to support LGBT students; as well as the extension of the University's Equal Opportunity Policy to all its programs and policies campus-wide.¹⁶²

The official resolution passed for the creation of the Ad Hoc Committee recognized that much more needed to be done to create an environment at the University that enabled gay, lesbian and bisexual persons – whether they were students, faculty, staff or alumni – to participate comfortably and contribute fully in the life of the University community. It also stated that the University should care about the general welfare of all its students and employees,

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Weidman, Maxwell. "Gay Students Find a Home", *University Daily Paper*, 13 October, 2006, pg.1.

¹⁶² Sole, Marc. "Officials Consider Demands Regarding Sexual Orientation", *University Daily Paper*, 17 April, 1990, pg.1.

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including its gay, lesbian and bisexual members.¹⁶³ Records from the LGBA archives show that the guiding mission behind the creation of this Ad Hoc Committee was as follows:

The principle that all members of the University community should be accorded respect for their inherent dignity and worth has guided the committee's deliberations. In order to enable all students to participate fully in campus life and to develop their intellectual and personal capabilities, it is recognized that the University must ensure a campus environment which is free from fear, intimidation, harassment, and violence. In addition, the committee has assumed that if the University is to promote respect for all members of the community, it must not only vigorously combat heterosexism and homophobia, but actively encourage scholarships, programs, and activities which affirm and support gay, lesbian, and bi-sexual persons."¹⁶⁴

The committee provided an interim report in 1990 that described the progress they had made. The committee reported that they organized themselves into several task forces which examined curricular issues, resources, programs, services and policies. The interim report also contained several recommendations regarding ways to address the quality of life for gay, lesbian and bisexual members of the University community.¹⁶⁵ Some of their recommendations included:

¹⁶³ Anonymous (October 1989). [Resolution for the Creation of an Ad Hoc U-Council Committee for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 22), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

¹⁶⁴ Warternburg, Carl (14 May, 1990). [Report to the Ad Hoc Committee on Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual Needs and Concerns] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder: "LGB Task Force Concerns"), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

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- “- Integration of the gay and lesbian experience into all relevant areas of the curriculum;
- Development by the University library of a guide to resources in lesbian and gay studies as well as consideration of the acquisition of scholarly resources for the study of contemporary gay and lesbian culture as well as the development of a comprehensive, interdisciplinary bibliography;
- Better preparing faculty to address homophobia and heterosexism in their classrooms;
- Create a safe space where lesbians, gays and bisexuals can interact in a supporting environment free from fear and hostility;
- University-sponsored public lectures, film series, cultural events, and art exhibits by or about gay and lesbian people and their experience;
- The Counseling Center must sensitize all of its counselors to issues of sexual orientation and that counseling services be available to those students who are exploring issues concerning sexual identity, sexual orientation and relationship problems;
- The University extend its Health Care plan benefits to the domestic partners of lesbian and gay employees and graduate students.
- The University extend all other insurance and pension benefits presently offered to spouses be accorded to the partners of gays and lesbians.
- The University extend related privileges, including library and athletic facilities, eligibility for graduate student family housing and the issuance of University identification cards and access to

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other facilities and program be extended to gay and lesbian domestic partners.”¹⁶⁶

It was encouraging to find that just eight months later, records show that the University libraries already started to respond to the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee. In the memo, the University librarian discussed how she and her team had already discussed how, in the absence of a formal academic program or acquisition fund devoted to the area of gay and lesbian studies, the Libraries could best respond to the Committee’s recommendations. She went on to say that they were in the process of assessing present collections, maintaining a handout on “Selected Sources in Gay and Lesbian Studies,” offer bibliographic instruction to promote awareness and effective use of library resources and undertake an advisory role in the selection of pertinent materials.¹⁶⁷

The concerns of the LGBA and the Ad Hoc committee for institutional change were shared by others within the higher education community at-large. A review of the archives of the state’s largest newspaper revealed a three-part series about bias within America’s college campuses. In the article, the state’s Chancellor of Higher Education was quoted as saying “Bigots on our campuses are having a field day.” He described ugly, degrading and dehumanizing acts of hatred and violence that have polarized college populations, including those in the University’s home state.¹⁶⁸ The article went on to say that a quarter of a century after

¹⁶⁶ Warternburg, Carl (14 May, 1990). [Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual Needs and Concerns] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder: “LGB Task Force Concerns”), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁶⁷ Aroeste, Jean (4 January, 1991). [Selection of Materials for Gay and Lesbian Studies] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 22), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁶⁸ Peet, Judy (18 November, 1990). “It has Been Called Many Things: the New Racism, the Old Racism, Different.” Web. *The Star Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/resources/doc/nb/news/1223D88C6C891B98?p=AWNB>

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the Civil Rights Movement, students became more separatist and name-calling too often replaced intellectual debate. Gay-bashing had become regular sport and independent studies showed at least 20 percent of all minority students faced degrading acts of intimidation. The Ford Foundation commissioned a study on campus ethnoviolence which found that the increase in minority students at colleges in the 1990's coupled with declining education dollars was partly to blame for these clashes on campuses. The study found that it was no longer whites against blacks, but minorities against each other and everybody it seemed against gays.¹⁶⁹ According to the second article in the series, academic surveys at the time revealed disturbing levels of student antipathy toward almost everyone and alarmingly high feelings against specific target groups, such as gays and lesbians. Within the second half of 1990, students at various schools throughout the state – including the University – staged protests on campus denouncing various forms of harassment. A member of the University LGBA was quoted in the article as saying “[the University] is terribly conservative, which means students have to, in effect, slap the administration in the face to get their attention. The problem is students seem afraid to get involved.”¹⁷⁰ The article concedes that it is a difficult battle to overcome ignorance and apathy. The author cited study after study by minority organizations, sexual rights and law enforcement groups showing that at least one in five, and among high- target groups such as homosexuals, one in two, students were regularly victimized by ethno-violence.¹⁷¹ It is significant that during this time, the University's home state was ranked second in the nation for the number of

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Peet, Judy (19 November, 1990). “Students Become More Cautious As Bias, Intolerance Rise on Campus”. Web. *The Star Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/resources/doc/nb/news/1223D88DA94F8020?p=AWNB>

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

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collegiate anti-Semitic incidents.¹⁷² The second article concluded by calling for more creative and effective ways of accommodating and celebrating diversity on America's college campuses to solve this problem.¹⁷³ In the third and final article in the series, the author discussed that much of the prejudice on college campuses was ingrained into institutional culture. As such, political will within the leadership of colleges and universities to truly necessary in order to address this issue. In 1990, the University was one of eleven schools in its home state to form committees to address bias and LGB issues on their campuses. Of this group, the University was among the top three in devising the most comprehensive responses to the bias problem. This problem of bias on campuses was urgent as it was an issue of student safety, with direct implications on college minority hiring and student retention rates.¹⁷⁴ The head of the University Ad Hoc Committee was quoted in the article as saying that in realizing the problems faced by the LGB community on campus, the University realized the need to create policy "with a lot of teeth in it".¹⁷⁵ He was of course referring to the University's newly modified anti-harassment policy which now included protections for sexual orientation. He also cited the School's equal opportunity employment policy that forbid harassment on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, race, nationality, religion and physical handicap. The article concluded by saying that while the changes required on campuses could not be instituted overnight, it was necessary to start by

¹⁷² Peet, Judy (19 November, 1990). "Students Become More Cautious As Bias, Intolerance Rise on Campus". Web. *The Star Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/resources/doc/nb/news/1223D88DA94F8020?p=AWNB>

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Peet, Judy (20 November, 1990). "Institutional Bias". Web. *The Star Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/resources/doc/nb/news/1223D89084447BC8?p=AWNB>

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

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changing institutional climate which many schools – including the University – had begun to address.¹⁷⁶

Archives of the state’s largest newspaper revealed that in 1991 the state stiffened its Domestic Violence Law. This change was hailed as a long overdue correction to some glaring gaps in the original law created ten years earlier. Not only did the expansion cover all household members, but it now also included homosexual victims. The new law was endorsed by gay rights activists because it offered legal recourse for domestic violence victims in the LGBT community.¹⁷⁷

By 1991, five years following the University’s decision to include sexual orientation to its list of protected groups on campus, its home state finally followed suit. The state’s Law Against Discrimination was officially amended to protect sexual orientation and affectation from workplace discrimination.¹⁷⁸ Conservative groups placed more than 1,700 calls to the Governor’s office in the week prior to the law’s signing. Members of the state’s chapter of the Concerned Women of America argued that gays were adequately protected under existing law and that the legislation endorsed the homosexual lifestyle. The Governor’s office responded by saying that the new law simply legislated civil rights and offered protections.¹⁷⁹ LGBA archives show that the LGBA reached out to the Governor and thanked him for his leadership and support of gay citizens of the state. They commended the Governor for taking such important steps

¹⁷⁶ Peet, Judy (20 November, 1990). “Institutional Bias”. Web. *The Star Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/resources/doc/nb/news/1223D89084447BC8?p=AWNB>

¹⁷⁷ Peet, J. (13 November, 1991). “State Stiffens Its Domestic Violence Law”. Web. *The Star-Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12243D0BC5D31E90?p=AWNB>

¹⁷⁸ NJ Law Against Discrimination L.1945, c. 169, § 3. Amended by L.1951 § 2; L.1962, § 2; L.1970, c. 80, § 8, eff. 2 June, 1970; L.1977, c. 96, § 1, eff. May 19, 1977; L.1990, c. 12, § 1; L.1991, c. 519, § 1, eff. Jan. 19, 1992.

¹⁷⁹ Vanhorn, D. (20 January, 1992). “New State Law Bars Anti-Discrimination”. Web. *The Star-Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12246BA400BF5478?p=AWNB>

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placing the state at the forefront of efforts to protect citizens and secure human rights for all.¹⁸⁰

Still one step ahead of the state, that same year, the University extended full domestic partner benefits to its LGBT employees. This was in response to the recommendations made by the Ad Hoc committee.¹⁸¹ Within a national context, even four years later in 1995, only 428 companies nationwide offered such same-sex benefits to their employees.¹⁸²

For this research, I attempted to perform a longitudinal review of official University human resources policies. University archives were lacking in their records of Employee Handbooks issued throughout the decades. Surprisingly, records of such were sporadic at best within the University archives. Of the handbooks I did find, it appears that the University used to issue different employee handbooks for different employee groups. I found two employee handbooks from 1973. One was for Maintenance and Service Employees, the other for Laboratory and Shop Employees. For maintenance workers, the section on health insurance described eligibility as follows, “If you are married, your wife or husband, and all minor children must be included in the coverage you request.”¹⁸³ For laboratory employees, that coverage was described as follows, “You, your spouse and your children up to age 19 are automatically enrolled in the Major Medical Plan on the first day of the month following five months of continuous employment, if you are included on the regular payroll and are working at least 3/5th

¹⁸⁰ Moscato, Robin and Kates, Jennifer (26 June, 1992). [Memo to Governor] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder – LGB Taskforce), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Gulland, Molly. “LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History”, *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

¹⁸² Ross, S. (15 December, 1995). “Employers Expand Benefits for Gays”. Web. *The Star-Ledger*. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/1224D88765EEC120?p=AWNB>

¹⁸³ Anonymous (1973). [Handbook of Information for Maintenance and Service Employees] Historical Subject Files – AC #109, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 241, Folder 9), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

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time.”¹⁸⁴ The 1978 version of the Handbook for Administrative and Related Staff showed medical benefits as being only available to the employee, their husband or wife and children under nineteen¹⁸⁵. It comes as no surprise that prior to 1991, there was no mention whatsoever of gay and lesbian employees and their same sex partners’ eligibility for any benefits. In great contrast, the current employee handbook describes eligibility for medical coverage this way: “Eligible dependents include your spouse, civil union, or same-sex domestic partner*, and, your eligible children to the December 31 in which they turn 26 ... *Your same-sex domestic partner and the child of your same-sex domestic partner are eligible to receive coverage under our health plans.”¹⁸⁶ It is unfortunate that more detailed documentation about this significant change in employee benefits were unavailable for viewing at the time of this writing. The University has in place a forty-year embargo on archival access to any administrative documents it deems sensitive. As such, we were not privy to any official memos exchanged between the University President, Human Resources and the Provost discussing this monumental shift in benefits provided to partners of gay and lesbian employees.

Going back to 1991, the University hired its first part time staff coordinator assigned specifically to work on gay issues on campus. K.L. was given the task of “making something out of the [current] situation.” One of her first actions was to transform the Lesbian and Gay Alliance on campus to the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance to include the once ignored

¹⁸⁴ Anonymous (1973). [Handbook of Information for Laboratory and Shop Employees] Historical Subject Files – AC #109, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 241, Folder 8), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁸⁵ Anonymous (1978). [University Handbook of Information for Administrative and Related Staff] Historical Subject Files – AC #109, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 241, Folder 6), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁸⁶ “Dependents Eligibility and Verification”, (24 December, 2015). Retrieved from <http://www.university.edu/hr/benefits/elig/dep/>

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bisexual community.¹⁸⁷ Amidst these advances, there was still outspoken criticism of the lack of support from the University administration to the LGBT community on campus. In a front page article in March 1991 in the school daily newspaper, members of the LGBT community complained about the lack of officially recognized space for lesbian and bisexual women on campus. The lack of University funding for resources for gay and lesbian students, faculty and staff was criticized as well.¹⁸⁸ Also that year, a sticker campaign was launched throughout campus to promote gay rights awareness. Bright orange stickers were posted throughout campus that read, “A Lesbian was Here” and “We’re Here, We’re Queer, We’re Out.” When an article appeared in the campus paper questioning the efficacy of the sticker campaign, the newspaper’s office doors were vandalized and covered with these same bright orange stickers. The LGBT student organization on campus distanced itself from the sticker attack and said it was not sponsored by the group. Shortly after the launch of the sticker campaign, a sarcastically-named group surfaced on-campus calling itself EMF (Every Man’s Fantasy). EMF created and hung up posters on campus that read “They’re Here, They’re Queer, And We Want Part of the Action.” Members of the EMF group remained anonymous and were never caught.¹⁸⁹

LGBA archives provided a record of the minutes from the LGB Task Force’s meeting in late 1992. According to these minutes, though benefits had been extended a year prior to partners of gay and lesbian employees, the Task Force continued discussions with University Human Resources on issues relating to this Domestic Partnership agreement. The use of health services on campus by domestic partners of students was addressed. Also discussed were the domestic partnership ID benefits and the housing program which the University addressed at a cautious

¹⁸⁷ Victor, Victor. “Forums for LGB Views Multiply”, *University Daily Paper*, 20 April, 2005, pg. 6.

¹⁸⁸ Misra, S.A. “Lesbians and Bisexuals Seek Visibility”, *University Daily Paper*, 15 March, 1991, pg.1.

¹⁸⁹ Clodfelter, Jonathan. “Sticker Attack Hits Editors [Office]”, *University Daily Paper*, 9 April, 1991, pgs.1 & 6.

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pace fearing abuse of the system.¹⁹⁰ The minutes from this specific meeting are particularly revealing in that they show proof that while the University had made official changes towards more inclusive policies for gay and lesbians at the school, some of its departments were still catching up and trying to figure out the actual implementation of these new policies.

On Valentine's weekend in February 1993, there were two incidents reported to the campus police regarding vandalism directed towards the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance. First, vandals tore down the LGBA banner hanging prominently on campus. The second incident involved an LGBA member finding a pool of urine outside his dorm room door. This particular student had been seen by many on campus hanging up posters advertising LGBA meetings, dances and other activities. Both incidents were reported as bias crimes since they targeted people for their sexual orientation. Members of the LGBA believed the theft of the banner to be pre-meditated. They also felt that homophobic bias crime received less condemnation than other expressions of prejudice on campus. The LGBA Coordinator was quoted in the campus paper as saying that there was a need to push the school administration to respond to such homophobic crimes.¹⁹¹

Later that year in November, the campus LGBT movement was dealt two blows by the University administration. The first hit came when University Trustees voted to overturn a faculty council resolution calling for the removal of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) from the school in light of the military's recent adoption of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policy. The DADT policy encouraged soldiers to remain closeted about their sexuality and

¹⁹⁰ N.A.Y. (October, 1992). [Minutes of the 20 October 1992 LGBT Task Force Meeting] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder – LGB Task Force Concerns), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

¹⁹¹ Crabtree, Shona. "Bias Crimes Target Members of LGBA", *University Daily Paper*. 16 February, 1993, pgs.1 & 8.

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punished them for openly discussing their sexual orientation. The second blow occurred when the same Board of Trustees voted to reinstate the University's policy of matching faculty contributions to the Boy Scouts of America. The University President had suspended this policy just one year prior due to the organization's discrimination against gays. These decisions by the Trustees were openly criticized by members and supporters of the campus gay community, expressing concern over the wider implications of these decisions. The administration responded by re-affirming its long-standing policy of non-discrimination on campus and drew the distinction that these recent decisions with the ROTC and the military were for groups external to the University. Despite this reaffirmation, many believed that the University had a responsibility to take a stronger stand against such discriminatory practices.¹⁹²

The following year, 1994, saw some positive developments for the gay community on campus. In March 1994, the LGBA created the subgroup "Q97" to serve as a support and social network for gay, lesbian and bisexual students on campus.¹⁹³ In the summer of 1994, the University announced the hiring of a full time Director for the LGBA. This position moved away from a part time post under the Department of Religious Life to a full time position under the direction of the Dean of Student Life Office. With the creation of this new full time staff position, the goal was to allow students greater access to administrators and also to better integrate lesbian, gay and bisexual concerns into the rest of the University community.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Whitelaw, Kevin. "Activists Call Trustees' Decisions Setback for Gay Rights on Campus", *University Daily Paper*. 18 November, 1993, pgs.1 & 13.

¹⁹³ Caplan, Jeremy. "Q97 Meets Social Support Needs of First Years as LGBA Offshoot", *University Daily Paper*. 4 March, 1994, pgs.1 & 5.

¹⁹⁴ Piccirillo, Steven. "New Directors of Women's Center, LGBA, TWC Discuss Future Plans", *University Daily Paper*, 15 September, 1994, pgs.1 & 2.

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Just two years later, in an interesting development, on February 12, 1996, the Coalition of University Students for Tolerance expressed concerns at the University Council meeting that the school had moved away from its policy of true tolerance for all beliefs to a practice of advocating the agendas of certain groups on campus over others. The Coalition asserted that there was discrimination on campus against students with conservative religious beliefs. They called upon the UCouncil to investigate their claims. The UCouncil subsequently voted against the creation of a committee to investigate these charges. In response, the Coalition began circulating a petition among students demanding a formal investigation into the matter. Additionally, the Coalition wrote letters to administrative offices on campus it considered to be discriminatory against them and asked for written clarification on their positions on this matter. The Coalition reached out to offices such as Student Life and the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance. The Coalition claimed that they were not homophobic. Rather, they called for a return to true tolerance on campus rather than the intimidation and discrimination they claimed to have witnessed towards students, such as themselves, who spoke out against the more liberal groups whom they believed the administration favored.¹⁹⁵

The following month, in March of 1996, a new petition was circulated on campus in direct response to the Coalition's allegations. This new petition stated that the undersigned supported the administration's current policies against behavior which demeans, intimidates, threatens or injures others because of his or her personal characteristics or beliefs. Programs reaffirmed by the new petition included official recognition of student organizations, peer education groups, health services and the Residential Advisor and Minority Affairs Advisor programs. According to the petition each was integral to maintaining the respect for rights,

¹⁹⁵ Banger, Jessica Lynn. "Students Circulate Petition to Discuss Issue of Tolerance", *University Daily Paper*, 1 March, 1996, pgs. 1 & 3.

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privileges, and sensibilities of one another in order to preserve the spirit of community at the University. The Coalition felt that this new petition was unfounded and confused. The Coalition responded by saying that they were already seeking tolerance while the new petition was calling for a tolerant atmosphere on campus. Members of the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance on campus disagreed and appreciated the show of support for the new petition. The LGBA felt that the Coalition actually targeted its LGB Peer Education Program believing it was intolerant of religious beliefs. The President of the LGBA went on to assert that their group was not trying to force their point of view upon others. Rather, they were trying to start an open dialogue on campus.¹⁹⁶

That same month, the campus daily paper published an open letter to the editor that decried the supposedly overly graphic nature of photographs featured on flyers promoting a recent dance sponsored by the LGBA. The anonymous author of the letter complained that the appalling nature of the photos depicting homosexual couples would have been just as repulsing had it featured a heterosexual couple engaged in the same acts. The author went on to say that the use of such photos made a mockery of sex and homosexual couples. The author did not believe that this shock tactic promoted tolerance or acceptance of the LGB community on campus. The author closed his letter by saying that the LGBA needs to realize that not all students may have been exposed to homosexuality prior to their arrival on campus, and thus may need some time to feel comfortable with the idea. At the same time, the author called on the University community to accept that there are many different lifestyles in the world which we must all deal with to survive peacefully.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Anonymous, "On LGBA Dance Advertisements", *University Daily Paper*, 15 March, 1996, pg.8.

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Outside of the University's walls, also in March of 1996, a group of Reform rabbis endorsed homosexual marriages but stopped short of recommending that rabbis perform the ceremonies. The 1,750-member Central Conference of American Rabbis was the first major group of Jewish leaders in the country to formally oppose government bans on same-sex marriages.¹⁹⁸

Roughly one month following the Coalition's petition, a new student group was founded on campus directly in response to their actions. The new group And Justice for All (AJA) was founded by straight allies of the LGBA. The founders of AJA felt that with the current debate on advocacy versus tolerance on campus, this was an opportune time to encourage people to think about gay rights. The goal of AJA was to complement the work of the LGBA, giving straight allies a connection to help with the issue of equal rights for people of all sexual orientations.¹⁹⁹

Later that month, the University celebrated Pride Week '96 which was sponsored by the LGBA, alumni, as well as the Office of Religious Life. Given the absence of a Queer Studies academic department at the University, Pride Week '96 sought to provide a venue for undergrad and graduate students doing research and writing about LGBT issues. Colloquium events were held throughout the week to help foster a scholarly community among those at the University doing this important work. Other events at Pride Week included a Drag Ball as well as a banquet organized by the Alumni Reunion Fund. The Office of Religious Life sponsored programming during Pride Week that focused on issues of spirituality for the gay community. The University Chapel opened its doors to Pride Week events recognizing that all people are included in a

¹⁹⁸ Raphael, M. (29 March, 1996). "Rabbis Favor Legal Gay Marriages". Web. *The Star Ledger*, p. 17. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0EFDAA22A2CA7AEE?p=AWNB>

¹⁹⁹ Terc, Mandy. "Students Found New Group for Gay Activism on Campus", *University Daily Paper*, 17 April, 1996, pgs. 4-9.

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worshipping community as equal in the eyes of God.²⁰⁰ That spring the University Chapel hosted its first same-sex wedding ceremony between two gay alums of the University. This wedding sparked considerable controversy on campus, especially among conservative alumni.²⁰¹ Archives of the state's largest daily newspaper show that some months following the ground-breaking wedding, the Dean of Religious Life at the University announced that the wedding registry of the school chapel would be changed to state that a ceremony uniting two gay men was performed there, not a sanctioned marriage. In a letter to the University's board of trustees and the editor of the alumni magazine, the dean said he hoped the chapel would remain a welcoming place but added that no future same-sex union would be recorded in the official register. He explained that they will only record sanctioned marriages in their register in the future.²⁰² It is of note that this important development had not been covered by the campus daily paper. This omission, though small, is significant in that it reveals a still unwelcoming climate towards the LGBT community on campus at the time.

At the end of April 1996, the Office of the Dean of Student Life and the Campus Police were brought into the investigation of anonymous letters that were sent by post to many of the male students on campus. The author of the letter was anonymous and described himself simply as a college graduate seeking a meaningful gay relationship. The letters originated from Cambridge, MA. Male students from similar universities across the country received these letters as well. The author wrote, "While I am attracted to guys, I dislike all the gays I have met.

²⁰⁰ Kovalchuk, Dasha. "LGBA Sponsors Pride Week, Promotes Study of Gay Life", *University Daily Paper*, 18 April, 1996, pgs. 3 & 9.

²⁰¹ Marks, Sarah. "LGBA Focuses Awareness Week on Athletes", *University Daily Paper*, 13 October, 1997, pg. 3.

²⁰² Reilly, M. (26 June, 1997). "Gay Wedding Spurs University Chapel Limits". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, p. 25. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0EFDA81C84A5A098?p=AWNB>

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It has gradually dawned on me that it might be a long shot for me to find someone I like ... so I decided to try the unorthodox but more exhaustive approach of a mass mailing... Gays strike me as effeminate and the ones who are relatively straight-acting tend to strike me as neuter.” The University actively investigated the matter which left many students confused, wondering if the mass mailing was a hoax. The letter was denounced by the LGBA saying that it served to perpetuate offensive stereotypes about gay men. University policy prohibits the release of student names and addresses so investigators believed that information on recipients may have been derived from a hard copy of the campus directory. There was further speculation that the letter only targeted white male students on campus.²⁰³

Archival records show that in June of 1996, the President of the University reached out to the leadership of the LGB Concerns Task Force. In the memo, the President commended the work done by the Task Force in previous years and stated that their advice on a number of issues had been very helpful and many of their recommendations had been implemented. He went on to ask for the continuation of the Task Force in its role as a working group, specifically with responsibility to identify and recommend ways to improve the quality of life for lesbian, gay, bisexual and other sexual minorities on campus. He clarified that the Task Force would not assume the policy-making or programmatic responsibilities that are vested with the officers and administrators of the University, but rather work within existing administrative structures. He described his vision for the Task Force playing a very helpful role:

“- Providing advice as solicited to various offices of the University
who seek to reduce homophobia and to ensure climate of safety
and equality of opportunity for sexual minority members of the
university community

²⁰³ Bagner, Jessica Lynn. “Anonymous Mass Mailing Confuses Males at University”, *University Daily Paper*, 24 April, 1996, pgs.1 & 7.

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- Collecting and sharing information of interest concerning Lesbian / Gay / Bisexual issues and
- Suggesting new initiatives as may seem appropriate to ensure fairness, equality of opportunity and respect for all members of the diverse University community”²⁰⁴

It is safe to assume that the Task Force accepted the President’s charge as their work continues to this day at the University. In fact several of our interview participants had been involved with the Task Force in more recent years.

Within a larger context, it is important to note that also in June 1996 within the University’s home state, a bill was put forth in the legislature to ban same-sex marriages. If passed, the bill would not have only banned homosexual marriages within the state, but it would also have invalidated any legal same-sex marriages performed in other jurisdictions. At the time, up to thirty other states were considering similar legislation.²⁰⁵

Later that year, the LGBA organized a second Pride Week on campus, around the theme of faith and sexuality. Event organizers believed that this theme was just as important to members of the heterosexual community who receive mixed messages from their religions as it was to members of the homosexual community grappling with their religious beliefs. Once again, the University Chapel was fully supportive of the Pride Week events, recognizing it as an opportunity for the LGBA to start a conversation to broaden understanding and to advocate gay, lesbian and bisexual rights which ultimately is about civil rights. The new LGBA Coordinator was also involved in the Pride Week celebrations that year. She had come to the University after

²⁰⁴ Shapiro, Harold (11 June, 1996). [Memo to Michael Montgomery of LGB Task Force] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder – LGB Task Force Minutes), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

²⁰⁵ Barrett Carter, K. (20 June, 1996). “Bill to Ban Same-Sex Marriage Puts State in Midst of Debate”. Web. *The Star-Ledger*, p. 1. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0EFDAAB669C6FD9B?p=AWNB>

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working for an LGB health organization in Washington, DC. Despite her recent arrival on campus, the new LGBA Coordinator was quoted in the campus paper as claiming to have already witnessed a fair amount of homophobia at the school. It was her hope that the events of Pride Week would serve to combat the ignorance and naiveté she witnessed on campus.²⁰⁶

Despite the widespread support received by the LGBA for the fall '96 Pride Week activities, the celebrations still ended on a negative note. The LGBA was verbally attacked at an open microphone rally it hosted. A student who had a history of criticizing the LGBA in the campus papers surprised the crowd when he took the microphone at the Pride Week rally and openly denounced the LGBA at their own event. The President of the LGBA went on stage a few minutes into the student's rant and asked him to leave. In response to this incident, the LGBA, along with the University LGB Task Force (comprised of faculty, staff and student representatives), consulted with University Legal Counsel on how to best avoid such disruptions at future LGBA events. The LGBA always claimed to encourage open discussion of issues, but did not feel that the open microphone rally was the proper venue for the student's comments. University Legal Counsel advised the group that they would have less control over the content of speeches if they continue to present their events as open mic forums. The group was further instructed that if they seek to feature only speakers with supportive comments for the LGBA, then they ought to frame and publicize their events as such. This incident was a disheartening blow to members of the LGB community on campus who had worked hard to create a safe space for gay members of the University without fear of being attacked.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Fuzesi, Steve. "LGBA Organizes Rally, Talks on Issues of Faith, Sexuality", *University Daily Paper*, 9 October 1996, pgs.1 & 7.

²⁰⁷ Bliss, Emily. "University Attorneys Advise LGBA on Free Speech, Harassment Issues", *University Daily Paper*, 14 March, 1997, pgs. 1-2.

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Even several months after – in March of 1997 - this incident remained on the minds of many on campus. The University Legal Counsel's involvement in advising the LGBA on how to control future events angered some students who viewed the Counsel's actions as an incursion on students' free speech. To these students, any mention of control of speech by the University's General Counsel was a flagrant overreaching by University Administration.²⁰⁸ Further criticism was drawn about how such an event disallowing free speech on campus was funded by the Office of the Dean of Student Life, Office of Religious Life and the University Student Government. Critics of the LGBA said that until the group is able to self-finance its own events, it must not censor those who are courageous enough to voice views contrary to those of the LGBA.²⁰⁹ In the midst of this controversy, some people also questioned if it was appropriate for the University to fund the salary of a full time LGBA Coordinator. Critics felt that by funding this position, the Administration was clearly taking sides in this debate and was also offering special privilege to the LGBA.²¹⁰

Within the state at large, in the summer of 1997, it was announced that the University's home state would have the first ever court-appointed task force in the nation to study discrimination against gay men and lesbians in the court system. The task force's mission was to examine the experiences of litigant, attorneys, judges, criminal defendants and other participants in the judicial process of find out if there was evidence to suggest bias or discrimination against homosexuals. This task force was created in direct response to a presentation made the year prior by the state's Gay Law Association to the state Supreme Court. They presented the high court with anecdotal information about incidents within the state court system that demonstrated

²⁰⁸ Pyle, Thomas. "Free Speech?", *University Daily Paper*, 25 March, 1997, pg.8.

²⁰⁹ Campbell, Colin. "Defending Shapiro '99", *University Daily Paper*, 25 March, 1997, pg.8.

²¹⁰ Pyle, Thomas. "All Apologies", *University Daily Paper*, 28 March, 1997, pg.8.

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profound and very troubling disrespect for gay attorneys and litigants. The state's court had a proud history of self-examination and welcomed the creation of the task force.²¹¹

Later on in 1997, the LGBA hosted its regular fall Pride Week activities in October. The week's events focused on the theme of "Out of Left Field," to address the concerns of homosexual athletes in society, especially at the University. The LGBA hoped to work towards an environment where being gay and being an athlete were not considered mutually exclusive. A rally was scheduled as part of the Pride Week events featuring student and faculty speakers. However, unlike the controversial LGBA open mic rally held the year before, this year's rally had a closed microphone format. Anyone who wished to speak at the rally had to contact the LGBA beforehand to make arrangements. The LGBA defended their choice of this format by saying that they had designed this to be a supportive event for the LGB community on campus and so they did not feel that non-supportive remarks were appropriate in the program.

Within the University's home state, the LGBT community was once again thrust back in the headlines when a judge awarded custody of a 2-year old boy to a gay couple. At the time, this decision was the first of its kind and proved ground-breaking for gay and lesbian couples who were looking to start families of their own.²¹²

Other notable events for the fall '97 Pride Week included a self-defense class taught by a Tae Kwon Do coach. The LGBA co-president at the time was quoted in the school paper as saying that self-defense was of special concern to members of the gay and lesbian community which is why they included this class in their roster of Pride Week events. Same as in previous

²¹¹ Barrett Carter, K. (12 July, 1997). "Task Force to Study Gay Bias in the Courts". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, pg. 9. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0EFDA83C0C534F6A?p=AWNB>

²¹² Anonymous (31 December, 1997). "Tragedy and Triumph – (Part 2 Chronology: July to December 1997)". Web. *The Star Ledger*, p.8. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0EFDA98413B2ADD8?p=AWNB>

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years, the Office of Religious Life continued its participation in the week's events. A sermon entitled "To Be Gay and Married" was given at the University Chapel that week.²¹³

One month later in November 1997, posters on campus for a symposium on black masculinity were defaced with racial epithets. The week after, a kiosk at the University featuring drawings of the new campus center were vandalized with ethnic slurs targeting a different minority group at the University community.²¹⁴ In combination with the bias incidents towards the gay and lesbian community, these racially motivated incidents make evident an inhospitable and intolerant climate on campus at the time towards minority groups – be they people of color or queers.

During the years of 1998 - 2000, there was no coverage in the school paper of any LGBT-related issues or incidents on campus. It is of note however that in 1999 the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance (LGBA) voted to officially change its name to the more inclusive University Pride Alliance. This name still stands today.²¹⁵

Within the state at large, a monumental case was won in the state court of appeals by the LGBT community in 1998. In a landmark decision, the courts ruled that the expulsion of a homosexual Scoutmaster by the Boys Scouts of America violated the law. It was the first such ruling of its kind and one that the Boy Scouts immediately vowed to appeal. The Scouts insisted that a voluntary organization, such as theirs, had a right to set its own standards for leadership. However, a three-judge appeals court ruled that the Boy Scouts, just like Little League Baseball, is subject to the state's Law Against Discrimination. This ruling reversed a 1995 decision by a

²¹³ Marks, Sarah. "LGBA Focuses Awareness Week on Athletes", *University Daily Paper*, 13 October, 1997, pg.3.

²¹⁴ Montero, Janina. "Eliminating Bias", *University Daily Paper*, 13 November, 1997, pg.8.

²¹⁵ Gulland, Molly. "LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History", *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

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Superior Court Judge who said that the Boy Scouts were within their constitutional rights to expel a homosexual Scoutmaster.²¹⁶ This decision was subsequently upheld by the state's supreme court the year later. The Scouts continued to appeal the case all the way to the United States Supreme Court. In 2000, in a 5-to-4 vote, the high court ruled that the Boy Scouts had a constitutional right to exclude gay members because opposition to homosexuality is part of the group's "expressive message". Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist said that the court intended neither to approve or disapprove of the Boy Scout's view of homosexuality. Rather, he said that the First Amendment's protection for freedom of association meant that the state could not compel the 6.2 million-member organization to accept members where such acceptance would derogate from the organization's expressive message.²¹⁷

Back at the University, coverage of LGBT issues by the campus newspaper picked back up again in 2001 when the Pride Alliance sponsored a Drag Ball at the University. The event encouraged female students to dress as men, and male students to dress as women. The event, held in conjunction with Pride Week activities that year, featured a Drag Queen and Drag King competition. Attendees of the Drag Ball commented that it was a liberating opportunity to defy stereotypical gender roles within a comforting, accepting environment. The event was attended by current students of the University, faculty and alumni, as well as students from nearby colleges.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ Schwaneberg, R. and Irizarry, L. (3 March, 1998). "Gay Scout Wins Suit Over Ban - Jersey Court Rules the Group Cannot Exclude Homosexuals". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/0EFDA3C6D4654FF6?p=AWNB>

²¹⁷ Greenhouse, L. "The Supreme Court: Supreme Court Backs Boy Scouts in Ban of Gays from Membership". Web. *New York Times*, 29 June 2002, retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/06/29/us/supreme-court-new-jersey-case-supreme-court-backs-boy-scouts-ban-gays-membership.html?pagewanted=all>

²¹⁸ Cooper, Sam. "Drag Queen and King Competitions Highlight Annual Drag Ball at Terrace", *University Daily Paper*, 15 April 2002, pgs. 1-7.

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Starting on April 5th, 2002, the daily campus paper ran a series of articles for Pride Week. The series entitled “Pride and Prejudice” consisted of five articles each exploring various LGBT issues that affected the campus community. The first article in the series provided a historical overview of the LGBT movement on campus – from the first meeting in 1972 attended by only ten students, to the early gay dances held on campus, to the University Chapel’s open support of the LGBT community by officiating holy unions for gay couples, etc. The article discussed the uphill battle fought by the early founders of the gay movement on campus and ended with an interview of the 2002 leadership of the Pride Alliance who lamented that while the University remained a difficult place for many gay undergraduates, it was significantly better than it used to be.²¹⁹ The second piece in the series examined the experiences of gay athletes on campus. The gay athletes interviewed for the article had already previously come out to their respective teams. All of these athletes unanimously described a welcoming and understanding experience when they disclosed their homosexuality to their teammates. Many of them credited this positive reaction to the open mindedness of student leaders on the various athletic teams and how their attitudes set the norm for the younger athletes.²²⁰ The third article examined the role of nature vs. nurture in determining sexual preference. This piece presented both sides of this argument – whether homosexuality is genetically determined, or if it is a choice. The article also included in depth interviews with the Pride Alliance President and Vice President at the time who each discussed their personal struggles in recognizing and accepting their own homosexuality, as well as their coming out journey.²²¹ The fourth article examined LGBT issues on campus through the

²¹⁹ Gulland, Molly. “LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History”, *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

²²⁰ Starkweather, Austin. “For Gay Athletes, Coming Out Often Makes Ripples, Rarely Makes Waves”, *University Daily Paper*, 8 April 2002, pgs.1-4.

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lens of gay faculty. Long time professors at the University were interviewed about their experiences as out gay faculty members and how attitudes at the school towards homosexuality have changed from the 1980's through 2002. Those interviewed agreed that the University had become a more welcoming environment for gays over the years. These professors felt that while it may have once been controversial to even use the word "gay" in a course syllabus to refer to homosexuals, in 2002, being gay and teaching gay text were no longer newsworthy topics at the University. Despite the evolution of attitudes towards LGBT issues on campus, as of 2002, the University still did not have a formal organization for LGBT faculty. The LGBT Coordinator for the University weighed in on this by saying that she had noticed a "silence" among gay faculty even in 2002. She felt that the campus was very closeted, making it difficult for gay faculty to come out. She found that while gay and lesbian faculty associated with each other, there was not a cohesive community among them at the school citing the lack of a strong out teaching community. She attributed the silence to a lack of comfort and that some high profile professors had a legitimate fear that being openly gay would hurt their professional careers. She went on to say, "Some faculty feel it is hostile, others don't... There are little pockets of faculty and so much depends on what pocket you end up in." She said that the lack of visible gay faculty made it challenging for students as well since they did not have role models who demonstrated confidence in who they were.²²² The gay professors interviewed in this article said that they were not aware of LGBT faculty who were fearful to speak up and be noticed. Instead they believed that gay faculty felt comfortable, and did not feel the need to speak.²²³ The series concluded with

²²¹ Chan, Jeremy. "LGBT Students Reflect on Nature of Homosexuality", *University Daily Paper*, 10 April 2002, pgs. 1&7.

²²² Brush, Silla . "Professors Reflect on Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in the Ivory Tower", *University Daily Paper*, 12 April, 2002, pgs.1-5.

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a final article that focused on various events being offered by the Pride Alliance in 2002 for gay students on campus, highlighting the Drag Ball which crowned a Drag Queen and Drag King at the University.²²⁴

The year 2002 was significant for the LGBT community on campus because the University hosted its first Lavender Graduation event. The Lavender Graduation continues annually to this day and gives special recognition to graduating LGBT students. It has become a regular part of the school's roster of graduation events held in the spring and a rite of passage for graduating LGBT students.²²⁵

In the last half of 2002, four incidents of homophobia and gender discrimination on campus were reported against straight students who either had gay friends or who wore unconventional clothing. In one of these incidents, graffiti was scrawled on a female student's door simply because she had gay friends.²²⁶ Additionally, an article was published in the University's conservative journal, that condemned homosexuality as abnormal and immoral. These incidents led the campus LGBT community to demand that the University take official action. In response, the LGBT Coordinator promptly met with the editors of the conservative journal to discuss the article it had published. Additionally, the first "Kiss In" at the University was held that year outside the campus center in support of the school's LGBT community. A

²²³ Brush, Silla . "Professors Reflect on Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in the Ivory Tower", *University Daily Paper*, 12 April, 2002, pgs.1-5.

²²⁴ Cooper, Sam. "Drag Queen and King Competitions Highlight Annual Drag Ball at Terrace", *University Daily Paper*, 15 April, 2002, pgs.1-7.

²²⁵ The University. 16 April, 2013. *Every Voice*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NvkANKOR14A>

²²⁶ Williams, Abby. "Gay Students Seek Understanding from Campus Community", *University Daily Paper*, 2 December, 2002, pgs.1-3.

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demonstration was also held later that year on campus to promote recognition of transgender students held on November 19th – National Transgender Remembrance Day.²²⁷

The year 2004 proved to be momentous for the LGBT community in the University's home state. In January, the governor signed into law recognition by the state of same-sex domestic partnerships. At that time, the state was only one of a handful of states to do so. Though falling short of conferring gay couples married status, the legislation was an important step in securing the rights of LGBT men and women across the state. This legislation permitted domestic partners to make critical medical decisions for each other. It also required insurance companies to offer health coverage to domestic partners equivalent to that of spouses. The measure extended health coverage and pension benefits to the domestic partners of state employees, but made no requirements of private employers.²²⁸ The University pre-dated the state in extending such benefits to same sex couples by thirteen years when it began offering those to its employees back in 1991.²²⁹

There is not much coverage of LGBT issues on campus in the intervening years of the early to mid-2000s. In late 2006, the University was ranked among the top 20 schools in the nation for supporting gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender students. The ranking was released by The Advocate, an American LGBT-interest magazine, printed bi-monthly. The report was a 389-page book that rated colleges based on 20 criteria items – including strength of LGBT and allied student organizations, LGBT social activities and education events and whether the

²²⁷ Williams, Abby. "Gay Students Seek Understanding from Campus Community", *University Daily Paper*, 2 December, 2002, pgs.1-3.

²²⁸ Mansnerus, Laura. (9 January, 2004). "New Jersey to Recognize Gay Couples". Web. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/09/nyregion/new-jersey-to-recognize-gay-couples.html>

²²⁹ Gulland, Molly. "LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History", *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

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campus police was trained on LGBT sensitivity – that went on to comprise an institution’s “Gay Point Average” or GPA. The University received a 19 GPA out of 20 possible points.²³⁰

In October of that year, the University celebrated the grand opening of its newly built LGBT Center on campus. The event was attended by the highest level administrators at the school with the President and Executive Vice President giving speeches at the event. Construction of the LGBT Center started three years earlier in 2003 after representatives from undergraduates, graduate students, alumni and LGBT awareness organizations on campus presented a formal proposal for the center to the University President. The post of LGBT Coordinator eventually evolved to Director of the LGBT Center. The Director’s office was to be housed at the new Center, along with a library, lounge, seating area and workspace areas available for students to use. The new Center would be a safe haven to LGBT students on campus where they could feel comfortable in a safe space.²³¹

The LGBT community in the state ended 2006 on a high note with lawmakers passing a law legalizing same-sex civil unions. At the time, the University’s home state was only the third in the nation to allow gay couples to form civil unions with all the rights and responsibilities of married couples. In 2006, Massachusetts was the sole state to fully legalize gay marriage. This vote came just fifty days after the University’s home state’s Supreme Court declared that the state constitution required equality for same-sex couples. The high court gave lawmakers six months to enact change. Gay marriage supporters were muted in their enthusiasm for this new

²³⁰ Feder, Emily. (3 October, 2006). , “University Ranks in Top 20 for Gay-Friendliness”. *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/2006/10/03/16027/>

²³¹ Weidman, Maxwell. (13 October, 2006). “Gay Students Find a Home”. *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/2006/10/13/16192/>

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law. They were however encouraged by the number of lawmakers who seemed open to gay marriage. Activists vowed to one day bring marriage equality to the state.²³² Their biggest criticism of this new law was for its shortcomings. For all of the new benefits that this law would provide to same-sex couples, those same benefits ended also ended at the state line. At the time, most other states did not recognize same-sex civil unions so if these gay couples moved out of state, these benefits would not likely follow them. Additionally, this new law had no impact on Federal laws which still deprived these couples of any benefits available to their heterosexual counterparts.²³³

Three years later in the fall of 2009, the University announced that it would be launching gender-neutral housing options on campus the following school year. The pilot program would be hosted in one dormitory building and would permit gender-neutral occupancy in the apartment-style rooms. This program eliminated a previous requirement that residents of these 4-person apartments be of the same gender. After this announcement, the University's Vice President for Campus Life explained that the program was created in recognition that there are some upper class students for whom this option would be more comfortable and appealing. The program was praised widely by the LGBT community on campus saying that it was a huge step in helping transgender students already at the University feel more comfortable. It was also expected to help attract prospective transgender students to the school. The program was seen as a show of support for the queer community on campus and legitimized transgender students

²³² Coscarelli, K. (15 December, 2006). "Legislators Approve Gay Civil Unions - Corzine Applauds Historic Passage". Web. *The Star Ledger*, pg. 1. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/1160BA4F08D2FCC8?p=AWNB>

²³³ Schwaneberg, R. (2 January, 20017). "Civil Union Benefits to End at State Line - Many Federal Rights are Still Not Granted". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, pg. 1. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/1166A89D8FF0AC58?p=AWNB>

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there.²³⁴ The new program drew ire from some factions of the University as well. The Anacombe Society which seeks to promote traditional values on campus criticized the University's approval process. They felt that there was insufficient campus-wide debate on such an important policy shift. Yet overwhelmingly, the response to this announcement was positive even in the state-wide newspapers that covered the story. In 2009, the University was one of only two institutions of higher education in its home state that allowed both male and female students to live together.²³⁵

More recently, in the spring of 2013, the University hosted the three-day Every Voice Conference for LGBT and ally alumni. This was the first event of its kind to be sponsored by the University and was designed to re-engage LGBT alumni with the University community. Inspiration for the event came when members of the alumni council questioned whether the University was actually connecting with the entire alumni community.²³⁶ The conference included presentations by University alumni, faculty, staff and students; alumni discussion groups; networking opportunities; film screenings and other social events. Receptions were held throughout the conference for LGBT alumni of the Public and International Affairs School, as well as receptions for members of the Asian-American, black and Latino alumni associations. A separate reception was also held for trans alumni and current students with the goal of providing a confidential space for transgender, genderqueer and gender non-conforming alumni and

²³⁴ Friedman, Nava. (26 October, 2009). "LGBT Students Praise Gender-Neutral Housing Program". *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/2009/10/26/24270/>

²³⁵ Walter, D. (16 October 2009). "University Opens Some of its Dorms to Mixed-Gender Accommodations". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, p. 021.. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12B62A889D4B2158?p=AWNB>

²³⁶ Kruk, Allison. (14 April, 2013). "Polis '96, Tilghman Address Alumni at First U. LGBT Alumni Conference". Web. *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/2013/04/14/33076/>

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students to meet.²³⁷ At the conference, organizers premiered a video that documented the past five decades at the school through interviews with LGBT alumni, faculty, staff and students. The video traces back to a time when the LGBT community at the University was largely invisible to the present, where the LGBT community is a vibrant part of the school and many states across the country have now legalized same-sex marriage. During the conference, alumni in attendance had the opportunity to record their personal stories as part of an LGBT audio and oral history project. The conference was free to University undergraduate, graduate alumni, faculty and staff.²³⁸

In 2015, the University was ranked among the top 25 in the nation for LGBTQ-Friendliness by Campus Pride. Two other schools in its home state made the cut. The rankings were based on the schools' responses to a self-assessment that asks about policies, programs and practices that apply to the LGBTQ community. The index included questions covering academic life, safety and housing options, etc. This nationwide index included a total of 191 schools.²³⁹

Summary

This historical overview of the University indicates that unlike many of its contemporaries, the University was very slow to change. For many decades, the school maintained institutionalized barriers that preserved the homogeneity of its student body. Bigotry and bias unfortunately became part of the University's reputation. However, the long-held prejudice of the administration, students and alumni stood no chance in the face of

²³⁷ Kruk, Allison. (14 April, 2013). "Polis '96, Tilghman Address Alumni at First U. LGBT Alumni Conference". Web. *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/2013/04/14/33076/>

²³⁸ Anonymous (12 April, 2013). "University Kicks Off LGBT Alumni Conference." Retrieved from <http://www.university.edu/main/news/archive/S36/56/94A34/>

²³⁹ Clark, A. (25 August, 2015). "3 Colleges Make Top 25 For LGBTQ-Friendliness". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, pg. 7. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15772A41F632AA10?p=AWNB>

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modernization in the last half of the 20th century. As the broader American society progressed towards more inclusivity, the University was forced to follow suit to survive. Though change was slow to come to campus, when it did arrive, the University quickly became a trailblazer for equality at colleges and universities across the country. While many of these overdue changes were met with initial resistance, the University administration of the past thirty to forty years has remained steadfast in its commitment to diversity on campus and equality for all.

The research presented in the subsequent chapters occurred within this institutional setting. This research focuses on the workplace experiences of LGBT administrators within the University. Key to understanding the stories of the study participants is an understanding of the historical context of the organization within which their workplace experiences occurred.

Chapter V - Interviews and Themes

While extensive research has been conducted on LGBT issues within colleges and universities, much of this work has focused on students and faculty. Despite the crucial roles played by LGBT administrators within institutions of higher education, their experiences have been mostly overlooked. The primary goal of this dissertation was to lend a voice to these seldom heard LGBT administrators at colleges and universities. In order to accomplish this goal, it was necessary to conduct interviews and lengthy conversations with LGBT administrators to learn more about their experiences within today's college environment.

In reviewing the transcripts of the interviews, it quickly became clear that despite the differences in their positions or departments, there are threads of common experiences that unify the study participants. Perhaps the most common theme is the existence of micro-climates within the different departments and levels of the University. Based on the experiences of the subjects, we see these micro-climates in disparate departments from Central Administration to Facilities to Athletics to the Library system and even within the Campus Police. These exist independent of the larger University climate. Some of the micro-climates are consistent with the School's current progressive policies towards LGBT communities on campus, while others are not.

Study participant, D.L. works in the Facilities organization. He discussed this issue of micro-climates during both interviews with him.

“And I’m always pleased when I can take a stance on something that may help others that because - which is part of I think my lens of I don’t feel like I’ve had it hard at all. Because I can only imagine what it would be to work in a trade shop and be an out man – or to be a man that wanted to be out. And I can ... I can ... I

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mean the kinds of people that I interact with daily have had far more educational opportunities and um, their life experiences probably have prompted a little broader view of things than some of our staff at more junior levels who simply haven't had as many opportunities in that area and so I think are probably a bit apt to be homophobic whether they truly are themselves or it's politically the more accepted thing to do within their circle.”²⁴⁰

While D.L. has been an out gay man at University Facilities since he started there eleven years prior, he knew that the experiences of the University Vice President for Facilities may not necessarily mirror those of his subordinates – the manual labor force of the University comprised of electricians, custodians, grounds crews, etc. He attributes these incongruous climates to a lack of exposure by those in the lower ranks to diverse groups and ways of thinking.

D.L. went on to describe the Facilities micro-climate a bit further. He told us about two of his employees – a gay man and a lesbian woman - who did not feel comfortable disclosing their sexuality to their co-workers and so they chose to pass as heterosexuals at work. Both were part of Grounds and Building Maintenance. According to D.L., the male went to great lengths to hide his homosexuality – insisting on corresponding strictly via email – for fear that his true orientation might be discovered if he is seen even just speaking with D.L. who is openly gay.

“He’s worked here many years longer than I and is – you know, hopefully has a career here. I’ve talked to him the most of anyone and he’s very – he wants to talk via email the most because I think he’s even concerned about spending time with me because if you’re so worked up and trying to cover why would you be spending time with ... I’ve never met him. He has had at least two

²⁴⁰ D.L. Interview 1 – pg. 7

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different partners ... since I've been talking with him. And I've tried to get him in touch with the right resources on campus that are really far better um, positioned to help him with these things than I am even. And there's not ... he's concerned what his co-workers will think. And I've continued to say for one, it's both sad that he has to be concerned about that and none of us can prove that there wouldn't be concerns but I said those are all short term issues. From my perspective, those are short term issues and you would get through them and your life would be – you would be better in the end. But that has to be a personal choice.”²⁴¹

Study participant, B.L.S. who works in Central Administration shared a similar point of view on departmental micro-climates:

“So you have it right from the top here. Being gay is fine. Being gay is good... We have several trustees who are gay – either current or former trustees that are gay and out. And we have a lot of administrators - almost every cabinet member has a direct report who is gay. I guess the other thing that's important to note is that I, I work ... I mean ... and O Hall is like the center of the universe in a way. And I work with three cabinet members. And I know the President. You know, so I work in senior administration. So it may not be a representative perspective because – because I work for someone who's the third ranking person in the university and they are openly gay... Yeah, I think in most in central administration it's pretty good. Um, I think the place where it's likely toughest is in Facilities. Cause Facilities is Dining, Grounds and Building – you know construction and all that. “²⁴²

²⁴¹ D.L. Interview 1 – pgs. 7-8.

²⁴² B.L.S. Interview 1 – pgs. 6, 14, 21.

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Like D.L. in Facilities, B.L.S. in Central Administration openly acknowledges that his experience working in central administration for a high ranking university official who is also an out gay man, may not necessarily be representative of the experiences of other LGBT employees in lower rungs at the University. In so doing, B.L.S. re-affirmed the existence of these micro-climates within the organization.

Another department with a micro-climate similar to that of Facilities was the Campus Police. This department was dominated by overtly masculine attitudes and there were similar expectations of traditional gender roles and behaviors of the officers. For study participant N.B., this departmental climate made for a very hostile workplace for a closeted lesbian police officer who went against these cultural norms. The tone was set right from the beginning during her job interview:

“LA – Um, so as you first started here, you said the climate was pretty awful.

NB – Yeah, actually on my interview, I was asked what my family intentions were.

LA - ... Have you always been out here?

NB – No... I actually had um, I mean years ago, there was a lot of comments thrown around, um, by co-workers. You know, in general, law enforcement isn't really, um, one of the safer havens for people to come out in... Um, so, no, I mean my ... *for years my partner couldn't even answer the phone at the house.* You know ... it was just, you know, just like don't do it cause it was just something you didn't want to ... you know ... you just didn't want to deal with ... especially knowing that you know, you don't want to have to go to work and have it be a problem because when you come into work and people are making comments, you know, uh, you know, the whole Adam and Eve and you know, kind of crap.

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You know you hear it and you don't want to deal with it. Um, you know there were you know, there were racial issues at that time too...where it just encompassed everything. It was just ... actually at one point it was just a nightmare to have to come into work. And so because nobody just stopped you know, the runaway freight train ... so it, it was bad for awhile. The University climate in general has changed. Um, because there's *so many* senior administrators that are out."²⁴³

For Officer NB, the homophobia within her department was only compounded by racial issues that also plagued the unit. This extremely hostile environment was the reason that N.B remained closeted for the first twelve years of her career at the University. For over a decade, she never mentioned her partner's name, never had her partner answer their home phone for fear of being outed, and she lived in constant fear that campus police officers would not back her up during confrontations with suspects if they found out she was a lesbian.²⁴⁴ The homophobia of her department was something that she feared both at work and at home. This climate of homophobia was not isolated within the Campus Police Department. In fact, our research into the archives of the campus daily paper prove that in the 1990's there continued to be an issue with bias attacks and harassment towards the LGBT community at the University.^{245 246}

N.B.'s problems with discrimination by her fellow officers are not unique to the University's Campus Police. In fact, studies have found that discrimination against gays and

²⁴³ N.B. Interview 1 – pgs. 6 & 8

²⁴⁴ N.B. – Interview 1 – pgs., 6 & 19.

²⁴⁵ Clodfelter, Jonathan. "Sticker Attack Hits Editors [Office]", *University Daily Paper*, 9 April, 1991, pg.1 & 6.

²⁴⁶ Crabtree, Shona. "Bias Crimes Target Members of LGBA", *University Daily Paper*. 16 February, 1993, pg.1 & 8.

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lesbians is more pronounced within the broader field law enforcement compared to other professions. While social institutions have varied in their acceptance of gays and lesbians, the criminal justice system remains dominated by a white, masculine and heterosexual ethos. As threats to dominant groups, people of color and / or women seeking police positions have historically faced tremendous obstacles and sexist attitudes and behavior. The employment of lesbians and gays as police officers is especially threatening to an occupation that values traditional masculinity and middle-class morality.²⁴⁷

Study participant B.D. found that during her time as a coach in University Athletics there were similar expectations for men and women to follow traditional gender roles. These expectations were implicit and unspoken, but to which she and many others strictly adhered.

“... there were a group of people who we, um, were in different schools and coached either college or independent schools, um, we played together so that our social circle was really together so it was a pretty insulated group of people that um, I would say most, if not all, all of the women that were in that group were pretty large – were, were lesbians. And it was just our kind of social group. Um, on the other hand, I think everybody knew – even though it wasn’t discussed – knew that there were – you know, you were very um – you didn’t roll that part of your life over to your professional life because – and I think it may – it’s not as pronounced as it is now – but certainly in Athletics the fear is that every woman in Athletics is a lesbian... And that in many times, was used as a recruitment tactic in families’ homes – you know, ‘You don’t want to play for that person because they’re a lesbian.’ ... You didn’t wear it on your sleeve. You did your job ... at the same time understanding that um, you didn’t, you didn’t

²⁴⁷ Miller, S., Forest, K., Jurik, N. “Diversity in Blue: Lesbian and Gay Police Officers in a Masculine Occupation.” *Men and Masculinities*. 1 April, 2003. Vol. 5 No. 4, pg. 356.

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want to cross those boundaries and part of it was – I think there was – you know, there are enough stories around that um, where people were – you know, the assumption was that people weren't advanced or given jobs or promoted or hired some place because they were lesbian."²⁴⁸

While Coach B.D. herself never experienced discrimination, she was compliant with implicit expectations that lesbian athletic directors and coaches remained silent about their sexuality. B.D. and her colleagues believed the professional ramifications of living out to be very real. So they chose to avoid conflict altogether by marginalizing their personal lives and acting within the boundaries set forth by their departmental culture and climate.

Of all the study participants, Coach B.D. joined the University the earliest in the mid-1980s. The climate of hostility towards the LGBT community within Athletics was not so different from the larger University's climate. Research into the campus daily paper archives has revealed on-going difficulties on campus for gay and lesbian students during the decade. Several students wrote to the paper of their experiences with prejudice²⁴⁹ and condemnation²⁵⁰ from members of the School for simply being gay.

The experiences that Coach B.D. shared were very much prevalent throughout intercollegiate sports up until very recently. One of the most well documented cases of homophobia in college sports was with Coach Rene Portland of the Penn State Lady Lions basketball team. Portland was notorious for her no lesbian policy on her teams, driving many assistant coaches and players over the years to leave the squad. She allegedly stripped student

²⁴⁸ B.D. – Interview 1 – pgs. 3-4.

²⁴⁹ Jeffrey Nancy. "University Gays Encounter Social Life of Limited Choices", *University Daily Paper*, 20 November, 1985, pg.1.

²⁵⁰ Anonymous, "Secrecy and Prejudice: Problems Gay Face", *University Daily Paper*, 17 February, 1986, pg. 6.

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athletes of their scholarships if she suspected they were lesbians. Portland was proud of her policy openly discussed it in national news media outlets. In fact, Portland's abuses came to be so widely known that it was a major catalyst in Penn State's decision to revise its list of protected categories to include sexual orientation in 1991.²⁵¹ Despite the policy change, Portland kept her anti-lesbian policy in place, which eventually led to a lawsuit brought against her and Penn State by former players and coaches who alleged discrimination by the Coach. Despite her twenty-seven years of Penn State and her winning record, Portland stepped down from her post amidst this homophobia scandal.²⁵²

Given the hostility of some of these departmental micro-climates towards gays and lesbians, several study participants discussed the need to "pass" at the University during their interviews. When used in the concept of human identity, "to pass" means to be judged, or more exactly - to be misjudged and accepted as a member of a group other than one's own.²⁵³ For gay men and women, passing means the ability to masquerade as a heterosexual. Passing goes beyond keeping one's true sexual orientation secret. It goes a step further and involves telling a series of untruths about one's life and also altering physical affect to help weave a facade of a heterosexual life lived. Officer NB's experiences at Campus Police during the first twelve years of her career at the University are a perfect example of "passing" as a survival technique in the workplace. She detailed for us the great lengths to which she went to maintain the facade of a heterosexual life – never having her partner answer their home phone, carefully changing

²⁵¹ Lipsyte, R. (20 December, 1991). "Penn State Coach Will Abide by Lesbian Policy, but Won't Discuss It." Web. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/20/sports/penn-state-coach-will-abide-by-lesbian-policy-but-won-t-discuss-it.html>

²⁵² Finder, C. and Lash, C. (30 April, 2006). "Penn State's 'Mommy Coach' a Bigot?" Web. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Retrieved from <http://www.post-gazette.com/sports/psu/2006/04/30/Penn-State-s-Mommy-Coach-a-bigot/stories/200604300213>

²⁵³ Yoshino, K. "Covering". *Yale Law Journal*. 11 December, 2001, Vol. 111:769, pg. 813.

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pronouns when discussing her partner with her co-workers, etc.²⁵⁴ The strategies employed by D.L.'s two closeted employees within Facilities are examples of passing as well. Both staff members masqueraded as heterosexuals within their workplace going to varying lengths to hide the truth about their sexuality.

Over at University Athletics, Coach B.D.'s experiences demonstrate the concept of "covering." According to scholar Kenji Yoshino, for LGBT men and women, to cover means to assimilate to straight norms. Unlike passing where you pretend to be heterosexual, with covering, you do not deny your homosexuality. However, you actively work to tone down your known gayness (affect, speech, mannerisms, etc.). Passing pertains to the visibility of one's gayness while covering pertains to its obtrusiveness.²⁵⁵ Though B.D. preferred to label her experience as simply "adapting" to the culture of Athletics, her description of the strategies she and other lesbian coaches employed to minimize their homosexuality fit the description of covering.

"I wouldn't call it as passing as straight. It was more about how do you *adapt* to the ... athletic culture... And so you wanted to make sure you conformed to that ... I was I guess fortunate to work whether it was at independent schools or at colleges or universities where um, there were a lot of single people in those departments. And either um, people I lived with or um, were in the department or within other parts of the work place we kinda hung out together. So there wasn't um, 'What did your ...' – there wasn't conversation about what your spouse did. And so if you went to a party or event you just kinda arrived with other people from the department."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ N.B. – Interview 1 – pgs. 6 & 18.

²⁵⁵ Yoshino, K. (15 January, 2006) "The Pressure to Cover". Web. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/15/magazine/15gays.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>

²⁵⁶ B.D. – Interview 1 – pgs. 4-5.

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Lesbian coaches like B.D. conformed to the culture of collegiate Athletics – which included an implicit understanding that an open declaration of your homosexuality would be detrimental to your professional career. They went to great lengths to work together to minimize their lesbian identities in the workplace.

These fears of workplace repercussions are consistent with findings by authors Griffith and Hebl who studied the disclosure dilemma faced by gays and lesbians. The authors found that gay and lesbian workers often reported hesitance in disclosing information about their significant others, their families or their weekend plans because they feared retaliation or rejection by coworkers.²⁵⁷ Griffith and Hebl also found that those who remained closeted reported lower levels of psychological well-being and life satisfaction, increased health risks and extensive energy-draining activities focused on covering up their stigmatized identity.²⁵⁸ The extensive lengths to which Officer N.B. went to hide her homosexuality during the early part of her career at the University is an example, along with the techniques used by D.L.'s closeted employees within Facilities.

In comparing departmental micro-climates within the University, it is interesting to see how the overtly masculine atmosphere within Facilities and Campus Police stand in great contrast to the micro-climate within the library system. U.E. was a University Librarian who found a tolerant environment towards gays in that department. U.E. believed that the typically female-dominated field of Library Studies was more welcoming to gay men due to the feminine affectations and qualities of gay men.

²⁵⁷ Griffith, Kristin and Hebl, Michelle (2002). "The Disclosure Dilemma for Gay Men and Lesbians: 'Coming Out' at Work." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Volume 87 (6), pgs. 1191-1199.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

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“But the library profession – um, the library profession – and I’ll talk about the University library in a minute – but the profession is predominantly female. About 70% or 75% female, also mostly white. But um, but – and that is certainly reflected here in the library as well. But um, it is also – and this is an over generalization – but many of the men who work in the library profession are gay. It’s a gross generalization so you know – but um, I think you know, most stereotypes are borne out of some truth that leads to those stereotypes being developed. And so I think there’s a greater level of tolerance or acceptance in the library community – that is certainly reflected here in the library at the University for LGBT folks and there might be other parts – certainly – that there might be Athletics – I’m not sure if you happen to speak with someone in Athletics – but if you did, you would get a different response to that question than if you were to speak with anyone else at the library.”²⁵⁹

Over the course of these interviews, it becomes apparent that one need not work within a specific department to gauge their micro-climate. The University progressively pre-dated the state by over a decade in providing same sex partner benefits to their employees. And yet, Officer N.B. still endured an insensitive reception from University Human Resources when she sought to avail of these benefits for her partner.

“L.A. – And um, when you went to go, uh, apply for benefits for your partner, how was the reception at HR? Were they open? Accommodating? Helpful?

N.B. – Actually, actually, NO. I, it was absolutely - pissed me off because it was before I was actually out ... but she needed benefits and we needed to have them... And they were offering them. And

²⁵⁹ U.E. Interview 1 – pgs. 5-6

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I went to drop off the paperwork. And then, in the lobby, where there were people sitting ... said, 'Well what was the, you know, change of events that is going to entitle you?' And I'm like, 'Well, there is no change of events.' ... The change was she no longer has benefits. And she's never been on the benefits and I wanted to add her – period. But I, you know, I was just really uncomfortable that I wasn't out but yet this H.R. person had this conversation with me in the lobby with people around.”²⁶⁰

Officer N.B.'s experience offered a glimpse inside this department's micro-climate and attitudes towards the LGBT community. The H.R. administrator's ignorance and insensitivity was incongruent with the University's progressive policy to offer same-sex partner benefits to its LGBT employees. N.B.'s experience with UHR demonstrates that in the early days when the University first offered same sex partner benefits to its employees, UHR failed to adequately train its staff in the proper protocol and sensitivity for working with LGBT employees. Clearly, this was an instance of compliance playing catch up with the written policy.

LGBT scholar William Tierney has written about organizational climate within higher education. According to Tierney, differing micro-climates, such as the ones revealed by these interviews, exist within a college or university because cultural influences occur at many levels, within the department, the institution, as well as the system and the state. His writings highlight the importance of minimizing cultural conflicts within these different levels and working to foster shared institutional goals.²⁶¹

The experiences recounted by the study participants illustrate a University climate towards LGBT communities that is far from perfect. Yet, despite the homophobia some of them

²⁶⁰ N.B. – Interview 1 – pgs. 10-11

²⁶¹ Tierney, William (1988). "Organizational Culture in Higher Education: Defining the Essentials." *Journal of Higher Education*, Volume 59 (1), pgs. 2-21.

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described, the interviews revealed an overwhelming majority of the study participants - four out of six - have been out at the University since they began their careers here.

In 2011 when these interviews were conducted, two of our study participants, D.L. in Facilities and B.L.S. in Central Administration reported to the same Executive Vice President at the University – N.C. At the time, N.C. was a member of the University President’s Cabinet and was the highest ranking out administrator on campus. During his first interview B.L.S. recounted the story of how his boss, N.C., came out to the University President,

“NC told me that when he interviewed six years ago / seven years ago – with the President and he said at the end of the interview that there was one more thing he wanted to talk to the President about. And he said ‘Well I’m gay.’ And the President responded ‘Well, we want you even more.’”²⁶²

B.L.S went on to add,

“So you have it right from the very top here. Being gay is fine. Being gay is good. You know, he (N.C.) brings his partner to trustee meetings all the time. We have – we have several trustees who are gay – either current or former trustees - that are gay and out. And we have a lot of administrators – almost every cabinet member has a direct report who’s gay... This is a very gay place on the administrative side which you probably wouldn’t have expected.”²⁶³

Given this climate of tolerance and acceptance within central administration, it comes as no surprise that high ranking administrators such as D.L. and B.L.S. felt comfortable in disclosing

²⁶² B.L.S. – Interview 1 – pg. 6.

²⁶³ B.L.S. – Interview 1 – pgs. 6-7.

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their homosexuality right from the start of their careers at the University. B.L.S.' approach to coming out in the workplace was more casual and organic. On the other hand, partly because of his own personal experiences before coming to the University and also because of his work within the traditionally male-oriented Facilities organization - D.L.'s coming out process was more strategic.

“Essentially I came out right away to almost every single person. ... Um, there are ... working in a Facilities organization, um, there's a lot of um, it's a very male dominated organization... so I would not say that when I was introduced to each of our trade shops that it was the first thing I offered up when I was being introduced. But um, generally, I usually launched into it by saying that kind of the things that I stood for was a commitment to diversity and that one of my connections to that is being an out man and wanting to ensure that we create environments that are welcoming to all. So that was usually my entrée to sharing that.”²⁶⁴

Librarian U.E. has always been out at the University as well. Even prior to his arrival at the University, he had always publicly disclosed his homosexuality on his personal web site and resume – which both document his extensive involvement with LGBT organizations at previous schools where he had worked. So when he came to the University, it was with the expectation that the people who hired him were already aware that they were hiring a gay man.

“L.A.- So you've been here at the University since ...

U.E. – Seven years.

L.A. – Seven years. When you came here, were you always out?

U.E. – Yeah. You know, my web page, I think you can see I haven't updated it in probably more than seven years. Anyone

²⁶⁴ D.L. – Interview 1 – pg. 5.

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who does a Google search for me will find my web page and if they read it, it will be very clear than I'm out based on the activities that I've done both ... where I was before and I'm very active – well, I'm fairly active in the LGBT community here on-campus as well.”²⁶⁵

U.E.'s experiences at the University stand in great contrast to those of Coach B.D. and Officer N.B. who both felt the need either pass as straight or cover when they first arrived at the University. Librarian U.E. went on to say, “I mean I will talk about my partner. People may not have met him or know who he is – but I will speak about my partner.”²⁶⁶

Study participant, Attorney S.I., has always been out at the University as well. Interestingly enough, it proved crucial to her hiring that she disclosed her sexuality during the interview process. She anticipated that this disclosure would have had a negative effect on her employment prospects at the University. She was wrong.

“I came out during my interview (laughs). Um, it was interesting. I ... I didn't know ... what happened was that we were ... my partner was living in Puerto Rico. She was working for her employer. Um, and I was in St. Croix. We were commuting for about two years – island hopping. Um, until one day she said they're – and she knew that – she kind of came down there with the expectation that they were closing down the plant. So the day came and she says 'What do you want to do? I'm gonna take the job on the main land and I'd like you to come. What do you want to do?' So I made the decision I said 'I'm gonna come to this. Make the decision to come up.'

²⁶⁵ U.E. Interview 1 – pgs. 4-5.

²⁶⁶ U.E. Interview 1 – pg. 5.

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So I looked for jobs. Looked on my birthday. And this University job came up and it was something that interested me and something I felt I could easily transition into. So I applied, got the interview, came up. And the way that the University interviews you have like – you have to go through - it's a full day. And you interview like six or seven ... first round is all internal H.R. And the second round is your client folks – external partners and client groups that you'd be working with. So my first two interviews went well. I felt good.

Rolling along here. And then I– came up with the – he was the Senior HR manager at the time. He was also an attorney. He'd come from a corporate background – corporate and um ... so we sat down and for some reason he just couldn't connect with me. He just had this image of me as a sort of like corporate lawyer. He couldn't understand why I was applying to this position. He felt like I – I think he felt like I was going to use this as a stepping stone to kinda get my foot in the door and then perhaps move onto something else. And no matter what I was saying I just couldn't seem to dissuade him from this image of me. And it was killing – you know I was just like – this is not – I could just see it in him in the way that the questions that were coming. And I was like 'What the hell is going on?' So in my mind I kinda came to a point like – you know what, this interview is over for me. I just ... I've lost him. You know, there's nothing else to lose here. I don't know what happened. But the question kinda came up ... I think ... I think he was getting frustrated with me because I – for some reason –maybe I was coming - it seemed I was coming across evasive. And I think at one point he says 'Help me out – help me understand why you're here – why you're here.' So at that point I just kind of – I said 'You know what, I said here's the deal ... you

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know, I'm with my partner for like da da da ... she's getting transferred da da da I'm looking for ... this is an opportunity ...' So I basically came out to him. And as soon as I said that, it – you could just see him - just immediately the whole body language – it just changed. And he's like 'Well all right.' And the rest of the interview we connected. The rest of the interview went smoothly.

We finished and he says 'You know what, I wasn't sure about you but you know...' But you know I clearly I knew I had won him over. I'd won him over. (laughs).”²⁶⁷

It surprised Attorney S.I. that the disclosure of her lesbianism served to steer her interview in a positive direction. Prior to this disclosure, she felt that her interview was belabored and she was unable to connect with the Senior HR Manager that was interviewing her. However, once she disclosed her sexuality and her plans to move to the state with her partner, this was the missing key that allowed her to connect meaningfully with the interviewer. Her disclosure did not hurt her chances of employment. Rather, it portrayed her to the Senior HR Manager as a safe choice – that her move to the state with her partner meant that she was looking to put down roots in the area and would likely stay at the University long-term.

Further analysis of interview data revealed another theme from the interviews. Though the majority of the participants (four out of six) felt safe and comfortable enough to reveal their homosexuality from the very start of their careers at the University, two of these same participants – D.L. in Facilities and Librarian U.E. – still described the University as a conservative place. A third participant, N.B., who only came out more recently, also agreed with them.

²⁶⁷ S.I. Interview 1 – pgs. 5-6.

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From the start of his career at the University, D.L. in Facilities made the conscious choice to live his life as an out gay man precisely because he had stayed in the closet at the previous school where he worked. D.L. was younger then and had struggled to break the heteronormative assumptions his previous co-workers held about him. Ironically enough, looking back, D.L. laments that the current climate at the University is more conservative than his previous school – where he had lived closeted all those years. He reflects, “I wasn’t as out as I feel I am today. But to the – what it was like to be a gay administrator at my old school, I would say their culture is probably a bit more progressive than ours.”²⁶⁸ He makes a further commentary on the conservative climate at the University by saying,

“So um, I guess I would hope that when the University goes to change – and we are rarely on vanguard on a lot of the change – but when we change, I think we change very well. And so I would aspire that when we – we might not be - we clearly are not the first but maybe we can actually go for true equity which for me would be a lovely thing.”²⁶⁹

Despite all the benefits and resources offered by the University to its LGBT community, D.L. does not view the school as a trailblazer on issues of equity and LGBT rights. His characterization depicts the University as a contemplative follower - slow to make changes, but when the changes are finally made, they are meaningful and well thought out.

Like D.L., study participant, Librarian U.E. came to the University as an out gay man. When asked about the University climate towards LGBT communities, Librarian U.E. openly

²⁶⁸ D.L Interview 2 – pgs. 1-2.

²⁶⁹ D.L Interview 2 – pgs. 1-2.

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said, “The University is very conservative – the University itself is very conservative.”²⁷⁰ Prior to his arrival at the University, he had worked at a large private school located in a major US city. He went on to say,

“Um, and you know, the University and my previous school are still different in so many ways. You know, my old school ... I think they really encouraged both the students – when I was a student there – and its employees to really take advantage of all that the city has to offer. So it was a lot easier – there was a – the University is certainly, I think integrated with the community here but the community here is more conservative than the community at my old school.”²⁷¹

There was a third study participant – Officer N.B. - who also agreed with D.L. in Facilities and Librarian U.E. on this matter. When asked if she felt that the University climate was welcoming to the LGBT community, she responded by saying,

“I think so. Yeah. I mean I personally think so. As a student I don’t really know how the students think about it. Although I definitely see more students walking like hand-in-hand around campus... It still gets your attention. You still do a double take when you see it cause you’re not used to seeing it. Especially here because we’re still behind – in our little bubble here. We’re still behind other places. We’re not as progressive.”²⁷²

This feedback from half of the participant pool reveals that an institution’s climate is more than just the collection of the same sex partner benefits printed in the official employee

²⁷⁰ U.E. Interview 1 – pg. 7.

²⁷¹ U.E. Interview 2 – pg. 1.

²⁷² N.B. Interview 2 – pg. 7.

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handbook. So while the University does offer equal benefits to its LGBT employees and their families, and despite the visibility of several out top administrative leaders on campus, there is a significant portion of staff who still believe that the University is a conservative environment. Their benefits might appear progressive but the climate can still be conservative.

During these interviews, all six participants were in long term relationships. Two of the six participants had partners who were also employed by the University. Of the six participants, only one person – Officer N.B. – made full use of the same sex partner benefits to provide health coverage for her partner of twenty years.²⁷³ D.L. in Facilities also took advantage of the same sex partner benefits but only in as far as it helped him and his partner with the purchase of a new home.²⁷⁴ Like D.L., Attorney S.I.’s partner is not covered under her University-provided health benefits either. She did however invoke the use of the school’s same sex partner benefits so her partner could avail of the use of the campus athletic facilities, given that her partner is a tri-athlete.²⁷⁵

Overwhelmingly, my participants stated that so long as their partners received health benefits from their own employers, there was no incentive to add them onto the University’s plan. Officer N.B. admitted that the addition of her partner to her health benefits was borne out of sheer necessity since her partner’s employer did not offer health coverage to their employees.²⁷⁶ In fact, by adding her partner to her health benefits plan, N.B. saw an increase in her gross taxable income. As a result, she was paying taxes at a higher rate. Whatever monies the University had paid towards her partner’s benefits were considered additional wages by the

²⁷³ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 2.

²⁷⁴ D.L. Interview 1 – pg. 4.

²⁷⁵ S.I. Interview 1 – pg. 4.

²⁷⁶ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 4.

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Federal government. N.B. would make a basic monthly payment to extend health benefits to her partner in the same way a married heterosexual employee would do for their spouse. However, unlike married hetero couples, N.B. had to pay for these partner benefits a second time – when the Federal government taxed her additionally for what it considered to be extra wages.²⁷⁷ At the time of these interviews, Officer N.B. and a group of University employees were in discussions with Human Resources to try and develop a “gross up” program that would compensate LGBT employees for the additional Federal taxes they paid on health benefits extended to their same-sex partner.²⁷⁸ During these interviews, few companies provided same sex partner benefits to their employees. Even fewer provided “gross up” programs to compensate LGBT employees who do avail of these benefits. Those few companies that provide such “gross up” programs were generally regarded as progressive and cutting edge.

At the time, the additional costs associated with providing health benefits for same-sex partners discouraged LGBT employees - like D.L. in Facilities - from using them. D.L.’s partner remained on his own individual health plan provided by his employer. D.L. maintained a separate plan through the University. He explained their decision in this way,

“We’ve chosen that he has continued with this employer and I’ve continued with mine. So a couple of reasons ... one, his employer has probably equal to or better than ... so financially it hasn’t made a great ... just on the numbers themselves. As well as – which you probably know much more about this than I – but it’s my understanding that there is Federal tax implications of that. And so the numbers haven’t penciled in well even without taking the tax implications into effect. So it just doesn’t seem to make good

²⁷⁷ N.B. Interview 1 – pgs. 4-5.

²⁷⁸ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 5.

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sense for us at this point in our lives. I'm sure at some point it may but for right now we have chosen to defer that.”²⁷⁹

So while the University offering these same sex health partner benefits may have looked impressive on paper, the Federal taxation for LGBT couples at the time – in the absence of a gross up program at the University - made the actual use of health coverage more punitive rather than beneficial.

In addition to their experiences as employees at the University, other themes have emerged from these interviews that unify some of our study participants in different ways. I observed a marked difference in generational experiences with the coming out process. The two oldest participants were Coach B.D and Officer N.B. Both women were in their 50s as compared to the other participants who were in their 30s and 40s. There was a striking similarity that both women never actually had coming out conversations with their families. During our initial interview, when asked to describe her coming out experience to her family, Officer N.B. replied:

“Yeah, you know, actually, it's ... I guess because of my age it's one of those things where you never really kinda spoke about it. It was just – even with my family now – it's like my immediate family – you just – there was never *a* specific conversation.”²⁸⁰

When asked about her coming out experience – to whom she first came out, and how old she was, Coach B.D. had something similar to say,

“That's hard because there was no – there was no single moment. Um, gosh – that's hard. It's hard to even think of an identity that

²⁷⁹ D.L. Interview 1 – pg. 4.

²⁸⁰ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 1

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way. Um, partly because philosophically I think that all – that people reside in a spectrum of gender.”²⁸¹

Both women were in college during the 1970’s. So while the Stonewall Inn riots had occurred by then, homosexuality still remained a seldom discussed issue in most of the country.

Interestingly, while the coming out experiences of both were essentially non-events, they were non-events for very different reasons. Officer N.B.’s working class Italian family had always viewed homosexuality as shameful and thus never discussed the topic. As a young woman, Officer N.B. recalled overhearing an aunt discuss with her mother how her cousin had just come out to her as gay,

“I remember hearing them talk about my cousin when he sent a letter to the family. And I remember hearing some of them talk about it. And I can see my mother’s one sister at the table just say ‘I wish he never told me. I just feel sick.’

Although she’s evolved quite a bit... I remember exactly where she was sitting. And then I also had a cousin who committed suicide. And there was – it was very traumatic and everybody thought it was a shame and it wasn’t necessary. But then you know, you heard his step mom and his dad say ‘Well maybe he wasn’t really gay.’

And I’m like ‘Really? Cause he drove from California to Arizona and jumped into the Grand Canyon.’ Like do you really think he was mistaken?”²⁸²

²⁸¹ B.D. Interview 1 – pg. 1

²⁸² N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 3

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Having witnessed her family's negative reactions to her cousins' homosexuality was enough of a deterrent for Officer N.B. to openly discuss her own homosexuality. To this day, even after having been with her partner for over twenty years – though her family has accepted her partner – they still find the topic difficult to discuss. She says, “So even now, my parents – I’ve – my partner and I have been together for twenty years, they don’t know how to introduce her. So I think that a lot of it is generational.”²⁸³

Coach B.D.'s homosexuality was not openly discussed in her family either but for very different reasons. To them, it was a non-issue so there was no need to discuss it. Coach B.D. offered this explanation for her family's progressive views on homosexuality:

“Partly because my father's long, long, long time secretary was gay – was a lesbian. Our family had friends that were gay men and lesbians. So um, we grew up in a household where you know, sexual orientation or gender orientation -- these were humanistic values around people. So whether it had to do with faith or education or gender or orientation or whatever one's affiliation was, we grew up in a household that valued just who people were.”²⁸⁴

So while Officer N.B. and Coach B.D. share an experience common to gay men and lesbian women of their generation, the reasons behind their experiences were markedly different – shaped in large part by their socio-economic status and education levels of their families. Officer

²⁸³ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 2.

²⁸⁴ B.D. Interview 1 – pg. 1.

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N.B.'s family was working class through and through while Coach B.D.'s family was affluent, educated and in a higher socio-economic class.

For Librarian U.E. and Attorney S.I., culture was the factor that led to a common theme in their LGBT experiences. Both are black from Caribbean cultures. Attorney S.I. is a lesbian woman from the US Virgin Islands while Librarian U.E. is a gay man from Jamaica. For both, the more conservative Caribbean views on homosexuality greatly shaped their coming out experiences as young people.

Librarian U.E. was twenty years old when he came out to his parents. He confided in his mother first who then relayed the news to his father. Both of his parents were born and raised in Jamaica but subsequently divorced. Following the divorce, U.E. migrated to the U.S. with his mother and brother. Librarian U.E. admits that though his relationship with his mother has since significantly improved, in that initial coming out conversation with her, his mother's overriding reaction was that of disappointment. His father had the same reaction but he went on to lecture the young librarian about the shamefulness of his homosexuality - about the embarrassment it would bring upon their family. There were several conversations between father and son that followed, but his father's stance never waned about the shame his gay son would bring upon their family. Over fifteen years had passed since Librarian U.E. last spoke to his father. For a period of time, he tried to pursue a relationship with his dad, even attempting to see him a few times by flying to Jamaica. Ultimately his last attempt at a father-son reconciliatory meeting was in 2000. U.E. had gone to Jamaica for the sole purpose of speaking with his father. His dad claimed that he was unable to find any time in his schedule to meet with his son while he was on the island. The librarian explains the ways Jamaican culture shaped his parents' views on homosexuality:

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“Homosexuality is still illegal in Jamaica and the Prime Minister up until recently has spoken out vociferously about homosexuality. And when someone in such a leadership position speaks out against a crime then it gives the authorities, I think, in their opinion, the right to sort of abuse people who are LGBT. So they’re arrested or beaten or targeted for violence – you know, quite openly. But I think a culture of – sort of kind of Catholic religious intolerance plus the social aspect of – the social legal aspects of homosexuality in Jamaica, I think really helped to shape the views of my parents.

My parents were – they were divorced when we still lived in Jamaica. So we moved to the US only with my Mom. And as I said - I think certainly the friend with whom she spoke helped her understand and is also Jamaican - but I think having the context of being outside of – being in a different culture – was helpful, I think – for my mom to come to terms with my sexuality.

Whereas my father is still very much immersed in that Jamaican culture. Just would never and still hasn’t come to the same level of acceptance or tolerance – whatever word you’d want to associate. You know, I wouldn’t even – thinking about it – I’m not even sure if I would use any of those words to describe my mother’s reaction because you know, now she’s just ‘You’re my son.’ I guess ‘acceptance’ is probably the right word. But um, I don’t even get tolerance from my father at this point.”²⁸⁵

Attorney S.I. had some difficulty in coming out to her West Indian parents as well.

However, her parents were able to quickly overcome the shock of the revelation that their only

²⁸⁵ U.E. Interview 1 – pgs. 1-2.

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child was a lesbian. She was never shunned, never disowned. She feels fortunate that her parents – though they continue to live on the islands – were never religious people. She believes that their secular views helped them to accept that she was a lesbian. However, she admits that even today, the West Indian culture is not very welcoming to members of the LGBT community in general.

“You know I grew up in the Virgin Islands. It’s a West Indian mentality. It’s a very macho, male-centric kind of attitude. Certainly homosexuality is not something that is encouraged or looked favorably upon. You know, with the exception of one drag queen that would come out during Carnival, growing up that was really my only exposure, I would say, to the gay-lesbian community of the Islands.”²⁸⁶

S.I. describes herself as a late bloomer. She attributes this in large part from her lack of exposure to the LGBT community growing up. The World Wide Web had not yet come to be. And with the lack of open discussion about homosexuality in West Indian culture, it wasn’t until she went away to college on the main land that she realized and discovered her identity as a lesbian woman. Following law school several years later, she went back to live on the Islands and it was only then that she learned that there was in fact a very active LGBT community there. There was an unspoken rule to live discretely and quietly – to cover. And so long as they did, they were left alone and left unharmed.²⁸⁷

For both Attorney S.I. and Librarian U.E., their Caribbean culture was an undeniable force in shaping their coming out experiences and their families’ reception of their

²⁸⁶ S.I. Interview 1 – pgs. 1-2.

²⁸⁷ S.I. Interview 1 – pg. 2.

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homosexuality. Both encountered difficulty in their initial coming out given the more conservative Caribbean attitudes towards homosexuality. Despite their shared difficulty with coming out as children of Caribbean families, the parents' reactions to their children's homosexuality took very different paths. Attorney S.I.'s parents and Librarian U.E.'s mother all learned to overcome their cultural biases and come to a place of acceptance. Sadly, the librarian's father has not. Far from being able to accept his son for who he truly is, he is not even able to show tolerance towards U.E.

In shifting the gaze from the past into the future, I asked our participants to describe the future of LGBT relations at the University, as they saw it. There were emergent themes from the answers they provided. The most resonant theme was that of University policies evolving towards better serving members of the transgender community. Fifty percent of the interviewees felt that trans issues were next on the horizon for the University's LGBT agenda and policies. According to Coach B.D., the focus should be on transgendered students.

“I think the new frontier are transgender students. Not just at the University – we're like everybody else. I think understanding the transgender student, the needs of the transgender student. What are the medical benefits that ought to be provided? What are the psychological benefits that ought to be provided? And this real question of when does a person – when can a person decide who they are? And when and how these decisions are made? And how do we support students? So to me, I think that's kind of a... and I think we're there. It's not even a frontier. But I think those are some of the larger challenges that higher education is going to have to face.”²⁸⁸

²⁸⁸ B.D. Interview 2 – pgs. 7-8.

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D.L. in Facilities agreed with Coach B.D. that improving University policies for trans students should be the next step in creating more comprehensive resources and protections for the LGBT community on campus. He identified areas of improvement directly under his professional purview – such as on-campus housing (which falls under the Facilities umbrella at the University). D.L. has been an advocate for the creation of gender-neutral housing. Such dormitories are already available for the graduate student population on campus. However, D.L. felt that the same accommodations should be made for undergraduates as well.

“So we’ve been working to extend gender-neutral housing into our undergraduate area. Doing that with our prior leadership was very challenging. With the change in our Dean of the College we were able to implement a pilot program that we just finished the first year of. We’re into year two. And pending some upcoming confidential meetings, we’re quite optimistic that we can expand that quite dramatically in the coming year. The leadership – both in campus life as well as our Dean of the College Office – our current leadership is embracing this set of policies in a much broader way. So for graduate student housing, it is 100% gender neutral. It has been that way for several years now. On the undergraduate side, it’s actually a very small percentage currently... It’s a pretty small subset of our undergrads that currently have access.”²⁸⁹

B.L.S. in Central Administration concurred with the recommendations made by Coach B.D. and D.L. in Facilities. However, given B.L.S.’ position within Central Administration, his recommendations on how the University ought to approach the trans issue were system-wide – from discussing health benefits for trans students, to discussing the creation of appropriate

²⁸⁹ D.L. Interview 2 – pgs. 5-6.

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facilities on-campus for members of the trans community, to examining the use and necessity of gender-specific pronouns on University forms and even an outreach component to educate members of the University community on trans issues. His was a broader vision of providing resources for the trans students, faculty and staff but also complementing those with educational programs on trans issues for other members of the school.²⁹⁰

“After we had this webinar, it became clear to us that we as a university probably have to have an effort in this area. So I suspect in the next 2 or 3 years we will have some kind of a working group – I mean there’s already work being done on it – a working group that will look at this issue comprehensively and have members from the academic side of the house, the legal side, the administrative side, the student side and make recommendations on how the university can be more inclusive.

You know, I’m thinking about – I know that our students don’t get – students are not eligible for gender re-assignment benefit although faculty and staff are. I don’t know why there’s a discrepancy. I think there’s not adequate support for sort of hormone therapy or some kind of other you know, non-surgery based support. Um, you know we’re always thinking about gender neutral bathrooms and single stall bathrooms. Um, so I think there’s a number of pieces that we want to move on the transgender front. Those are the sort of structural pieces. But I think what we also really need to do is to educate people about trans issues and sensitize them to these issues. And I think that’s a harder piece. It’s easier to say let’s get these pieces in place but the harder piece is getting people to shift their perspectives. I think

²⁹⁰ B.L.S. Interview 2 – pgs.6-7.

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trans is a – and I think part if it is not that we have a massively large trans population.

But that what it represents is a sort of - a place of acceptance or tolerance beyond where we are now. So I think that's something that we need to work on. Another piece of the trans thing is to change our forms. Um, you know how do we ask about gender – all the way from admissions to retirement. Um, and sort of challenge people's assumptions about what are the options, how many should there be and why do we always ask about gender. I mean..."²⁹¹

At the time that these interviews were conducted, the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) was still in place and being enforced. As a result, same sex couples at the University that availed of health coverage through the School were being charged a financial penalty in their Federal tax bill. Of all participants, Officer N.B. was the only one who had added her partner to her health benefits plan. So it was no surprise that the issue of "grossing up" was the item Officer N.B. suggested the University ought to tackle next in moving forward with the LGBT community. This was a topic near and dear to her heart that she had discussed with University Human Resources directly some time ago, unfortunately, without much result.

"Yeah, that discussion was - came about – and has gone by the wayside. It's been a couple of years. It's never come back up again. JR who was part of the LGBT Task Force had asked me to meet with her and somebody from HR and that clearly was – time flies. That was probably at least 2 years ago. And at that point they said they'd have to look at it, it could be something they

²⁹¹ B.L.S. Interview 2 – pgs.6-7.

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considered. The end result that I heard from J was that I don't know if it was "not at this time" – but basically, it hasn't happened.

And I don't know that it's come about again. They're cutting money everywhere. That really pisses me off because if you have kids they just keep throwing more and more money at you. I personally struggle with it. It's never really come up again. You know, I hate to be the one to beat the band wagon for the whole community. Nobody really kinda wants that attention all the time – especially since I addressed it personally once. But you know, to me it's frustrating that you grant tuition money, your child care money – all this stuff increases from year to year and at no point has this been addressed. So it seems like the same benefits – more benefits – keep going to the same group of people.

But that's just my own personal bitch. Well sure. Especially now – I mean – the University is trying to cut back because health care is going up. So you know, health care is going up twofold for me because it's going up not only for myself but for my partner. Raises haven't really been substantial. And take backs have really kinda – although they say we've gotten a raise – when you talk about all the give-backs that we've lost, there really is – there's not really a pay increase. I personally just think that's the most important one. Cause without health insurance – you're just - it's just a bad place."²⁹²

Attorney S.I. agreed that the University needed to address the issue of "grossing up" for its LGBT employees and their partners. Interestingly enough, it was revealed in the interview that

²⁹² N.B. Interview 2 – pgs. 2-3.

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Attorney S.I. was going to be the point person within University Human Resources to tackle this issue.

“We are working on it. And I’m actually that’s – I need to follow up and find out. It was my understanding that we were going to make that attempt this year. I’m trying to find the reason as to why not and if it is going to be in place. But it is – it is being addressed by our office.”²⁹³

In his interview, D.L. in Facilities made mention of the “gross up” issue as one of the LGBT issues that the University ought to address in the future. At the time of these interviews, two of the University’s peer schools had just recently enacted new policies to provide these benefits to their employees. D.L.’s reaction to this news was mixed at best. He was happy to hear that other educational institutions had tackled this issue. Yet, he was also disappointed at the short comings he observed in these new policies.

“I found it interesting that they have pretty strong parameters around it that wouldn’t necessarily - from my opinion - be viewed as an equal at the moment. So this whole like “... only if the partner doesn’t have access to other benefits.” Well certainly, we don’t question that for any other heterosexual employee as to whether or not so ... and then the gross up had some pretty financial limiting factors. I mean as someone who’s decently well compensated here, it’s not the only reason that we’ve made that decision in our household. But um, the kinds of limiting factors that I read about their policies at those institutions for well compensated folks – which people could argue um, might have the need is diminished – but the impact is going to be much greater on higher compensated folks. The tax implications is going to be

²⁹³ S.I. Interview 2 – pg. 5.

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much higher and they're not looking to address that. And again, they're clearly trying to help those people that most need it, but it's not equity."²⁹⁴

So while D.L. admits that the University lags behind its peers in addressing the “gross up” issue, he is optimistic that when it finally catches up, it will do so correctly. He believes that while the University may be slow to change, when it does change, it does it well. He feels confident that unlike its peers, the University will address the “gross up” problem with policy that will promote true equity in benefits for all of its employees.²⁹⁵

It should be noted that these interviews were conducted in 2011. The civil rights landscape in the United States was greatly reshaped in the years that followed. In 2011 at the time of our interviews, only six states had legalized same-sex marriage. By 2013, that number had jumped to twelve along with the District of Columbia.²⁹⁶ That same year, the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) made a landmark decision by striking down key parts of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) declaring them unconstitutional. In so doing, they overturned a law that denied Federal benefits to same-sex couples. This 2013 decision did not legalize same-sex marriage. However, it was a crucial step in finally providing legally married same-sex couples with important Federal spousal benefits they had previously been denied such as immigration, tax status and health care.²⁹⁷ This change in the law in 2013 would have directly impacted our study participants, most notably N.B. who was paying additional taxes for the

²⁹⁴ D.L. Interview 2 – pgs. 6-7.

²⁹⁵ D.L. Interview 2 – pg. 7.

²⁹⁶ Zernike, Kate and Santora, Marc, “Judge Orders New Jersey to Allow Gay Marriage”, *New York Times*, 28 September, 2013, page A-1.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

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health benefits covering her partner. This 2013 SCOTUS ruling removed the financial penalties being assessed to her paycheck. Two years later, by 2015 there were thirty-seven states that allowed same-sex marriage.²⁹⁸ In June of 2015, in a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled on the *Obergefell V. Hodges* case. In their verdict for this case, the high court declared that the United States Constitution guarantees the right to same-sex marriage.²⁹⁹ In so doing, same-sex marriage was now a guaranteed right for all nationally.

Study participants were more divided when it came to the role of employee training as a means of addressing the needs of the University LGBT community. There were some who felt that training was not the way forward, while others advocated for it. And then there were those who envisioned embedding staff training into different events.

On one end of the spectrum, there was Attorney S.I. who believed that the expansion of mandatory employee training programs for LGBT awareness would be an effective tool in cultivating an environment of tolerance on campus.

“But I mean I think in terms of the initiatives just getting the resources, continuing to provide the training; maybe making it mandatory for all; maybe making it part of the employee orientation.

We have a new manager orientation – I think actually right now I think it’s like kinda like an elective – I think making it a part of one of the mandatory programs.

²⁹⁸ Dwyer, Jim, “A Victory for Same-Sex Marriage, With Roots in New York”, *New York Times*, 25 June, 2015, pg. A-20.

²⁹⁹ Liptak, Adam. “Equal Dignity”, *New York Times*, 27 June, 2015, pg. A-1.

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We have the initiatives – it’s just implementing it. And just feeding off of that.”³⁰⁰

Librarian U.E. stands on the opposite end of the spectrum as S.I., believing that less training is the key. According to the librarian, the mandatory nature of employee training programs tends to turn people off from the message of tolerance and diversity being preached at LGBT awareness programs. He feels that meaningful education does not occur at these mandatory sessions precisely because of their requisite nature.

“I think there’s a certain level of burn out that people feel when you – and especially if you try to- you know - make these programs - attendance at these programs - mandatory. So I don’t know - you know - I don’t know how. And so whenever you have these programs you end up preaching to the choir because it’s the people who have an interest in changing the work place...

Mandatory training doesn’t work. People are gonna be even more resistant to being open if this is something that they are making me do. I think we have to get some – find ways to make attendance meaningful to them. I think about someone like Dick Cheney having a lesbian daughter, for instance. And you know, that maybe he might have a different perspective about LGBT life because the policies that he’s had some influence in making would have had an impact on someone in his life – an impact that he could see. How do you personalize that experience? That’s hard to tell.”³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ S.I. Interview 2 – pg. 6.

³⁰¹ U.E. Interview 2 – pgs. 7-8.

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According to Librarian U.E., a meaningful cultural shift within the University or any organization grappling with diversity can only occur if the message of tolerance touches people on a deeper, more personal level.

The view of B.L.S. in Central Administration on this matter straddles the midpoint between that of Attorney S.I. and Librarian U.E. B.L.S. believes that training is part of the solution. However, he also believes that more creative educational programming on campus should be part of the solution as a way to ensure that the message of tolerance and diversity reaches a wider audience.

“I think that’s the most powerful way to get educated is by knowing and working with someone. And then – as you said – training is very difficult. Now we can get staff to get trained. There is some resistance but we can get many more staff into a training. I mean we do already have these ally trainings that happen I think twice a year. But I guess I would think about ways to imbed it more – you know, imbed it in different ways rather than have a week. Because when they advertise that week, most people aren’t going to that week set of events. So are there ways that we can bring light to this issue more broadly?”³⁰²

To B.L.S., the solution is two-pronged – a combination of more educational training for University employees, complemented by creative programming that presents LGBT issues to a wider audience beyond the LGBT community and its allies. He draws inspirations from a trans exhibit hosted by the University’s African American center. He felt that this specific venue opened up the space for discussion of LGBT issues to an audience that may not always be part of the LGBT conversation.

³⁰² B.L.S. Interview 2 – pg. 8.

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“It was an exhibition of trans people of color at the Center – which is our sort of racial equality – sort of formerly the black center but now more broad – um, and so that was interesting. They have a big room at the back - a multipurpose room. And there was an exhibition of different sort of portraits of trans people of color. And then for some of them you could click, you would call on your cell phone and call a number and then you could hear the person’s story. So that was really great cause it was in a space where – you know – where trans – I mean gay issues are publicly talked about sometimes but trans issues are certainly rarely talked about. So that was really great. And I’m sure it could get some interesting exposure in providing an opportunity – I mean we were having a meeting there – it was just unrelated we had a meeting there. But because we were having it there we asked the person who worked there who was on our committee can you give us a little explanation of about what this exhibition is. So it was a sort of educational opportunity. So those kinds of things I think would be really neat. Right? “³⁰³

By and large, the participants of this study have been received positively at the University after disclosing their homosexuality. They have garnered wide support from their supervisors and have enjoyed professional success – as proven by their senior rankings within the University hierarchy. This said, a third of the study participants also recognized that their professional experiences might not necessarily be the norm.

B.L.S. of Central Administration made a direct comment about this, citing that his experience working for a University Senior Vice President who himself is out and gay, may not exactly mirror the experiences of other LGBT staff on campus.

³⁰³ B.L.S. Interview 2 – pg. 8

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“I understand the position of privilege that I’m in. And so it’s easy for me to not have – you know, the fact that I haven’t had issues with some of these policies doesn’t mean that they’re not real for many people, right? ... So um, you know, I worry that one can have a more rosy picture of the world when one has – you know – when one lives in this kind of a corridor...And you know I work with – I mean the two most senior LGBT people in our administration. One of them is - I’m in his office - and the other person I work very closely with. So and then you know she has direct reports who are gay. And he also has direct ... you know so I’m working at this level. But if I’m working you know at Grounds & Building in Facilities and that’s like so many layers down, I’m sure the experience is very different there.”³⁰⁴

D.L. in Facilities expressed the same sentiment as B.L.S. in Central Administration. Near the conclusion of the second interview, D.L. expressed intrigue and interest in the results of this study as a tool to learn how he could help other LGBT employees on campus who may not have experienced the same level of support he has as an out gay man in the workplace.

“... so learning some of the findings of you know - where other people might not have had as positive of an experience as - things that I could personally influence that might help others – that would to me be the most helpful and hopefully beneficial for me to think about. Because again, I feel very blessed to have had the set of experiences that I have but I recognize it’s not necessarily the norm for all constituents and so um, I fear about being complacent given my own experiences.”³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ B.L.S. – Interview 2 – pg. 9.

³⁰⁵ D.L. – Interview 2 – pg. 7.

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D.L.'s awareness of his professional privilege also comes with a fear of complacency. D.L. expressed this concern when we were discussing the future of LGBT affairs on campus.

“I think I’m sufficiently out of the loop a little bit with um... I used to feel so much better connected when I was active with the LGBT Task Force. I fortunately still get – I’m still on their email list so I see some of the things they’re working on. Um, to me, the big fights for things that we were really struggling for – of kind of solidifying E.C.’s position as not a kind of side bar or intern style administrator but somebody with actual kind of political clout and substantive position and then creating the Center – the physical center – and having it on par with other kinds of centers that we have on this campus. Um, those felt like really big fights kind of thing. And fortunately they were – ended up being – I think - well supported and well institutionalized. I know some of the current initiatives but I wouldn’t suggest that I have as much vision as a number of people do. And I think – this doesn’t necessarily speak well of me – but because I haven’t – I’m probably more complacent than I should be on this set of issues because I feel extremely well supported, personally.”³⁰⁶

D.L. fears that his own professional success and attainments may have lulled him into complacency about the state of LGBT affairs at the University. D.L. recognizes that simply because he has and continues to work in a supportive and nurturing environment, other LGBT employees may not be as fortunate.

Black or white, gay man or lesbian woman, I identified emergent themes from these interviews that reveal commonalities in the experiences of our study participants. And yet, no two experiences have been exactly that same. Rather the participants’ stories span the spectrum

³⁰⁶ D.L. – Interview 2 – pg. 5

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of LGBT experiences. Their stories do not cleanly divide along racial or gender lines. It is for this exact reason that Queer Theory is the most appropriate lens from which to view this rich collection of very personal stories. Queer Theory was specifically created to disrupt the complacency of lesbian and gay studies which by the late 1980's had become all too formulaic. Theorist Teresa de Laurentis coined the term "Queer Theory" in an attempt to broaden the conversation sphere about sexuality and also to problematize what she had viewed as the homogenization of the discourse around homosexuality. She wanted to offer an alternative model for viewing LGBT issues apart from the white, male, middle-class model of analysis which had dominated the field.³⁰⁷

Through these interviews, I have learned of LGBT staff at the University who are out and others who remain closeted. I have come to hear of both gay men and lesbian women who experienced rejection when they first came out, and also others who did not. Participants' experiences with homophobia in the workplace represents the spectrum from rejection to open acceptance. Their experiences are unique to each individual. Queer Theory is the only theoretical framework that accepts these different experiences while recognizing the value that each brings to the LGBT discourse. Queer Theory allows for the richness of the individual stories to come through and does not seek to homogenize them or fit them into limiting categories. Queer Theory refutes overly simplistic gender binaries – gay or straight, lesbian or gay. Queer Theory views gender as being lived on a spectrum.³⁰⁸

Apart from the experiences of gay men and lesbian women, Queer Theory allows this conversation to expand into the transgender community as well. It is unfortunate that I was unable to recruit a transgender university staff member for this study. And despite the fact that

³⁰⁷ Halperin, David (2003). "The Normalization of Queer Theory." *Journal of Homosexuality*. Volume 45 (2-3-4). pgs. 339-340.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 343.

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the trans community remains relatively small on campus, trans issues were a resonating theme for study participants as they discussed the future of the LGBT community on campus. Several subjects mentioned various facets of University policies that they felt needed to better address the needs of the trans community on campus. While they may have similarities to their gay and lesbian brethren, the experiences of the trans community are unique unto themselves. Only a framework as broad as Queer Theory has the ability to understand and value these different experiences as equally important to one another.

These interviews have offered a rare glimpse into the experiences of queer higher education administrators. Through these conversations with the study participants, we realize the diversity of their viewpoints and can see the rich tapestry that their experiences form together. Given the important roles these gay and lesbian administrators play in the creation and implementation of policies at the University, it was important to finally lend a voice to this seldom heard group, to better understand them and their experiences as valued members of the LGBT community on campus and to show the need for continued research on this topic.

Chapter VI - Findings and Conclusion

As it stands today, the University remains one of the top institutions for higher education in the United States and in fact, the world. The school boasts of progressive views and policies that welcome and encourage diversity within its faculty, students and staff. However, it must not be forgotten that inclusivity was not always a mainstay on campus. In fact, the University has a checkered past when it comes to diversity. For most of its over two hundred fifty year history, women and other minorities were systematically excluded from admission to the school.

In its early days, the University had institutional barriers that actively kept unwanted groups out. These came in the form of its Selective Admissions Process and through its upper-class eating clubs on campus. Both were thinly veiled racist mechanisms designed to actively discourage Jewish, Catholic, Asian and African American students from applying, much less enter the school.³⁰⁹ However, the University's exclusionary practices were no match to the changing tide of sentiment from the larger American society. The school was criticized for its racist policies and even likened to Hitler for its racial intolerance. And so under pressure from alumni – many of whom had served in World War II with blacks in the military – the University changed course and began admitting black students in large numbers in the mid-20th century.³¹⁰ The prospect of co-education was met with just as much resistance when it was first suggested. Many alumni were vocal in their pleas to keep the University a “male domain”. Other critics doubted if women could ever grow to love the school as their fathers and brothers had. However,

³⁰⁹ Synnott, Marcia Graham (1979). The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard and Yale 1900 – 1970. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pgs. 161-175.

³¹⁰ Maynard, W. Barksdale (2012), University Campus. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pg. 191.

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in 1969, the University's Board of Trustees bowed to societal pressures and voted to admit women.³¹¹

As women were finally admitted to the University in 1969, there was a major shift in the Civil Rights landscape in the United States. That was the same year as the historic Stonewall riots in New York City, which is considered by many to have been the birthplace of the American gay rights movement³¹². The birth of the LGBT movement at the University came about three years later in 1972. The University Gay Alliance was founded in May 1972 as a self-described service organization with the goals of giving gay men and lesbians at the University the opportunity to meet in an unthreatening atmosphere, as well as to promote a positive attitude towards homosexuality on campus.³¹³ Ten students attended that first meeting and the group received an initial allocation of \$328 from the University Projects Board to fund its first year of activities. Though many other student groups received the same amount, the UGA's allocation was the only one that year that was openly contested. The objection was brought by a student who had a moral issue with the existence of the gay group. The student felt that University funds should not be used to fund a group based on sexual orientation. A petition with 200 signatures was collected by this student and submitted to the University Projects Board calling for a campus-wide referendum to decide whether the Alliance was to receive any funding at all. This petition was eventually withdrawn and the referendum never held.³¹⁴ This issue would prove the

³¹¹ Maynard, W. Barksdale (2012), University Campus. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pg. 192.

³¹² Eaklor, Vicki (2008), Queer America – A GLBT History of the 20th Century. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pg. 123.

³¹³ Van Aken, James. (April, 1979). [Letter to Asst. Dean John Hicks-Herschey] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 3), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

³¹⁴ Schubert, Joe. "Group Cancels Alliance Funds Petition", *University Daily Paper*, 6 December, 1972, pg.1.

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first of many objections and hurdles the LGBT community on campus would face in the many years to come.

This research has shown that in the decades that followed, the University remained an inhospitable place to gays and lesbians. Archives of the University campus paper showed records of many instances of vandalism on campus, not only against the University Gay Alliance group, but towards individual gay students as well lasting all through the 1970's. Alliance banners were stolen and destroyed, members' dorm rooms were broken into and ransacked, etc. There was even an altercation at the campus pub involving some of the Alliance members and other students. Anti-gay slurs were hurled at the Alliance members, and one of them was even injured during the incident. As a direct result of this incident, the Alliance petitioned the University administration to include sexual orientation to its list of categories protected from discrimination on campus. The administration refused and instead chose to simply reaffirm its original non-discrimination policy already in place at the time:

“Be it further resolved: The University Council strongly censures and abhors personal violence committed with the intent of intimidating, punishing, or interfering with freedom of expression; destruction of property committed with the intent of intimidating, punishing, or interfering with freedom of expression: and threats to commit either of the above made with the intent of intimidating, punishing, or interfering with freedom of expression.”³¹⁵

³¹⁵ Anonymous. (March, 1976). [University Council Resolution on Non-Discrimination] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 2, Folder 5), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

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Some individuals speculated that the University's refusal to include sexual or affectational preference in the list of protected categories came from a fear of a backlash by alumni supporters of the University.³¹⁶

The 1980s were a mixed bag for the LGBT community on campus. Throughout the decade, there was a steady stream of news reports and letters to the editor of the campus paper that documented the marginalization experienced by gay students on campus. Some letters discussed the on-going prejudice towards homosexuals at the school. At the same time, there were some notable advances that also occurred at the school. The Alumni Reunion Fund was created to unite gay alumni with current gay students and support LGBT research on campus. The first course to discuss homosexuals was introduced in the 1980s as well.³¹⁷ The Alliance kicked off the first Gay Pride Week on campus which is still celebrated to this day.³¹⁸ And most importantly, the Administration finally agreed to include sexual orientation to its list of categories protected from discrimination on campus. This policy change occurred eight years after the Alliance's first appeal for such in the 1970's.³¹⁹ This move was largely credited to the efforts of a very progressive University president who was in power at the time. This policy shift was singularly important because once it was in place it provided the foundation for all other improvements to follow. It is important to note that the University's home state did not make this

³¹⁶ Lander, Eric. "Eight Intruders Ransack Gays' Rooms; Officials Suspect Student Involvement", *University Daily Paper*, 23 February, 1976, pg.1.

³¹⁷ Reitz, Caroline. "Cadden to Teach Gay Literary Texts in Spring Course", *University Daily Paper*, 13 November, 1987, pgs.1-11.

³¹⁸ Gulland, Molly. "LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History", *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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inclusion of sexual orientation to its protected categories until five years after the school.³²⁰ The University was only the second school in the nation to adopt such a progressive policy at the time.³²¹ And yet, even after this new policy was in place, letters were still sent in by students to the campus paper discussing homophobia on campus.³²²

At the end of the 1980's and into the 1990's, the University formed an Ad Hoc Committee that was chaired by the University President's assistant. The committee was created in response to demands for enhanced campus security, attention to on-going racial harassment, the creation of a Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Center on campus, development of programs in the residential colleges and Counseling Center to support LGBT students, etc.³²³ The official resolution passed for the creation of the Ad Hoc Committee recognized that much more needed to be done to create an environment at the University that enabled gay, lesbian and bisexual persons – whether they were students, faculty, staff or alumni – to participate comfortably and contribute fully in the life of the University community. It also stated that the University should care about the general welfare of all its students and employees, including its gay, lesbian and bisexual members.³²⁴ The committee quickly went to work and examined curricular issues, programs, services and policies. They then produced a report that included several

³²⁰ NJ Law Against Discrimination L.1945, c. 169, § 3. Amended by L.1951 § 2; L.1962, § 2; L.1970, c. 80, § 8, eff. June 2, 1970; L.1977, c. 96, § 1, eff. May 19, 1977; L.1990, c. 12, § 1; L.1991, c. 519, § 1, eff. 19 January, 1992.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² Jeffrey Nacy. "University Gays Encounter Social Life of Limited Choices", *University Daily Paper*, 20 November, 1985, pg.1.

³²³ Sole, Marc. "Officials Consider Demands Regarding Sexual Orientation", *University Daily Paper*, 17 April, 1990, pg.1.

³²⁴ Anonymous (October 1989). [Resolution for the Creation of an Ad Hoc U-Council Committee for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Concerns] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 22), University Libraries, 10 June, 2015.

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recommendations on how to address the quality of life on campus for members of the University LGBT community. Their recommendations included:

- “- Integration of the gay and lesbian experience into all relevant areas of the curriculum;
- Development by the University library of a guide to resources in lesbian and gay studies as well as consideration of the acquisition of scholarly resources for the study of contemporary gay and lesbian culture;
- Better preparing faculty to address homophobia and heterosexism in their classrooms;
- Create a safe space where lesbians, gays and bisexuals can interact in a supporting environment free from fear and hostility;
- The Counseling Center must sensitize all of its counselors to issues of sexual orientation and that counseling services be available to those students who are exploring issues concerning sexual identity, sexual orientation and relationship problems;
- The University extend its Health Care plan benefits to the domestic partners of lesbian and gay employees and graduate students.
- The University extend all other insurance and pension benefits presently offered to spouses be accorded to the partners of gays and lesbians.”³²⁵

Records show that within less than one year after these recommendations were made, some departments at the University already started to enact some changes directly reflecting the suggestions made by the Ad Hoc Committee.³²⁶ The work of the Ad Hoc Committee continues

³²⁵ Warternburg, Carl (14 May, 1990). [Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual Needs and Concerns] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder: “LGB Task Force Concerns”), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

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on to this day. While they have not assumed policy-making responsibilities, their advice has been solicited by the administration in seeking ways to reduce homophobia on campus and to ensure a climate of safety for the LGBT community.³²⁷

Also in the 1990s, the University hired its first paid staff member – albeit part time – to work as the staff coordinator on gay issues on campus. A few years later, this was upgraded to a full time position and given the title of Director of the LGBA.³²⁸ Around this time, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance changed its moniker to the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Alliance to include the once ignored bisexual community on campus. Concurrent to all these strides for the LGBT community, there were still reports of homophobic incidents on campus all through the decade. Vandals destroyed banners advertising LGBA events. There was even an incident where a pool of urine was found outside the dorm room door of one of the LGBA members. Both were considered bias attacks but many felt that their homophobic nature received less condemnation than other expressions of prejudice on campus.³²⁹ In 1991, the University extended health coverage and pension benefits to the domestic partners of their gay and lesbian employees. The University pre-dated its home state by over a decade in extending such benefits.³³⁰ In 1993, the University Trustees reinstated the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) despite objections

³²⁶ Aroeste, Jean (4 January, 1991). [Selection of Materials for Gay and Lesbian Studies] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 1, Folder 22), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

³²⁷ Shapiro, Harold (11 June, 1996). [Memo to Michael Montgomery of LGB Task Force] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance Records, 1972-1995, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript and Library (Box 3, Folder – LGB Task Force Minutes), University Libraries, 26 August, 2015.

³²⁸ Piccirillo, Steven. “New Directors of Women’s Center, LGBA, TWC Discuss Future Plans”, *University Daily Paper*, 15 September, 1994, pgs.1 & 2.

³²⁹ Crabtree, Shona. “Bias Crimes Target Members of LGBA”, *University Daily Paper*. 16 February, 1993, pgs.1 & 8.

³³⁰ Gulland, Molly. “LGBT Community Strives to Overcome Barriers Throughout its 30-year History”, *University Daily Paper*, 5 April, 2002, pg. 4.

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from many at the school because of the military's recent adoption of the Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policy. The DADT policy encouraged soldiers to remain closeted about their sexuality and punished them for openly discussing their sexual orientation. Another blow to the LGBT community on campus came when the Trustees voted to reinstate a policy where the school matched faculty contributions to the Boy Scouts of America. The University President had in fact, suspended this policy just one year prior due to the organization's discrimination against gays.³³¹ These decisions were inconsistent with the recent changes in University policies to reaffirm and protect the LGBT community on campus. The Board of Trustees was widely criticized for not taking a stronger stance to fight discrimination and oppose against such discriminatory practices.³³²

It is important to note that there were other bias incidents reported on campus during the 90's. The campus paper documented several racially motivated acts of vandalism towards black students and other minority groups. The sum of these racist and homophobic incidents shows us that for all of its policy advancements, the climate at the University remained intolerant towards queers and people of color.³³³

As the University entered the new millennium, it continued to make advances on the LGBT front. In 2002, the campus paper ran a series of five articles called "Pride and Prejudice" with each piece exploring a different issue affecting the LGBT community on campus. One article in the series explored the experiences of gay athletes at the school. The gay athletes interviewed for the article had already previously come out to their respective teams. All of

³³¹ Whitelaw, Kevin. "Activists Call Trustees' Decisions Setback for Gay Rights on Campus", *University Daily Paper*. 18 November, 1993, pgs.1 & 13.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Montero, Janina. "Eliminating Bias", *University Daily Paper*, 13 November, 1997, pg.8.

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these athletes unanimously described a welcoming and understanding experience when they disclosed their homosexuality to their teammates. Many of them credited this positive reaction to the open mindedness of student leaders on the various athletic teams and how their attitudes set the norm for the younger athletes.³³⁴ Interestingly, another article in the series examined the experiences of gay faculty on campus. Faculty interviewed for the piece agreed that the University had become a more welcoming environment for gays over the years. And yet, despite the evolution of attitudes towards LGBT issues on campus, as of 2002, the University still did not have a formal organization for LGBT faculty. The LGBT Coordinator for the University weighed in on this by saying that she had noticed a “silence” among gay faculty even in 2002. She felt that the campus was very closeted, making it difficult for gay faculty to come out. She found that while gay and lesbian faculty associated with each other, there was not a cohesive community among them at the school citing the lack of a strong out teaching community. She attributed the silence to a lack of comfort and that some high profile professors had a legitimate fear that being openly gay would hurt their professional careers. She went on to say, “Some faculty feel it is hostile, others don’t... There are little pockets of faculty and so much depends on what pocket you end up in.” She said that the lack of visible gay faculty made it challenging for students as well since they did not have role models who demonstrated confidence in who they were.³³⁵

Bias incidents were reported on campus through the earlier part of the decade. There were reports of homophobia and gender discrimination at the school. There were incidents of

³³⁴ Starkweather, Austin. “For Gay Athletes, Coming Out Often Makes Ripples, Rarely Makes Waves”, *University Daily Paper*, 8 April 2002, pgs.1-4.

³³⁵ Brush, Silla . “Professors Reflect on Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in the Ivory Tower”, *University Daily Paper*, 12 April, 2002, pgs.1-5.

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vandalism against LGBT allies at the University.³³⁶ The conservative newspaper on campus even published an article condemning homosexuality calling it abnormal and immoral.³³⁷

Other noteworthy events for the University LGBT community in more recent years included the creation of the Lavender Graduation event designed to recognize graduating queer students at the University;³³⁸ the grand opening of the LGBT Center on campus³³⁹, the launch of gender-neutral housing options for undergraduates³⁴⁰ and the launch of the three-day Every Voice Conference designed especially for LGBT and ally alumni³⁴¹. In 2015, the University was ranked among the top 25 in the nation for LGBTQ-Friendliness by Campus Pride.³⁴²

It is clear that the University has struggled to bring about a climate of acceptance and inclusivity on campus over the years. While it has been a trailblazer in embracing some very progressive policies towards queers, the climate on the ground – as experienced by the LGBT faculty, students and staff on campus - has always lagged behind. And so it is within this institutional context that our study participants worked. For those who have been at the school

³³⁶ Williams, Abby. "Gay Students Seek Understanding from Campus Community", *University Daily Paper*, 2 December, 2002, pgs.1-3.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ The University. 2013, April 16. *Every Voice*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NvkANKOR14A>

³³⁹ Weidman, Maxwell. (13 October, 2006). "Gay Students Find a Home". Web. *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/2006/10/13/16192/>

³⁴⁰ Walter, D. (16 Oct 2009). "University Opens Some of its Dorms to Mixed-Gender Accommodations". Web. *The Star-Ledger*, pg. 021. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/12B62A889D4B2158?p=AWNB>

³⁴¹ Anonymous (12 April, 2013). "University Kicks Off LGBT Alumni Conference". Web. *University Daily Paper*. Retrieved from <http://www.universitydailypaper.com/main/news/archive/S36/56/94A34/>

³⁴² Clark, A. (25 August 2015). 3 Colleges Make Top 25 For LGBTQ-Friendliness. Web. *The Star-Ledger*, pg. 7. Retrieved from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com/resources/doc/nb/news/15772A41F632AA10?p=AWNB>

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longer, the experiences they shared provided us with a longitudinal view of the changing attitudes towards the gay community not only at the University but also within society at large.

Revisiting Themes

There were several themes that emerged during the course of our interviews. The most prominent theme was the existence of microclimates within the University. As we saw, there were micro-climates within the different departments and levels of the University. Based on the experiences of the subjects, these micro-climates could be very disparate from each other: there was the openly accepting climate within Central Administration to the machismo-dominated, less tolerant climates within Facilities and Athletics to the highly feminine and accepting climate within the library system. These micro-climates existed independently of the larger University climate. Some were consistent with the School's current progressive policies towards LGBT communities on campus, while others were not. LGBT scholar William Tierney has written about organizational climate within higher education. According to Tierney, differing micro-climates, such as the ones revealed by these interviews, exist within a college or university because cultural influences occur at many levels, within the department, the institution, as well as the system and the state. His writings highlight the importance of minimizing cultural conflicts within these different levels and working to foster shared institutional goals.³⁴³

From these interviews, it became clear that for the queers at the University who worked within inhospitable micro climates, there was also a theme of passing and covering as a means for professional survival. According to author, Kenji Yoshino, "to pass" means to be judged, or more exactly - to be misjudged and accepted as a member of a group other than one's own. For

³⁴³ Tierney, William (1988). "Organizational Culture in Higher Education: Defining the Essentials." *Journal of Higher Education*, Volume 59 (1), pgs. 2-21.

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gay men and women, passing means the ability to masquerade as a heterosexual. Passing goes beyond keeping one's true sexual orientation secret. It goes a step further and involves telling a series of untruths about one's life and also altering physical affect to help weave a facade of a heterosexual life lived.³⁴⁴ For the first twelve years of her career at the University, Officer N.B. went to great lengths to hide that she was a lesbian from the rest of her co-workers at the University Policy Department. Not only did she actively switch to male pronouns when speaking about her female partner, but she even banned her girlfriend from answering the phone at their shared home for fear of being found out.³⁴⁵ D.L. in Facilities had two employees who currently passed for straight during the time of our interviews because they feared rejection and reprisals from their co-workers. Then there was Coach B.D. in Athletics. Coach B.D. and many of her queer colleagues worked together to cover their lesbianism. Yoshino tells us that unlike passing where you pretend to be heterosexual, with covering, you do not deny your homosexuality. Passing pertains to the visibility of one's gayness while covering pertains to its obtrusiveness. With covering, you actively work to tone down your known gayness (affect, speech, mannerisms, etc.).³⁴⁶ This was exactly the survival technique employed by Coach B.D. and her colleagues. They minimized their lesbianism so as to conform to the restrictive culture within intercollegiate athletics and avoid professional repercussions.³⁴⁷ These fears of workplace backlash are consistent with the findings of authors Griffith and Hebl who studied the disclosure dilemma faced by gays and lesbians. The authors found that gay and lesbian workers often

³⁴⁴ Yoshino, K. "Covering". *Yale Law Journal*. 11 December, 2001, Vol. 111: pgs.769, 813.

³⁴⁵ N.B. – Interview 1 – pgs. 6 & 18.

³⁴⁶ Yoshino, K. (15 January, 2006) "The Pressure to Cover". Web. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/15/magazine/15gays.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

³⁴⁷ B.D. – Interview 1 – pgs. 4-5.

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reported hesitance in disclosing information about their significant others, their families or their weekend plans because they feared retaliation or rejection by coworkers.³⁴⁸

And yet in contrast to this, four of the six study participants felt it was safe enough for them to come out as gay or lesbian at the University right from the start. Their experiences constitute a theme that by and large, the University is a generally safe place LGBT staff. None of these four participants experienced any professional repercussions in revealing their sexual orientation in the workplace. In fact, for Atty. S.I., revealing that she was a lesbian in a committed same-sex relationship during her job interview helped clinch the position for her.³⁴⁹

Interestingly enough, the interviews also revealed that among these four participants who felt safe enough to come out at their jobs immediately, half of them still believed the University was a conservative environment. Another participant, Officer N.B. – who was closeted at her job for many years – agreed with them. Librarian U.E. said that not only was the University itself conservative but the surrounding town where it was located was conservative as well. D.L. in Facilities said that the University was certainly not a trailblazer when it came to LGBT issues but he believed that when it did change, it did so well referring to some of the School's historic policies extending equal benefits to LGBT employees.³⁵⁰

During these interviews, all six participants were in long term relationships. Of the six participants, only one person – Officer N.B. – made full use of the same sex partner benefits to actually provide health coverage for her partner of twenty years.³⁵¹ D.L. in Facilities only took

³⁴⁸ Griffith, Kristin and Hebl, Michelle (2002). "The Disclosure Dilemma for Gay Men and Lesbians: 'Coming Out' at Work." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Volume 87 (6), pgs. 1191-1199.

³⁴⁹ S.I. Interview 1 – pgs. 5-6.

³⁵⁰ D.L. Interview 2 – pgs. 1-2.

³⁵¹ N.B. Interview 1 – pgs. 2.

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advantage of the same sex partner benefits for helping him and his partner with the purchase of a new home.³⁵² Attorney S.I. and her partner only used the school's same sex partner benefits as it pertained to the use of campus athletic facilities.³⁵³ So while all participants acknowledged that it was important that the University offer same-sex partner benefits, the interviews show a theme that such benefits had minimal impact on the lives of 84% of study participants (five of the six). The most common explanation was that this decision was economically-driven. Participants shared that their partners received as good if not better health coverage through their own employers negating the need to avail of these benefits through the University. Also, at the time of these interviews when same-sex marriage had not yet been Federally recognized, there were Federal tax implications for LGBT couples who took advantage of these family health benefits offered by the School.³⁵⁴

In addition to their experiences as employees at the University, other themes have emerged from these interviews that unify some of our study participants in different ways. I observed a marked difference in generational experiences with the coming out process. The two oldest participants were Coach B.D and Officer N.B. Both women were in their 50s as compared to the other participants who were in their 30s and 40s. There was a striking similarity that both women never actually had coming out conversations with their families. Both women were in college during the 1970's. So while the Stonewall Inn riots had occurred by then, homosexuality still remained a seldom discussed issue in most of the country. Interestingly, while the coming out experiences of both were essentially non-events, they were non-events for very different reasons. Officer N.B.'s working class Italian family had always viewed homosexuality as

³⁵² D.L. Interview 1 – pg. 4.

³⁵³ S.I. Interview 1 – pg. 4.

³⁵⁴ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 5.

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shameful and thus never discussed the topic³⁵⁵. Coach B.D.'s homosexuality was not openly discussed in her family either but for very different reasons. To them, it was a non-issue so there was no need to discuss it. Coach B.D.'s parents were highly educated and more progressive. Also they had good friends who were gay and lesbian.³⁵⁶ So while Officer N.B. and Coach B.D. share an experience common to gay men and lesbian women of their generation, the reasons behind their experiences were markedly different – shaped in large part by the socio-economic status and education levels of their families. Officer N.B.'s family was working class through and through while Coach B.D.'s family was affluent, educated and in a higher socio-economic class.

For Librarian U.E. and Attorney S.I., culture was a common theme in their LGBT experiences. Both are black from Caribbean cultures. Attorney S.I. is a lesbian woman from the US Virgin Islands while Librarian U.E. is a gay man from Jamaica. For both, the more conservative Caribbean views on homosexuality greatly shaped their coming out experiences as young people. This cultural background also influenced their parents' ability / inability to accept their homosexual children.

In shifting the focus of our interviews towards the future, I asked our participants to describe the future of LGBT relations at the University, as they saw it. Of the answers given, the most resonant theme was that of University policies evolving towards better serving members of the transgender community. Fifty percent of the interviewees felt that trans issues were next on the horizon for the University's LGBT agenda and policies.

³⁵⁵ N.B. Interview 1 – pg. 2.

³⁵⁶ B.D. Interview 1 – pg. 1.

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Limitations of Study

Like any study, there were some limitations to this research. First and foremost, while this study was able to include the voices of gay and lesbians, Caucasians and persons of color, noticeably missing is representation of the transgender community. According to our subjects, overall, the trans population remains small on campus. At the time this research was conducted, my contacts and I were not aware of any “out” trans administrators on the University staff. As a result, this study was unfortunately unable to bring in the unique perspective of a transgender administrator into this conversation to speak on their experiences working at the University.

Unforeseen institutional policies at the University were also a limitation to this research. I was unable to access all of the items I needed from the School’s archives due to a forty-year embargo policy on administrative documents and publications deemed sensitive in nature. This included presidential letters, internal memos, human resources records, etc. The process for identifying which documents are included in this four-decade embargo appears to be highly subjective with the library unable to provide me with a clear rubric to guide document selection. Access to some of the documents currently under embargo could have been able to provide more insight into the internal discussions and processes surrounding University decisions about the most controversial LGBT issues and policies discussed in this dissertation.

Another limitation to this study was my outsider status. To be clear, it was not my outsider status to the LGBT community as a straight woman that was the issue. Rather, it was my outsider status at the University that I believe was more of an issue with one of the subjects. Specifically, I believe that my outsider status at the school, may have affected the responses given by study participant BD. Unlike the others, BD’s responses seemed so guarded in an effort to present a utopic image of life for the LGBT community at the University. During both

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interviews, her answers felt extremely filtered, lacking a sense of sincerity that was present during the interviews with the others. It must be noted that I attempted to include the current Director of the University's LGBT Center in this study. She turned down my invitation because the University refused to officially sponsor this study - further proof of my outsider status at the School.

Experts in qualitative research advocate for prolonged engagement in the field to overcome such problems with interview subjects. Longer stays in the field allow for the collection of more pluralistic perspectives from study participants, as well as to allow the researcher a better understanding of the context of the subjects' views.³⁵⁷ Spending more time with my research participants, such as BD, could have helped me develop a stronger rapport with her which likely could have led to more candor in her responses. Unfortunately, due to time constraints and the limited availability of study participants given their busy schedules, such prolonged engagement in the field was not a possibility.

Researcher bias is also a limitation to this research. Given my close ties to and years of involvement with the LGBT community, I come to the table as a sympathetic ally who supports the queer community's quest for equal rights. That said, I have always been honest about my hope that this study will demonstrate a clear need for additional research on the experiences of this population which is seldom given a voice in discussions.

Revisiting the Research Questions

The lack of Federal LGBT workplace protections and rights have inevitably resulted in a disparate array of experiences for gay and lesbian administrators working at colleges and universities, both private and public, across the country. This dissertation was an exploratory

³⁵⁷ Creswell, John and Miller, Dana (2000). "Determining Validity in Qualitative Research". *Theory into Practice*. Volume 39 (3), pg. 128.

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study to examine how college and university administrators experienced their work environments when there is no Federal legislation in place to protect them from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. The goal of this study was to address the following questions:

1. What are the professional experiences of LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?
2. What changes in university/college climate and/or culture, if any, have occurred during their career span regarding LGBT people working as administrators in higher education?

In revisiting the first research question from the standpoint of this dissertation now completed, the research has shown that LGBT administrators at colleges and universities have a variety of experiences as queers in the workplace. Administrators are not immune to the bias and prejudice that exists on campus. While most of the participants have enjoyed an accepting climate towards gays and lesbians, not all of the participants had the same experience. In fact for two of the participants, their earlier years in the University were quite the opposite and they needed to pass as straight or cover their homosexuality to ensure professional survival. The interviews have also revealed that to this day, there remains a portion of the staff at the University that is fearful of coming out. It appears from the data that the biggest determinant of their experiences is the micro-climate and micro-culture in the specific department within which they work. The mores and attitudes in their immediate environments had the most impact on the way they experienced the workplace, beyond any larger institutional policies. Further, we also saw that an individual's ranking within an organization also impacted the way they experienced their workplace environment as queers. Based on the experiences of the study participants, it

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seemed that those within senior positions enjoyed more acceptance as being out homosexuals without fear of workplace reprisals.

In revisiting the second research question, this research has demonstrated that there are several changes that occurred at the University during the collective career span of the study participants that impacted their workplace experiences as gays and lesbians. First, there were larger institutional policy changes that extended protections and then later on benefits to LGBT employees, their spouses and their families. By first moving to include sexual orientation and affect in the list of categories protected from discrimination at the University, the School sent a message that it would not tolerate bias against the LGBT community on campus. Second, there was the offering of same-sex benefits to queer employees and their families. The combination of these two policies solidified the School's message of acceptance and support of the LGBT community. The extension of benefits to LGBT spouses had a direct impact on the life of Officer N.B. as it enabled her to extend healthcare coverage to her wife. This gave them peace of mind in knowing that her partner had the protection of health benefits in the event of a medical emergency.

Outside the University, there have been significant changes in the American legal landscape in recent years that have also impacted the lives of the study participants. First, in 2013, SCOTUS made a landmark decision by striking down key parts of DOMA declaring them unconstitutional. In so doing, they overturned a law that denied Federal benefits to same-sex couples. This 2013 decision did not legalize same-sex marriage nationwide. However, it was a crucial step in finally providing legally married same-sex couples with important Federal spousal

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benefits they had previously been denied such as immigration, tax status and health care.³⁵⁸ Up until this point, while the study participants lived in a state that already legalized same-sex marriage, they were still deprived of the Federal benefits available to heterosexual married couples. This 2013 ruling extended these Federal marriage benefits to them. And equally significant but more widely encompassing was the Supreme Court's decision in the *Obergefell v. Hodges* case in June 2015 that actually legalized same sex marriage. In this 5-4 ruling, they declared that the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution required every state to perform and to recognize marriages between individual of the same sex.³⁵⁹ Through this ruling the study participants' same-sex marriages were guaranteed and protected, along with all benefits and protections they received from their legal unions – state and Federal - even if they were to move to any state in the union. Prior to *Obergefell*, states were not required to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other states. So queer married couples that may have been legally married in one state could lose that status if they moved to a state that had not legalized gay marriages. *Obergefell* now protected LGBT couples from this vulnerability.

The passing of time and changing mores within the larger American society also impacted the lives of the participants. As years have gone by, the LGBT community has come to be more widely supported and accepted within American society. And this can be seen through the fact that there are now a strong number of out gay administrators in high ranking positions within Central Administration at the University. The visibility of many queer administrators in high ranking positions at the School sends a clear message of their importance and value to the University. Having so many queers in power also sends the message that the school will not

³⁵⁸ Savage, Charlie and Stolberg, Sheryl Gay. "In Shift, U.S. Says Marriage Act Blocks Gay Rights." Web. *New York Times*. Web. 23 February, 2011.

³⁵⁹ Yoshino, Kenji (2005). "A New Birth of Freedom?: *Obergefell V. Hodges*". *Harvard Law Review*, 129 (1), pgs.147-179.

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stand for prejudice against this group. However, while this message is far-reaching, it was interesting to see that it still had not quite permeated to all levels of the University yet. As we heard from D.L. in Facilities, within that department, he continues to have employees who are still in the closet and are afraid to come out. In this instance, the micro-climate and attitudes within the Facilities department trumps the institutional climate of the University.

Implications for Future Research

Right from the start, my earnest hope was for this research to serve as a springboard for further study into the experiences on LGBT administrators at colleges and universities across the country. That hope remains for me that this will not be the last study that lends a voice to the often unheard community of higher education administrators who are a crucial part of every university community.

The first recommendation I have for future research is to include the experiences of transgender administrators. While part of the larger LGBT community, the experiences of trans persons is very different from those of their lesbian, gay and bisexual brethren. Trans people would bring a unique perspective to this conversation that was absent from this dissertation.

My second recommendation would be to include bisexual administrators to the research as well. This dissertation included only the experiences of lesbian and gay administrators at the University. Like the trans community, bisexual participants have a unique story to tell that can help enrich this on-going conversation.

My third recommendation is for future research to be conducted at different schools and in different locales. This research was done in a school located in a fairly liberal, Democratic state. I would expect that conducting these conversations with queer administrators working

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within religiously-affiliated colleges and universities could possibly yield very different experiences. Those same expectations would carry over to schools located in traditionally Republican, more conservative geographic areas of the country that might hold more rigid, less inclusive beliefs about homosexuality and LGBT rights. I believe that the queer administrators at such schools are likely less visible which gives us all the more reason to provide them with a voice so their stories can be told.

A fourth recommendation would be to revisit this research at the University after the forty-year embargo on sensitive administrative documents from the 1970s through the early 1990s has expired. These decades were a time of great change for the queer community at the School. Information from these documents can provide further insight into the internal processes, discussions, debates and key players surrounding pivotal changes in University policies and benefits towards the LGBT community on campus.

And finally, I recommend that over all research into the experiences of queer administrators must be an on-going endeavor. Despite their significant contributions to the creation and implementation of school policies as well as the day-to-day operations of any university, the experiences of higher education administrators have always been eclipsed by those of students and faculty. My dissertation was one of the first forays into this topic and my hope is that it will not be the last. There is much to be learned about how colleges and universities can be improved from the experiences of administrators and it is important that they are included in the conversations moving forward.

Implications for Policy

The creation of inclusive policies that promote equality for all employees is an important step for any organization to create a welcoming climate that encourages diversity. However, the

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sum of personal stories and archival data presented in this study make it abundantly clear that such policies are only the first step in fostering a truly tolerant and hospitable work place for all.

We have learned from the experiences of the study participants that merely creating an institutional policy of non-discrimination and equal rights will not automatically foster an organizational climate of tolerance. Instead, what is truly needed is a well-coordinated series of policies, trainings and various programming that stresses the message that diversity is valued within an institution. Disseminating this message through a variety of channels will ensure that it is able to widely reach all members of the school community while reinforcing the message of diversity.

When creating and evaluating organizational policies, this research has shown that it is important to take account of micro-climates within an institution. The experiences of study participants have made it clear that for the members of any college or university, climate is experienced not in the macro but rather is lived and felt in the micro. It is important to remember that different levels and departments within the same university might have their different own micro-climates and micro-cultures which more directly impact the day to day experiences of their members.

Finally, the findings of this dissertation have demonstrated that it is not sufficient to leave employment non-discrimination laws on the basis of sexual orientation in the hands of the individual states and organizations to regulate. This current lack of Federal laws and protections has resulted in varied experiences for LGBT workers. Many queers have been and continue to be the victims of employment discrimination because of their sexual orientation. As such, there is an urgent need for the Federal government to act and officially put in place laws that will prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of one's sexual orientation, affectation or

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gender identity. For at the heart of it, ENDA is not just about workers' rights, it is about civil rights.

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Interview Guide**Interview 1****FACT SHEET**

Interview date & time

Name of subject or pseudonym

Age

Coming out story

What age? How? To whom?

Reactions

Discuss employer-provided benefits for same-sex partners

Discuss how sexual/gender identity has shaped academic and professional career

Co-workers

Promotion / Job growth

Same sex partner benefits

Interview Guide**Interview 2**

Discuss institutional climate towards LGBT community at your workplace.

Compare and contrast experiences at different schools (if applicable).

Compare and contrast professional experiences before and after LGBT laws were established in the state.

Reflection - compare and contrast societal attitudes towards LGBT through the decades.

Looking to the future

Written Consent Form
Behind the Desk: Case Study Experiences of LGBT Higher Ed.
Administrators

You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Maria E. Astorga, a doctoral candidate at the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers University for her dissertation. Through case study interviews, the research being proposed here will be an exploratory study to find out how college and university administrators experience their work environments when there is no federal legislation in place to protect them from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. The driving hypothesis behind this study is that even in a state where sexual orientation is a protected category against workplace discrimination, homophobia still exists; that despite the image of progressive policy and benefits, the climate within universities can remain hostile towards LGBT people.

Approximately six to eight individuals will participate in the study and will be asked about their personal experiences as a self-identified member of the LGBT community while working as an administrator at their specific college or university. This group of individuals may include women and persons of color who meet the LGBT university administrator criteria.

Your participation involves two interviews that will last approximately forty-five minutes each with the possibility of a follow-up interview, which may be conducted by telephone. There are minimal foreseeable risks to participation in this study and your participation will help me to lend a voice to the unique and commonly untold experiences of LGBT administrators in colleges and universities across the country. The discussion of some topics in this interview may be upsetting to some participants. The interviews will cover topics that include your coming out experience, your experiences as an LGBT administrator, as well as how your sexual / gender identity has shaped / affected your professional career.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer questions with which you are not comfortable, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to have the interview conducted confidentially, the records from your interview will be kept strictly confidential. Confidential means that the research records will include some information about you, such as job description and responsibilities, etc. I will keep this information confidential by limiting individual's access to the research data and keeping it in a secured location. The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law.

If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated, unless you have agreed otherwise. No reference will be made in oral or written reports, which could link you to the study; a pseudonym will be assigned to each individual and to the college or university in which they work. If you choose to conduct the interview on record, Maria E. Astorga may cite you in written reports but only after you have had an opportunity to review the written materials.

BEHIND THE DESK

Subject's Initials: _____

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator: Maria E. Astorga at:

Tel: 732-690-0128
110 Montgomery St. – Apt. 1K
Highland Park, NJ 08901
Email: lastorga@rutgers.edu

Or her dissertation advisor Catherine Lugg at:

Tel: 908-507-3243
Graduate School of Education
10 Seminary Place
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Email: Catherine.Lugg@gse.rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Sponsored programs Administrator at Rutgers University at:

Institutional Review Board
Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey
Liberty Plaza / Suite 3200
335 George Street, 3rd Floor
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Phone: 732-235-9806
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Sign below if you agree to participate in this research study:

Subject: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____ Date: _____

Audio / Video Consent Form
Behind the Desk: Case Study Experiences of LGBT Higher Ed.
Administrators

You have already agreed to participate in a research study entitled: Behind the Desk: Case Study Experiences of LGBT Higher Ed Administrators conducted by Maria “Lynn” Astorga. We are asking for your permission to allow us to use audiotape (sound) recordings of your interviews as part of that research study. You do not have to agree to be recorded in order to participate in the main part of the study.

The recording(s) will be used for analysis by the research team.

The recording(s) will utilize pseudonyms for all interview participants’ names as well as the name of the site school.

All audio recordings of interviews will be stored electronically, none of which will contain the subjects’ actual names nor the name of the actual university. All audio recordings will be held in passworded computer files on the Graduate School of Education’s secure servers, which are housed in a secure physical location at GSE. All audio recordings of interviews will be available only to the principal investigator, the faculty advisor and the Rutgers University IRB.

Your signature on this form grants the investigator named above permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that / those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

Subject (Print): _____ Date: _____

Subject Signature: _____ Date: _____

Principal Investigator Signature: _____ Date: _____

September 14, 2011

P.I. Name: Astorga
Protocol #: 11-734MMaria E. Astorga
82 Plum Street, 2nd floor
New Brunswick NJ 08901

Dear Maria Astorga: ✓

(Initial / Amendment / Continuation / Continuation w/ Amendment)

Protocol Title: "Out of the Closet and Behind the Desk: Case Study Interviews with LGBT Higher Ed. Administrators"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	7/14/2011	Expiration Date:	7/13/2012
Expedited Category(s):	6,7	Approved # of Subject(s):	8

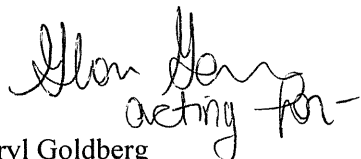
This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes **MUST** be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes: Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110**Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.**

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,


acting for-Sheryl Goldberg
Director of Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
gibel@grants.rutgers.edu

cc: Catherine A. Lugg

July 6, 2012

P.I. Name: Astorga
Protocol #: 11-734MxMaria E. Astorga
82 Plum Street, 2nd floor
New Brunswick NJ 08901

Dear Maria Astorga:

✓
(Initial / Amendment / Continuation / Continuation w/ Amendment)**Protocol Title:** "Out of the Closet and Behind the Desk: Case Study Interviews with LGBT Higher Ed. Administrators"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	6/8/2012	Expiration Date:	6/7/2013	Expedited Category:	8c
Approved # of Subject(s):	8	Currently Enrolled:	6		

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes **MUST** be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

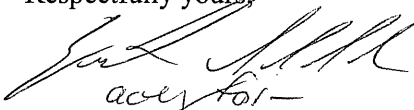
Additional Notes: - Continuation Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110

- IRB Approval has been provided for data analysis only. PI is to contact the IRB prior to the recruitment of additional subjects or further interactions/interventions with subjects.

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,


acey for -Sheryl Goldberg
Director of Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
gibel@grants.rutgers.edu

cc: Catherine A. Lugg

June 5, 2013

P.I. Name: Astorga
Protocol #: 11-734MxMaria E. Astorga
82 Plum Street, 2nd floor
New Brunswick NJ 08901

Dear Maria Astorga:

✓
(Initial / Amendment / Continuation / Continuation w/ Amendment)**Protocol Title:** "Out of the Closet and Behind the Desk: Case Study Interviews with LGBT Higher Ed. Administrators"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	5/23/2013	Expiration Date:	5/22/2014	Expedited Category(s):	8c
Approved # of Subject(s):	8	Currently Enrolled:	6		

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

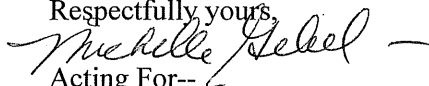
- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes **MUST** be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes: -Continuation Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110
 -IRB Approval has been provided for data analysis only. PI is to contact the IRB prior to the recruitment of additional subjects or further interactions/interventions with subjects.

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,



Acting For--

Dr. Beverly Pepper, Ph.D.

Professor

Chair, Rutgers University Institutional Review Board

cc: Dr. Catherine A. Lugg

May 14, 2014

P.I. Name: Astorga
Protocol #: 11-734MxMaria E. Astorga
82 Plum Street, 2nd floor, New Brunswick NJ 08901

Dear Maria Astorga:

(Initial / Amendment / Continuation / Continuation w/ Amendment)

Protocol Title: "Out of the Closet and Behind the Desk: Case Study Interviews with LGBT Higher Ed. Administrators"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	5/7/2014	Expiration Date:	5/6/2015	Expedited Category(s):	8c
Approved # of Subject(s):	8	Currently Enrolled:	6		

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes MUST be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes: - Continuation Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110.

- IRB Approval has been provided for data analysis only. PI is to contact the IRB prior to the recruitment of additional subjects or further interactions/interventions with subjects.

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,



Acting For,
Dr. Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
Professor
Chair, Rutgers University Institutional Review Board
(MW: lb)

cc: Dr. Catherine A. Lugg

April 15, 2015

Maria E. Astorga
82 Plum Street, 2nd floor
New Brunswick NJ 08901

P.I. Name: Astorga

Protocol #: 11-734Mx

Dear Maria Astorga:

Initial Amendment Continuation Continuation w/ Amend Adverse Event

Protocol Title: "Out of the Closet and Behind the Desk: Case Study Interviews with LGBT Higher Ed. Administrators"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date: 4/14/2015 Expiration Date: 4/13/2016
Expedited Category(s): 8c Approved # of Subject(s): 8 Currently Enrolled: 6

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. This approval is valid **ONLY** for the dates listed above;
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes **MUST** be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes:

- Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110
- IRB Approval has been provided for data analysis only. PI is to contact the IRB prior to the recruitment of additional subjects or further interactions/interventions with subjects;

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,



Acting For--
Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
Professor, Department of Food Science
IRB Chair, Arts and Sciences Institutional Review Board
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

cc: Dr. Catherine A. Lugg

(MW)

March 18, 2016

Maria E. Astorga
 82 Plum Street, 2nd floor
 New Brunswick NJ 08901

P.I. Name: Astorga
Protocol #: 11-734Mx

Dear Maria Astorga:

X

Initial	Amendment	Continuation	Continuation w/ Amend	Adverse Event
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Protocol Title: "Out of the Closet and Behind the Desk: Case Study Interviews with LGBT Higher Ed. Administrators"

This is to advise you that the above-referenced study has been presented to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research, and the following action was taken subject to the conditions and explanations provided below:

Approval Date:	3/18/2016	Expiration Date:	3/17/2017
Approved # of Subject(s):	8	Currently Enrolled:	6

Expedited Category(s):8c

This approval is based on the assumption that the materials you submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP) contain a complete and accurate description of the ways in which human subjects are involved in your research. The following conditions apply:

- **This Approval**-The research will be conducted according to the most recent version of the protocol that was submitted. **This approval is valid ONLY for the dates listed above;**
- **Reporting**-ORSP must be immediately informed of any injuries to subjects that occur and/or problems that arise, in the course of your research;
- **Modifications**-Any proposed changes **MUST** be submitted to the IRB as an amendment for review and approval prior to implementation;
- **Consent Form(s)**-Each person who signs a consent document will be given a copy of that document, if you are using such documents in your research. The Principal Investigator must retain all signed documents for at least three years after the conclusion of the research;
- **Continuing Review**-You should receive a courtesy e-mail renewal notice for a Request for Continuing Review before the expiration of this project's approval. However, it is your responsibility to ensure that an application for continuing review has been submitted to the IRB for review and approval prior to the expiration date to extend the approval period;

Additional Notes:

- **Continuation Expedited Approval per 45 CFR 46.110**
- **IRB Approval has been provided for data analysis only. PI is to contact the IRB prior to the recruitment of additional subjects or further interactions/interventions with subjects;**
- **HSCP Certification will no longer be accepted after 7/1/15 (including for anyone previously grandfathered). CITI becomes effective on July 1, 2015 for all Rutgers faculty/staff/students engaged in human subjects research.**

Failure to comply with these conditions will result in withdrawal of this approval.

Please note that the IRB has the authority to observe, or have a third party observe, the consent process or the research itself. The Federal-wide Assurance (FWA) number for the Rutgers University IRB is FWA00003913; this number may be requested on funding applications or by collaborators.

Respectfully yours,

Farah Pinar

Acting For--
 Beverly Tepper, Ph.D.
 Professor, Department of Food Science
 IRB Chair, Arts and Sciences Institutional Review Board
 Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

cc: Dr. Catherine A. Lugg