

**Report on the Status of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and  
Transgender Persons in Sociology**

**Submitted to the 2009-2010 Council of the  
American Sociological Association**

**Prepared By  
The Committee on the Status of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and  
Transgender Persons in Sociology**

**May 28, 2009**

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## INTRODUCTION

At the request of the American Sociological Association (ASA), the Committee on the Status of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender (GLBT) Persons in Sociology conducted an investigation into two major aspects of the professional experience of GLBT people in the discipline. The research reported here was conducted from August 2008 to April 2009.

First, we examined the experiences of GLBT persons in sociology using an Open Forum at the Annual Meeting in Boston. Individuals were invited to the forum to discuss their experiences and raise issues associated with the climate for GLBT persons in sociology. We believe this was the first forum of this type conducted at ASA; it represents the first attempt to gather relevant information directly from the membership.

Second, we investigated the representation of scholarship on GLBT topics in three different venues: (1) publishing in mainstream sociology journals from July 2001 to June 2008; (2) the Annual Meetings of ASA from 2000-2008; and (3) book-length works reviewed by *Contemporary Sociology* 2001-2008. This research updates an investigation conducted for the report by this committee dated July 16, 2002.

Our investigation of the status of GLBT persons in sociology is by no means exhaustive. Time and resources, as well as the relative invisibility of this population, have limited our efforts. For example, while ASA gathers information about sex/gender and race/ethnicity, among other identifiers, from its membership, it does not gather information about sexual identity and gender identity/expression.

This investigation does give us important insights into how GLBT persons are faring in the discipline and how they perceive their place in it. It also tells us about trends in presentations and publications on GLBT-related topics.

This report comprises an executive summary, an overview of our research findings (which are detailed in appendices), recommendations for future research, and substantive recommendations about how to improve the experiences of GLBT persons in the discipline.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Several major findings emerged from our research, documented in the appendices.

### Experiences of GLBT Persons in the Discipline

1. This Committee and the ASA Executive Office/Council need to continue to educate members about the processes and procedures of ASA, as well as the existence and work of this Committee.
2. Members desire a higher-profile GLBT presence within the Association.
3. Working conditions vary widely; but homophobia and heterosexism remain a problem in classrooms, departments and institutions.
4. Many members have been disappointed by the Association's attention and response to GLBT members and issues.
5. Members would like more information collected and compiled by the Association.
6. One direct and immediate product of the open forum held at the 200 annual meeting was the rebirth of the GLBTQ Caucus.

### Representation of GLBT Scholarship

1. In the past 8 years, 57 articles on GLBT topics have been published in mainstream sociology journals. *Gender & Society*, *Social Problems* and *Sociological Perspectives* published the highest numbers of these articles. The general upward trend in publishing of GLBT-related articles continues, though it is interrupted by declines in some years.
2. Between 2000 and 2008, 396 sessions/presentations had a GLBT focus. Most were roundtable or regular sessions. The highest percentage of GLBT presentations was in 2001. Overall percentages range from zero to two percent of conference activities having a GLBT focus.
3. Between 2001 and 2008, *Contemporary Sociology* reviewed 32 books on GLBT topics, representing about one percent of the total books reviewed.

## OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

### Experiences of GLBT Persons in the Discipline

Information about the experiences of GLBT sociologists is reported in Appendix I. We provide an overview of the major findings of this research here.

A major finding from the open forum was that participants feel that GLBT issues and members are inadequately addressed by the Association. Furthermore, they would like to see a higher-profile GLBT presence within the organization. The lack of familiarity with the processes and procedures of the Association also suggests that GLBT members feel marginalized. They would like to see the Association take a public stand on more GLBT issues and see other professional organizations (e.g., APA and APSA) as being ahead of ASA in their responses to such issues. They perceive both a lack of resources to support GLBT faculty and a lack of accommodation for transgender and/or GLB attendees at the annual meeting. Members would like the Association to do a better job collecting and distributing information relevant to GLBT members and issues.

Another major finding is that working conditions for GLBT faculty and graduate students vary widely. There were reports that homophobia and heterosexism remain a problem at the level of the classroom, the department and the institution. This is clearly of particular concern for those scholars who do not enjoy the protection of tenure.

Since this forum was the first attempt to gather information about the experiences of GLBT persons in sociology, we lack a basis for comparison to the earlier report by this Committee (which reported findings from a survey of graduate students). These findings do show that GLBT persons in sociology have a wide range of concerns that are not being adequately addressed by the Association.

### Representation of GLBT Scholarship

Information about GLBT scholarship published in major journals and presented at the ASA annual meetings is reported in Appendix II, along with findings about coverage of GLBT issues in reviews published in *Contemporary Sociology*. We summarize the major findings here and compare them to the findings of the last report of this committee, which examined GLBT scholarship from the 1960s, 70s and 80s to 2000.

While the number of articles on GLBT issues reached double digits in 2004 and 2005, this increase was not sustained. In 2008 the number of articles dropped to a number (N=2) not seen since 1988. That is, twenty years later, we saw the same paltry number of articles published. In the past 8 years, 57 articles were published on GLBT issues. In the previous 8 years, 39 articles had been published, suggesting that the overall upward trend cited in the last report of this Committee continues. *Gender & Society* (a journal sponsored not by ASA but by Sociologists for Women in Society) remains the top journal publishing GLBT-related topics (N=20). As in the past, *Social Problems* also published a significant number of GLBT articles (N=9). (Like *Gender & Society*, *Social*

*Problems* is not an ASA journal; it is sponsored by the Society for the Study of Social Problems.) *Sociological Perspectives* replaced *The Sociological Quarterly* as the other top publisher of such articles. Three journals published no GLBT articles during the period under study: *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *Sociology of Education* and *Sociological Methodology*. (All of these are ASA journals.)

Between 2000 and 2008, GLBT topics were represented in ASA regular, roundtable, paper and poster sessions. There is no clear trend here either. For example, in 2006, 2.53% of poster sessions covered GLBT topics; but, in 2000, 2002-2004, and 2007-2008 no poster sessions were on GLBT topics. Regular sessions covering GLBT topics have ranged from less than one percent in 2003 to 2.39% in 2001. Roundtables show a similar range, from .36% in 2000 to 2.25% in 2001 and 2.20% in 2006. For paper sessions, the percentages are comparable: none in 2000 and 2.34% in 2001, with other years between about one and 1.75%. GLBT topics are best represented in regular sessions, papers sessions and roundtables; they are least represented in poster sessions.

Our findings are similar to those reported by the previous committee, with percentages for each type of GLBT-activity rarely comprising more than 2% of all activities. However, the previous committee reported only the overall percentage of papers and roundtables on GLBT topics; it did not examine all types of activities (posters, workshops, special sessions, etc.). Therefore the comparability of our data is limited.

Though scholarship on GLBT topics continues to thrive in sociology, the number of books on these topics reviewed in *Contemporary Sociology* remains low. Between 2001 and 2008, about one percent of books reviewed there were about GLBT issues. With the exception of 2004 (N=7), these numbers were lower than they had been since 1993. (See the 2002 report for an extensive discussion of the difficulties posed in determining these numbers. Note as well that we did not update the data on books received versus books reviewed.)

In sum, these data provide little indication of a sustained upward trend in publication or presentation of GLBT scholarship. Nor is there evidence of more attention to books on GLBT topics in the major source of reviews of sociological research, *Contemporary Sociology*.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Many of the following recommendations come directly from the August 2008 open forum held at the ASA meetings. Some of these recommendations are the result of previous task force recommendations submitted in 2002, and some have been added by this committee.

1. In light of the forum findings and as a result of task force discussions, we recommend that the charge of the Committee on the Status of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Persons in Sociology be renewed by the Council. We also recommend that members be appointed annually to the task force to keep the task force viable.
2. We join the Committee on the Status of Women in Sociology in recommending that Council appoint members of the committee as a 5-year cohort so they can work together to plan and implement activities and the next report.

The following recommendations are divided between charges to this committee and charges to ASA Council and Executive Office.

3. We seek to encourage sessions organized at the ASA annual meetings focusing on GLBT issues. Beyond papers presented in Sexuality Section sessions and a small number of regular sessions on sexuality, GLBT-related papers have been scattered across various regular and section sessions. Organizing section sessions dedicated to GLBT issues will not only increase the overall number of GLBT papers, but it will also inspire focused discussions among section members about how they can address GLBT issues in their substantive areas.
  - **ASA Executive Office:** We ask that the Executive Office provide an updated list of section chairs soon after the August meetings to the task force to allow for networking and the promotion of joint sessions. We recommend that someone be appointed to serve as liaison between the section chairs and this committee.
  - **Committee:** We recommend that committee members approach section chairs during or soon after the annual ASA meetings to propose networking on creating GLBT sessions within a variety of areas.
4. We recommend that ASA provide support for junior GLBT sociologists who are interested in organizing GLBT-related sessions.
  - **ASA Executive Office:** We request that the committee be given space in *Footnotes* to state that the ASA encourages regular and section sessions focusing on GLBT issues and provide needed information on proposing sessions.

- **Committee:** Some junior GLBT scholars have not been able to propose sessions on GLBT issues despite their strong interests, partly because they lack knowledge of procedures for session proposals (something true of many junior scholars do). To overcome the barrier, participants in events hosted by the GLBT Status Committee hosted events (workshops, open forums) should be reminded where they can find the information in the ASA website. Additionally, a brief solicitation note should be distributed on the GLBTQ Caucus listserv (initiated at the 2008 open forum) when the session proposal period starts.
5. Additional discussion forums and workshops should be provided to address specific challenges GLBT sociologists face. Among various issues raised in the open forum, the following seem to be both common and important: discrimination in departments and institutions, on the job market, and in interaction with students in classroom.
- **Committee:** We recommend that the committee create annual workshops for GLBT persons in the profession based on findings from the 2008 forum, in addition to any information drawn from surveys or events held in the future.
  - **ASA Council:** We ask the council and Executive Office liaisons to the committee to work with committee members and the APAP Director (whose responsibility it is to organize workshops) to organize these workshops. We ask ASA to provide space for these workshops. .
6. We recommend that there be improved accommodations for GLBT sociologists at the annual meeting.
- **ASA Executive Office:** Conference locations need to have some clearly labeled unisex/family bathrooms available to transgender attendees; their locations should be advertised in meeting materials.
  - **Committee:** The committee should promote the visibility of GLBT members by offering some means of identification (e.g., rainbow flags on name tags) and promote socializing and networking spaces both inside and outside the conference.
7. There needs to be strong collaboration among this committee, the Sexualities Section, and the GLBTQ Caucus. Although members overlap across three units, each has a unique set of goals. These units will serve GLBT scholars better by informing each other about their status and activities. To initiate the connections, we recommend that chairs/leaders invite each other to their business meetings and exchange minutes from their meetings.
- **Committee:** We suggest the committee attend other business meetings and exchange minutes with appropriate groups. We also recommend that at least

one committee member attend the Sexualities Section business meeting and Caucus business meeting and give a brief report to the rest of the committee.

- **Committee:** We recommend the committee continue to consider a survey of the GLBT membership and instituting a mentorship program.
- **Committee:** We recommend that the committee help to revive the GLBTQ Caucus. Many junior scholars and graduate students lack mentors and peers in their immediate environments (department, university) who could provide support on GLBT issues. An informal group such as Caucus may serve the function effectively without the time cost required for formal mentorship programs. The continuity of Caucus seems to rely on the leadership of a small number of established scholars. The GLBT Status Committee should help ensure the continuity of leadership. In the revitalization of Caucus, special attention should be paid to the fact that GLBT scholars belong to various sections other than the Sexualities Section. The Caucus should reach out to these scholars who do not necessarily conduct research on or teach about sexuality.

8. We recommend attention to ways to improve the representation of GLBT scholarship published in journals, presented at the annual meeting and reviewed in *Contemporary Sociology*.

**ASA Council:** We recommend that Council recommend to the Publications Committee that they encourage editors of ASA-sponsored journals to have a plan for soliciting GLBT-related articles and research.

**ASA Executive Office:** We recommend that the editors of Footnotes, exert extra effort to find opportunities for the funding and other support for GLBT research.

**Committee:** We recommend that this committee work to encourage publication and presentation of GLBT research.

**ASA Council:** We recommend that Council liaison write a letter to the editor(s) of *Contemporary Sociology* suggesting that they commission a review essay on the state of GLBT scholarship.

9. We recommend that the Association take more public stands on GLBT issues.

**ASA Council/Executive Office:** We recommend that Council/Executive Office consider not scheduling annual meetings in states that have passed anti-same-sex marriage legislation (aka DOMA legislation). The American Political Science Association has such a policy.



**ASA Council/Executive Office:** We recommend that Council/Executive Office consider requiring job postings to mention whether the college/university provides domestic partnership benefits to same-sex partners and/or whether the university includes sexual orientation and gender identity/expression in its non-discrimination policy. The American Anthropological Association has adopted this policy.

**Committee:** We recommend that this committee keep the Association apprised of such issues and recommend stands that can be taken to address them.

10. We recommend that space for status committees be developed on the ASA website.

**Committee:** We recommend that this committee appoint a member of the GLBT Status Committee or the GLBTQ Caucus be responsible for this space (subject to Executive Office oversight).

## **APPENDICES**

- I. Experiences of GLBT Persons in the Discipline
- II. Representation of GLBT Scholarship

## APPENDIX I: EXPERIENCES OF GLBT PERSONS IN THE DISCIPLINE

To find out about the experiences of GLBT persons in sociology, we conducted an Open Forum at the 2008 Annual Meeting in Boston. Notices for the forum appeared prior to the meeting on the SWS listserv and the WMST-L listserv. Notices were sent as well to the following ASA Sections: Collective Behavior and Social Movements, Sex & Gender and Sexualities. This notice also informed readers of an email address to which they could send comments if they were unable to attend the forum.

A copy of the announcement:

The ASA Committee on the Status of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Persons in Sociology will be holding an Open Forum at the meeting in Boston. The committee is gathering information from ASA members in anticipation of making a report to Council on issues facing GLBT persons in sociology. Please plan to attend to offer your comments, feedback and insights on topics ranging from: domestic partner benefits; the campus climate for GLBT students, faculty and staff; the campus climate for teaching about sexualities and related issues; The forum will take place on Saturday, August 2, from 2:30 to 4:10 p.m. in the Boston Marriott Copley Place (see ASA Final program for exact location).

If you cannot attend the forum but would like to share your comments, send an email to us at: [SOC-ASAGLBT@fsu.edu](mailto:SOC-ASAGLBT@fsu.edu). Please direct questions about the forum to Betsy Lucal, Chair, at [blucal@iusb.edu](mailto:blucal@iusb.edu). We received just a few comments via email. However, we did receive a document that we include here with the author's permission (see below).

Fifty-seven people attended the forum. All members of the GLBT Status Committee were in attendance (except ASA Staff Liaison, Roberta Spalter-Roth, who had another commitment). Committee members Marjorie Devault and Joanne Reger took notes at the forum; Committee Chair, Betsy Lucal, moderated the discussion. Other committee members were charged with forwarding their impressions of the forum to Reger. Devault prepared notes on the forum; these were supplemented by Reger. The notes were sent to the committee for further reflection.

Findings are as follows:

- a. The GLBT Status Committee and ASA Executive Office need to continue to educate and interact with the discipline's GLBT community – many members are unfamiliar with process and procedures of the Association (how to organize a session going, etc.), as well as past accomplishments of the Association, what the Status Committee does and where it has a web presence, and how to obtain information.
- b. Members desire a higher-profile GLBT presence within ASA and more opportunities for networking – while some GLBT members are well served by Sexualities Section activities, those working in other areas would like to see

GLBT issues addressed more fully across subfields, as well as assistance with professional networking in areas other than sexuality studies.

- c. Working conditions vary widely, but GLBT members still face homophobia/heterosexism in the classroom and in many departments. Some believe that they have faced serious employment discrimination. (Junior faculty and graduate students expressed greatest concern in these areas--but that is perhaps because the members' Forum represented primarily those senior scholars who have succeeded in finding stable employment.)
- d. Many members are disappointed with ASA's attention to GLBT members and issues. Forum participants expressed negative perceptions in the following areas:
  - i. Marginalization of GLBT members and issues: perceptions that GLBT issues are not given high priority (public stands, education, advocacy work), underrepresented in Annual Meeting program, and, when represented, may be given unfavorable meeting times and locations.
  - ii. Need for higher-profile stands on GLBT issues: lack of awareness of stands taken by the Association (on issues such as meeting locations and proposed GLBT legislation) and perceptions that professional associations in neighboring disciplines are out in front of ASA.
  - iii. Holding conferences in DOMA states: concerns about conference locations that may be hostile environments for GLBT meeting attendees. Most members also want the Association to use the leverage of meeting location to lobby for progressive policies (on same-sex marriage and adoption, hate crimes, gender expression).
  - iv. Lack of resources to support GLBT faculty. Specific areas of concern:
    - 1. Teaching - Some members face student homophobia in their classrooms and need support in addressing it. Dissemination of GLBT research throughout the discipline and integration into the curriculum could be helpful.
    - 2. Tenure and promotion - In some institutions, sexual identities seem to affect prospects for hiring, tenure, and promotion. Members need ASA help in educational efforts to address discrimination on the basis of sexuality and to provide support for members who are affected.
    - 3. Job market - GLBT graduate students and younger members need support in navigating the job market and positioning themselves

for career advancement. In the past this support has taken the form of workshops targeted to junior GLBT scholars on navigating the job market .

4. Research - Members are concerned about funding and publication outlets for GLBT research. As with GLBT presence in the discipline generally (see 1-b, above), there is a need for funding and publication of GLBT research across the discipline's subfields, in addition to within sexuality studies.
- v. Lack of accommodation for transgender or GLB attendees to conference
  1. Bathrooms/physical accessibility - Unisex/family bathrooms should be arranged well ahead of time, advertised in meeting materials, and clearly labeled.
  2. Identification of members (e.g., rainbow flags on name tags) - Allowing GLBT members (and allies?) to self-identify visibly could provide heightened visibility and enhance opportunities for networking.
  3. Socializing spaces - Members would like ASA (or some other group) to arrange social space for networking, outside of the scholarly venues associated with the Sexualities section.
- e. Members would like more information collected and compiled by ASA:
  - i. Best practices in departments - It would be useful to know more about policies and practices that support GLBT students, faculty, and staff in different kinds of institutions.
  - ii. Membership - It would be useful to know more about the experiences of GLBT members with graduate study, hiring and tenure, research funding, and working conditions, as well as their distribution across subfields of the discipline.
  - iii. Information on GLBT faculty or researchers in various areas, which would provide ways for members to connect more easily with colleagues.
- f. Members would like more information on (and support in) applying for research funding on topics related to GLBT/sexuality studies.
- g. Members would like information on job market strategies for GLBT applicants, including information about what to expect on the job market, thinking ahead

when choosing research and publication projects, options for positioning oneself with regard to sexual identity, how to deal with problems, legal protections and options, negotiating offers, etc.

The following comprises a selection of quotes from the forum:

- “My department has been welcoming and supportive.”
- “I’m the only out faculty member. And I have no partner benefits.”
- “Many of us endure daily homophobia. And the ASA doesn’t seem to know or understand that.”
- “What about problems at religiously based institutions? Is there anyplace for those people to go for help?”
- “I was told that my name change was a ‘personal’ issue, and I shouldn’t use the departmental listserv to let people know about it.”
- “I don’t think they (ASA) give a damn how we feel. Look at how long it took to get the Sexualities section.”
- “The organization has been very reluctant to act on sexuality issues.”
- “We need to think proactively about addressing sexualities across the discipline.”
- “A lot has been done already, and it shouldn’t get lost.”
- “But there’s still often a subtle homophobia, an undercurrent.”
- “We need a larger discussion and a shift in the discipline.”

Note: We include the following document with the permission of author, Raine Dozier, who sent to the Committee's email address. Betsy Lucal consulted with Dr. Dozier about the inclusion of the document. Since the document was received at the email address set up to take comments from individuals who could not attend the open forum in Boston, we have included it as part of the report on that forum.

## **Odd Man Out: Reflections on Gender and the Job Market**

**By Raine Dozier,**

In 2006, I won two awards from University of Washington's Center for Labor Studies—the graduate student paper prize and a fellowship to continue my research on racial wage inequality among women. The purpose of the fellowship is to honor students who are involved in caring labor, either as a care provider or a researcher and have a promising future. During my acceptance speech at the awards banquet, I thanked the family responsible for the fellowship, waxing eloquently about the plight of women and caring labor. After dinner, I “mingled,” hoping for job contacts. I was in luck; a state representative offered me a job, saying they were always looking for new talent—something to fall back on if I was unsuccessful in academia. Then a man in his 70s approached me, “I have a question for you.” I enjoy talking about my research with individuals outside of my field and was happy to oblige. He leaned forward and asked unselfconsciously, “Are you a man or a woman?”

Whether and how I am a man or a woman has dominated my experience as a sociologist on the job market, both because of my appearance and my research agenda. I am a recent graduate of a competitive sociology program and, on paper, appear hireable. I'm not Harvard material, but a strong contender for a position at a private liberal arts college or a state university. Although my record is not perfect, most would describe me as successful, and many of my fellow graduate students secured jobs with fewer accomplishments. During my graduate studies, I won two fellowships, two local paper awards, and two national paper awards. One of those, the

ASA's distinguished article in sex and gender, is quite prestigious. I had publications: as a sole author in a peer-reviewed journal and as first author of a book chapter. I also am co-authoring a textbook under contract with Oxford University Press. My mentors describe me as an excellent teacher, and I receive strong teaching evaluations. In addition, my GPA is around 3.8, not perfect, but pretty good considering the multiple priorities I juggle as a single parent.

Even with these accomplishments, and at a time when the American Sociological Association reports that 94% of sociologists are working in their field (*Footnotes* 2007), I have been unable to get a job. So what is the problem? I have a theory: I identify as transgendered and that information has been widely disseminated in my paper published in *Gender & Society*.

In this essay, I wanted to share my experiences on the job market in an effort to illustrate the difficulties of outsiders in the field of sociology, and the difficulties of the "differently gendered," more broadly. In a sense, I use my experience as a case study, similar to Lucal in her article *What It's Like to be Gendered Me* (1999).

In the summer of 2007, I was gearing up for my third year on the job market. I attended the ASAs to accept an award and to interview for a few positions. I was excited that one of my top choice universities had requested an interview. I had been short-listed the previous year and the current year's opening was better aligned with my research on wage inequality. Although a bit chaotic in the hustle and bustle of the ASAs, the interview seemed to be going well. The chair was excited to learn that I am also qualified to teach the sociology of sexuality; in fact, I am publishing a textbook on the subject. During our discussion, he confided, "We really need someone to teach sexuality, but we don't advertise because if we do, every tranny out there applies." I was momentarily speechless as I scrambled for a response fitting a job candidate. In



the silence, he again solicited a response, “I mean *every* tranny will apply.” Two things were immediately clear: he hadn’t read my work and I wouldn’t be invited for an on-campus interview.

I was also invited for an interview at a Catholic university in a large metropolitan area that year. Frankly, I was surprised at the invitation because of the sexual nature of some of my research, but since I had had a “speed dating” interview at the ASA meetings, I figured they knew what they were getting into.<sup>1</sup> We met over lunch to discuss my research and theoretical perspective. Many of the interviewees were noticeably hostile, but I took it in stride having a few interviews under my belt at this point. After my teaching demonstration, the chair asked me into her office and closed the door. She told me, “I have to tell you right now that if you publish the article you are working on, you will be fired.” The article in question examines the effect of insider/outsider status while conducting trans research and research with marginalized groups more generally. I wondered out loud what would happen then when the textbook on the sociology of sexuality that I was writing was published; she didn’t have an answer. She also warned me that I would have to be closeted—if I were out as a lesbian, I would not be able to get tenure. I am ashamed to admit that I was desperate enough to consider that option. I didn’t know how I could be closeted for the long term since I am rarely mistaken for a heterosexual, have published an article in which I identify as transgendered, and have a child that has two mothers. Again, I left knowing I would not be getting an offer.

During these difficult years of searching for a job, my mentors seemed both puzzled and exasperated. Why couldn’t I get a job? What was going wrong? Was I doing something wrong? By the third year, the reality was setting in, although it was the “elephant in the room”—we

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<sup>1</sup> I got tired of having interactions where people were clearly disturbed by me, so I started posting a picture of me on my website with information about my trans research.

never directly acknowledged my situation. I believe that as sociologists and “liberals” we believe that discrimination does not figure into our career path—it is a problem of other people and other careers. We have a strong need to find other explanations for inequities we experience or observe. To maintain this illusion, my mentors and I searched for my personal flaws and raced to remedy them. More writing, more teaching, more awards, PhD in hand...nothing seemed to help. In the beginning, I was advised by my mentors to hide the fact that I had children, but by the end, I felt it might humanize me. I made sure to talk about my kids, underscoring my role as a mother. Still, no luck; although I did not receive much opportunity to use this strategy. Out of 250 applications, I had only five interviews for sociology positions and two outside the discipline.

As I geared up for my third season a mentor and I casually discussed the merits of a job in Indiana versus a job in Iowa. She stated a preference for Iowa and I defended the lovely town of Bloomington, Indiana. Although I’ve never been there, I heard it would be a tolerable place for a gender outsider and her daughter. “Besides,” I said, “if it’s unlivable, I’ll turn down the offer.” She quickly replied, “If you turn down an offer, I will never write you another letter.” I was a little taken aback and tried to explain that I wasn’t just being picky, I had to consider physical safety for my daughter and myself. She defended her position by saying that if I turned down an offer, I had chosen the wrong career. Clearly I wasn’t serious about being an academic. I left realizing that I’m surrounded by people who really don’t understand the hazards of the day-to-day life of the inappropriately gendered.

My mentor’s response was not atypical; I’m sure many, and perhaps, most academics would have a similar reaction, expecting great sacrifice in order to further an academic career. I wonder, though, whether the response would be the same if I were African American and the job were in Idaho, a state well-known for white supremacists. I wonder if the expectation of total

sacrifice for career is based on an underestimation of risk for people like me in much of the United States or a subconscious devaluing of my social position because I am not afforded legal protection or civil rights in the United States. At any rate, I hope there is an underestimation of the danger, not that I am expected to make the “ultimate sacrifice” for academia!

Toward the end of my job search, I started applying for positions at community colleges. This was very disheartening as it meant the end of the research career for which I had trained so hard. I was not naïve and knew that community college was not a step toward something better. I drove to a community college interview, comforting myself with the thought that at least I wouldn't feel like such an outsider at a community college. There are lots of marginalized individuals at community college—people of color, the poor, immigrants, and I'd guess a disproportionate number of gender benders and homosexuals.

After my unsuccessful interview, I went to the restroom and changed into street clothes. As I stopped at a gas station on my way out of town, I realized my wallet had fallen out of my briefcase at the interview. I raced back to the college; it was almost 5:00 on a Friday. I pulled into the parking lot, walking across it to make sure my wallet wasn't on the ground, then jogged to the office. Luckily, my wallet was still sitting on the table in the interview room. When I returned to my car, a police car was waiting. “Can I see some identification?” the officer asked. As I pulled out my driver's license, another squad car pulled up, blocking in my car. “We had a call that you were prowling cars out here. What are you doing here?” They didn't assume I was a student—or a professor. After questioning me closely, they let me go.

On my drive home I had to laugh (yes, I cried too) – I had set my sights so low, telling myself that I won't be such an outsider at a community college. Yet I was as foreign there as at any other institution of higher learning. I called my friend to commiserate on the long drive

home. She portrays a transsexual on a well-known tv show and has experienced meteoric fame with an accompanying thirty-fold increase in her income, virtually overnight. She is so recognizable that we no longer have any privacy in public, yet she is unable to get other work as an actor. It seems like we are characterized as one trick ponies—there is one role for us whether it's publishing articles about transnys or playing one on tv. But we are destined to remain two dimensional characters instead of fully human.

I relate these sad, sometimes funny anecdotes because they are the reality of being on the job market for a gender variant person. I have done my best to fit in and am aware of the privilege I hold because I have not transitioned. I grew my hair and even, by the end, wore clothes from the women's department. I felt humiliated and invisible, but I think I could have passed as a garden variety lesbian professor if my gender identity were not in print. Although, I have noticed it is also rare to see a "butch" sociologist; the few I know hail from elite institutions and are upper class, definitely the "cream of the crop." Among researchers who study transgenderism and transsexuality, individuals who are not trans appear to be at an advantage. A femme lesbian researcher told me interviewers were visibly relieved when they met her in person. She received and accepted an offer at a top-ten institution where she will be able to continue her research on transmen. In the meantime, a trans researcher claimed that, to his knowledge, none of the trans researchers that are FTMs have tenure track jobs at universities. Even though he has a strong record of accomplishments including the publication of a sole-authored book, numerous teaching awards from an Ivy League university, and an ambitious research agenda, he is working at a community college. I, too, cannot seem to find a position as a sociologist regardless of my success as a researcher studying trans topics.

Over the years, I have been compelled to discover and remedy the reason(s) that I cannot get a job, wanting to believe that my personal shortcomings, not discrimination have made it difficult for me to get a job. I have flaws—I'm older, I have two research agendas, I don't have enough teaching experience, I cut my own hair... the list goes on and on. Yet the ASA reports that 94% of sociologists report working in their field, surely I must be competitive in a pool that large. I have published, won awards and fellowship, and received a PhD from an excellent institution. How *do* I measure up with other sociologists? I tried to look at some of the "data" available to me. Where were other graduates of my program? Were they able to get jobs as sociologists? What about other recipients of the ASA's distinguished article in sex and gender award? Were they working as sociologists when they received the award?

My first year on the job market was exciting! Everyone was getting jobs, good jobs, and I knew if I was patient, I too would get an offer. During that first year, nine of us were on the job market and eight were offered positions. Seven of the eight placements were in Research 1 universities while one person accepted a position at a local, private liberal arts college without going on the broader job market. In other words, every candidate except for me continued their career at a Research 1 university. On paper, I appear to have been as competitive as the other candidates. While their average number of peer reviewed publications ranged from zero to three with an average of one, I, too, had one and it was sole-authored. While the average number of other publications was one, I had two. On average candidates had a little less than three awards or fellowships, I had six. In the second year of my job search, a colleague accepted a position at a master's level institution, but she did not go on the job market—in fact, it was the only job she applied for. In the third year, the other candidate from my department did not get a job offer, but she was offered and accepted a post-doc at Princeton.

I was the only candidate that went on the national job market and could not get work at a research university, the only candidate to be on the market three years, and the only person who could not find work as a sociologist. These circumstances make it difficult to believe that my academic shortcomings were responsible for my lack of success as a sociologist.

Table 1. Characteristics of Program Graduates, 1998 and 1999 cohorts\*

Sex	Institution	Field	Total Publications	Total Awards	Publications			Awards & Fellowships		Years on market
					Sole author	Joint author	other	National	Local	
F	R1	sociology	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
M	R2	sociology	4	0	1	2	1	0	0	1
F	R1	sociology	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
M	R1	sociology	3	6	0	1	2	3	3	2
M	R1	sociology	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	1
F	M1	sociology	0	0						1
F	R1	sociology	3	8	2	1	0	6	2	1
M	R1	sociology	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
F	R1	sociology	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
M	M1	sociology	3	1	1	0	2	0	1	2
F	R-1(post-doc)	sociology	2	8		2	0	3	5	2
F	R1	sociology	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	1
<b>Mean</b>		human	<b>1.8</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>	
Dozier	M1	services	3	5	1	0	2	2	3	3

\*compiled from publicly available CVs and personal communication

Of course, simply counting awards and publications does not accurately reflect one's position in the job market hierarchy. For instance, a peer-reviewed publication can be sole authored or jointly authored, and it can be published in a top-tier journal or not. In addition, awards and fellowships can be departmental or national, and can vary widely in prestige and competitiveness.

In 2007, I won the American Sociological Association's award for distinguished article in sex and gender. In order to get a sense of my job placement relative to the other award winners, I

compiled a list of previous (and subsequent) winners of the award over a period of ten years. As

is generally expected, I served on the award committee in 2008, so can say with certainty that the quality of submissions was very high.

At first glance, the list is impressive due to the award winners' credentials. Generally, they were professors at excellent institutions that encourage research and scholarship. To the best of my knowledge, I am the only student among the winners. Unless there is a decided difference between students and faculty, one would expect that I, too, would move on to a faculty position as a sociologist in an excellent institution. However, that was not the outcome.

Table 2. Characteristics of ASA sex and gender article award winners

<b>Year</b>	<b>Status when published</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Department</b>
2008	faculty	Cornell	R-1	sociology
2006	faculty	University of California - Riverside	R-1	sociology
2005	faculty	DePaul University	-	sociology
2004	faculty	Florida State University	R-1	sociology
2003	faculty	University of Mississippi	R-2	sociology
2002	faculty	University of California - Davis	R-1	sociology
2001	faculty	University of California - Santa Cruz	R-1	sociology
2000	faculty	University of Chicago	R-1	sociology
1999	faculty	New York University	R-1	sociology
1998	faculty	University of California - Santa Cruz	R-1	sociology

The role my gender identity has played in my inability to become an academic is ironic considering how little gender identity factors into my everyday life. Instead, my social role as a single parent dictates most of my time, behavior, and thoughts. In my article, *Beards, Breasts, and Bodies: Doing Sex in a Gendered World*, I describe gender as a combination of sex (or appearance as male or female) and behavior. In a sense, a scale hung in the balance. I found that as individuals change sex, becoming more convincingly the sex with which they identify, they experience greater freedom to express a wider variety of behaviors, both masculine and feminine.

In other words, masculinity is expressed by having a male-appearing body, thus expression of

gender is no longer reliant on behavior. I also noted that behavior is interpreted in the context of assumed sex. That is, an assertive butch can become an obnoxious guy, or a man shopping for clothes for his girlfriend is far more notable and commendable relative to a woman shopping for her girlfriend.

With this delineation between sex and behavior, however, I believe I missed a crucial aspect of gender. Regardless of identity and behavior, gendered social positions, that is, social roles generally ascribed on the basis of sex, inescapably influence our lives. When a social position is highly correlated with one sex, social policy, laws, and culture develop in response. The physical and economic constraints of single parenthood and the legal status of a primary parent with fewer assets is a uniquely gendered situation. Single parenthood is generally women's work and comes with the attendant hazards: poverty, legal troubles, and strained resources as the crises of parenting fall on one set of shoulders. Ironically, although I do not identify as a woman, I cannot escape my uniquely feminine situation.

In the 1980s, the county where I lived passed anti-gay legislation, with much talk about the immorality of homosexual acts. In response, I organized a protest downtown, with gays and lesbians demonstrating "homosexual acts." I personally spent the time folding laundry as that has been my dominant homosexual act for many, many years. For me, life has not been characterized by identity as much as social location. My social role as a mother, and largely as a single mother, is much more relevant to my daily experience. Whether I feel like a man changing diapers or a woman changing diapers is irrelevant; I'm still changing diapers.

The 2007 ASAs, were characterized by highs and lows for me. I won a prestigious award, and was told by an interviewer that they would never hire a "tranny." Yet, the most significant event had nothing to do with my academic aspirations or the discrimination I have faced, instead



it was learning that my lucrative research job for the year fell through. Already with no summer income as I finished my dissertation, I was in dire straits. When I returned from the ASAs, I went directly from the airport to the food bank. There is nothing like the immediacy of impoverished, single motherhood—digging through a box of overripe apricots outside the food bank because they have run out of food and, strategizing how to make this food into a meal and look “store-bought,” to bring you down from the heights of award winning or the struggle to express your gender identity. Neither of these “puts a shirt on the baby.”

The phrase, “If only I had known” comes up a lot for me—the illusion that somehow if I had acted better or worked harder, I would not have failed as a sociologist. If only I had known that I would be on the job market (I was a stay-at-home mom at the time), I never would have outed myself as transgendered in my article. If only I had known, I would not have had another child during graduate school, would have worked harder, published more, taught more.... It is still unbelievable to me that after 250 applications, I was not able to get a job in sociology, that I have a Ph.D. and am worried about returning to the food bank.<sup>2</sup> Recently during a rather contentious job talk, someone asked me heatedly, “But what do wages have to do with sociology?” It took everything I had not to tell him.

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<sup>2</sup> The author was offered and accepted a position in the Department of Human Services at Western Washington University.

## APPENDIX II. Representation of GLBT Scholarship

# Report to the Committee on the Status of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Persons in Sociology Follow-Up Study on LGBT Scholarship, 2001-2008

By Ann Weedon  
Indiana University South Bend

This study is continuing previous research into scholarship on LGBT issues in major sociological journals, at ASA conferences and book reviews appearing in the journal *Contemporary Sociology*.

The report is in three parts, each a section attached to this main summary.

Major trends found based on this research:

- Bisexual is the most under-published segment of the LGBT community. No major journal articles were published during this time period, in the journals researched in this study, that focused on bisexuals exclusively and only three included bisexual along with gay men and lesbian women. Low numbers were also noted in conference presentations and book reviews, although numbers were not strictly counted in these sections.
- Although LGBT topics show up in many areas of sociology, presentations at conferences appeared mostly in the areas of Sex and Gender, Sociology of Sexualities and LGBT Studies.
- Aside from years where research spiked, there does not seem to be a significant increase in scholarship but more of a consistent level maintained. There also did not seem to be any particular reason for the spikes that I could ascertain. Sociologists that were working on these topics during the spike years may have some more insight into the reason for the spikes. This might be a valuable follow-up topic that may lead to methods of increasing scholarship in upcoming years.

### Methods

Searches were made online through EBSCOhost, JSTOR, journal websites and PDF files of conference programs. Search terms were as follows: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, LGBT, and GLBT. Titles (and abstracts for published papers) were searched for this project. If a search term was not included in the title, the paper or presentation was not included in these numbers. Since an article about sexualities may or may not include an LGBT focus, most of those were not included in the findings unless there were other indicators that they were indeed relevant.

Conference results are divided by type of session. Workshops and Special/Thematic sessions and other types of LGBT related activities are mentioned but were not in the original report. I felt it was important to note time set aside for these topics at conferences and not just research presented.

## Section A: Journal Publishing

(Follow-up to research by Kristin Esterberg, December 2001)

Research conducted by Kristin Esterberg in 2001 spanned 1964 through June of 2001 and reported on articles published in major sociological journals that contained a significant theme of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and/or Transgender (LGBT) topics.

### Methodology

I used online journal hosting services, JSTOR and EBSCOhost, and in rare cases the journal's own online article storage to review abstracts. The journals searched were the same as the previous list with one exception; *Sociological Practice Review* is no longer being published. In total thirteen journals were included in the analysis.

- American Sociological Review
- Gender and Society
- Journal of Health and Social Behavior
- Social Forces
- Social Problems
- Social Psychology Quarterly
- Sociological Forum
- Sociological Methodology
- Sociological Perspectives
- Sociological Quarterly
- Sociological Theory
- Sociology of Education
- Teaching Sociology

Articles included were major theory or research articles. Book and film reviews were not included. Book reviews appearing in *Contemporary Sociology* are a separate section of this report.

In the original study, abstracts were coded for area of sociology: identity, social movements, military, family, etc. One category was assigned to each article. Coding the articles this way proved problematic in my mind. I felt that choosing just one category for each did not tell us much about the content as there is so much overlap. An article could be about family and military life or identity as a LGBT person in the military, for just a couple of imagined examples. I did not feel that one category explained any of the articles sufficiently so I suggest the creation of a better coding system that will more accurately reflect the range of article topics. I was not able to accomplish this myself in the time I worked on this project but recommend it to follow-up researchers.

One main issue that concerned me was the lumping of all LGBT issues under one umbrella. These articles do not always discuss lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender as a whole community, but often focus on one or two of these identities, so I wanted to indicate which areas are really being written about. I also noticed a trend in writing about LGBT issues from a heterosexual perspective, articles about how heterosexual people view the LGBT community or

any particular segment of it. I did not want to exclude these articles because changing attitudes in the wider society LGBT people live in, or status quo attitudes conversely, are important to take note of.

### Results

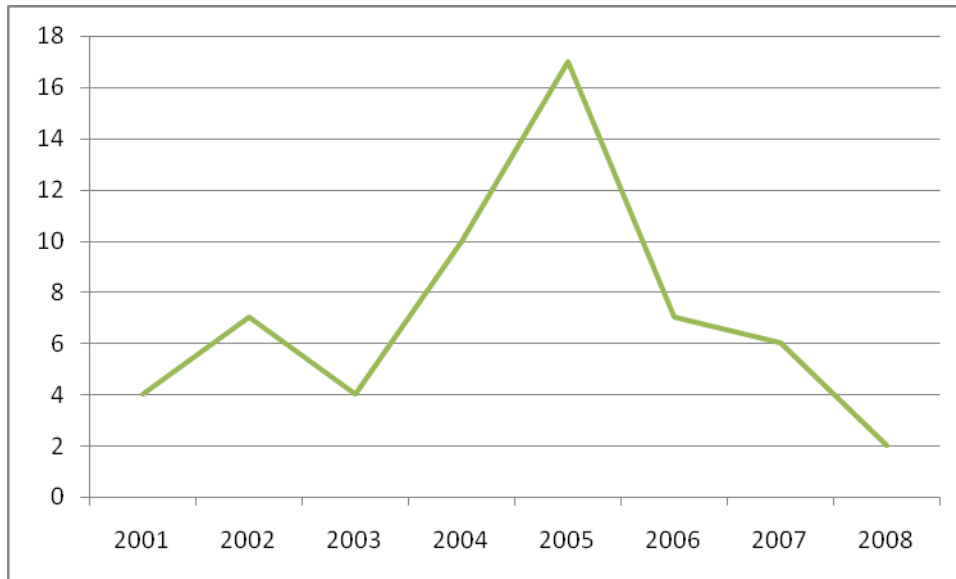
In examining the data for segments of the LGBT community it should be noted that not one article was published in any of these journals specifically about bisexuals alone during the years I was examining. Bisexuals were specifically mentioned in only three articles alongside gay men and lesbians. There were three articles specifically about lesbians, twelve about gay men and seven about transgender issues. Eight articles referenced the LGBT community as a whole. The remainder either were heterosexual perspective articles or I was unable to determine the segment by the abstract alone.

By year, there is a spike in research published in 2005 but the increase did not remain. Subsequent years saw a drop in published research on topic.

A total of fifty-seven articles were found matching search criteria. *Gender & Society* remains the top journal for publishing on LGBT topics with twenty articles published during this time period. The next two with frequently occurring LGBT article are *Social Problems* and *Sociological Perspectives* with nine each. There were no articles matching search criteria during these years in the following journals: *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *Sociological Methodology*, and *Sociology of Education*.

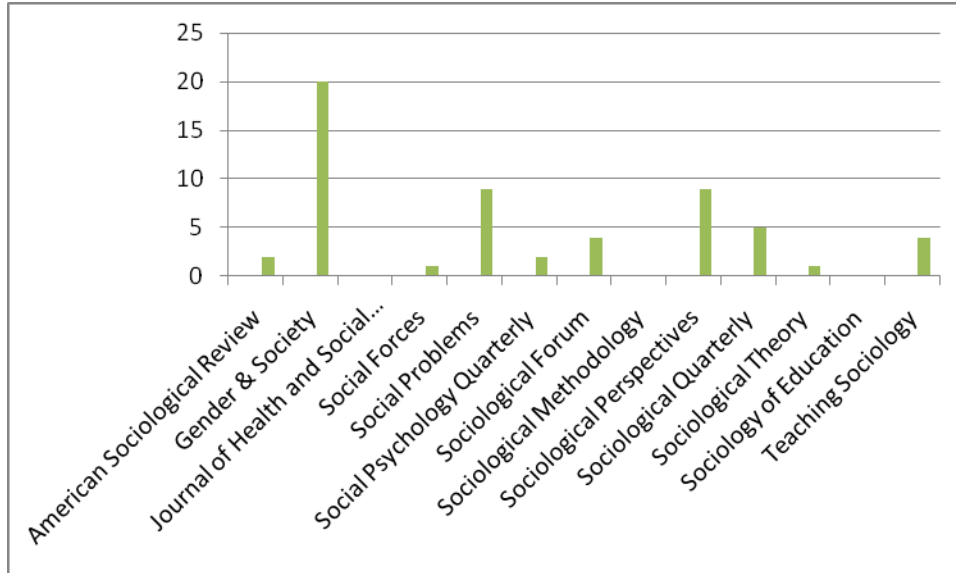
Total articles published in all journals during the study years on any LGBT topic that met the search criteria:

2001	4
2002	7
2003	4
2004	10
2005	17
2006	7
2007	6
2008	2
Total All	57



Total articles published during the study years on any LGBT topic that met the search criteria broken down by journal they appeared in:

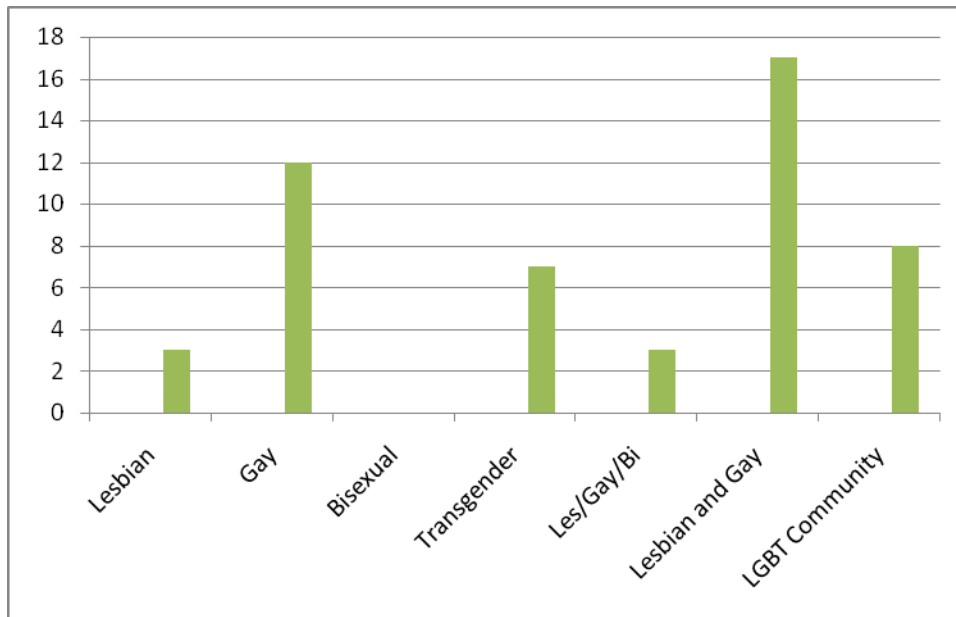
American Sociological Review	2
Gender & Society	20
Journal of Health and Social Behavior	0
Social Forces	1
Social Problems	9
Social Psychology Quarterly	2
Sociological Forum	4
Sociological Methodology	0
Sociological Perspectives	9
Sociological Quarterly	5
Sociological Theory	1
Sociology of Education	0
Teaching Sociology	4
Total All	57



As mentioned in the Results section, articles were coded based on segments of the LGBT community that were specifically discussed in the article. Some were about the community as a whole and some about one or more parts. The breakdown is as follows:

LGBT Segments

Lesbian	3
Gay	12
Bisexual	0
Transgender	7
Les/Gay/Bi	3
Lesbian and Gay	17
LGBT Community	8
Uncertain	7
Total	57





## Section B: ASA Conferences 2000-2008

(Follow-up to research by Michelle Robertson and Amy S. Wharton, Washington State University, 1986-1999)

### Methods

I searched PDF files of conference programs for the following search terms; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, LGBT and GLBT. Results are sorted by year and by type of session. Data was divided by type of session including Regular Sessions, Roundtable Discussions, Paper Sessions, Special Sessions (including Thematic, Panel and Invited Sessions), Poster Sessions, Workshops (Academic, Teaching, Professional and Career), Film Screenings and Tours. Special sessions, Workshops, Film Screenings and Tours are represented here but they were not included in the original study. I wanted to draw attention to the fact that LGBT issues are appearing in these other areas at conferences, not just in the form of reports on research. Regular Sessions, Roundtable Discussions, and Paper/Poster Sessions were counted by presentation, one data item per presented paper or discussion.

### Limitations of the research

Conference programs list presentations by title only. If a title does not contain a search term, then even if the presentation was about an LGBT topic it will not show up in the findings. I recommend careful thought in the naming of conference presentations to help researchers and interested parties find appropriate presentations in the program.

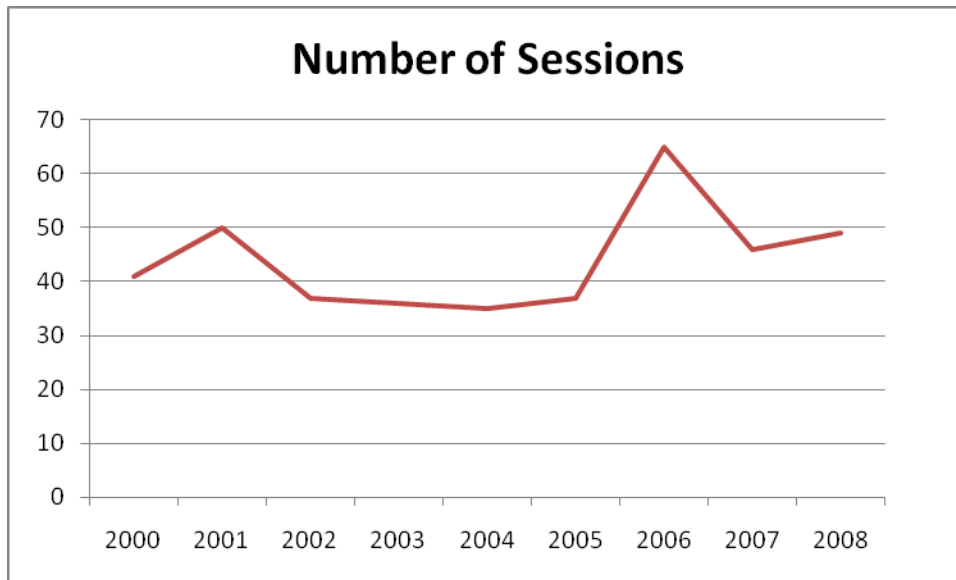
### Findings

A total of 396 Sessions/Presentations were located with the search criteria that included an LGBT focus. Ranges by year are from a low of 35 in 2004 to a high of 65 in 2006. Most are Roundtable Discussions and Regular Sessions. The lowest of the four main session categories is Poster session with only three LGBT focused in the nine year period of the study. The year 2001 represented a high in the percentage of Regular, Roundtable and Paper sessions with an LGBT focus. Percentages remain mostly between one and two percent of all session overall.

Total number of ASA conference sessions/presentations during the study years that met the search criteria:

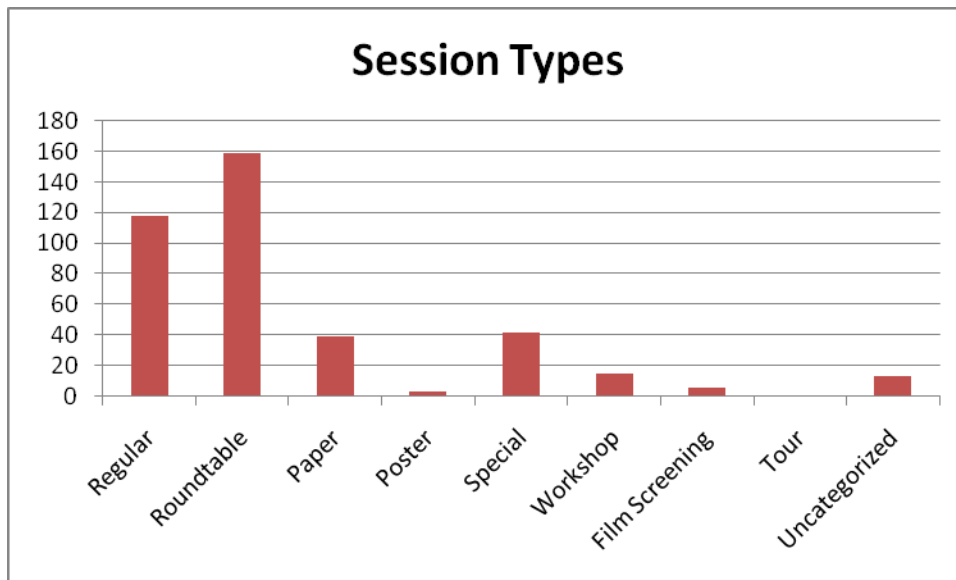
2000	41
2001	50
2002	37
2003	36
2004	35
2005	37
2006	65
2007	46
2008	49

All Years 396



Total number of ASA conference sessions/presentations during the study years that met the search criteria broken down by session type. Regular sessions and Roundtable discussions are where the most research is being presented, although LGBT topics are showing up in all areas of ASA conferences.

Regular	118
Roundtable	159
Paper	39
Poster	3
Special	42
Workshop	15
Film Screening	6
Tour	1
Uncategorized	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>



The following charts break down presentations and discussion into a count of All versus LGBT focused. A hand count was done of Regular session presentations, Roundtable presentations and Informal Discussions, Paper sessions and Poster sessions.

Regular	All	LGBT	Percent
2000	735	15	2.04%
2001	710	17	2.39%
2002	819	17	2.08%
2003	714	6	0.84%
2004	777	10	1.29%
2005	836	13	1.56%
2006	968	18	1.86%
2007	755	9	1.19%
2008	698	13	1.86%
Total	7012	118	1.68%

Roundtable	All	LGBT	Percent
2000	1096	4	0.36%
2001	843	19	2.25%
2002	1133	16	1.41%
2003	1037	17	1.64%
2004	1551	16	1.03%
2005	1334	17	1.27%
2006	1275	28	2.20%
2007	1514	22	1.45%
2008	1565	20	1.28%
Total	11348	159	1.40%

Paper	All	LGBT	Percent
2000	363	0	0.00%
2001	342	8	2.34%
2002	388	3	0.77%
2003	368	4	1.09%
2004	424	4	0.94%
2005	361	2	0.55%
2006	410	4	0.98%
2007	468	8	1.71%
2008	467	6	1.28%
Total	3591	39	1.09%

Poster	All	LGBT	Percent
2000	111	0	0.00%
2001	95	1	1.05%
2002	104	0	0.00%
2003	79	0	0.00%
2004	77	0	0.00%
2005	59	0	0.00%
2006	79	2	2.53%
2007	75	0	0.00%
2008	90	0	0.00%
Total	769	3	0.39%

## Section C: Contemporary Sociology Book Reviews 2001-2008

(Follow-up to research by Steven Epstein and David Ribes, University of California, San Diego, 1972-2000)

Book reviews included in data presented responded to one of the search terms; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. As in the previous study, books on sexuality in general, heterosexuality, and HIV/AIDS were not counted unless they were significantly about the LGBT community.

### Findings

As shown in the table, the number of books reviewed on LGBT topics remains very low in comparison to total books reviewed. This is something I would recommend that the committee look into further.

### **Percentage of Total Reviews by Year**

Year	Total Reviews	LGBT Reviews	Percent of Total
2001	488	5	1.02%
2002	659	4	0.61%
2003	652	4	0.61%
2004	496	7	1.41%
2005	290	5	1.72%
2006	115	1	0.87%
2007	295	1	0.34%
2008	274	5	1.82%
Totals	3269	32	0.98%