

Fall 2013

The association between sexual orientation and labor market outcomes

Justine A. Bulgar-Medina
University of New Hampshire, Durham

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.unh.edu/thesis>

Recommended Citation

Bulgar-Medina, Justine A., "The association between sexual orientation and labor market outcomes" (2013). *Master's Theses and Capstones*. 167.
<https://scholars.unh.edu/thesis/167>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses and Capstones by an authorized administrator of University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository. For more information, please contact nicole.hentz@unh.edu.

**THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND LABOR
MARKET OUTCOMES**

BY

**JUSTINE A. BULGAR-MEDINA
BA, Northeastern University, 2007**

THESIS

**Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of**

**Master of Arts
in
Sociology**

September, 2013

UMI Number: 1524293

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 1524293

Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

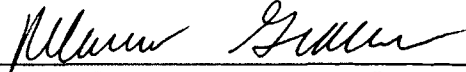
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

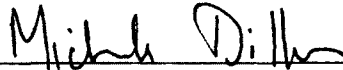
This thesis has been examined and approved.



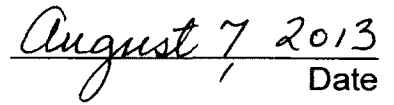
Thesis Director, Rebecca Glauber, Assistant Professor of Sociology



Benjamin C. Brown, Associate Professor of Sociology



Michele Dillon, Professor of Sociology & Chair of the Sociology Department



Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....iv

LIST OF FIGURES.....iv

ABSTRACT.....v

CHAPTER PAGE

INTRODUCTION..... 1

I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 4

 OVERVIEW 4

 STATUS OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS..... 8

 MASCULINITIES AND FEMINITIES IN THE WORKPLACE..... 9

 MANIFESTATIONS OF DISCRIMINATION 11

 CONTRIBUTIONS BEYOND WAGES..... 13

 BEYOND THE PAYCHECK: A POLICY PERSPECIVE 15

 MULTIPLE MINORITIES..... 18

 INDUSTRY VARIATIONS..... 20

 REGIONAL DIFFERENCES..... 21

 GAPS IN CURRENT RESEARCH..... 22

 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK..... 26

II. DATA AND METHODS..... 27

 METHOD..... 27

 SAMPLE AND VARIABLES..... 27

 MEASURES..... 30

 ANALYSIS..... 33

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION..... 34

 DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS..... 35

 CURRENT WORK STATUS..... 40

 REGION..... 43

 RACE..... 45

 MARITAL/PARENTHOOD STATUS..... 48

 CLASS..... 51

 EDUCATION..... 53

 INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME..... 55

IV. CONCLUSION..... 65

 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION..... 65

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF REFERENCES..... 74

APPENDIX..... 70

APPENDIX A: LITERATURE REVIEW CHART..... 70

APPENDIX B: INTERNAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL..... 73

ABSTRACT
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND LABOR
MARKET OUTCOMES

by

Justine A. Bulgar-Medina

University of New Hampshire, September, 2013

The purpose of this research is to begin to describe various aspects of interactions with the labor market (e.g. employment status, individual income, household income) based on sexual orientation, using nationally representative data from the General Social Survey. Much of the previous research suggests that any observed differences can be attributed to employee choice of occupation or other voluntary aspects of employment. Furthermore, previous research has found wage premiums for gay women and penalties for gay men, with sexual orientation, not gender, as the lead cause. Based on this current data, I assert that any observed difference is an artifact of both sexual orientation and gender, impacting equal and unbiased access to the labor market. I conclude that gay men and women are more educated than their straight counterparts yet have lower predicted household incomes and individual incomes. This effect is constant for gay men more than gay women.

INTRODUCTION

James Franco lost several roles as an actor in major ad campaigns. Mike Moroski is no longer an Assistant Principal in Ohio. On Martin Luther King Jr. day, an employee of a Nashville company was fired for wearing an “I support gay marriage” t-shirt. All of these people are straight and all of them were fired for perceived support of gay people and gay rights. The employment landscape for actual gay people is often far worse. Take Ellen Degeneres for example, a well-known television host and public figure. She is incredibly vocal about her sexual orientation and is somewhat self-employed by her own brand. However, if she were to have a job working for someone else in 29 out of 50 states, she could be fired, without recourse, just for being gay.

The ramifications of this lack of protection are very strongly felt by ‘regular’ people, like Kevin McCaffery in Kentucky. In 2009, a judge found that he was terminated, based on his sexual orientation, from his position as a director of a day care but that he had no legal recourse – the termination was entirely lawful. Tennessee college soccer coach Lisa Howe was fired in 2011 after she came out to her team. Michael Carney testified on behalf of Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA) so that he could serve openly as a police officer in

Massachusetts. In 2010, the job offer for Jodi O'Brien to become a Dean at Marquette University was rescinded based on her lesbian orientation. When these gay citizens of 29 states¹ cannot go to work without concern that a disgruntled supervisor or coworker will harass them or that someone in power will outright fire them – solely because they're gay -- the ramifications extend beyond 'the 9-5' into the arenas of health, family, retirement and more.

With an estimated 3.5% (11.06 million) of the United States population self-identifying as a member of the gay community², the need to understand how gay people are similar to – or differ from – their straight counterparts is not trivial. These potential similarities and differences are often thought to be relegated to the personal realm of home and relationships. Such a conclusion would be shortsighted. For example, most people are not born with inherited wealth and status so they must intentionally make a home and life for themselves by selling their labor – by becoming an employee. For many people what they 'do' as an employee is a central component to who they 'are'. Someone who balances books is an accountant. Someone who treats the ill is a doctor. It is what they do. It is who they are, and it is how they make their way on a daily basis. Uncovering obstacles or catapults to successful navigation of the labor market, unique to the gay community, allows for the full development of the understanding of how sexual orientation alters life chances and outcomes.

The purpose of this research is to begin to describe various aspects of interactions with the labor market (e.g. employment status, individual income,

¹ For a full list of up-to-date state laws, see www.lgbtmap.org.

² The Williams Institute (<http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/>).

household income) based on sexual orientation, using nationally representative data. While national-level research does exist on the so-called gay-straight earnings gap, it largely focuses on data for couples (see, for example, Prokos (2010)) and/or limits idea, notification of sexual orientation to only one year of history (see, for example Badgett (1995), Berg (2006)). While both methods provide strong glimpses into the work and economic lives of gay people, they have numerous flaws and limitations. While a measure of behavior for five consecutive years has flaws, as I will argue below, the exclusive nature of these respondents' sexual partners strongly suggests that there will be some level of internal/external recognition of their sexual orientations. Of note, the preponderance of up-to-date previous literature is not nationally representative (see, for example, Horvath (2003), Hebl (2002), Crow (1998)), not focused on the United States and instead focused on countries such as Austria (Weichselbaumer (2003), Greece (Drydakis (2009) or the United Kingdom (Ahmed et. Al (2009), and focuses almost exclusively on couples rather than individuals (see, for example, Drydakis (2009), Ahmed et. Al (2009).

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview

Labor market discrimination can exist in many forms. For example, hiring discrimination, differential wages, loss of promotions, termination, harassment and refusal to grant 'fringe benefits' to name a few. Many forms of discrimination faced in the workplace can be captured via reports to human resource departments or reports to government agencies charged with preventing discrimination. If an employer is accused of being racist or sexist in their salary offers or promotions, for example, one could examine their employee files and establish a pattern to determine the validity of any such claim. According to Badgett (1995), under those same circumstances of wages or promotions, the characteristic that is accused of being the basis for discrimination is more easily obtained; 'Is the employee female or male?'; 'Is the employee of this or that race?'. Wage and promotion discrimination is more easily identified, particularly in cases where gender or racial discrimination are asserted as the cause.

However, when sexual orientation is asserted as the cause the case is far more difficult to prove, particularly because it is often perceived as a mutable characteristic. Badgett (1995) likens sexual orientation to religion or national origin. This is because, as Badgett and most researchers assert, sexual orientation is not a blatantly visible characteristic for most people. Likely, it would not be indicated on official hiring paperwork (such as tax or human resource forms), yet its effects as a basis for discrimination can be just as harshly felt.

To further muddle the detection of employment discrimination, the experiences faced in the workplace are frequently subjective. While some things are easier to confirm than others, (e.g., lower wages, passed over for promotion), an employee must first realize the existence of differential treatment and attribute it to their sexual orientation. In addition to most states not having sexual orientation based anti-discrimination laws, an employee (or applicant in the case of hiring discrimination) must determine both objectively and subjectively that their negative treatment was a result of their sexual orientation and not another attribute.

According to research by Badgett (1995), twenty-seven percent of employers would not hire gay applicants. Eighteen percent said they would fire a gay employee and another twenty-six percent reported that they would not promote a gay employee. Although Badgett published these research findings in 1995, he drew on data from the late 1980's to early 1990's. Public opinion on social issues constantly evolves, as occurred in the fight for women's right to vote and interracial marriage. This constant evolution applies to attitudes toward gays

as well on topics ranging from open military service to workplace discrimination to family composition. In order to evaluate or attempt to resolve issues impacting gays, researchers and policy makers need current data, both on the gay population and the public opinion surrounding them. As the American public includes an (conservatively) estimated 3.5% (11.2 million) self-identified non-heterosexual citizens³, understanding the experiences of these men and women, particularly as they relate to labor market outcomes, will assist in developing adequate policies to combat discrimination (Berg, 2006). While 3.5% may not seem substantial percentage of the overall population, reflecting on the potential experiences of 11 million Americans is the focus of this current research as well as recent/previous research.

Previous research focusing on the hiring discrimination faced by gay people has established that there is a pattern of discrimination in place when other credentials remain equal (Badgett 1995). In addition, although there is disagreement about the extent, studies have concluded that gay men pay a wage penalty although gay women experience a wage premium (e.g., Badgett 1995 & Berg 2006). Badgett (2005), among others, attributes the wage premium experienced by gay women to several decision-based factors such as greater education and delayed child rearing. Overall, there is stronger evidence that while gay women may earn more than straight women, it is an artifact of different occupations or household structures, not an actual wage premium owing to preferential treatment by employers (Ahmed, 2011).

³ 3.5% Estimates from the Williams Institute. Total count is 3.5% of the population presented on the United States Census website.

Other foundational research in the field is limited in the findings and conclusions they present. Specifically, nearly all research has focused on either gay men or gay women. When the articles do include information on both groups, all but one makes the analysis dichotomous. They look only at gays and non-gays rather than looking at female gays and male gays as separate groups. The primary exception is Badgett's (1995) study measuring whether sexual orientation has an impact on wages. Badgett differentiated between gay men and gay women, and he found the wage penalty for gay men to be more than the wage penalty for gay women.

While wage discrimination is important, more recently, both internationally and domestically, research has turned its attention to experiences of hiring discrimination. The often used justification for this focus is simple: if someone cannot get the job (or even the interview) in the first place, all other manifestations of discrimination are moot points. Most instances of hiring discrimination cannot be captured via official reporting, as job candidates have little access to proof of why they did not get interviewed or hired. As such, many researchers have turned to experimental, audit studies. An audit study, using resumes, pairs two effectively comparable fictitious resumes for submission for a job posting. The researcher prepares both resumes to have equal credentials but alters a specific aspect (the characteristic they are testing such as race or sexual orientation) on one of the resumes. They then observe the rates at which each resume receives a follow-up from the potential employer. A primary critique of audit studies lies next to their greatest strength; although they can control for

all decimated information, they cannot account for interpersonal responses. For example, Hebl (2002) conducted a field experiment to measure both interpersonal and formal discrimination. Participants applied to service jobs in a local mall wearing one of two hats, either "Texan and Proud" or "Gay and Proud". Hebl found that those wearing the "Gay and Proud" hats were called back at statistically significant lower rates. To that end, Hebl sent sets of nearly identical people to request application information for a service sector job. As noted above, the only difference was one set wore hats stating "Texan and Proud" while the other wore "Gay and Proud" hats. However, what cannot be discerned in Hebl's study, not unlike audit studies, is whether being gay was the issue or being perceived to 'lead' with it was.

Status of Anti-Discrimination Laws

At the federal level, there is no protection for LGBT employees or jobseekers, when either intentional or subconscious traits are expressed (Tilesik, 587). Furthermore, most of the research that exists regarding employment discrimination for LGBT people only accounts for experiences within their employment, when reported through official channels. Sexual orientation often gets categorized as a mutable characteristic, but when someone self-identifies or is outed by a coworker, there are real consequences (Hebl, 815). The consequences can include immediate termination, professional or social ostracizing, demotion, failure to be promoted and unequal pay. These

consequences vary by state, as a result of individual state policies about whether sexual orientation is a protected class for non-discrimination laws.

In states that outlaw discrimination based on sexual orientation, there are nearly equal numbers of complaints under those statutes as those that outlaw sexual discrimination (Rubenstein, 2002). Of the fifty American states, only twenty-one (and the District of Columbia) have active anti-discrimination laws on the basis of sexual orientation. In these twenty-one states, anti-discrimination laws apply to both public and private employees.⁴ Nearly all of the states are along the Pacific coast or in the Northeast regions.

Masculinities and Femininities in Employment Discrimination

The most recent United States based audit study focusing on hiring discrimination was conducted by Andre Tilesik (2011) and focused solely on gay men. Tilesik's study serves as a clear illustration of this pattern where he held all other factors constant yet when homosexuality was indicated, fewer callbacks (positive results) were received. Tilesik found that there was substantial discrimination in some locales (the study was conducted in seven states) against applicants who appeared to be gay based on their resumes. The study also found that discrimination against gay men was strongest when employers focused on stereotypically masculine traits. For example, when employers reported a need for managerial skills, they attributed that trait to masculinity. As that trait is more closely tied to gay women than gay men stereotypically, gay men are discriminated against in such scenarios. A primary limitation of this

⁴ Source: www.hrc.org/state_laws, the source used by Tilesik.

research is that it is only applicable to openly gay men, something Tilesik notes in his conclusion and call for future research. Tilesik calls for an in-depth study to evaluate the experiences of openly gay women as their sexual orientation impacts their experiences with employment discrimination. While such a call is beyond the scope of this research, specific attention will be given to attempting to disentangle gender and sexual orientation in various labor market outcomes.

Masculine women receive positive job callbacks 12% less than their feminine straight female counterparts (Weichselbauner, 637). In the study, conducted in Austria, Weichselbauner used a pretest and correspondence method to evaluate discrimination against gay female applicants. Femininity or masculinity was indicated by a photo, hobbies/interests and other factors on the resume. Primary characteristics included haircuts, clothing choices and hobbies (Weichselbauner, 634). The inclusion of such information is common practice in Austria. Weichselbauner found feminine lesbians were also nearly 8% less likely than their feminine straight counterparts to be called back as well (Weichselbauner, 637). Both findings are statistically significant. The study's major limitation is that it does not specifically address sexuality, rather it focuses solely on masculinity and femininity. At best, and given a lack of other research, this helps to suggest that gender and gender stereotypes are the strongest indicator of hiring experiences, rather than sexual orientation. This finding is an important consideration and a primary concern for critique that the measurements are improper. While controlling for masculinity and femininity was not common in previous research, it is important to acknowledge it as a potential

major factor when evaluating the overall landscape of labor market outcomes. For example, in Tilesik's research, when masculine traits were favored in a job, the gay male stereotype that all gay men are effeminate presented itself as a source of employment discrimination.

As noted by Madon (1997) and Ward (2008), gay men are stereotyped as effeminate although gay women are characterized as being overly masculine. Tilesik's audit study offers evidence that these stereotypes play an important role in discrimination based on sexual orientation (Tilesik, 588). Several researchers have conducted studies to further establish public perception of gay men and women. For example, Horvath's (2003) study used undergraduates to rate their perceptions of applicants based on resumes where the researchers controlled for gender and sexual orientation. Horvath found that straight men were the highest rated, followed by gay men and gay women. Straight women were the lowest rated. Horvath also found slight differences between men and women, but argued that beliefs surrounding gender roles acted as a moderator in the relationship and can also help to explain overall differences in ratings by gender (Horvath, 126).

Manifestations of Discrimination

Most of the existing research on employment discrimination for LGBT people is limited to the evaluation of wage differences with the assumption that wage inequality experienced by LGBT persons reflects discrimination (Tilesik, 2011). Badgett (2007) evaluated twelve independent studies on earnings for gays as compared to heterosexuals. Eleven of the twelve studies concluded that

gay men earn 2.4 to 32% less than comparable heterosexual men (with an average of approximately 19%). Women were absent from several of the studies. When they were included, they either earned more than heterosexual women, or if less, only by 2-3%.

In order to move past wages and compile data on hiring discrimination for openly gay men, Tilesik submitted fictitious resumes to 1,769 white collar jobs (each job received a pair of resumes, one indicating homosexuality and the other did not). One set of resumes did not give any indication of sexual orientation while the other group indicated the fictitious applicant was a gay male. A motivation of this study was the results of similar audits in Greece and Austria. In both of those studies, when sexuality was indicated (generally via volunteer or work experience) there was a substantial negative effect on the rate of invitations to interview for those submitted resumes.

Drydakis' (2009) similar study, focusing again solely on gay men, conducted in Greece found that 40% of the heterosexual indicated resumes received a call, as opposed to only 14% of gay applicants (Drydakis, 369). In Tilesik's (2011) study, sexuality was indicated on their resumes as participation in a Gay and Lesbian Alliance. The control group, to control for discrimination based on perceived political affiliation instead of sexual orientation, signaled participation in a Progressive and Socialist Alliance. In Tilesik's study, non-gay respondents received a 14% call back rate although gay applications only had a call back rate of 7.2%. Negative outcomes for gay identified resumes occurred 40% of the time (with statistical significance).

The study conducted by Hebl (2002) presented evidence on the difference between formal and interpersonal discrimination. Hebl's study sought to determine whether interpersonal discrimination (as opposed to more formal discrimination measured by job offers) could be established. The author's main hypothesis asserted that formal discrimination would happen at lower rates than interpersonal discrimination. This hypothesis was supported by the evidence collected in this study. Those with the hat indicating homosexuality experienced significant interpersonal discrimination although neither experienced substantial formal discrimination. When an employer seeks applicants with stereotypically male heterosexual traits, they're more likely to engage in discrimination (Tilesik, 588).

Contributions Beyond Wages

Tilesik acknowledged that, by focusing on the experiences that take place at hiring, an understudied aspect of discrimination based on sexual orientation can be uncovered (Tilesik, 2011). In addition, using an audit allows for full control of which information is distributed, which permits the researcher to better capture instances of hiring discrimination. By focusing on hiring and specifically by using an audit study, a researcher can account for the variations in local laws where each application is submitted. Variations experienced based on local law and attitudes, which can be captured with this method, further allows the analysis to account for such variations not easily captured in wages or self-reporting surveys (Tilesik, 2011).

Recently, particularly focusing on the United Kingdom, several articles have emphasized the importance of hiring discrimination, laws and company policies and industry as important factors in labor market experiences not adequately captured by the paycheck. Richardson and Monro (2013) identified key changes in British government that have created a more inclusive workspace, particularly in the public sphere. Not only is anti-discrimination a primary focus, proactive inclusion policies are resulting in greater visibility and workforce participation by gay men and women.

Barron and Hebl (2012) conducted a study focused on domestic interpersonal discrimination in unemployment specifically in the absence of a national employment non-discrimination law. They evaluated awareness of pertinent legal protections and related responses. They found that public awareness of the discrimination faced by the gay community was more prevalent in areas that had protections in place as opposed to neighboring cities and towns. In addition, they found a decrease in the use of negative words and an increase of the use of positive words in interview transcripts. This positive outcome was most prevalent in areas that are more gay, less politically and religiously conservative and where companies with gay-friendly policies are located.

Black et al (2000) demonstrated gay and straight differences in education. In addition to gay women being more educated (25% have at least a bachelor's and 13.9% have graduate degrees as compared to only 16% and 6.1%, respectively, for straight women). While 23.7% of gay men hold at least a

bachelors (as compared to 17% of straight men), gay men uniformly experience a wage penalty. The penalty or premium experienced by gay women is not uniformly observed, although educational attainment for both gay men and women holds constant.

Beyond the Paycheck: A Policy Perspective

Looking at experiences in the workplace is crucial to understanding the life experiences of racial and sexual minorities in context. Job security includes more than a steady income, although that is clearly a primary factor. In the United States, many fundamental personal and family planning tools are directly linked to employment. For example, health insurance, paid medical leave, tuition assistance, retirement funding and so on. Prokos (2010) evaluated the economic conditions of married heterosexuals, cohabitating heterosexuals and cohabitating gays using the 2000 Census data. The sample included 9,655 gays, 86,362 cohabitating heterosexuals and 1,269,128 married heterosexuals. Prokos found that there is differential compensation and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (935). Furthermore, those in cohabitation relationships (as opposed to legal marriages) have lower employment rates and incomes (937). Current research suggests that while gay men earn less than their heterosexual counterparts, there is little difference in the experiences of gay women and straight women (939).

Same-sex couples may also have different household compositions. According to the 2010 Census, while 20% of those who identified as gay reported being married, only 31% of them are raising children. In contrast are opposite

sex married couples, nearly 50% of whom are raising children. Gay and lesbian families experience absolute poverty in equal numbers (12%) but married heterosexual couples only experience absolute poverty 6% of the time (Prokos, 945). This may be explained by workforce participation, as nearly twice as many gays and lesbians (4% each) were unemployed compared to only 2% of married heterosexual couples. Same-sex couples are also less likely to have some college education (59% of heterosexuals have some college compared to 42% of gay men and 51% of gay women). Gay couples also worked 4-5 hours less per week on average than their married heterosexual counterparts (Prokos, 945).

Even when states recognize the relationship of same-sex couples (marriage or domestic partnership), these couples often face substantial barriers to access of employer issued benefit options. In many cases, the employer themselves is unclear about what benefits can or must be offered (Ferrera, 17). Depending on the exact state and benefit, an employer can either be mandated or forbidden from extending the benefit to a same-sex employee (Ferrera, 20). This issue is easily recognized when evaluating health-care benefit plans. There are public and private employers nationwide that extend health-insurance benefits to same-sex employees even when the state neither requires it nor recognizes same-sex relationships. When this occurs in conjunction with a state law, the benefits must be awarded uniformly to all eligible couples. However, this protection does not extend to fully-funded programs administered from a private employer (Ferrera, 21). Formerly, as a result of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), if a private employer conferred these benefits to an employee, they

needed to report the full private market value as additional income on that employees annual W-2, even if they were legally married in their state of residence (Ferrera, 24). With the repeal of Clause three of DOMA, which defined marriage as one man and one woman, the federal government will treat spouses legally married in their state of residence identically, regardless of whether they are a gay or straight couple. The average private health insurance plan offered by a large company is now \$15,745⁵. Assuming the employee had access to the benefit at all, (at a 30% tax rate) they would need to pay an extra \$4,723.50 in taxes per year as a result of their non-heterosexuality. As Badgett (2009) noted, for many couples, this amount is greater than their combined tax liability in a given year.

When wages are down, but costs are up (see healthcare above), there will certainly be negative ramifications. One very likely area to observe this is wealth. If heterosexual couples are not being forced to 'buy in' to being protected as a family, they inherently will have greater abilities to contribute to their wealth accumulation. Coupled with legal protections aimed at maintaining wealth (such as inheritance), same-sex families may experience a serious gap in the long-term. Understanding the interactions of all these labor market and economic outcomes on the individual as well as their potential families is a key component to truly understanding the personal and economic lives of gay and straight people alike.

⁵ <http://kff.org/> (Kaiser Family Foundation)

Multiple Minorities

The Equal Opportunity Commission⁶, based on a new Gallup poll, reports that 27% of black women report employment discrimination although only 22% of white women do. The disparities are even greater for men where 26% of black men report discrimination as compared to only 3% of white men. While this establishes a difference in employment discrimination based on gender and race, and their intersection, it does not allow us to identify sexual orientation. However, as I will discuss below, previous studies have demonstrated that homosexuals experience greater rates of discrimination than heterosexuals based on their sexual orientation. The case for discrimination is far more difficult to prove in cases where the claim was made by a member of the gay community (asserting it was sexual orientation that was the cause of the discrimination).

As the American public includes 11.06 million⁷ gay citizens (of whom 3% are non-white), understanding the experiences of these men and women, particularly as they relate to hiring, will assist in developing adequate policies to combat discrimination (Berg, 2006). Evaluating the outcomes of people who identify as both racial and sexual minorities is particularly important in the economic realm given the overarching impact employment has on life chances (such as access to retirement opportunities, healthcare, resources for 'family' members). The first step in preventing discrimination is knowing how it is manifested.

⁶ www.eeoc.gov

⁷ The Williams Institute and The Human Rights Campaign assert a 3.5% conservative estimate of the US gay population. The US Census estimates 316 million Americans. $316,000,000 * .035 = 11.06$ million estimated gay Americans.

The median income for black women is \$28,000 although it is \$32,000 for white women (Bowleg, 2008). In addition, they make up 27% of the service sector workforce, nearly three times their representation in the population at large (Bowleg, 70). According to Badgett (2005), a similar disparity exists among homosexual workers. However, the literature almost never considers multiple identities in their analysis (Bowleg, 2008). Bowleg (2008) introduces results from a qualitative study that sheds light on the experience of black homosexual women. One quote in particular well demonstrates the reported experiences.

. . . a lot of [masculine appearing Black lesbians] work jobs that are on the margin. You know you're not going to see them in corporate offices, although White dykes can be looking like [a big football player] in a dress and they'll still hire her and promote her.

Of particular importance for these employees is that they are unable to attribute differential treatment to their race, gender or sexual orientation –or determine if it's a mix of all three (Bowleg, 2008). Giwa (2012), like Bowleg (2008), found that race was a lesser factor in employment experiences than sexual orientation. In fact, if race was a factor at all, for women at least, it was a positive one as women experienced greater success in the hiring process. However, these women also report greater experiences of discrimination once in the workplace only after their sexual orientation has been disclosed (Bowleg 2008).

Industry Specific Experiences

Eliason et al (2011), using a convenience and snowball sample, collected surveys from gay physicians on their experiences in the workplace. Of the 427

respondents, 10% reported having been denied referrals from straight counterparts, 27% said they had witnessed the harassment of a gay coworker, 15% had been professionally harassed and another 22% had been socially ostracized. In addition to reporting inadequate education on LGBT issues in medical school, 34% of respondents had witnessed discriminatory care of a gay patient, and 36% reported witnessing disrespect toward a gay patient's partner.

Bernstein and Swartwort (2012) evaluated straight police officers' perceptions of out gay coworkers. While a major limitation of the study is that it only focuses on a single police department in the Southwest, it allows a window into a largely masculine industry. They found that when there was low interpersonal contact, straight employees reported that gay employees would have severe negative outcomes, particularly as it pertains to promotions. While the study only focuses on perceptions, the authors do conclude that interpersonal knowledge of gay employees did significantly decrease the predicted negative outcome of straight employee participants.

Lewis and Pitts (2009) found that 14.3% of gay men work in government although 16.6% of their straight counterparts do. For gay women, 21.2% work in government while only 18.4% of straight women hold government jobs. Additionally, both gay men and women are more likely to work in non-profits. Lewis and Pitts (2009) were also able to account for some regional variation finding that gay workers comprise 1% or more of state level government jobs in the Northeast or Western states but less than .25% in Midwestern or Mountain states.

Regional Differences

In the United States, particularly without the passage of a bill like ENDA, the protections of gay workers fall to state law. As noted above, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) reports that 29 out of the 50 states do not have any laws to protect gay employees. This amounts to 52% of gays living in states that do not have laws in place to protect them against employment discrimination.⁸ In some places like New England, every state has a non-discrimination law in place. However in other areas like the East South Central or West South Central regions, not a single state has a protection in place. The table below is meant to illustrate the regional differences, according to the General Social Survey (GSS) categorizations.

Table 1: Non-Discrimination Laws by State

GSS Region	States without Protections
New England (ME, VT, NH, MA, CT, RI)	(0/6) 0%
Mid-Atlantic (NY, NJ, PA)	(1/3) 33%
East North Central (WI, IL, IN, OH, MI)	(3/5) 60%
West North Central (MN, I, MO, ND, SD, NE, KS)	(5/7) 71.4%
South Atlantic (DE, MD, WV, VA, NC, SC, GA, FL, DC)	(6/9) 66.6%
East South Central (KY, TN, AL, MS)	(4/4) 100%
West South Central (AR, OK, LA, TX)	(4/4) 100%
Mountain (MT, ID, WY, NV, VT, CO, AZ, NM)	(5/8) 62.5%

⁸ Source: www.lgbtmap.org

Pacific (WA, OR, CA, AK, HI)	(1/5) 20%
---------------------------------	-----------

While some preliminary research exists asserting that gays in certain regions not only have fewer protections but more persecution, at the time of conducting this research I was unable to find any credible source to support or refute such a conclusion. Of particular relevance to this issue would be whether gays in certain regions are less likely to vocalize their sexual orientation in the first place. There are numerous cultural or news related accounts of extreme closeting in certain areas such as the South or Midwest, but no scholarly research has evaluated such assertions.

Gaps in Current Research

Most recently, the research examining ways discrimination can manifest in addition to wage inequality (which has been the primary indicator for measurement of discrimination) has focused on the gay male population (Tilesik, 2011). The flaw of using only wage inequality to gauge discrimination against gays is that it can serve as a point of weakness for opposing opinions. Meaning, wage inequality does not perfectly measure differential access to opportunity by being unable to attribute the outcome to employer discrimination or employee actions (low performance) or choice (intentionally holding lower paying jobs). For example, when evidence of wage inequality is presented, an opposing response might say that it is due to lesser productivity by the employee or their preference to hold lower paying jobs (Tilesik, 587). And, as noted above, it only captures the one dimensional experiences of the employed paycheck.

Although Tilesik's approach helps to correct for the issue of using wage inequality to measure discrimination, it fails to represent non-white collar experiences (his study only included white collar jobs) and to account for what the author admits to be an issue of locality. For example, the seven states selected only represent a portion of the possible legal protections available to citizens of that state. By focusing only on white collar jobs, Tilesik's findings are not generalizable to the entire population; the findings are applicable only to those in states/regions with similar laws and only to the white collar industries. One of the most important gaps in current research is geographic, as the samples were drawn from one single or a limited number of locations (Tilesik, 590).

There are other gaps in previous research. For example, many studies have relied on convenience or referral sampling resulting in respondents self-reporting on their experiences (Tilesik, 589). Examples of this methodology can be seen in both Horvath (2003) and Hebl (2002). In the study by Horvath, the students used to evaluate the resumes that produced the data were all college students in a particular college's psychology department. Particular concerns with this study's use of college students stem from the nature of their participation. Besides the concern that being a college student already sets them apart from the normal/average person, their participation in the study was a course requirement. This could lead to either overly engaged responses or a failure to take it seriously and complete only enough to satisfy the requirement. In the study by Hebl, the stores selected that study participants wearing hats

went into were all in one mall and when stores were unavailable, other stores within the mall were selected. In addition to the possibility of over or under representation based on the method of sampling, the data gathered from respondents is highly subjective. The primary concern with convenience sampling is that the relationship to discrimination will be based on another factor related to the sample, rather than a subjective truth that would be generalizable to the whole population.

Badgett (2001) provides the most comprehensive economic evaluation of the lives of non-heterosexuals focusing on earnings, buying power and household makeup. This particular study, the most comprehensive to-date, does not include an in-depth discussion of job search processes, a comparison of change over time, or the ability to comment on the significant changes that have been experienced by this population in the last five to ten years. Moreover, the conclusions and suggestions drawn are largely policy driven. A sociological evaluation has the ability to comment on structural forces and the interactions of multiple key factors, place findings in the context of theory and steer not only the direction of future evaluation, but of future data collection.

Overall, the state of the current research, inclusive of the newest contributions made by Tilesik, supports a conclusion that employment discrimination is something faced by gay Americans as early on as in the resume screening and hiring process and follows them throughout the labor market. The major factors impacting the rate of such discrimination are geography, local laws and common gay and gender based stereotypes. A major flaw in current

research, including Hebl (2002), Horvath (2003), Drydakis (2009) and others is that they currently focus solely on gay men or do not differentiate between gay men and women in their findings, they simply report on 'gay' or 'heterosexual'. As noted above, in addition to not differentiating based on gender, they are commonly limited to analyzing couples who are likely to have very different results than evaluating only at the individual level. Other gaps that are evident in the current research include location, non-coupled status, as previously mentioned, but also must account for the rapid changes in both public opinion and new or changing laws.

Using these facts and findings of previous researchers, I hypothesize that those identified as having a gay orientation will report more negative interactions and outcomes in the labor market and it will be attributed to the indication of their sexual orientation and not another intervening factor regardless of whether they are specifically out to the employer. I also hypothesize that findings will be reflective of previous research in terms of educational achievement, racial and gender differences. Furthermore, any observed wage differences will be more easily attributed to sexual orientation for men, although women will be less conclusive.

Theoretical Framework

There are two opposing views to the understanding of sexual orientation. Social constructionists assert that sexual orientation is a creation of society and therefore an optional and mutable characteristic, or at least it has the ability to be (Seidman, 1996) When taking this approach, the fluidity of sexuality is allowed more consideration. However, it also puts sexual orientation into an unprotected class of social, and not innate, characteristics leaving it outside the reach of legal protection. Alternatively, as described by Epstein (1987), essentialists argue that sexuality is organic and cannot be changed. Any changes over time are attributed to self-realization and not an actual change in desire or orientation. Essentialists argue that being gay is natural, and not social, because such behavior is outside of the script they are socialized into. Until recent exposure in pop culture, there were no publically available scripts for gay people to use to navigate their experiences thus 'proving' their orientations are not socially constructed.

Whether socially constructed or not, sexual orientation plays a significant role in goal achievement, career aspirations and other aspects of engagement in employment for nearly every person (as nearly every person must engage in the sale of their labor for survival at some point in their lives). Pachankis and Hatzenbuehler (2013) developed the 'Best Little Boy in the World' hypothesis to explain the 'overachievement' of gay men. They hypothesize that to deflect the stigma of being gay, gay men achieve greater success in education and other areas.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Procedure and Sampling

Drawing upon data from the 2006-2012 General Social Survey (GSS), I evaluate the job-obtaining and labor market experiences of respondents. The GSS is a random sample of American adults, this subset ranges in age from 18-88 with a mean age of 41.78. The data from the GSS is publicly available and it was downloaded directly from their website. A primary flaw of the GSS, as it pertains to this research, is that it fails to directly ask respondents their sexual orientation and likely does not completely reflect the gay population. Although the GSS has previously asked sexual orientation explicitly (in their 2008 survey), it was only asked once and the sample size is too small for evaluation. The only way to determine sexual orientation from GSS data is to create a proxy variable by evaluating responses on respondents gender or sex and their reports of the sex or gender of their sexual partners in a given period of time. (The GSS asks sexual history since the age of 18, the last year and the last five years specifically.) Another concern of using the GSS is that a regional weight is not

applied. As we know that gay people are more concentrated on the coasts⁹, not adjusting the sampling technique or weights to account for this could potentially misestimate the number of respondents who can be identified as gay.

The dataset used does not include an indicator of degree of 'outness'. For example, it does not convey whether respondents self-identify as gay/non-straight, are publically vocal about that orientation, whether they would at work, or if they believe something about their person conveys their sexual orientation such as demeanor or appearance. However, my intention is to analyze the data under the assumption that a five year history of sexual partners and a willingness to self-report that history is a strong indication of a self-identification as gay.

This measure results in a sample of 4,103 respondents, 4.75% of the sample is identified as gay. As of February 2013, the estimated LGBT population in the United States ranges from 1.7% in North Dakota to 10% in the District of Columbia with the national average at 3.5%.¹⁰ Previous scholars, including Badgett (2001) estimate the overall gay, lesbian and transgender population to be conservatively 1.5-4% of the overall United States population with average ranges from 3.5-5%. The Williams Institute suggests that the most accurate estimate of United States gay population is between 3.5-5% gay when considering state-by-state, national and American Community Survey estimates. Therefore, the representation of gay respondents in this sample is well in line with currently accepted national estimates.

⁹ The Williams Institute

¹⁰ <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/research/census-lgbt-demographics-studies/gallup-lgbt-pop-feb-2013/>

Although I am unable to fully test for this assumption, I assert that the length of time these respondents have been in exclusively same sex relationships signals that they might subconsciously or consciously present this aspect of their personal life professionally or publicly (Badgett, 730). The fact that they have answered in such a way, rather than lying or denying their same-sex partnerships, indicates at least the most basic degree of openness. Any evaluations on hiring effects based on degree of openness could be an opportunity for future research. Of note, it could be argued that sexual partnership identifies only sexual behavior. While this argument is valid and I do not dispute it, I assert that as discrimination occurs for mere behavior or assumption, rather than concrete orientation, my measure functions well for capturing employment outcomes.

Generally the variable reflecting the sex of sexual partners for the last year is used to identify a gay respondent. In order to make the strongest argument for the ramifications of being gay, I use the five year consecutive history. As estimates of the gay population in the United States (either nationally or state-by-state) include anyone identifying as gay, lesbian or bisexual, bisexuals have been included in the sample as gay. While this may lead to concern about improper categorization of bisexuals, I assert that as they are counted as "LGB" in nearly all research, and they are reporting their five year history, the best solution is not to exclude them but to include them as gay. Moreover, the exclusion of bisexuals would result in a percent gay that is substantially lower

than accepted estimates of the United States gay or LGB population. However, I do not draw distinctions in the analysis beyond gay or straight.

Therefore, in conducting the analysis on this data, I excluded anyone who did not self-identify the sex of their sexual partners for the last five years or did not respond to the questions of class, current work status and constant family and personal incomes. The largest missing data values are attributed to sex of sexual partners. Although the question has been asked in every version of the GSS since 1991, the response rate is only 47.9%. This can be attributed to respondents choosing not to answer the question at all or answering a previous questions in such a way that would preclude them from being asked this question. For example, if a respondent reports no sexual partners for the last five years (or refuses to answer that question), the GSS survey would automatically refrain from asking this question. In addition, I focused solely on the responses of the first person/respondent, as the GSS includes data from multiple respondents from a given household in some instances.

Measures

Sexual Orientation. My independent variable is sexual orientation (having sexual partners of the same or opposite sex) for the last five years. The question specifically asks: "Have your sex partners in the last five years been...". There are five available responses: "Exclusively male"; "Exclusively female"; "Both male and female"; "Don't know"; and "Refused". As noted above, any respondent who reports sexual partners (either exclusively or both) of the same sex for the last

five years will be considered gay in creation of the sexual orientation proxy variable.

For the purposes of this paper, respondents who report same-sex partners are labeled as 'gay' men and women and this behavior will be categorized as sexual orientation. Previous research has successfully used a similar measure (e.g. Badgett, 2001). However my use is more conservative. Badgett (2001) identified and asserted gay orientation after only one year of sexual partner history. While one year is a substantial amount of time, five years permits a more conclusive statement to be made.

There are several other measures that could have also been used to determine sexual orientation. The first is using the gender and number of sexual partners reported since a respondent was 18. The major flaw is that such a measure would not allow for any determination of whether these sexual partnerships were recent or if they represent an overall pattern of behavior. For example, a respondent could have had all reported same-sex encounters when they were just past 18 years old and never again. This would not be an accurate identification of sexual orientation. The other potential method involves evaluating the respondent's sex, their relationship to the head of house and that person's reported gender. The major flaw here is that different people will use different terminology (spouse, roommate, unrelated). This method could more easily result in misidentification of sexual orientation and again does not speak to a length of time as a five year history does.

Age. The chronological age for the respondent. Age was reported in years and thus treated as continuous from age 18 to 88.

Subjective Class Identification. The subjective class identification of the respondent (upper, middle, lower, working). While socioeconomic status could theoretically be deduced using income and subjective class identification, I did not manipulate the data as perceptions are more relevant in this scenario, particularly as it pertains to experiences of discrimination.

Education. The number of years of education completed. While this is labeled as an ordinal variable in the GSS, answers are continuous and numeric ranging from 0 to 20. Degrees are inferred from years of education (16 years results in a bachelors, while anything beyond 16 years represents graduate education).

Race. The self-reported race of the respondent (white, black, other).

Marital Status. Whether or not the respondent is currently married. I used a dichotomy (*married or not married*) with *married* as the reference category and *not married* as the comparison group.

Parental Status. Whether or not the respondent reports having any children. The GSS reports whether a respondent has children in an ordinal level variable (0 through 8+) and I transformed it into a dichotomy of *has children* or *does not*, with *having children* serving as the reference category and *being childless* as the comparison group.

Region. The region in which respondent lives (Northeast, Central, West, South). The GSS has region divided into subcategories and lists associated

states. Relying on previous research for accepted regional groupings, I transformed the variable to represent four overarching regions.

Current Work Status. The current work status of respondent (full-time, part-time, currently not working). Current work status is reported by the GSS as full-time, part-time and several other categories (retirement, student, not working) and I transformed them into three categories for analysis.

Log of Incomes (Personal & Family). The self-reported income (as reported by the GSS in constant dollars), transformed using the log function to account for skewness, of both the respondent and the respondent's family.

Analysis

To begin my analysis I calculated descriptive characteristics for all variables including means and standard deviations. I stratified by the computed sexual orientation variable. To establish relationships and test significance, I apply Chi2, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and linear regression tests. Categorical variables are transformed into dummy (0, 1 coding) variables in regressions. Interaction terms are computed by multiplying the dummy variable for each given category. All tests are performed at the .10 level of significance, although .05, .01 and .001 levels of significance will also be reported when achieved.

CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS

MAIN FINDINGS

Educational attainment, gender, age and race are among the best evaluated factors in examining access to opportunity. While these are only a few of numerous factors that influence access to opportunity, they are substantial enough, especially taken together, to be the stopping point in most evaluations of access to, and engagement in, the labor market. The potentially key demographic factor of sexual orientation has only just begun to find traction among researchers as a member of this core group of factors influencing labor market outcomes. Previous research (see Tilesik (2011); Badgett (1995)) concluded that there were significant differences by sexual orientation pertaining to access to the labor market (e.g. call-backs in Tilesik's audit study (2011)) and lower incomes for both gay men and women (see Badgett (1995)). This present research is unable to directly support Tilesik's (2011) audit study as it does not access hiring patterns. However, it does affirm that sexual orientation, when controlling for race, age, education, region and employment status, results in significantly lower family and individual incomes.

Descriptive Characteristics

The effect of sexual orientation on employment opportunities is the specific focus of this thesis and, in comparison to these other factors, relatively unevaluated. When sexual orientation is considered, being straight (as a male) is also required in order to access this highest tier of opportunity. Similarly, straight men are most frequently employed full time followed by gay men, gay women and lastly straight women. This suggests a penalty for gay men and premium for gay women accessing full employment. This could also be easily attributed to gender for gay women, as both groups of women are employed less than either group of men. As shown in Table 3, despite having a lesser representation in full time employment than either gay men or women, straight women have median individual (\$29,950) and family incomes (\$44,165) second only to straight men. Each of the four groups has some education past high school but straight men, despite earning the most and being employed full time at the highest rate (78.24%), have the lowest average educational attainment. This is particularly interesting considering straight women have the highest representation of races other than white (Black and other combined equals 25.53%).

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Respondents by Sexual (Standard Deviations in Parentheses), General Social Survey, 2006-2012

	Gay Men	Straight Men	Straight Women	Gay Women
Mean/Median Individual Income	36,147.60/ 28,668.00 (32,455.89)	47,232.28/ 34,470.00 (45,589.40)	28,325.27/ 29,950.00 (34,896.26)	27,961.90/ 19,724.38 (23,255.79)
Mean/Median Family Income	51,583.30/ 39,695.00 (42,139.19)	62,221.10/ 51,705.00 (45,589.40)	53,708.71/ 44,165.00 (42,285.46)	47,066.04/ 35,302.50 (41,430.18)
Education (in years)	14.48 (2.85)	13.97 (2.85)	14.18 (2.68)	14.55 (2.36)
Age	41.78 (11.26)	42.57 (13.42)	41.36 (12.83)	36.29 (11.87)
% White	76.62%	79.11%	74.47%	79.66%
% Black	7.79%	10.56%	16.69%	13.55%
% Other Race	15.58%	10.31%	8.83%	6.77%
Region (%)				
Northeast	22.07%	24.22%	24.14%	19.49%
Central	27.27%	37.15%	36.85%	32.2%
West	15.58%	14.36%	16.64%	17.79%
South	35.06%	24.26%	22.35%	30.5%
% Has Children	29.87%	67.16%	74.73%	51.69%
% Married	19.48%	54.23%	51.14%	15.25%
% Upper Class	3.89%	3.33%	1.83%	3.38%
% Middle Class	49.35%	43.76%	40.88%	35.59%
% Lower Class	7.79%	3.38%	5.3%	9.32%
% Working Class	38.95%	49.51%	51.96%	51.69%
% Full Time	74.02%	78.24%	64.36%	61.01%
% Part Time	10.38%	9.28%	16.13%	13.55%
% Not Working	15.58%	12.46%	19.49%	25.42%
N (4,103)	77	1949	1959	118

Mean ages for each of the groups is approximately 41 to 42 years old, except for gay women who have a mean age of approximately only 36 years. This potentially substantial difference could be a root cause of any observed difference for gay women. However, as will be introduced below, when age is introduced as a control variable in a regression analysis of both levels of income, age does not explain observed difference. While understanding why the mean age for gay women is important, there are no evident systematic causes for this lower mean. Theories to explain this difference include gay women being more willing to self-report honestly at a younger age, being more likely to respond to the survey request or even women being more likely to be gay. While the data and literature does not allow a scientific conclusion, I assert that women are more likely to respond to requests for survey participation and are more likely to honestly answer all questions asked (rather than abstaining from a personal question like sexual history or answering it with less openness). Again, as regressions (below) controlling for age demonstrate that age is not a masking factor when evaluating differences experienced by gay women, this difference in mean age should be noted but not viewed as an insurmountable limitation of the data.

Region is potentially an important, yet often overlooked, variable for the reasons discussed above – the most important of which is anti-discrimination laws. As evidenced by previous research, whether industry specific or pertaining to the status of non-discrimination laws, region plays a potentially critical role in fully understanding the labor market experiences of gay men and women. It

would be expected that gay men and women would be concentrated in more tolerant places (see Table 1) such as the Northeast or West, however Table 2 suggests that they are more concentrated in the South and Midwest. The observed regional discrepancies between expected and observed observations are likely due to response bias. The GSS is collected via interviews that require the respondent to be home and willing to participate. It stands to reason that densely populated, often urban, areas (often with apartment buildings difficult to access) such as the West coast and Northeast there would be fewer responses overall.

While this does not explain why there is greater representation of straight respondents in the Northeast, for example, it seems to suggest that there may be something unique about gay people that results in potential underrepresentation. For example, as with race, sexual orientation could potential experience a neighborhood selection effect where gay people are more concentrated in smaller urban neighborhoods. If those neighborhoods are not included in the sample, those respondents would be excluded. Boston, Massachusetts provides an example of this point as it is 'well' known that there is a large concentration of gay men in one neighborhood (the South End) and a large concentration of gay women in another (Jamaica Plain or Roslindale). These 'gayborhoods', as they're often called, exist in most major cities (including Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Austin, Houston, Atlanta and others). Again, this current data cannot access that level of information but given the unexpected observations, this potential scenario could serve as a basis for future evaluation

and research. In this current analysis, the observed regional differences will be acknowledged but treated as though there was no response bias, as there is not adequate scientific evidence to make such a claim.

Education, class and family status help to complete the picture of the 'American Worker' by demonstrating the persistent benefit to straight white males and persistent penalty to everyone else. On average, all respondents have some post high school education. Gay men and women and straight women average 14.18-14.55 years of education, suggesting completion of an Associate's degree or some formal certificate or training program. However, straight men, despite earning the most on average, have only 13.97 average years of education.

For gay respondents, education appears to positively influence class as 3.38% of gay women and 3.89 of gay men report being in the upper class. Straight men and women only report upper class membership 3.33% and 1.83% of the time, respectively. However, any boost education gives to gay respondents is limited – they also report twice the membership in the lower class. On average, 44.9% of straight respondents report being in the middle or upper classes compared to 46.12% of gay respondents. While this difference may not be large, it may be important in building a strong composite description of the average respondent engaging in the workforce, particularly including various personal aspects that may alter outcomes such as family composition. Lower rates for parenthood and marriage for gay respondents is expected, particularly given that same-sex marriage is illegal in most states and child bearing or other avenues to parenthood are not equally available to gay and straight people. This

may help to explain why gay respondents are slightly more likely to be of a higher self-reported class status, they are not providing support to children at rates comparable to straight respondents.

While much of this initial data is descriptive and is therefore not conclusive, it presents an important view of the intersection of several key demographic factors and sexual orientation not previously (or recently) available. Understanding how individual variables come together to influence the makeup of the American worker, from race to educational attainment – particularly as it differs by sexual orientation – is the necessary first step in evaluating the employment landscape and, as necessary, creating programs to combat inequality in the workplace. Moving forward, these basic characteristics will assist in building a more comprehensive picture of the impact of sexual orientation using more rigorous statistical methods, including regressions for individual and family income.

Work Status

Men, regardless of sexual orientation, are more likely to be employed full time than either gay or straight women. As depicted in Table 3, over 25% of gay women are unemployed, compared to 12.5 to 19.5% for the other groups.

Straight women are more likely to be employed full and part time, compared to gay women. Both groups of women are employed more frequently in part time jobs or unemployed than either group of men. The initial logical conclusion would be that gender, not sexual orientation, is the true cause of any observed difference as both groups of women are less likely to be fully employed than both

groups of men. However, an important note is that gay men, not subject to a 'female penalty', are more likely to be unemployed or not working full time than their straight counterparts (although they hold part time jobs at comparable rates). Similarly, gay women are employed in full time positions less than straight women. If gender was the sole, or at least a primary, cause of observed difference we would expect to see men and women experience employment at the same rates.

While gender certainly cannot be dismissed as an important factor in explaining differential work force engagement, the conclusions put forth by Tilesik (2011) and other previous researchers (see Hebl (2003), Drydakis (2009)) suggest another conclusion. Previous research and the current data support the assertion that the observed difference in engagement in the work force (beyond the established fact that women work less than men) can be attributed to sexual orientation as well as gender. As Tilesik (2011) asserted, gay people are not gaining equal access to the workforce – they are not getting the jobs. As seen in Table 3, straight men report full time employment 4.2% more than their gay counterparts (78.2% compared to 74%). Similarly, gay women report full time employment only 61% of the time to straight women's 64.4%.

Previous research (see Badgett (1995)) concluded that gender was not likely a large influence on differing access to the workforce. While these findings could support that assertion, they also may demonstrate that the effect of gender and sexual orientation is experienced differently for men and women. While both gay men and women experience a penalty for their sexual orientation, gay

women appear to be experiencing a dual penalty for their dual minority status. The potential importance of sexual orientation is visible in full time work but the category of not working further supports such a claim. While gay women are approximately 5 years younger (see Table 2) than the other groups, that age difference is likely not significant enough to explain why over 25% of them are not in the workforce. While some of this may be attributed to choice or education, it would be expected to be more comparable to their equally educated counterparts. At the very least, it would not be expected to see them out of the workforce at greater rates than their straight counterparts, if gender was the true primary cause of observed difference. In addition to being less likely to be employed full time, both gay and straight women are reporting being out of the workforce entirely at higher rates than their straight counterparts.

While income will be discussed at length below, of note here is that with more rigorous testing, it seems highly probable that gender is a stronger cause of differences in labor-force participation over sexual orientation as compared to previous research. Other major considerations to explain this difference include race, family makeup, region, education, age and occupation. While unable to introduce data or discussion surrounding occupation, I will address these other factors to the greatest extent possible to compile the best composite framework for the gay and straight American worker (or potentially, non-worker).

Table 3: Crosstabulation of Work Status by Sexual Orientation

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
Full-Time	74.0%	78.2%	64.4%	61.0%
Part-Time	10.4%	9.3%	16.1%	13.6%
Not-Working	15.6%	12.5%	19.5%	25.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2: 100.713***	N=4103

***P<.001

Region

As introduced above, the majority, if not all, of states in the Midwest and South do not have employment discrimination protections for gay employees. The HRC asserts that about 52% of employees live in a state without any protections in place. The findings reported in this study support the assertions of the HRC, if not surpass it. As Table 4 shows, of gay men, 62.4% live in the Midwest or South and it's comparable for gay women (62.7%). In comparison, just 61.4% of straight men and 59.3% of straight women live in the Midwest or South. Coupled with previous research suggesting people in these areas are less likely to come out and are more likely to face discrimination, the consideration that 62% are also living without legal protection is cause for further consideration about the potential impacts on their ability to meaningfully engage in the work force.

As previously mentioned, it is counterintuitive to find over 60% of gay respondents living in the South or Midwest. These areas are nearly entirely

unprotected and the HRC estimates only 52% of gay people live in areas where there are not any workplace discrimination laws. This strongly suggests the previous conclusion that gay people are being overrepresented in some areas (the South and Midwest), or at least under sampled in others (Northeast and West). This is not entirely unexpected, as gay people are not specifically being built into the sample it is certainly something to consider.

Alternatively, as representation is fairly equal among the four sexual orientation classifications and regions, it could also suggest that there are not meaningful differences in where gay or straight people live. Gay and straight respondents are nearly equally likely to live in the West and their representation is fairly comparable in the Northeast (24.2 and 24.1% of straight men and women respectively, compared to 22.1 and 19.5% of gay men and women respectively). Gay people are more likely to live in the south (35.1% of men and 30.5% of women) than their straight counterparts (24.3 and 22.4% respectively). One potential explanation for this could be the inclusion of areas like Washington D.C., Atlanta, Austin, Houston, Phoenix and other urban areas, known for high populations of gay people, are included in the South. These urban areas may serve as protective enclaves in states or regions that overall offer little to no protections for gay citizens.

The Midwest most likely serves as a stronger predictor of gay representation in America outside of urban areas. While the Midwest does include Chicago, there are fewer areas known to have concentrations of gay populations. Here, gay men are 10% less likely than straight men (27.3 and

24.2% respectively) to live in the Midwest. Gay women are 4.7% less likely than straight women (32.2 and 36.9% respectively) to live in the Midwest. This 'gay underrepresentation' in the Midwest is made up for in the South, as discussed above. While this assertion is not conclusive, region likely influences where some gay people live, something that would need to be tested with targeted data collection. For the purposes of this current research, acknowledgment of this possibility is the most pertinent outcome in evaluating region. With the relatively small sample size, it is difficult to test the effect of region on work force status, but it will be tested (via regression) as an influence on individual and family incomes.

Table 4: Regional Distribution Crosstabulation

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
West	15.6%	14.4%	16.6%	17.8%
Northeast	22.1%	24.2%	24.1%	19.5%
Midwest	27.3%	37.1%	36.9%	32.2%
South	35.1%	24.3%	22.4%	30.5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2=15.682*	N=4103

* P<.10

Race

The numerous and severe effect race has on the American opportunity structure is well documented. Those who are racially non-white are routinely denied equal access to the opportunity structure enjoyed by their white counterparts. Ideally, this current research would have the capacity to treat race as a variable on its own as well as quantify the effect of the interaction between race and other key variables (e.g. gender, region, work status). However, the current data does not permit such an analysis. What it does provide is a better

understanding of the racial composition of the population based on sexual orientation and, using regression, the relative effect of race on earnings potential.

One of the most interesting findings of this research lies in the relatively unequal distribution of racial identification across the four sexual orientation categories. There is high representation for racially white respondents whom are straight males or gay females. For each group, 79.1% are white. Comparatively, gay men and straight women report being racially white only 76.6 and 74.5% of the time respectively. Based on most recent census data, overall only about 77.9% of citizens are white. Black citizens comprise 13.1% of the population, leaving 'other' races to account for 9%.¹¹ This sample is relatively in line with Census data for straight respondents (men report 10.6% and 10.3% respectively for Black and other). However, for gay men and women, their representation does not adequately reflect the nation as a whole. Gay men only report being Black 7.8% of the time and other 15.6%. Their membership in the Other category is nearly twice the national average and they only identify as Black about 2/3 as often as the nation overall. There are stigmas faced by Black men, making it particularly difficult for Black gay men to be open about their sexuality. This may serve as one explanation for why so few gay men identify as Black. However, if such a stigma would be expected to carry over into other racial minority groups, it would not help to explain the relatively large representation of gay men in the racially Other category.

¹¹ www.quickfacts.census.gov

While gay women and the national average for identifying as racially black are comparable (13.6 compared to 13.1), they only identify as Other racially 6.8% of the time. This demonstrates that straight people are identifying similarly to the national average, as would be expected, but the racial makeup for gay people, particularly gay males, may be significantly different. This could potentially explain, at least in part, the observed penalty gay men experience in work force status – they may be multiple minorities. Gay women already are multiple minorities as they are both gay and female, so there appears to be less explanatory power here for their differential statuses in the work force.

Understanding the intersection of race and access to opportunity would likely well correlate to the experiences of straight Americans. However, for gay men and women, these experiences may differ drastically. They may experience a dual penalty in the work force, much like they may experience personally, as a reaction to their dual minority membership. While the data cannot support an analysis, other areas for consideration in addition to overall racial identification, particularly for the Other category, may be membership in multiple races or ethnic groups or other distinguishing characteristics often linked to race in the public sphere. These intricacies may result in vastly different outcomes, particularly for those who are also gay.

Table 5: Racial Makeup Crosstabulation

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
White	76.6%	79.1%	74.5%	79.1%
Black	7.8%	10.6%	16.7%	13.6%
Other	15.6%	10.3%	8.8%	6.8%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2= 37.932***	N=4103

*** P<.01

Marital and Parental Status

Due to the fact that marriage and family laws vary significantly by state and most states do not permit same-sex marriages and many states make it difficult or impossible to become legal parents, it is not surprising that gay respondents would report far lower rates of marriage and parenthood. A more accurate question might pertain to cohabitating with mutual financial and personal responsibility, but that is not the data captured here. Despite this blatant weakness in the data, establishing some pattern of marriage and family will help to more accurately develop the description of the American Worker. As previous research (without respect to sexual orientation) has found a marriage and parenthood premium for men, and penalty for women, establishing the potential for that to exist for gay respondents is an important contribution.

While some of the observed difference in marriage and parenthood is undoubtedly due to choice, for gay respondents it is more likely due to lack of access. Even for gay people who can bear children (either through previous opposite sex relationships or other means), they may not receive equal benefits and protections from their home state.¹² While the likelihood of being a parent is

¹² And before Clause 3 of DOMA was struck down in June of 2013, there were no federal benefits or recognition. It is too soon to see any impact of the Supreme

less for gay people, it is not insignificant. Of straight men and women, 67.2% and 74.7% respectively, are parents. While only 29.9% of gay men and 51.7% of gay women are parents, the number is not insignificant enough to dismiss. If a penalty or premium exists for straight parents, it may apply to gay parents as well – and there are enough gay parents for it to be important.

While marriage is known to provide social and financial benefits, it may not be the first characteristic considered when evaluating workplace opportunity. However, in many areas, marital status is a class specifically protected from discrimination – clearly it is important enough to have been memorialized in such a way. While many people do not marry, or do not stay married, marriage remains a large institution of social control, particularly as a method of monitoring and distributing benefits. If it were not important, we would not see more than half of all straight respondents report currently being married (54.2 and 51.1 for straight men and women respectively). There also would not likely be a large national push for state by state marriage equality or nearly as many gay people engaging in the institution. Gay men are likely to be married nearly 20% of the time, and although the number is slightly smaller for gay women, it is not insubstantial at 15.3%. While all four sexual orientation groups are more likely to be parents than married, gay women are parents at four times the rate that they are married (over 50% are parents, but only about 15% are married). Nearly 30% of gay men are parents while only 20% are married. For straight men, 13% more are parents than husbands but straight women experience a 25% gap

Court DOMA ruling on the experiences of legal spouses or parents previously ignored under the law.

(nearly 75% are parents but only just over 50% are married). Since gay people often cannot marry legally, it makes sense to observe this discrepancy.

However, this discrepancy is still very concerning as it also means these people do not have access to the numerous benefits of marriage – many of which are related to employment.

Marriage benefits may at first glance seem to only be related to federal tax codes and memorialized in the taxes everyone pays once every April. The reality is that the vast majority of social benefits that appear in the forms of credits and deductions on annual tax returns originate in the workplace. Employment in the vehicle for the dissemination and tracking of very important benefits including healthcare, retirement, family medical leave and disability leave, among others. Moreover, for most people, the cornerstone document used to file their taxes is their W-2 form. For gay couples who cannot marry (and even gay couples who were legally married before the Supreme Court decision on DOMA), their W-2 forms mask their true reality. They cannot be identified as married, many cannot cover a spouse or non-legal children on their healthcare plans and pay taxes at a single rate, without receiving a marital deduction. So although the number of potentially married gay couples is not proportionate to their straight counterparts, considering the potential penalty or premium marriage could have is important in identifying key areas serving as barriers to opportunity.

Table 6: Marriage and Parenthood Crosstabulation

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
Has Children	29.9%	67.2%	74.7%	51.7%
No Children	70.1%	32.8%	25.3%	48.3%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2=105.241***	
Married	19.5%	54.2%	51.1%	15.3%
Not Married	80.5%	45.8%	48.9%	84.7%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2=163.176***	

*** P<.001

Class

Many stereotypes exist about 'pink dollars' – money controlled by gay people – and that gay people possess more wealth than their straight counterparts. Access to money and the class structure can often be attributed to education and household makeup (absent inherited wealth). Generally, higher levels of education result in higher earnings potential and when those two combine, a higher class status often results. Likewise, when earnings potentials are not inhibited by responsibilities (such as children) the use of the earned money can be redistributed to wealth accumulation. However, if access to employment adequately reflective of training and education or access to marital protection and benefits is denied, subjectively at the least, it can result in limited access to the upper class groups. While the data cannot directly identify the cause (or barrier to) class identification, it can introduce evidence on how these various groups view their own positions in the class structure.

Again we see gender and sexual orientation interacting in respondents subjective class status. Both groups of women are more likely to be working or

lower class than either group of men. For women, 57.4% of straight respondents and 61% of gay respondents report being in the working or lower classes. Alternatively, only 52.9% of straight men and 46.9% of gay men report the same. In terms of access to the subjective class structure, gay men appear to experience a premium while gay women experience a penalty. While membership in the lower classes, particularly with over 50% representation by all groups but gay men, provides a strong indication of how sexual orientation interacts with class, an evaluation of membership in the highest class demonstrates a different scenario.

Both gay men and women are more likely to report upper class membership (3.9% and 3.4% respectively), as compared to their counterparts (3.3% and 1.8%). While gender appears to be a strong influence on straight women's membership in the upper class, it does not explain why gay men and women surpass both straight groups. While lower rates of parenthood, age, education and other factors may explain the advantage gay men have over straight men, it does not explain why gay women's membership in the upper class is nearly double their straight counterpart. While these memberships are subjective identifications, at least in the upper class, it seems to suggest that gender and sexual orientation are less stable predictors of outcomes of class.

Table 7: Subjective Class Status Crosstabulation

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
Lower Class	7.8%	3.4%	5.3%	9.3%
Working Class	39.0%	49.5%	52.0%	51.7%
Middle Class	49.4%	43.8%	40.9%	35.6%
Upper Class	3.9%	3.3%	1.8%	3.4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2= 32.36***	N=4103

*** P<.001

Education

Many factors can influence access to opportunity, as discussed above, but education is perhaps the most important, universally applied, threshold to cross. While there are certainly examples of exceptions to the rule, access to better employment opportunities and ultimately more income is dependent on the level of education a potential employee has completed. We would expect to see that those with higher educations are more likely to report higher engagement (via full time work) in the workforce and higher incomes. Educational attainment is reported by years of school completed and transformed into four categories. When a respondent has completed twelve years of education, it represents a high school education. Sixteen years represents a college education and anything beyond sixteen years indicates graduate education.

Despite the fact that gay men are more educated, they are less likely than straight men to be employed full time (74% compared to 78.2%). Gay men are the most educated of all four sexual orientation groups, 42.86% have college or graduate education. Comparatively, only 34.63% of straight men, 35.02% of straight women and 38.14% of gay women have such levels of education. When compared to work force participation, the strong discrepancies surface. Gay men are the most educated but still engaged in full time employment less frequently than their straight counterparts. Straight men are the least educated but engage in full time employment the most frequently. Straight women are the only ones whose work force outcome matches their education; they are the third best educated (out of the four sexual orientation groups) and third most likely to be employed full time. Education may provide a critical piece of understanding in the work force participation rates of gay women, as they are the second best educated (second only to gay men) but the least likely to be employed full time.

For both gay men and women, education seems to be a prominent aspect of their employee makeup but neither group appears to be gaining a premium as a result. Alternatively, straight men are not being penalized for their relative lack of education. The major missing factor needed before making any conclusions is income. For example, although straight men may be employed full time more frequently despite their lower educational attainment, perhaps they are earning incomes as high as gay men are. Or perhaps, gay women are not employed full time as often as other groups, but have found relatively high paying jobs in exchange. These questions will be addressed below by incorporating the most

quantifiable outcome of work force participation, income, into the analysis and discussion.

Table 8: Highest Education Achieved Crosstabulation

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
Less than HS	11.69%	11.85%	8.27%	6.78%
High School	45.45%	53.51%	56.71%	55.08%
College	18.18%	18.47%	18.43%	19.49%
Graduate	24.68%	16.16%	16.59%	18.64%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
			Chi2=20.728**	

** P<.05

Individual and Household Income

Of all available metrics, income presents the strongest representation of the benefit workers receive from their engagement in the workforce. While it does not account for 'fringe' benefits like health insurance, it presents a value that can be standardized and manipulated to consider any number of variable. For example, predicted income can be manipulated to account for the variables presented above: racial identification, gender, education, age, region, marital and parenthood status and sexual orientation. By evaluating income, the numerous questions raised above can begin to be answered, most importantly is sexual orientation results in a penalty, premium or nothing at all when it comes to individual and household income.

However, income is highly skewed and is very sensitive to region, education, employment status and numerous other factors. Thus, while an

important metric, it must be considered in conjunction with other potential mediating or moderating factors. To specifically address the concern of skewness, both family and individual income have been logged. Previously, research has concluded that straight men experience the highest individual incomes followed by: gay women, gay men and then straight women. This current research suggests that while straight men still earn the most, the importance of gender in potential outcomes has increased.

As seen in Table 9, the only significant differences in household income exist between straight men and both groups of women, strongly suggesting gender is the root cause of observed difference. While these findings are limited in their scope, as they cannot take into account any additional factors, they provide a starting point for understanding the interplay of gender and sexual orientation on income. Table 10 presents a slightly different picture when looking solely at individual income. Again we see that straight men make more than either straight or gay women, but we also see gay males more likely to make more than straight females. The most likely cause for the potential discrepancy between Table 9 and Table 10 is that straight women receive a significant boost in their status when accounting for household income because they (through marriage) have the opportunity to be paired with straight male earners.

Table 9: Bonferroni Comparisons for Household Income (Mean Difference)

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
Gay Male	--	.07913	-.00579	-.08398
Straight Male	-.07913	--	-.08492***	-.16311****
Straight Female	.00579	.08492***	--	-.07819
Gay Female	.08398	.16311***	.07819	--
			F=19.837***	

* P<.01, ** P<.05, ***P<.001

Table 10: Bonferroni Comparisons for Individual Income (Mean Difference)

	Gay Male	Straight Male	Straight Female	Gay Female
Gay Male	--	.08176	-.13907*	-.13420
Straight Male	-.08176	--	-.22083***	-.21597***
Straight Female	.13907*	.22083***	--	.00487
Gay Female	.13420	.21597***	-.00487	--
			F= 69.912***	

* P<.01, ** P<.05, ***P<.001

Looking at mean incomes, as shown in Figure 1, alone paints a starker picture of the differences between individual and household earnings by sexual orientation. For example, gay men report household incomes of only \$55,000 a year on average, despite being the most likely to report being in the upper class. Gay women report household incomes of an average of \$50,000 per year. Straight men and women, however, report household incomes substantially higher at about \$62,000 annually, as shown in Figure 2. Whether this is an artifact of skew, marital status, single income households or other factors, the

fact that a gay household takes in about \$10,000 less a year on average could prove substantial. Moving forward, these potential differences must be considered in conjunction with the various factors introduced above; a task that will be accomplished by employing a regression analysis.

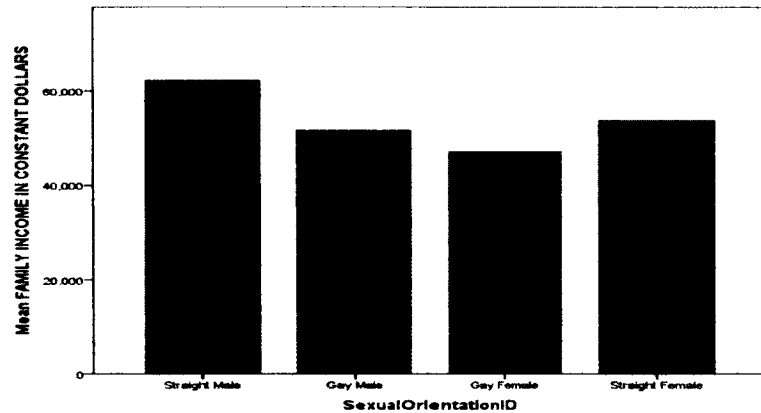


Figure 1: Mean Family Income (in 2012 dollars) (F=19.837, P<.001)

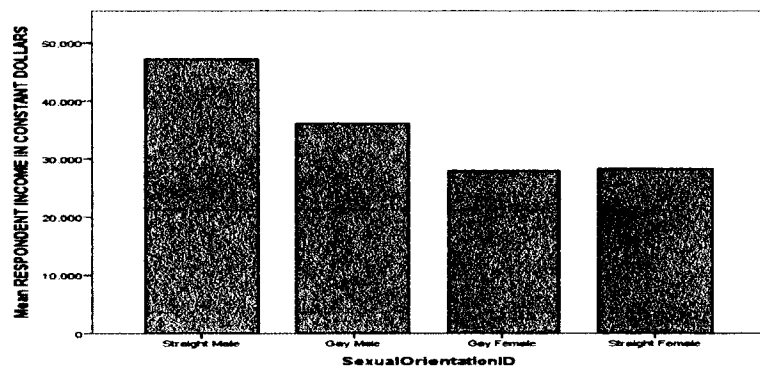


Figure 2: Mean Individual Income (in 2012 dollars) (F=69.912, P<.000)

When these variables are taken together in a regression analysis, they solidify the findings above that straight men experience the most positive

interaction with the labor force, this time by having the highest predicted family income. Sexual orientation asserts itself as a determining factor in predicted household income with both gay men and women having lower predicted incomes than either straight men or women. While this is likely an artifact of increased participation in marriage, the significance of the penalty ascribed to gay people cannot be ignored. This concern would be intensified if considering households headed by two same sex adults, as it may be the case given this data that those households would suffer an additional penalty.

Despite model 8 being the most complete, the relatively fewer number of gay respondents whom are married or have children, compared to their straight counterparts, leaves concern for error. Thus, model 6 is the best model for understanding the influence these variables taken together have on household income. With an r^2 of .256, these six variables (sexual orientation, work force status, race, age, education and region) explain 25.6% of the variance observed in household income.

The baseline group, to which all others are compared, depicts a straight, white man, living in the Northeast, working full time and is unmarried with no children. A respondent (with a proxy age of 45 years old and with a college education) with these characteristics would have a predicted household income of \$48,335. Such a household is predicted to earn significantly more than a similarly situated gay man (predicted income: \$47,736), gay woman (predicted income: \$47,040) or straight woman's would (predicted income: \$47,775). These predicted incomes are significantly lower for those engaged in part time work and

not working (as would be expected). Also facing a penalty are racial minorities. Black and Other race respondents are also predicted to have significantly lower incomes. Black people in particular are predicted to suffer the largest penalty of any consideration, even greater than the penalty for those not working or working part time. Regionally, the only predicted significant difference is that those in the West are predicted to have higher household incomes.

While specific interaction terms were not calculated, taking these factors in conjunction with one another helps to illustrate a very specific picture. For example, when bringing together gender, race and sexual orientation, under the same scenario as above, a gay Black woman's household would only be predicted to earn \$43,024. These type of interactions could produce significantly different effects. Both race and gender/sexual orientation experience significantly lower incomes than straight white men are predicted to have. Most likely¹³, if their interactions were calculated the penalty would be multiplied.

There are no significant differences based on region, with the exception of the West seeing a slight premium. As the Midwest and South are the key areas with limited employment protections, it would be expected to see a potential penalty there. However, the predicted difference is not significant which may suggest underlying factors intervening in the predicted outcome. While region does become statistically significant once marriage and parenthood are factored in, the predicted household income experiences a premium when a penalty would have been hypothesized.

¹³ Due to a relatively small sample size once segmented into interaction terms, interaction terms were excluded from use and not tested.

Table 11: Regression Coefficients for Log of Household Income (N=4,103)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Constant	4.667** **	4.704** **	4.736** **	4.460** **	3.811*** *	3.813****	4.043****	4.050****
Gay Male	-.079*	-.072	-.072*	-.069*	-.096**	-.099**	-.014	-.017
Gay Female	.163*** *	.133*** *	.131*** *	.091*** *	-.127****	-.131****	-.052*	-.052*
Straight Female	-.085*** *	-.061*** *	-.050*** *	-.043*** *	-.058****	-.060****	-.059****	-.058****
Part Time	--	.161*** *	.164*** *	.168*** *	-.149****	-.150****	-.145****	-.145****
Not Working	--	.181*** *	.174*** *	.168*** *	-.145****	-.145****	-.129****	-.129****
Black	--	--	.210*** *	.193*** *	-.168****	-.163****	-.106****	-.104****
Other Race	--	--	.100*** *	.061*** *	-.036**	-.042**	-.048***	-.047***
Age (Years)	--	--	--	.006*** *	.006****	.006****	.003****	.004****
Education (Years)	--	--	--	--	.048****	.047****	.045****	.044****
Midwest	--	--	--	--	--	-.008	-.013	-.014
South	--	--	--	--	--	.024	.033**	.032**
West	--	--	--	--	--	.068****	.080****	.079****
Married	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.247****	-.250****
Parent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.010
r^2	.014	.054	.091	.136	.251	.256	.346	.346
DF	3	5	7	8	9	12	13	14
F	19.837 ****	47.073 ****	58.411 ****	80.338 ****	152.315 ****	116.983 ****	166.429 ****	154.579 ****

NOTE: Constants= Straight Male, Full-Time Employment, White, Northeast Residency, Unmarried, Non-parent.

Dummy Coding = Gay Male (0 = no, 1 = yes); Gay Female (0 = no, 1 = yes); Straight Female (0 = no, 1 = yes); Part-Time (0 = no, 1 = yes); Not Working (0 = no, 1 = yes); Black (0 = no, 1 = yes); Other Race (0 = no, 1 = yes); Midwest Residency (0 = no, 1 = yes); South Residency (0 = no, 1 = yes); West Residency (0 = no, 1 = yes); Married (0 = no, 1 = yes); Has Children/Is Parent (0 = no, 1 = yes).

****P<.000 ***P<.01 **P<.05 *P<.10

While household income has the potential to mask other factors, like access to marriage or readiness to consider a non-spouse in reporting household income, individual income allows for a more direct evaluation of the variables impact on predicted income. Again, using model 6 as the best selection for analysis, 33.8% of the variance in predicted individual income can be explained ($r^2=.338$). The predicted individual income for a 45 year old, straight, white, male, living in the Northeast, unmarried and without children and with a college education would be predicted to earn \$46,673. The other three sexual orientation groups are all predicted to earn significantly less. His straight female counterpart is only predicted to earn \$45,100 – the least of the four groups. Gay women are predicted to earn \$45,360. Meanwhile, gay men (although still statistically significant) suffer the smallest penalty and are predicted to earn \$45,820.

While the potential interaction effects are the same for individual income as they are for household income, several factors are significantly different. Perhaps the most important is the potential impact of race. While Black is still predicted to earn significantly less than white, the disparity is not as great as was observed in household income. Perhaps more surprisingly, the Other race category no longer predicts having a significant impact on individual income. Likewise, region is still only significant for the West, but appears to be lesser as well.

Sexual orientation and gender clearly have a complex relationship and effect on household and individual income. In every model, for both incomes,

both straight and gay women are predicted to have significantly lower incomes. There are some models in which gay men are not predicted to have significantly lower incomes than straight men, but when the key variables of race, age and education are introduced they are. This demonstrates the permanence of gender as a key factor in accessing opportunity and the gender wage gap is well documented in the public sphere.

Table 12: Regression Coefficients for Log of Individual Income (N=4,103)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Constant	4.458* ***	4.553* ***	4.570*** *	4.235*** *	3.542*** *	3.542*** *	3.624*** *	3.586*** *
Gay Male	-.082	-.064	-.063	-.059	-.088*	-.091*	-.061	-.047
Gay Female	-.216** **	-.144** **	-.143***	-.095**	-.133***	-.137***	-.109***	-.111***
Straight Female	-.221** **	-.159** **	-.154***	-.146***	-.162***	-.163***	-.162***	-.167***
Part Time	--	-.497** **	-.498***	-.504***	-.483***	-.485***	-.483***	-.483***
Not Working	--	-.394** **	-.391***	-.384***	-.359***	-.359***	-.354***	-.355***
Black	--	--	-.099***	-.077***	-.051***	-.045**	-.025	-.032*
Other Race	--	--	-.070***	-.023	.004	-.003	-.005	-.008
Age (Years)	--	--	--	.008***	.007***	.007***	.006***	.006***
Education (Years)	--	--	--	--	.051***	.051***	.050***	.051***
Midwest	--	--	--	--	--	-.008	-.010	-.009
South	--	--	--	--	--	.027	.030*	.033*
West	--	--	--	--	--	.048**	.052**	.054***
Married	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.088***	-.075***
Parent	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.052***
R^2	.049	.210	.215	.256	.336	.338	.345	.346
DF	3	5	7	8	9	12	13	14
F	69.91 2***	217.4 40***	160.560 ***	175.756 ***	229.965 ***	173.667 ***	165.381 ***	154.735 ***

NOTE: Constants= Straight Male, Full-Time Employment, White, Northeast Residency, Unmarried, Non-parent.

Dummy Coding = Gay Male (0 = no, 1 = yes); Gay Female (0 = no, 1 = yes); Straight Female (0 = no, 1 = yes); Part-Time (0 = no, 1 = yes); Not Working (0 = no, 1 = yes); Black (0 = no, 1 = yes); Other Race (0 = no, 1 = yes); Midwest Residency (0 = no, 1 = yes); South Residency (0 = no, 1 = yes); West Residency (0 = no, 1 = yes); Married (0 = no, 1 = yes); Has Children/Is Parent (0 = no, 1 = yes).

****P<.001; ***P<.01; **P<.05; *P<.01

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In the United States, we are often told that if you work hard you can be successful. We are led to believe that if everything else is equal, the level of education, age and devotion to work – the outcome will be equal. We are not often told that there are limitations to your potential success if you are not white, if you are female, if you are gay, if you live in the wrong part of the country and countless others. A gay American can no more overcome the 'gay limitation' than a Black American can overcome the 'racial limitation' based on discrimination. In the labor market, these limitations can manifest themselves in the hiring process, level of engagement in the work force, income or promotions.

When including sexual orientation in an analysis of income, both gay men and women experience a significant penalty when considering household income. This supports the conclusions of previous research (see, for example, Prokos (2010)). While the penalty remains when evaluating personal income, it becomes lesser for gay men and gay women appear to experience a premium. While gay women are not able to overcome the predicted earnings of either male

group, they are predicted to make more than their straight counterparts. This is somewhat out of unison with previous research (see Badgett (1995) which suggested both gay men and women earn less than their straight counterparts or Berg (2006) which suggests that gay men earn less than straight men, but gay women earn more). Badgett (1995) concluded that (in rank order) the highest incomes earners are straight men, gay women, gay men and straight women. This has been the benchmark cited by much of the research introduced above.

This current research suggests the correct rank order, using the most current data, has straight men followed by gay men, gay women and straight women. This strongly suggests gender is still a core cause of differences in predicted outcomes, as both groups of women are predicted to earn less than either male group. However, if sexual orientation were not a significant and substantial factor, we would not expect to see any significant differences within the genders. However, we see gay men experiencing a penalty and gay women experiencing a premium, as compared to their straight counterparts.

These observed differences are not due to lesser educational achievement or skill. Gay men and women are more likely to have college or graduate educations than their straight counterparts. Yet they still do not have equal access to the full time employment structure. While the effect on the un- or underemployed cannot be understated, there are effects for those in the workforce too. Even when states have protections in place, gays face serious discrimination in the workplace. They only make up 3.5% of the population on average, but in states where there are protections in place, claims of

discrimination based on sexual orientation were comparable to those for gender – a group that makes up nearly half of the workforce (Rubenstein 2002).

When race has been 'protected' by legal barriers from discrimination for years, but still results in significant penalties for non-whites, it leaves less hope for a rapid expansion of actual change for protections of gays in the workplace. The federal Employment Non-Discrimination Law has failed in Congress for over a decade. The barriers to equal access to the workforce do not seem likely to dissipate any time soon and their effects do not appear to be mitigating quickly. Beyond sexual orientation and race, this research draws further attention to the employment based discrimination faced by all women. However, the experiences of a gay Black woman will be dramatically different from that of a white gay woman. Gay Black men will likely have an entirely different experience altogether. This diversity of experience

Previous research has concluded that there are significant differences between straight and gay men and significant earnings differentials between gay and straight workers. I assert that this phenomena exists today, on a national level. Moreover, there is the potential for substantially different outcomes when interaction terms are considered and region is addressed on a less macro level as was done here. It is clear is that this research presents only a preliminary picture of the current landscape. The sample is subject to a respondents' willingness to self identify their sexual history (honestly) for the past five years and need to be asked to do so in the first place. If gays are in fact living in different areas of the country and are not being captured, they could potentially

be experiencing vastly different employment experiences. Until a more detailed collection of data is completed, the potential lack of detail here is certainly a limitation, it will be difficult to make effective policy changes.

The research focusing on men (gay men specifically) greatly outnumbers research focusing on gay women. The possibility that gay men and gay women do not experience the same things may be concluded only after more extensive research. The preliminary nature of this paper presents and describes some key areas in which men and women, of either sexual orientation, may significantly differ. While it is necessary to compare and contrast to fully understand them, without greater supporting evidence like the male centered audit studies of Tilesik to complete the foundational knowledge for women, gay women will have to be studied exclusively as they relate to gay men or straight women – i.e. not as a unique group.

Three key areas for future research differentiating gay and straight workers are the ways in which gay people find jobs, how they experience promotion and the 'fringe' benefits offered to them like childcare, healthcare etc. The social networks used to find employment are key in today's modern economy and uncovering the differences, if any, that gays experience will significantly help to develop a clearer understanding of their (potentially unique) place in the workforce. Any discussion of promotion may allow for determination of practices of discrimination, something very difficult to capture especially in the 29 states with no protections against it. Lastly, fringe benefits will be best

discussed in collaboration with spousal and family makeup, since many fringe benefits apply directly to 'families'.

The avenues for future research, with a root in occupational attainment, reach far past intergenerational wealth. In a society that epitomizes the Protestant Ethic, our occupational lives dictate our personal lives on many levels from access to healthcare, to happiness, to the ability to start a family or retire. (Include social class/mobility markers?) In addition to evaluating the direct ramifications of sexual orientation on labor market outcomes, future research should focus on how workforce preparation and participation may differ based on sexual orientation and the associated consequences.

APPENDIX A: Key Literature Reference Chart

Author	Central Question	Method	Findings	Statistical Significance
Giwa (2012)	Is there racism within the LGBT community?	Using in-depth interviews, Giwa examined the status of white gay women and their views on non-white gay women.	There is racism among the lesbian community with whites discriminating (or devaluing) against non-white gay women.	N/A
Tilesik (2011)	Do gay men experience hiring discrimination?	Resume audit study of 1,769 pairs of resumes (one with an indicator of homosexuality) to job postings.	Although subject to regional variation, overall it was found that gay men (7.2%) receive less callbacks than straight men (11.5%).	The findings are statistically significant.
Rubenstein (2002)	In states that ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace, what are the rates of reporting?	Using data from states with such laws, rates of reporting were compared to those of gender and race based claims.	The rate of reporting for all three characteristics was comparable.	
Badgett (1995)	Is there a wage gap between heterosexuals and homosexuals?	Analysis of the GSS data from 1989-1991.	Homosexual men earn 11-27% less than their straight counterparts. Homosexual women earn 12-30% less.	The findings are consistently significant for men. Statistical significance for women varied when occupation and selection bias were considered.
Horvath (2003)	How do gender, masculinity/femininity and sexual	Using college students (80% were white	Heterosexuality was always favored over	N/A

	orientation interact in hiring discrimination?	women) in a course, they administered questionnaires asking students to rank desirability.	homosexuality for both men and women.	
Berg (2006)	Are there income differences between straight and gay men and women?	Analysis of the 1991-1996 GSS data.	Based on prediction equations, gay men earn 22% less than straight men and gay women earn 30% more.	N/A
Weichselbauner (2003)	In Austria – do lesbians experience callbacks at a different rate than straight women?	Callback study of 1,126 job applicants where sexual orientation and feminine/masculine was indicated on resumes.	Resumes that indicated homosexuality and masculine traits had 12% fewer callbacks than straight resumes. When resumes indicated femininity and homosexuality, the response was only 8% less callbacks.	Both findings are statistically significant.
Hebl (2002)	Is there evidence of interpersonal and formal discrimination against gay applicants?	Conducted a field experiment in Texas by sending participants into an interview in the service industry. One group wore hats "Texan and Proud" while the other wore hats "Gay and Proud". They measured interpersonal and formal biases (in terms of callbacks).	Those wearing the "Texan and Proud" hats receive the stronger treatment.	Negative treatment was statistically significant.

Prokos (2010)	Are the economic conditions different for married heterosexuals and cohabitating homosexuals/heterosexuals?	Analysis of 2000 census data.	Cohabiting homosexual couples fared the worse working more hours, earning less pay and being unemployed at greater rates (4% vs. 2%).	Statistical significance varies based on included factors but is not significant overall for unemployment, hours worked.
Drydakis (2009)	In Greece, is there a difference in the hiring opportunities for gay and straight men?	A Greek audit study of 1,714 pairs of male job applicants where one of the pair was identified as homosexual.	While 40% of straight men got callbacks, only 14% of gay males did.	The findings are statistically significant.
Crow (1998)	What combination of gender, race and sexual orientation is discriminated against the most in hiring?	This non-random study included 548 full time employees from various industries in a Southern US city. They were asked to complete a questionnaire ranking the 6 candidates (of 8 possible) they would want to hire for a position. The candidates represented various combinations of the variables and the result allowed isolation of certain characteristics.	Black gay males were the most likely to be discriminated against at hiring while straight white women were the least likely.	The preferential treatment for women and against racial and sexual minorities was statistically significant. However, they did not specifically test for interactions of race and sexual orientation – each was treated as an independent variable.

APPENDIX B: Institutional Review Board Approval

**University of New Hampshire
Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research
Departmental Review Committee Exemption Classification Sheet**

Name: Justine A. Bulgar Medina IRB #: CR 2013-001
 Dept: Sociology Reviewer: Cesar Pichon
 Study: The Association Between Sexual Orientation + Labor Market Outcomes

Exempt Review

- 46.101(b)(1) Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as:
 _____ (i) research on regular or special educational instructional strategies, or
 (ii) research on the effectiveness of or comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.
- 46.101(b)(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior unless:
 _____ (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and
 (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.
- 46.101(b)(3) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under category (b)(2) if:
 _____ (i) the human subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or
 (ii) federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.
- 46.101(b)(4) Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.
- 46.101(b)(5) Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.
- 46.101(b)(6) Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration, or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency, or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Protocol is approved as presented in the category checked

____ Protocol is approved with the following contingencies/comments (attach sheets if necessary)

____ Protocol is referred to the IRB for Expedited or Full Board review

____ Protocol cannot be approved as presented (cite reasons on separate sheet)

DRC Reviewer: _____

Date: 8/1/2013

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIST OF REFERENCES

- Ahmed, Ali M, Lena Andersson and Mats Hammarstedt. 2011. "Inter- and Intra-Household Earnings Differentials among Homosexual and Heterosexual Couples." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 49:S2:258-278.
- Badgett, M. V. Lee. 1995. "The Wage Effects of Sexual Orientation Discrimination." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 48:726-39.
- Badgett, M. V. Lee. 2001. *Money, Myths and Change*. Chicago, IL The University of Chicago Press.
- Barron, Laura G. and Michelle Hebl. 2012. "The Force of Law: The Effect of Sexual Orientation Antidiscrimination Legislation on Interpersonal Discrimination in Employment." *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*. 12:1076-8971.
- Berg, Nathan and Donald Lein. 2006. "Same-sex sexual behaviour: US frequency estimates from survey data with simultaneous misreporting and non-response." *Applied Economics* 38:757-769.
- Bernstein, Mary and Paul Swartwout. 2012. "Gay Officers in Their Midst: Heterosexual Police Employee' Anticipation of the Consequences of Coworkers Who Come Out" *Journal of Homosexuality* 59:1145-1166.
- Bowleg, Lisa, Kelly Brooks, and Susan Faye Ritz. "Bringing Home More Than A Paycheck:" An Exploratory Analysis Of Black Lesbians' Experiences Of Stress And Coping In The Workplace." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 12.1(2008): 69-84.
- Drydakis, Nick. 2009. "Sexual Orientation Discrimination in the Labour Market." *Labour Economics* 16:364-72.
- Elmsile, Bruce, and Edinaldo Tebaldi. 2007. "Sexual Orientation and Labor Market Discrimination." *Journal of Labor Research* 28:436-453.
- Epstein, Stephen. 1987. "Gay Politics, Ethnic Identity: The Limits of Social Constructionalism." *Socialist Review* 93/94:9-54.
- Giwa, Sulaimon, and Cameron Greensmith. "Race Relations And Racism In The LGBTQ Community Of Toronto: Perceptions Of Gay And Queer Social Service Providers Of Color." *Journal Of Homosexuality* 59.2 (2012): 149-185.
- Goode-Cross, David T., and Glenn E. Good. "Managing Multiple-Minority Identities: African American Men Who Have Sex With Men At Predominately White Universities." *Journal Of Diversity In Higher Education* 2.2 (2009): 103-112.

- Griffith, Kristin, and Hebl, Michelle. 2002. "The disclosure dilemma for lesbians and gay men: Antecedents and consequences of "coming out" at work." *Journal of Applied Psychology*.87:1191-99.
- Hebl, Michelle R., Jessica Bigazzi Foster, Laura M. Mannix, and John Dovidio. 2002. "Formal and Interpersonal Discrimination: A Field Study of Bias toward Homosexual Applicants." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28:815–25.
- Horvath, Michael, and Ann Marie Ryan. 2003. "Antecedents and Potential Moderators of the Relationship between Attitudes and Hiring Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation." *Sex Roles* 48:115–30.
- Lewis, Gregory. "Lesbians And Gay Men In The Public Workforce." *Conference Papers -- Midwestern Political Science Association* (2009).
- Lewis, Gregory B. and David W. Pitts. 2009. "Representation of Lesbians and Gay Men in Federal, State and Local Bureaucracies." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 21:159-180.
- Madon, Stephanie. 1997. "What Do People Believe about Gay Males? A Study of Stereotype Content and Strength." *Sex Roles* 37:663–85.
- Morrison, Todd G., and Anomi Bearden. 2007. "Construction and Validation of the Homopositivity Scale: An Instrument Measuring Positive Stereotypes about Gay Men." *Journal of Homosexuality* 52:3-89.
- Pachankis, John E., and Mark L. Hatzenbuehler. 2013. "The Social Development of Contingent Self-Worth in Sexual Minority Men: An Empirical Investigation of the "Best Little Boy in the World" Hypothesis." *Basic and Applied Psychology*: 36:2:176-190.
- Richardson, Diane, and Surya Monro. 2013. "Public duty and private prejudice: sexualities equalities and local government." *Academy The Sociological Review* 61:131-152.
- Row, Stephen M., Lillian Y. Fok, and Sandra J. Hartman. "Priorities Of Hiring Discrimination: Who Is At Greatest Risk - Women, Blacks, Or Homosexuals?." *Academy Of Management Best Papers Proceedings* (1995): 443-447.
- Tebaldi, Edinaldo, and Bruce Elmsile. 2006. "Sexual orientation and labour supply." *Applied Economics* 38: 549-562.
- Tilesik, Andras. 2011. "Pride and Prejudice: Employment Discrimination against Openly gay Men in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 117:586-626.

Veenstra, Gerry. "Race, Gender, Class, And Sexual Orientation: Intersecting Axes Of Inequality And Self-Rated Health In Canada." *International Journal For Equity In Health* 10.(2011).

Ward, Jane. 2008. "Lesbian Stereotypes." Pp. 491–93 in *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society*, vol. 1. Edited by Jodi O'Brien. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

Weichselbaumer, Doris. 2003. "Sexual Orientation Discrimination in Hiring." *Labour Economics* 10:629–42.

Wilets, James D. "From Divergence To Convergence? A Comparative And International Law Analysis Of Lgbti Rights In The Context Of Race And Post-Colonialism." *Duke Journal Of Comparative & International Law* 21.(2011): 631.